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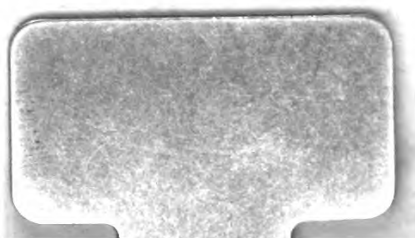


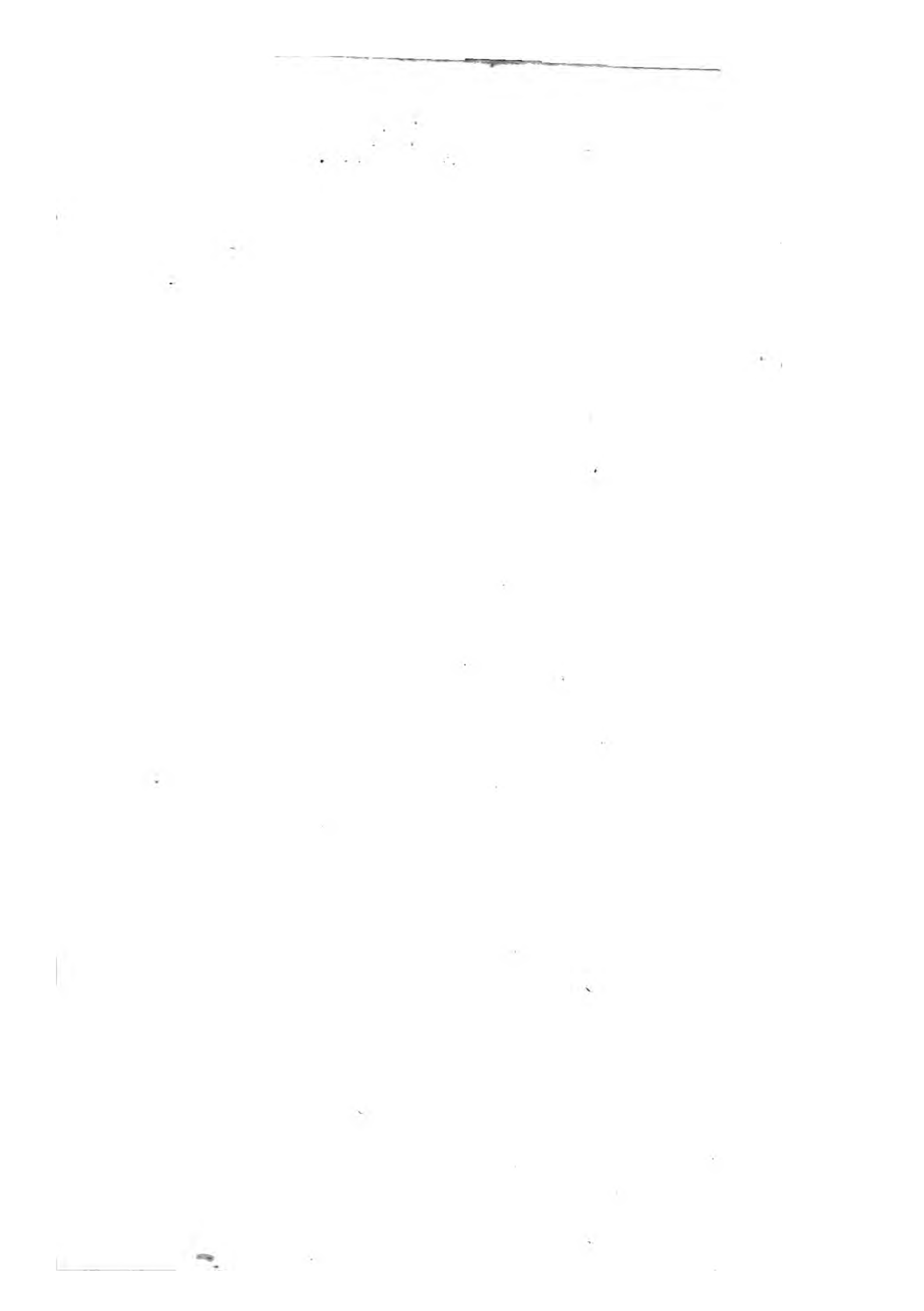
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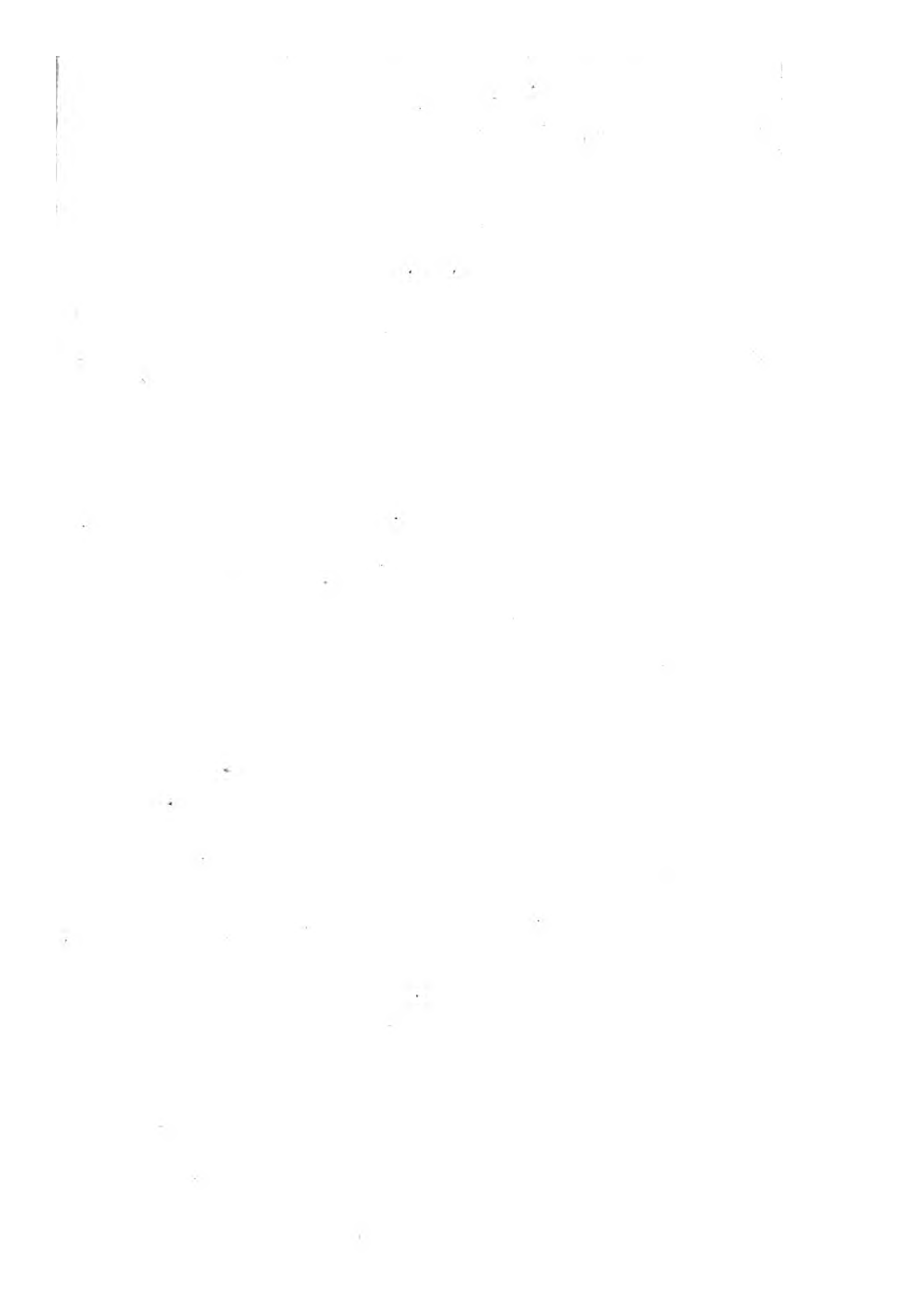


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THE
DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
FROM THE
TREATY OF PEACE
TO THE ADOPTION OF THE
PRESENT CONSTITUTION.
VOL. VII.



THE
DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
FROM THE SIGNING OF THE
DEFINITIVE TREATY OF PEACE,
10TH SEPTEMBER, 1783,
TO THE
ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION, MARCH 4, 1789.

B E I N G
THE LETTERS OF THE PRESIDENTS OF CONGRESS, THE SECRETARY
FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS—AMERICAN MINISTERS AT FOREIGN
COURTS, FOREIGN MINISTERS NEAR CONGRESS—REPORTS
OF COMMITTEES OF CONGRESS, AND REPORTS OF
THE SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS ON
VARIOUS LETTERS AND COMMUNICATIONS;
TOGETHER WITH
LETTERS FROM INDIVIDUALS ON PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

Published under the direction of the Secretary of State, from the
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to an Act of Congress, approved May 5, 1832.

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"for the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two."

"To enable the Secretary of State to cause to be printed, under
"his direction, a selection from the Diplomatic Correspondence of
"the United States, between the peace of one thousand seven hun-
"dred and eighty-three, and the fourth of March one thousand
"seven hundred and eighty nine, remaining unpublished in the De-
"partment of State, twelve thousand dollars."

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Desires to recall the attention of Congress to the inter-
ests of the officers and men he commanded in Eu-
rope. Entreats their serious attention to the insult
offered by Denmark to the American flag, in giving
up to the English, prizes sent into the Port of Ber-
gen in Norway. Trusts that Congress will take
effectual measures in the case. Encloses an extract
of his letter to Secretary Livingston, dated Ports-
mouth, May 10th, 1782, relative to prize money.

From J. P. Jones to the President of Congress. Philadelphia, October 18th, 1783. - - -	291
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Congress, in order to make application at the
Courts of France and Denmark, for prizes taken
under his command.

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Congress, to solicit payment for all prizes taken in
Europe under his command.

From J. P. Jones to the Maréchal de Castries. Paris, February 1st, 1784. - - - - -	293
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Transmits a copy of his credentials as agent from
Congress. Claims the proportion of prize money
due the Bon homme Richard and Alliance. Re-
minds the Maréchal of his promise of speedy set-
tlement.

From the same to the same. Paris, February 18th, 1784. - - - - -	294
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Has examined the papers referred for his considera-
tion. Recapitulates the circumstances which led to
his remaining in Europe after the capture of Bur-

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goyne, and his proceedings, there. Reflections upon the fatal effects of Mons. de Chaumonts' appointment. Resolution of Congress, of October 30, 1776, showing the American distribution of prize money. The conduct of the French Government in relation to his prizes, at the Texel and L'Orient. Will allow all reasonable charges upon sale of prizes; but contends that no part should go to the Hospital of Invalids at Paris.	
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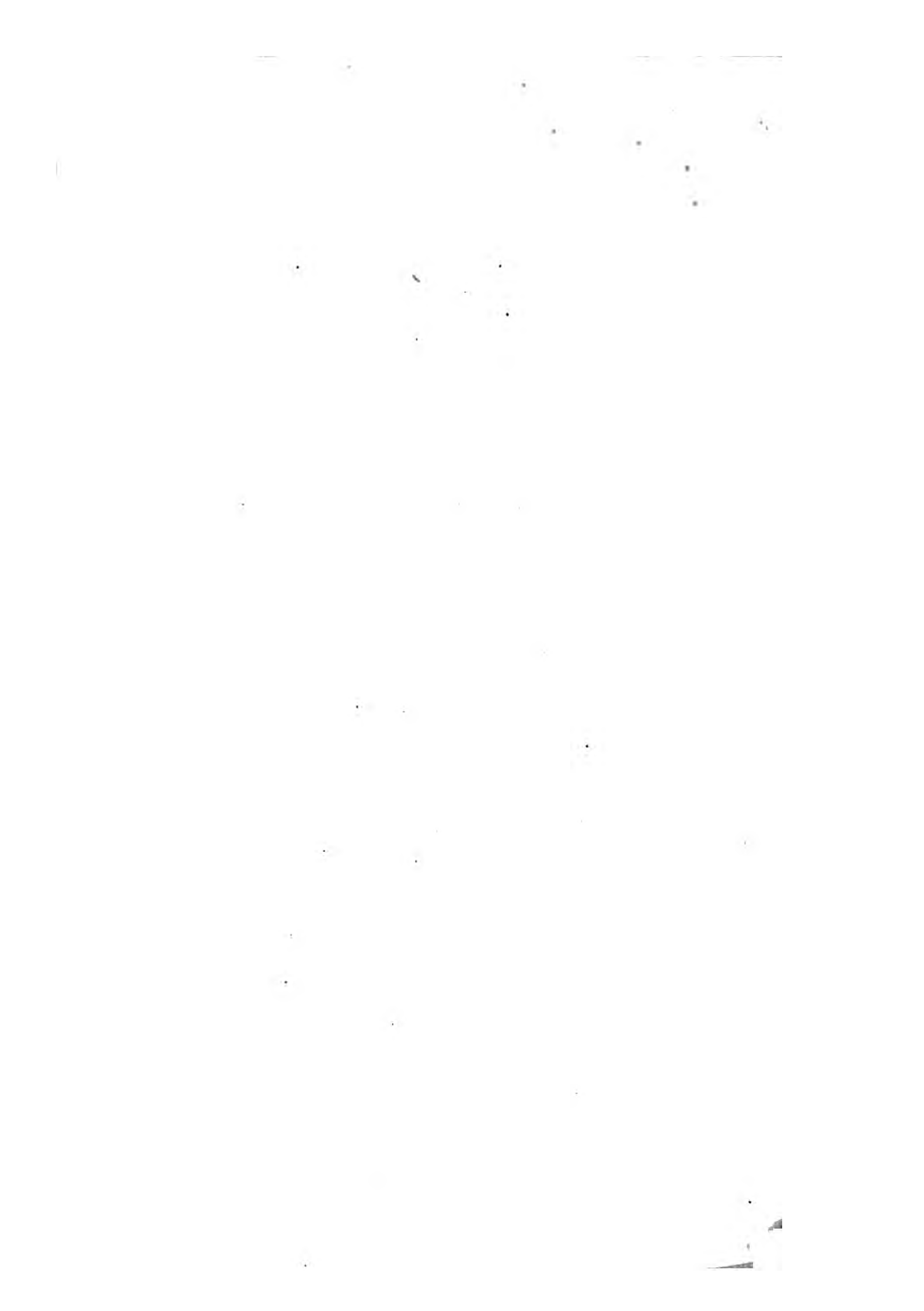
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THE
DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE
OF THE
UNITED STATES.

VOL. VII.—1

THE
CORRESPONDENCE
OF
C. W. F. DUMAS.

TRANSLATION.

FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

The Hague, December 1, 1783.

The following observations will serve to throw some light on the character and powers of the *Assembly of their High Mightinesses, the States General of the United Provinces of the Netherlands* :

The seventeen Provinces of the Netherlands never had any thing in common, except their Prince; they were thus far united, under Charles the Bold, and Charles the Fifth, who acquired them by marriage, and by other means. In order to accustom the provinces to consider themselves as one nation, these Princes adopted the expedient of convoking all the States at one time and place, and of laying before them as one body, all subjects of general interest; submitting to each, separately, whatever concerned its own Province in particular.

Philip the Second, regarding such assemblies as dangerous, convoked them but rarely. However, when the Provinces took up arms against him, the States frequently

met of their own accord, in order to consult on measures to be pursued in concert against their common enemy. Among other results from these voluntary assemblings, was the famous *Pacification of Ghent*, and, after that had been rendered vain, by the defection of some Provinces, and the conquest of others, the still more celebrated *Union of Utrecht* of 1579, which latter treaty became, in 1585, the basis of all transactions between the States General of the Seven United Provinces, as the pacification of Ghent had been of all between the seventeen. Yet these assemblies, to which necessity had given origin, were not permanent at first; nor did they become so until 1593, when the importance, and the multiplicity of affairs to be submitted, required their constant attention.

We must be careful not to confound the *States General*, with the *Deputies of the States General*.

The States General would be an assembly of the States of all the Provinces; but no such assembly ever was, or perhaps ever could be convened; a few Provinces have appeared by their States, but the greater part never have, being content with sending deputies as at the present day. It is, therefore, a fiction to call the assembly at the Hague the *States General*, it being in reality only a meeting of *Deputies*, from each of the Provincial States. This distinction must always be borne in mind, in order to prevent misconception of what follows.

All affairs of which their High Mightinesses, the States General original, take cognizance through their High Mightinesses the States General Representative, belong to them in virtue of the terms of the Union of

Utrecht, or as resulting from the very fact and nature of the Confederacy, or from their having been so far ceded either expressly or tacitly, that no Province can refuse to enter into deliberation upon them, with the rest of its Confederates. Let us see what these affairs are.

(1.) The Treaty of Union of Utrecht, articles 2 and 3, gives them the right of deliberating and determining on all that concerns the common defence and security of the country; the carrying on of war, and consequently the direction of the land and sea forces; the appointment of general officers; the issuing of patents for placing or changing garrisons; the power of dismissing and granting furloughs; of reviewing and examining into the state of the war establishment; the regulation of the army, and the right of pardoning, also, belongs to them by the same articles; but they have surrendered these powers for the time, as well as that of placing and changing garrisons, to the Captain-General: Overijssel, however, will not give up the right of pardoning or annulling a sentence of punishment, within its own territories.

(2.) By articles 6, 7 and 9, of the same treaty, they are to project and propose all duties, imposts and taxes to be laid in the several Provinces; but as that has been found impracticable in many cases, petitions have been substituted, which are drawn up by the Council of State, and submitted for approval to their High Mightinesses; they likewise order how the funds thus raised are to be appropriated, but the Council of State has the immediate direction of them. There remains, however, one revenue in common, namely, that arising from convoys and licenses.

(3.) They are empowered to make war, peace and truces.

(4.) They may enter into alliances with other powers, and make and carry into effect all treaties, offensive and defensive, even those of the nature of the Union itself; that is to say, they may admit other countries into the Confederacy.

(5.) By article 12, they have the sole regulation of the currency, in which no one Province can make a change.

(6.) Article 16 renders them arbiters in all differences, which may arise between any of the Provinces.

(7.) Article 18 enables them to take cognizance of all taxes and duties whatever, laid in one Province, to the injury of the inhabitants of another.

(8.) By article 20, they are to see to all affairs which may have any influence on the welfare of the United Provinces.

(9.) The interpretation, by unanimous vote, of all doubts or obscurities in the treaty of Union itself, is given to them by the 21st article, which, however, as well as the 18th, has been long disregarded.

(10.) Article 22 gives them power, by unanimous consent, to alter or extend the treaty of Union.

As necessary consequences of the Confederacy, the States General have—

(11.) The exercise of sovereignty over the territories of the Generality, in Brabant, Flanders, and elsewhere, as well as over those comprehended in the charters of the East and West India Companies.

(12.) The right of deciding in all points, which the

Chamber of Accounts of the Generality may find a difficulty in admitting, in the declarations of the Provinces, and the accounts of the Receiver General of the Boards of Admiralty.*

(13.) The establishment of all Boards of the Generality, of the Council of State, of the Chamber of Accounts of the Generality, the arrangement of their relations with each other, and the disposal of a number of important offices, political and military.

It was at one time conceived and advanced, that the States General had the right of arraigning the officers and inhabitants of the respective Provinces, or strangers, in the service of any one of them, found within the territories of a Province, and trying them for what were considered as *crimes against the Generality*; but the day is past when any such imaginary and unfounded pretensions to sovereignty, over the United Netherlands, could be assumed by the States General.

Moreover, all *placards* and ordinances concerning the above mentioned affairs, are published throughout the whole of the Provinces, in the name of the States General.

For the determination of cases, coming under some of the above heads, the unanimous vote of the States General is requisite ; a majority is sufficient in others.

Those which require unanimity, are—

By articles 5, 6, and 9 of the Union, the demand for subsidies throughout the Netherlands ; at present the assent

* *Note.*—The Boards of Admiralty were five, viz: Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Zealand, North Holland and Friesland; each of which had a portion of the fleet under its immediate care and direction.

of all the Provinces is necessary to the war allowance, and to the annual petitions of the Council of State. The increase and direction of the army, the building and equipment of vessels of war, fortifications, &c., require the same unanimity.

By article 9, declarations of war, and peace, and truces.

By articles 10 and 11, alliances with foreign powers;—by article 12, the currency;—by the 18th article, the laying of taxes in one Province to the detriment of another;—as I have said before, however, this article, and the 21st, respecting the interpretation of doubts and obscurities in the Union, are no longer observed. By the 20th article, the increase or reduction of the Union.

A majority is sufficient by the 9th article, in all cases, which are the natural results of the Union. However, it is a maxim, that when a thing has once been determined by the Confederates, no change should be made in it, but by unanimous consent. As for the army, when it has been raised for a limited time, for instance, for a campaign, or a war, it cannot be reduced nor disbanded, until the expiration of such term; but if raised for an unlimited time, a majority may dismiss it, in the name of the State, the army being considered as a consequence of the Union, and therefore, by article 9, subject to the voice of the majority.

We are now enabled to judge how far it is true, that the sovereignty of the Netherlands resides in the Assembly of the States General. If we consider the question only in respect to what we have seen properly belonging to the Assembly, by virtue of the Union, or as a natural result from it, or by express or tacit consent,

the States General are just as sovereign, as the States of any Province are over that Province. But if we look to its position with regard to each separate Province, we find that this Assembly has no more control, than it has over any other independent State of Europe. For every thing which has not been made common, or ceded to the Confederacy, is supposed to have remained with each Province.

The Assembly of the States General, consists of seven members or Provinces, to wit: Guelderland, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friesland, Overijssel and Groningen with its Omelandes. The district of Drent, and the cities belonging to the States in Brabant and elsewhere, have frequently applied, but in vain, to be allowed a voice in the States General.

Its title of honor is *their High Mightinesses*; that of the Assembly of the States of Holland, *their Noble and Great Mightinesses*; and of the States of the other Provinces, *their Noble Mightinesses*. I shall say nothing of their rank, precedence or arms, which may be found detailed in every almanac.

All that has been here set forth, applies only to the States of the Provinces themselves, supposed to be actually assembled in one place, and forming one body; but as such an assembly never has existed, or at least but very imperfectly, we must now see, how far the powers of the Assembly of Deputies of the States General extend; a subject probably more interesting to my honorable readers.

Before this Assembly was made permanent, it was convoked as occasion required, by the Council of State; and the Deputies of the Provinces came provided with

powers of attorney, from their respective States, their lords and masters, to act on the points which were to be submitted to them. This Council of State, in which English Councillors had a seat in 1586 and afterwards, as also the superintending committee of the Admiralty, were empowered to act upon ordinary or minor affairs which might present themselves, in the intervals between the meetings of the Assembly; but whenever a case of great importance to the Confederacy occurred, the Council was obliged to convoke the Provinces. This right of acting on small affairs, without any special authorization to that effect, from their principals, fell naturally to the Assembly of Deputies, as soon as it became permanent; but they were obliged to inform the latter, of all important occurrences, and await their orders with regard to them. In the course of time, many of these Deputies having been long continued in office, took upon themselves to decide on many affairs without consulting their principals, and even against their instructions; this was done chiefly to please the stadtholder, who rewarded them with lucrative offices, and employments. In order to remedy this abuse, Holland, in 1643, proposed to the other Provinces, to draw up uniform instructions for their Deputies to the General Assembly. In Guelderland, after some difficulties, the model proposed was agreed upon, and their Deputies were sworn to observe it. In Zealand, the cities were pleased with the plan, but the Chief Noble continued to prevent its adoption. The city of Utrecht was in favor of it, but the Chapter and Nobles of the Province opposed it. In Friesland, the districts were divided on the question. In Groningen and Overijssel, they could come to no agreement. At pre-

sent, Holland, Guelderland, Utrecht and Overijssel, are the only Provinces which give instructions to their Deputies. Utrecht gave its first instructions on the 9th of April, 1668—Holland on the 23d July, 1669—Overijssel on July 16, 1707; and Guelderland, October 7, 1750. I will translate them for the use of Congress, if necessary. In the three other Provinces, either no instructions were ever given, or they have fallen into disuse; the consequence of which is, that their Deputies are obliged to take every thing *ad referendum*, of however little consequence it may be. The Union of Utrecht is part of the instructions, either tacit or express of all. They are thereby forbidden from allowing any thing to be done contrary to the Union, for example, a declaration of peace or war, the imposition of taxes, or any other act requiring unanimity, upon a mere majority. They have, however, sometimes disregarded this, as may be seen by consulting *Temple, on the State of the United Provinces*, and *Wagander's Histories*.

The affairs on which the *ordinary Deputies of the States General* can act, by virtue of concession, made by common consent of the Provinces, to the Confederacy, and without instructions from their principals, are,

(1.) Patents for placing garrisons, the right of issuing which was granted on the 16th June, 1651, by the Great Assembly, to that of the Deputies, through an Instruction, to which they must take oath; and by the latter body, within a few years, to the Stadtholder of the United Provinces during their pleasure.

(2.) The direction of the land forces, in concert with the Council of State.

(3.) The direction of the navy, and naval officers, and

the protection of commerce, in concert with the Admiralties.

(4.) The execution of treaties and alliances, concluded with foreign powers; but not the expounding or interpreting of ambiguities in them.

(5.) The adjustment of all difficulties, which the Chamber of Accounts of the Generality, may find in the declarations of the Provinces, and in the accounts of the Receivers General of the boards of Admiralty.

(6.) All judicial affairs which come within the powers of the Generality: as also the appointment to all offices within its gift.

The number of the Deputies is not always the same. Each Province pays its own, and may send as many as it pleases; it can, however, have but one vote in the Assembly. They meet generally every day, except Saturdays and Sundays. The President receives letters from ministers of the Republic abroad, or from foreign ministers here, and petitions, &c., which are read to the Assembly by the Secretary. He then calls on the Provinces to prepare their votes. During deliberation, each may give his opinion; when the votes are all taken, the President declares the fate of the question, whether it be decided unanimously, or by a majority, according to the nature of the affair. If the majority, in a case which may be thus determined, is contrary to the wish of the presiding Province, or the President should have any other reason for not approving the decision, he can give up his place, for the occasion, to his predecessor, who may declare what has been settled, and cause it to be registered.

In fine, this Assembly represents the States General in all matters in which the sovereignty of that body could

be admitted, as fully as the delegates to a provincial assembly represent the sovereignty of their own Province, consequently it has a right to all the honors which pertain to a sovereign assembly, yet it has no power whatever, in the individual concerns of a Province; and derives its authority, dignity, power, and even existence, from the States of the respective Provinces; just as the members of those States derive their own from the cities and districts.

The officers of the States General, at the Hague, are numerous; the principal are,

(1.) *The Secretary (Greffier) of their High Mightinesses.* He is present at every meeting; he reads the prayer at the opening of the Assembly, sits covered at the end of the table, but takes off his hat when he is reading the letters, petitions, and other papers, which he does standing behind the President's chair; he registers all the resolutions passed; writes out the instructions for the ministers of the republic abroad, and the letters for foreign powers; seals and despatches the commissions for the generals and commanders, and the ordinances and placards of the States General; sends copies of all letters and resolutions to the agents of the Provinces, at the Hague, by the State messengers; these papers being printed by their High Mightinesses' printer, who, as well as his proof readers and workmen, is under oath; and is present at all conferences with foreign ministers, in which he has a right to join. He has under him one chief, and two inferior clerks, with a number of subalterns. The chief clerk receives his commission directly from their High Mightinesses, and acts as Secretary during the absence of that officer; the others are appointed by the Secretary,

and are entirely dependent on him. For more than a hundred years, this important office has been filled almost constantly by one of the Fagel family.

(2.) The agent and the master of ceremonies to their High Mightinesses, whose functions particularly relate to foreign ministers.

It is worthy of remark, that military men cannot be Deputies to the Assembly of their High Mightinesses, although they may be, and are, members of the Provincial Assembly, and, consequently, of the great assembly of the States General of the United Provinces. The apparent reason is, that as military men, they are subordinate to the Generality; and, consequently, cannot sit in an assembly which represents their lords and masters.

The Stadtholders themselves have always been excluded from the right of appearing in the Assembly, otherwise than by leave granted, in order to make some proposition, in their characters of Captains General. However, since the last alteration in the state of things, the Stadtholder has been in the habit of appearing when he pleases in the Assembly, by tacit permission, just as William the First was admitted in the infancy of the Republic; the President for the week, calls on him on the first day of his presidency, before the meeting of the Assembly, and on all other days directly after its adjournment, politely (*servilely* say the Patriots,) states the business on hand, and asks him if he has any proposition to offer before it is submitted to the voice of the Assembly; those who carry their flattery farther, substitute *consideration* or *wish* for proposition. All this condescension towards the Prince, is to be attributed to the influence which he possesses in the appointment of Deputies, par-

ticularly in Guelderland, Utrecht, Groningen and Overysse. I shall, on some future occasion, state how this influence has been obtained.

C. W. F. DUMAS.

P. S. Mr. Paulus, one of the most profound jurists of this country, has done me the honor to examine and make some little corrections in the above account;—on returning it, he says—“these are all the corrections I have thought necessary in your paper, and I can only add, that I cannot too much admire the accuracy with which you have unfolded my views, as given in my commentary on the Union of Utrecht, particularly on a point so little understood by foreigners.”



[This document is so interesting that it has been thought proper to publish the original with the translation, as the latter, however faithfully executed, cannot in all cases convey the exact value of expressions in the former.]

Pour avoir une idée juste de l'Assemblée de L. H. P. les Etats-Généraux des Provinces Unies des Pays-Bas, il faut savoir tout ce qui suit:

Les XVII Provinces des Pays-Bas n'ont jamais eu rien de commun ensemble, si ce n'est leur Prince, lorsque Charles le Hardy and Charles-Quint les acquirent, tant par mariage qu'autrement. Ceux-ci désirant de les accoutumer à se considérer comme formant un Corps ensemble, imaginèrent d'en convoquer les Etats respectifs, pour l'assembler en même temps et lieu, et écouter les propositions générales, intéressantes pour toutes, qu'ils avoient à leur faire; auxquelles ils ajoutaient celles qu'ils avoient à

faire particulièrement aux unes et aux autres. Philippe II, regardant ces Assemblées comme dangereuses, les convoqua plus rarement. Aussi ces Etats ne manquèrent-ils pas, lorsqu'ils eurent pris les armes contre lui, de s'assembler fréquemment d'eux-mêmes, pour consulter ensemble, et prendre des mesures contre l'ennemi commun. Delà entre autres, la célèbre Pacification de Gand, et quand elle fut dissipée par la défection des uns et par la conquête des autres, l'Union, plus célèbre encore, d'Utrecht de l'an 1579, qui devint en 1585 la base des transactions des Etats Généraux des VII Provinces-Unies, comme celle de Gand l'avoit été auparavant des XVII. Cependant ces Assemblées, que le besoin faisoit convoquer, ne furent pas d'abord permanentes; et elles ne commencèrent à l'être qu'en 1593, lorsque la multiplicité et la nature des affaires rendant le besoin journalier, ne leur permirent plus de se séparer.

Du reste, il faut bien distinguer entre les *Etats-Généraux*, et les *Députés des Etats-Généraux*. Si les Etats de chaque Province, qui en sont les seuls Souverains respectifs, s'assembloient provincialement dans un même lieu, alors on pourroit vraiment dire, que c'est l'Assemblée des Etats-Généraux; mais une telle Assemblée n'a jamais eu ni pu avoir lieu complètement; quelques Provinces y ayant comparu rarement, et la plupart jamais, par Etats, mais seulement envoyé des Députés, comme de nos jours. On s'exprime donc au figuré, quand on appelle ceux qui s'assemblent à La Haie *les Etats-Généraux*; car au fond ils n'en sont que les *Députés*. Cette distinction est essentielle; and si on la perdoit de vue, on comprendroit mal ce qui suit.

Les affaires dont L. H. P. les Etats-Généraux en original connoissent par l'organe de L. H. P. les Etats-Généraux représentants, leur appartiennent soit en vertu de l'Union d'Utrecht expresse, ou par la nature-même de la

Confédération, ou par quelque autre concession expresse ou tacite, en sorte, qu'aucune Province ne peut refuser, d'entrer en délibération sur ces affaires avec ses confédérés. Nous allons en faire l'énumération spécifique.

En vertu du texte de l'Union d'Utrecht, Art. II and III, ils délibèrent and concluent: 1°. sur la Défense et sûreté commune du Pays; l'augmentation ou diminution des forces de terre et de mer; la direction de la guerre, et par conséquent des Armées et des Flottes; l'établissement des Officiers-Généraux; les Patentes pour changer et placer les Garnisons; les Congés; les Revues; la Discipline Militaire, et le Droit de pardonner les Délits. (*) 2°. Selon les Art. V, VI and IX de l'Union, ils devoient projeter et dresser les Droits, Impôts et Taxes à introduire dans les Provinces; mais cela se trouvant impracticable dans quelques-unes, on a substitué les Pétitions à ces impositions; et c'est maintenant à leurs H. P. à consentir à ces *Pétitions*, faites par le Conseil d'Etat: ils disposent aussi de ces subsides, de manière cependant que le Conseil d'Etat en a la direction. Il existe pourtant encore un de ces Revenus communs: c'est le *Droit des Convois et Licences*. 3°. Le Droit de faire la Guerre, la Paix et des Trêves. 4°. Celui de faire avec les Puissances étrangères des Alliances, et tout autre Traité de la nature de l'Union-même, c'est-à-dire, qui offensif ou défensif, tend à la défense commune, et dont l'effet réel est, de comprendre de tels Alliés dans l'Union, en un mot, tout Traité qui concerne la Confédération; et par conséquent aussi l'exécution de ces Traités. 5°. Le Règlement du Cours de la Monnoie, dans lequel une Province ne peut rien changer sans le con-

(*) Ce Droit et celui des Patentes, ont été cedés par L. H. P. au Capitaine-général, jusqu'à nouvel ordre (*tot wederzeggens toe.*) Cependant l'Overysseel n'a jamais voulu se désaisir du Droit d'abolition, ou de pardon, chez elle.

cours des autres, Art. XII. 6°. L'accommodement des différens qui pourroient s'élever entre quelques Provinces, Art. XVI. 7°. La connoissance des Impôts, Droits de Convoi et autres, imposés dans une Province au préjudice des habitants des autres, Art. XVIII. (*) 8°. Toutes les affaires qui tendent en quelque maniere au bien ou au préjudice des Pays-Bas-Unis, Art. XX. 9°. L'interprétation unanime de quelque doute ou obscurité dans l'Union, qui occasionneroit quelque différent, Art. XXI, (**) 10°. Le consentement unanime au changement ou à l'augmentation de l'Union, Art. XXII.

Par la nature de la Confédération appartient aux Etats Généraux: 11°. L'Exercice de la Souveraineté sur les *Pays de la Généralité* en Brabant, Flandres, &c. et sur ceux compris dans les Octrois des Compagnies des Indes or. et occid. 12°. La décision des difficultés que trouveroit la Chambre des comptes de la Généralité dans les Déclarations des Provinces, et dans les comptes des Receveurs Généraux des Colleges de l'Amirauté. 13°. L'institution de tous les Colleges de la Généralité, du Conseil d'Etat, de la Chambre des Comptes de la Généralité, leurs rapports, et la disposition d'un grand nombre de Charges importantes, tant politiques que militaires.

Il fut un temps où l'on s'imaginoit et prétendoit, que les Etats-Généraux avoient le Droit de connoître comme tels des crimes contre la Généralité par des officiers et Habitans des Provinces respectives, ou par des personnes à son service et sous son serment, lorsqu'elles se trouvent sur le territoire de quelqu'une de ces Provinces: mais ce temps, où l'on parloit, du Principe, imaginaire et faux, d'une prétendue Souveraineté des Etats-Généraux sur les Pays-Bas-Unis, n'est plus.

(*) (**) Depuis long temps ces deux Articles ne s'observent plus.

Au surplus, tous les Placards et Ordonnances, concernant, les affaires ci-dessus détaillées, se publient dans toute l'étendue de ces Provinces au nom des Etats-Généraux.

Reste à déterminer le Pouvoir qu'a l'Assemblée des Etats-Généraux par rapport à ces affaires. Il faut l'unanimité pour la décision des unes: la pluralité suffit pour celle des autres.

Les affaires sujettes à *l'unanimité* étoient, selon l'Union, Art. V, VI, et IX, l'établissement des subsides dans tous les Pays-Bas-Unis, et sont aujourd'hui, le consentement des Provinces aux Etats de Guerre ou Pétitions annuelles du Conseil d'Etat;—et par conséquent aussi l'augmentation, la marche, &c. de l'Armée, l'équipement et la construction des vaisseaux de guerre, les fortifications, &c.—Art. IX, la Paix, la Guerre and les Trêves: Art. X et XI, les Alliances avec les Puissances étrangères:—Art. XII, le Cours des Especes:—Art. XVIII, l'Introduction d'Impôts dans une Province au préjudice de l'autre; quoique, comme je l'ai déjà observé les Provinces, depuis long temps, ne s'assujettissent plus à cet article, non plus qu'au XXI, où il s'agit de l'interprétation des obscurités ou ambiguïtés du Traité de l'Union:—Art. XX, l'Augmentation ou la réduction de l'Union.

Dans toutes les autres affaires, qui sont des dépendances ou suites naturelles de l'Union, la pluralité doit avoir lieu, selon l'Art. IX. Du reste, on observe la maxime, quand une fois les Confédérés ont arrêté une chose, de n'y rien changer que de leur consentement unanime. Quant à l'Armée, lors qu'on y a consenti pour un temps limité, par exemple, pour une Campagne, ou pour une Guerre, elle ne peut être réduite ou congédiée qu'à l'expiration de ce terme: mais si l'on y a consenti pour un temps illimité, la pluralité peut la rayer de l'Etat au nom de tous; parce que l'Armée est une *suite* ou *dépendance* de l'Union, et que, selon

l'Art. IX, toute *suite* ou *dépendance* de l'Union est sujette à la pluralité.

Après tout ce qu'on vient de voir, il est aisé de répondre à la question si et à quels egards, l'on peut dire que la Souveraineté de l'Etat réside dans l'Assemblée des Etats-Généraux. Pour cet effet, il faut l'envisager sous deux faces: 1°. En égard à tout ce que nous venons de voir lui appartenir, soit en vertu de l'Union expresse, soit par une suite naturelle de la Confédération, soit par concession tacite ou autre:—2°. Par rapport à chacune des Provinces.

Sous la première de ces faces, et quant aux susdits objets, l'Assemblée des Etats-Généraux est tout aussi Souveraine, que les Etats de quelqu'une des Provinces sont le Souverain de leur Province. Mais dans la seconde position, vis-à-vis de chaque Province, l'Assemblée des Etats Généraux n'en est pas plus la Souveraine, qu'elle ne l'est de quelque autre Etat indépendant de l'Europe que ce soit. Car tout ce qui n'a pas été mis en commun, ou déferé à la Confédération, doit être censé resté à chaque Province.

L'Assemblée des Etats-Généraux consiste en sept membres ou Provinces: Gueldre, Hollande, Zélande, Utrecht, Frise, Overysse et Groningue avec ses Ommelandes. Le Pays de Drent, et les Villes appartenantes aux Etats dans le Brabant, &c. ont plus d'une fois ambitionné d'avoir séance aux Etats-Généraux; mais en vain.

Le titre d'honneur de l'Assemblée des Etats-Généraux est *Leurs Hautes Puissances*; celui de l'Assemblée des Etats d'Hollande, *Nobles et Grandes Puissances*; et celui des Etats des autres Provinces, *Nobles Puissances*. Je ne parlerai ni de leur rang et préséances, ni de leurs armes, parce que je dois mettre devant les yeux des Etats-Unis des choses instructives, utiles, et peu connues ou approfondies, et non des trivialités, qu'on peut trouver jusque dans les Almanacs.

Ce que j'ai dit jusqu'ici du Pouvoir de l'Assemblée des Etats-Généraux, n'est applicable qu'aux Etats-mêmes des 7 Provinces, supposés réunis et assemblés réellement en un Corps. Mais comme une telle Assemblée n'a jamais existé, ou du moins n'a jamais eu lieu que très-imparfaitement et partiellement, il est temps de déterminer ce que je suppose intéresser le plus mes respectables Lecteurs, savoir, jusqu'où s'étend le Pouvoir de l'Assemblée des *Députés des Etats Généraux*.

Avant que cette Assemblée restât permanente, elle étoit convoquée, selon le besoin, par le Conseil d'Etat; et les Députés des Provinces s'y rendoient munis de Procures de la part des Etats respectifs, leurs Seigneurs et Maîtres, sur les points de Convocation. Ce Conseil d'Etat, dans lequel en 1586 et suiv. des Conseillers Anglois eurent séance, et puis aussi le College Surintendant de l'Amirauté pouvoient terminer de leur chef les affaires journalieres de peu d'importance, qui se présentoient dans les Intervalles: mais dès qu'il s'agissoit d'affaires de quelque importance pour la Confédération, le Conseil étoit obligé de convoquer les Provinces. Ce droit de disposer dans les affaires de peu de conséquence, revint donc naturellement à l'Assemblée des Députés des Etats-Généraux, dès qu'elle fut permanente, sans avoir besoin d'autorisation spéciale pour cela de leurs Principaux; mais ils étoient obligés de donner connaissance à ceux-ci des affaires importantes, et d'attendre là-dessus leurs ordres. Peu à peu plusieurs de ces Députés, après avoir été continués, les uns pour plusieurs années, d'autres pour la vie, s'émanciperent et prirent sur eux, pour plaire sur-tout aux Stadhouders, qui, de leur côté, les recommandoient et leur procuroient des emplois lucratifs et honorables, de décider de bien des choses sans consulter leurs commettants, et même contre l'intention de ceux-ci. Pour

remédier à cet abus, la Hollande proposa en 1643 aux autres Provinces, d'arrêter tous ensemble des Instructions *uniformes* pour leurs Députés ordinaires à l'Assemblée générale. En Gueldre, après quelques difficultés, le modèle proposé fut agréé, et le serment pris de leurs Députés pour l'observer. En Zélande, les Villes le goûtèrent; mais le Premier Noble, c'est-à-dire, &c. sut empêcher le Serment. La Ville d'Utrecht fut pour—le Chapitre et les Nobles contre le projet. En Frise, les Quartiers furent partagés sur cet agrément. En Groningue et en Over Yssel on ne s'accorda pas mieux. Aujourd'hui il n'y a que la Gueldre, la Hollande, Utrecht et Overysse, qui donnent des Instructions à leurs Députés. Celle de la Gueldre est en date du 7e. Octobre 1750; celle de la Hollande, du 23e. Juillet 1669; celle d'Utrecht, du 9e. Avril 1668; and celle d'Overysse, du 16e. Juillet 1707. Je pourrai les traduire pour le Congrès, s'il le desire. Des trois autres Provinces, les Instructions des unes sont tombées en désuétude, et les autres n'en ont jamais donné: Aussi leurs Députés doivent-ils prendre *ad referendum* tout ce qui est de la moindre conséquence. Soit par Ecrit, ou tacitement, ils ont tous l'Union d'Utrecht pour Instruction générale. Par-là il leur est interdit de souffrir, que l'on entame ou fasse rien contre l'Union: par exemple, que l'on fasse la paix ou la guerre, qu'on impose des contributions, ou que l'on conclue à la pluralité quelque chose pour laquelle il faut l'unanimité, par l'Article IX. Cependant ils se sont quelquefois écartés de cette Instruction: on en peut voir des exemples dans *Temple Rem. sur l'Etat des Prov. un. c. 2*, p. 117. *Wagenaer, Et. présent des Pays-Bas-Unis*, T. 1, p. 258. XI, p. 490, XII, p. 68. Vie de Guill. 11, L. V, p. 515. *Wagenaer, Hist. de la Patrie*, T. XIII, p. 16 and 121, XIV, p. 54, XV, p. 238, 243, &c.

Il me reste à parler des affaires pour lesquelles les *Députés ordinaires des Etats-Généraux* n'ont pas besoin d'Instructions de leurs Principaux, et dont leur Assemblée dispose en vertu de la cession que toutes les Provinces en ont faite d'un consentement commun à la Confédération, Savoir:

1 Le Droit des Patentes, ou de placer les Garnisons, déféré le 16 Juin 1651, par la grande Assemblée, à celle des Députés des Etats-Généraux, par une Instruction sur laquelle ils devoient prêter le serment; et dans ces derniers temps au Stadhouder héréditaire des Pays-Bas-Unis jusqu'à nouvel ordre (*tot wederzeggens toe.*)

2°. La direction de la Guerre par terre, de concert avec le Conseil d'Etat.

3°. Celle de la Guerre, et de la protection du Commerce, par mer, de concert avec les Amirautés.

4°. L'exécution des Traités et Alliances ratifiées avec les Puissances étrangères; mais non l'Explication ou Interprétation des ambiguïtés qui peuvent s'y trouver.

5°. L'ajustement des difficultés trouvées par la Chambre des Comptes de la Généralité dans les Déclarations des Provinces, et dans les comptes des Receveurs-Généraux des Colleges de l'Amirauté.

6°. Toutes les affaires juridiques du ressort de la Généralité; come aussi la distribution des emplois de ce ressort.

Le nombre de ces Députés n'est pas toujours le même; chaque Province pouvant en envoyer autant qu'elle veut, puisqu'elle seule les paie: mais ils n'ont ensemble qu'une voix dans l'Assemblée pour leur Province.

Ces Députés s'assemblent tous les jours de l'année, excepté ordinairement les Samedis et les Dimanches. Le Président recoit les Lettres des Ministres de la République dans l'étranger, les Mémoires des Ministres étrangers ici, les Requêtes, &c. qu'il fait lire à l'Assemblée par le

Greffier, ensuite il demande aux Provinces de se préparer à donner leurs voix. Pendant la délibération chacun peut dire son sentiment. Lorsque les Provinces ont voté, le Président conclut à la pluralité, ou à l'unanimité, selon la nature de l'affaire mise en délibération. Dans le cas où la pluralité l'emporte sur le sentiment de la Province présidente, ou si, pour d'autres raisons, le Président fait difficulté de conclure, il peut laisser sa place à son Prédécesseur, qui prononce la conclusion, et qui la fait enrégistrer.

Du reste, cette Assemblée représente, en tout ce que j'ai dit appartenir aux Etats-Généraux, la Souveraineté de cette Confédération, de la même manière que les Délégués à une Assemblée Provinciale représentent la Souveraineté de leur Province: et par conséquent elle a droit d'exiger tous les honneurs qui appartiennent à une Assemblée Souveraine. Il faut donc aussi l'envisager sous deux faces: l'une, par rapport à tout le Pouvoir mis en commun par les Confédérés, et exercé par cette Assemblée au nom et de la part des Etats Généraux: l'autre, vis-à-vis des Etats des Provinces respectives.

Sous la première de ces faces, elle représente, comme j'ai dit, l'Assemblée des Etats-Généraux, ou la Souveraineté de toute la Confédération, de la même manière que l'Assemblée des Députés d'une Province représente la Souveraineté d'une Province. Mais sous l'autre face, je veux dire, vis-à-vis les Etats des Provinces respectives, elle n'est pas plus souveraine, qu'un Ambassadeur de cette République n'est souverain vis-à-vis d'elle. C'est de ces Etats des Provinces respectives que cette Assemblée emprunte toute son autorité, sa dignité, sa puissance, son existence, de la même manière que les Députés aux Assemblées des dits Etats Provinciaux reçoivent leur autorité, dignité, pouvoir et existence, des Villes et du plat-pays.

L'Assemblée des Députés des Etats-Généraux a un grand nombre d'Officiers à La Haie. Les principaux sont :

1°. Le Greffier de L. H. P. Il y assiste tous les jours; lit la prière à l'Ouverture de l'Assemblée; est assis et couvert au bout de la table; se découvre, et va lire debout, derrière le fauteuil du Président, des Lettres, Requêtes et autres Papiers; enrégistre toutes les Résolutions de l'Etat; écrit les Instructions pour les Ministres de la République chez les Puissances étrangères, et les Lettres à ces Puissances; scelle et expédie les Commissions des Généraux et Commandants, les Ordonnances et Placards des Etats-Généraux; fait remettre aux Agents des Provinces à La Haie, par des Messagers d'Etats, les Résolutions et Lettres imprimées chez l'Imprimeur de L. H. P. qui, ainsi que son Correcteur et ses Ouvriers, est assermenté. Le Greffier assiste aussi aux Conférences avec les Ministres étrangers, où il a sa voix. Il a sous lui un premier et deux sous-Commis, avec un grand nombre de Clercs. Le premier Commis, qui reçoit sa Commission et Instruction immédiatement de L. H. P., remplit les fonctions de Greffier à l'Assemblée dans l'absence de celui-ci. Les deux autres, qui ne sont proprement que Clercs d'expédition, sont à la nomination du Greffier, et dépendent entièrement de lui. Depuis plus de cent ans cet important emploi est rempli, presque sans interruption, par la famille Fagel.

2 et 3. L'Agent, et le Maître de cérémonies de L. H. P. dont les fonctions ont rapport principalement aux Ministres étrangers.

Il est remarquable, que les Militaires ne peuvent point être députés à l'Assemblée de L. H. P., quoiqu'ils puissent l'être, et qu'ils le soient effectivement à celles des Provinces, et que par conséquent ils soient membres de la Grande Assemblée des Etats-Généraux des sept Provinces

Unies. La raison apparente de cela est, que comme Militaires ils sont subordonnés à la Généralité et que par conséquent ils ne peuvent pas bien siéger dans une Assemblée, qui représente leurs Seigneurs et Maîtres, et de la quelle ils sont à cet égard les serviteurs immédiats. Les Stadhouders-mêmes ont toujours été exclus de la prérogative de paroître dans cette Assemblée autrement, qu'en demandant audience, pour faire quelque proposition comme Capitaines-Généraux. Mais depuis la dernière altération des choses, le Stadhouder est dans l'habitude, par permission tacite seulement, et nullement expresse, (à l'exemple, mal appliqué, de Guillaume 1, dans l'Enfance de la République) de paroître, quand il lui plaît, dans l'Assemblée; et le Président de semaine dans celle, d'aller voir *poliment* (les Patriotes disent *basement*) le Prince immédiatement avant l'Assemblée du Lundi premier jour de sa Présidence, comme aussi, ce même jour et tous les suivans au sortir de l'Assemblée, et lorsque ce dernier s'y trouve, de lui demander, avant de conclure quelque chose, s'il a encore quelque *Proposition* (ceux qui veulent outrer la flatterie, disent *consideration*) à faire. La raison de tant de condescendance doit être attribuée à l'influence que le Prince a encore, sur tout en Gueldre, Utrecht, Overysse et Groningue, dans la nomination de ces Députés. Je rendrai compte, dans quelque Mémoire suivant, du fondement de cette influence.

Fait à la Haie, 1er Décembre, 1783.

C. W. F. DUMAS.

M. P. Paulus, Jurisconsulte profond dans le Droit public de ce pays, à l'examen de qui j'avois soumis cet Ecrit, en me le renvoyant avec trois améliorations, me marque ce qui suit. "Voilà, Monsieur, toutes les corrections que j'ai à faire dans votre Mémoire; et je ne puis ajouter à

ceci que cette reflexion, que je ne saurois assez admirer la justesse avec laquelle est saisi mon Commentaire sur l'Union d'Utrecht, surtout dans un point, que presque tout Etranger approfondit mal, et ne sauroit comprendre."



TRANSLATION.

No. 37.

P. S.—*January 15th, 1784.*

Two days ago, the States General made a resolution in conformity with those adopted by Holland and a majority of the other Provinces, to decline the proposition made by Great Britain for the conclusion of the Definitive Treaty, at some other place than Paris, and they immediately notified their Plenipotentiaries of that resolution.

Yesterday morning I obtained the annexed paper marked D, which, together with the news of the departure of the Duke of Dorset for Paris, as British ambassador, authorizes me to think, that this business, which was the only thing wanting for the general pacification, would soon be terminated.

16th January.

This morning the Commissioners for the examination into the cause of the bad condition of the frontiers, reported to their High Mightinesses, that having summoned General Dumoulin to give them all the information required by the resolution of their constituents, this officer, ready to obey them, if necessary, at the peril of his life, showed them a resolution of the Council of State, (a body totally devoted to the Stadtholder, who pretends to be its chief,) that silenced him as well as General Martfeld.

Accordingly the 18 towns of Holland passed immediately the unanimous resolution, to take the two Generals under the protection of the States of Holland and Westfriesland; and the Equestrian order had recourse to its accustomed *fulmen brutum* (always *impotent* in either sense of the latin word*) to protest without giving any reason for it.

The silence of these two Generals is therefore broken, and the States General will avail themselves of this fact, next week, when they are to assemble.

The 27th of this month is the day fixed for the committee to begin their labors in examining the causes of the failure of the expedition destined for Brest.

This will be the last postscript to my despatch No. 37, which I am about closing, and I will transmit duplicates and triplicates of it by the way of Amsterdam.

I am with great respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.

D.

Extract of a despatch from Lord Carmarthen, the new Secretary of State, to Mr. Storer, Britannic Chargé d'Affaires, communicated by the latter on the 5th of Jan. to the Plenipotentiaries of the Republic at Paris, and transmitted by them to their High Mightinesses by letter of the 7th January, 1784.

“In the situation of affairs between the two countries, it becomes highly necessary that the States General should be sensible of the King’s desire to take every step consistent with his own dignity, to convince the Republic of

* *Impotentia*. This word was strangely enough used by the Romans, to signify the *abuse*, as well as the *want* of power.

his very cordial wishes to do every thing, on his part, to remove the appearance of coldness, which the delay in the exchange of Ministers must have in the eyes of all Europe; I am therefore directed by his Majesty, to desire you will without loss of time represent to the Dutch Plenipotentiaries, for the information of the States General, that, whatever may be the resolution of their High Mightinesses, with regard to the choice of the place for the conclusion of the definitive treaty, the King is willing and desirous to send a Minister to the Hague of equal rank to the one that may be accredited to his Majesty; and the desire which the King has to do every thing, which may shew his inclination to return to that perfect good understanding and cordial friendship, which had for so many years happily subsisted for the mutual benefit of both countries, making him very solicitous, that there should be as little delay as possible in the nomination of ministers on both sides."



Translation.

FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO THE DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Hague, February 1, 1784.

Gentlemen,

On the 28th January last, the corps of noblemen presented to the assembly of the States of Holland, a declaration stating that although it had complained of the Pensioner De Gyzelaar, to the regency of Dordrecht, it had not yet received any satisfaction; that in consequence of the present critical times, the matter would be carried no further; demanding however that this affair be attended

to hereafter. Some towns having observed upon the irregularity of such a declaration, as it could not be made matter of debate, its insertion in the journal, was declined by a large majority. But in consequence of that rejection, the Grand Pensioner refusing to determine the question, the deputies of Dort, Harlem and Amsterdam, left the assembly; others followed them, and the rest of the members dared proceed no further, in inserting the pretended declaration in the journal. The next day the corps of noblemen made a *proposition*, similar word for word, to the declaration; but as every member has the right to make propositions to be examined by the other members, this one was received without any difficulty, and referred to a committee according to custom, even with the request on the part of Dort, that said committee should, without delay, examine it, and report its proceedings as soon as possible.

In *Brielle*, nine of the twenty counsellors of the City, had made known, by a spirited letter to His Highness, the Stadtholder of Holland, that his recommendations being contrary to the privileges of the Burghers, and consequently to their oath, they neither could nor would submit to them any longer. However, the majority, in this council, insisting upon the contrary, and the death of one of its members having occasioned, in the meantime, a vacancy, a number of Burghers presented an address to the council, asking the abolition of recommendations. The council received the address and referred it to a committee, passing, at the same time, a resolution to ask His Highness to recommend to them the person he would select to fill the vacancy of counsellor. In consequence of this, the nine members of the minority have required,

by a spirited address to the States of Holland, dated January 29, 1784, that their High Mightinesses should annul, as being incompatible with the privileges of the city, the resolution taken by the council of Brielle in 1748, 1750, and 1766, introducing recommendations, and granting to His Highness the arrangement of the regency and committees, and that they should defer filling up the vacant place of counsellor. The same day that this address was presented to their High Mightinesses, this request was granted by the unanimous vote of the 18 towns, (the corps of noblemen only being of a contrary opinion,) and they transmitted the said address to the majority of the council of Brielle, in order that they might report accordingly.

The city of *Groningen*, with the Province of the same name, suffers from a regulation introduced in 1749, more grievous and more oppressive than that introduced in 1674, under which Guelderland, Utrecht and Overyessel labor. The spirit of liberty has advanced there also, in spite of the efforts made to suppress it. The *Taalmannen** and the *Jurés*, who vote in the Provincial Diet and at the annual creation of the Council, or Government, have, in the election which they have made of some members of their college, chosen *three* persons of decided patriotism, without any regard to the recommendation of the Stadtholder in favor of three others who were devoted to him. In the same Province of Groningen, His Highness having on the strength of said regulation of 1749, of his own accord, issued an ordinance respecting the

*NOTE.—The Communes are represented by 24 persons called *Jurés* who elect from among themselves 6 *Taalmannen*.

visit and inspection of Roads, Bridges, &c., the District of the Omelandes, knowing that the tendency of this ordinance was detrimental to the people of the country, made a report to the Provincial assembly to which the city of Groningen agreed. It was then resolved unanimously by the members of the Province, to cause this ordinance of the Stadtholder to be examined by a State committee, and to order the court of justice to suspend its execution. That the States of Groningen should thus maintain their sovereignty against the Stadtholder is a fact which has no parallel since 1749.

The city of *Harlingen* in Friseland, which had refused last year to concur with eight others of the 11 cities, for the abolition of recommendations, agreed at last to do it, so that, according to appearances its *Premier** will not even go to the Diet.

There was held sometime ago, at Rotterdam, a great council of the militia, of which Burgomaster Vanderstein was President, to which lieutenants and ensigns were admitted, having in view the arming of the Burghers. A great majority voted against the opinion of the President, who strongly opposed their being armed. Finally, the President persisting in refusing to determine the question, the proceedings of the council were nevertheless inserted in the journals. In the meantime the officers of the militia, or at least the majority of them, continue to insist upon the arming of the troops, and 80 volunteers of one of the companies have since mounted

**Premier*, in Friseland means the actual Burgomaster of every city, since the Stadtholder has by an abuse of power, and for the purpose of binding them to him, appointed them for life.

guard with arms and bayonets, without noticing the request of the Bench of *Echevins* that they should not do it.

On the 14th January, the council of Utrecht resolved to grant the petition of 725 respectable citizens, requesting the Council in future to fill all vacancies which should occur during the annual changes of the regency; accordingly, on the 20th March, they elected Mr. Pl. Englst. Voet Van Winsen, Lord of Sevenhoven, to fill the vacant place of counsellor, without consulting the Stadtholder.

On the 26th January, the *Jurés* of the *Commune* of Zwol in Overijssel, assembled according to the old Constitution, elected Mr. Jn. Dk. Vanderwick, Burgomaster for this year, and made the election known to the Stadtholder, who must confirm it.

You see, gentlemen, that this nation is taking the proper steps, to rid itself of the tyrannical abuses which have hitherto weakened it.

P. S. Feb. 4.—The Bench of *Echevins* has permitted the arming of the citizens.

I am with great respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.



Translation.

FROM C. W. F. DUMAS, TO THE DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Hague, February 24, 1784.

Gentlemen,

My last letter was dated from the 1st to the 4th instant. I continue to give my accounts of the legal and

proper manner in which the people of this country proceed in order to recover their liberty and just rights.

On the 17th February the States of Friesland had unanimously passed a law for reducing the military jurisdiction to the same footing on which it is in Zealand, for the restoration of the Court of Justice in all its prerogatives, and for the revocation of the resolutions taken in 1748, under the preceding Stadtholder.

On the 18th, the States of Holland resolved, according to the proposition of Dort, to appoint a committee for examining whether the nomination of officers belongs, of right, to the States General, or to the Admiral; determining at the same time, that *pendente lite* the vacant offices should not be filled. This point is very important, as hitherto these officers were appointed by a simple brevet from the Admiral, without even taking the oath of allegiance to the States of Holland, although, not only the express commission of His Highness did not give him the right to make such appointments, but a formal resolution was even necessary to authorize him to make those nominations, in the army, which were left at his disposal.

During the deliberations of Their Noble and Great Mightinesses upon the pardon asked by Ensign De Witte, (imprisoned nearly two years ago for high treason) the Committee took that opportunity to represent to them the absolute necessity of inquiring of the Court of Justice of Holland, in what manner pardons are now granted. This is also a point of great consequence: as by a warrant of March 8th, 1766, (when the Prince became of age) His Highness received the power to grant pardons, only on two conditions. The first, that these pardons

should be confirmed by the Court of Holland, that is, that the said Court should acknowledge the propriety of the pardon granted ; the other, that His Highness should not pardon crimes committed with a deliberate evil intention [*dolo malo*]. It is evident that neither of these conditions have been observed. This point was left *ad referendum*.

The Council of Brabant, which is constantly in session at the Hague, for the affairs of the Countries of the Generality, addressed, on the 20th February, a most energetic letter to their High Mightinesses, as representatives of the sovereignty of the confederacy of the said countries, to complain of the excess of military jurisdiction there.

March 1, 1784.

The States of Friesland, following the example of Utrecht, on the 24th of February, proposed to the Assembly of their High Mightinesses, to form a temporary alliance with France, in order to protect the possessions and the navigation of both parties, so that France should furnish vessels and troops, and the Republic should furnish vessels and money, provided however, that the supplies should not be employed out of Europe, without mutual consent.

Some cities of Holland have proposed to the Assembly of their Noble and Great Mightinesses, to grant to the Roman Catholic Churches, the same privileges granted to those of other denominations.

The Council of State of the States General, complained in a letter, dated February 16th, of the proceedings of the States of Holland, in requiring from Generals Dumoulin and Martfeld, information which ought

to have been demanded from itself. Afterwards, however the Council thought best to retract, and revoked the letter; authorising the two Generals to give every satisfaction on the subject in question, to their Noble and Great Mightinesses; which is a signal triumph for Holland. The Stadtholder has wisely taken the credit of this affair to himself, in giving his advice in favor of it, while the President and two other members of the Council, being of a contrary opinion, (apparently concerted privately between themselves) have protested against it. This Council is composed of twelve members, viz: 3 Hollanders, 2 Zealanders, 2 from Friesland, 2 from Groningen, and one from each of the other States.

Mr. Gevaerts, from Dort, and Mr. Lestevenon, from Harlaem, both of them good patriots, have been appointed by Holland, to go to Brussels as commissioners.

In Rotterdam, the people having asked, according to custom, for permission to have public rejoicings on the 8th of March, the birth day of the Stadtholder; the magistrate has wisely refused it.

March 12th, 1784.

Friesland has just put the Seal to its resolution of February 17th, touching military jurisdiction, by a very spirited letter to the Stadtholder; and we expect to hear that Zealand confirmed, on last Monday, its resolution of 22nd September on the same subject, and that, besides, it has concluded to make it known, by circular letters, to the other provinces, in order that the regiments of their contingents, which should in future be garrisoned in Zealand, should comply with it.

In their letter to Holland, they will, moreover, demand satisfaction on account of the conduct of the regiment of Pabst.

I am, with respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.



Translation.

FROM C. W. F. DUMAS, TO THE DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN
AFFAIRS.

The Hague, April 10th, 1784.

Gentlemen,

You will see by the annexed paper, marked A, what took place in Zeeland last month. The prisoners claimed by Ziriczee have been since given up.

* In the province of *Friesland* the civil power has been re-established, in all its rights over the military, as to every thing which did not properly appertain to the latter.

The Committee appointed for the examination of the failure of the expedition for Brest, began its session this month. That for examining into the state of the frontiers and magazines, continues its sittings with Generals Dumoulin and Martfeld.

The circumstances which attract the attention of all parties, I may even say of other countries, are :—

1st. The nature of the future connexion of this Republic with France. The provinces of *Friesland*, *Utrecht* and *Groningen*, have declared themselves in favor of such an alliance, and that of *Holland*, on which it principally depends, will do the same in a short time; after this it will be easy to bring the other three provinces into the same measure.

2. As to the answer which the Republic will give to the

annexed letter B.*—Every well informed patriot knows that it has been concerted and arranged here, and that it was signed at the Court of B——n merely for the purpose of discovering whether the Republic would allow that Court to be the arbiter in its internal affairs, and would ask its protection against other nations. But the patriots are not disposed to do either; and appear to entertain but little uneasiness on that score; nor indeed about,

3. The pretensions of the Court of Vienna, which they already know are not so exorbitant as the disaffected, who are said to have excited them, desire to have believed, in order to disunite and bring the nation into trouble. It is known already that the Emperor wishes to take the treaty of Munster, as a basis for his negotiations with the Republic, and their High Mightinesses have consequently taken the resolution to make up the differences amicably; so the storm which threatened from that quarter has disappeared, and commissioners appointed to negotiate on that subject, are soon to set out for Brussels

A powerful insurrection, which was excited in Rotterdam, apparently in order to strengthen the impressions which the letter B was intended to create, has terminated without any effect, in consequence of the courage and good behavior of the Burghers, who have taken arms.

(A)

March 20th, 1784.

On the 11th of March, 1784, the States of Zealand came to a final determination on the subject of military jurisdiction, as to the taking of the oath, by the officers garrisoned in their towns, according to their resolution of Sep-

* Not found, but presumed to be that from the King of Prussia to the States General, which is so frequently referred to in succeeding letters of Mr. Dumas'.—*Ed.*

tember 22nd, 1783. This memorable resolution declares in substance,

1st. That the form of oath determined by the said resolution, to be taken by the officers, shall be rigorously observed, and that it is, in no way, in opposition to the oath of fidelity to the confederacy taken by the same officers.

2nd. That the officers, who shall refuse to take the oath in the province, or in its towns, shall leave the territory, if they are draughted from another Province, or shall be cashiered if they are subjects of Zealand, and replaced by others chosen by the Prince, or in case of his refusing to do so, by the Executive Council of Zealand; in the place of the troops sent off, a similar number belonging to Zealand and garrisoned in other provinces, are to repair to Zealand, and in case of disobedience, to be discharged from the service of the Province.

This resolution was made known, by circulars, to the other Provinces, as also to the Prince of Orange, in order that he might conform to it, in his capacity of Captain General.

It was moreover resolved :

1. That the garrisons of Flushing and Veere should take the new oath, within the space of four weeks from the date of the resolution; and that the order given by the Prince to the garrison of Flushing, to repair to Bommel, should be annulled.

2. To make known to the States of Holland the conduct of the companies of Colonel Pabst, in Zuriczee and Goes.

3. To order the military Fiscal to make the necessary inquiries in regard to the mutiny and the singular escape of the military prisoners claimed by the province.

4. To summon the commanding officer at Ziriczee, to surrender the prisoners claimed, to the Burgomasters and Sheriffs, within a week.

Finally, for the purpose of leaving no evasive pretext to the officers of Zealand, their High Mightinesses promise to take all who will obey these orders of the Sovereign, under their special protection, and to guaranty them against all injuries which their obedience might cause them to suffer.



Translation.

FROM C. W. F. DUMAS, TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

The Hague, April 15th, 1784.

Sir,

Having learned from a respectable source, that since the office of Foreign Affairs was vacant, the despatches went directly to your Excellency, I think it my duty to address mine accordingly. I hope that my preceding despatches, addressed to the Department of Foreign Affairs, have been read by your Excellency, and by Congress, with the attention which their contents deserved; especially the ample memorial on their High Mightinesses, in* which I gave a true account of that assembly, which seems to be but little known in foreign countries, and a minute knowledge of which is undoubtedly more important to the United States than that of any other country. I have mentioned in this memorial the annual petitions of the Council of State for appropriations to defray the expenses of the confederacy, sent regularly to each of the Provincial States for its consent, which is given for one year only; each Province levying its established quota, and paying it in the general treasury, which is alone authorized to receive it, and in no way to meddle with the

* Vide page 3.

collection of the subsidy. It is a matter of surprise here, that the United States do not adopt so simple a method, which keeps off and remedies the great inconveniences which were discovered in this country at an early period, when it found itself in the same situation in which the United States are at present.

I take this opportunity of recommending myself to the protection of Congress, and of requesting its attention to my situation, which it becomes more and more difficult for me to support consistently with the honour of the United States, as well as my own.

I am, with great respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.



HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT, IN CONGRESS OF THE
UNITED STATES.

At the Hague, July 22, 1784.

Most honored Sir,

I am now removed from the house of the United States, to another here, without liberty of drawing more than the old insufficient allowance of 225 louis d'ors per annum, on his Excellency B. Franklin, at Paris; loaded, however, on this account with at least £50 sterling a year more than before: my fortune nearly spent, and a former livelihood of more than £300 sterling a year lost in the unsought, but cheerfully accepted, and successful service of Congress. Thus ill provided, with an imperfect character, unprotected, and out of countenance, I am left fretting myself; while the pity of our friends, and the malice of our foes, is hanging above my neck by a thin thread. In

this situation, which I am concealing as much as I can from every body here, virtue, which will never forsake me, is my only comfort in writing these despatches for the use of Congress.

I have delivered, at the desire, and into the hands of his Excellency John Adams, the Deed and Documents of property of the house of the United States, as well as the ratification of the Treaty of Amity and Commerce, between the United States and the United Netherlands, by their High Mightinesses; both against a proper receipt for my discharge.

With very great respect, I am, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.

P. S.—23d July. This morning an express is arrived from the Dutch Plenipotentiaries at Paris, with a general plan agreed on by the Court of France of a defensive alliance between France and this Republic. By the same I have received a very obliging letter from one of the best Ambassadors, husbands, fathers, friends and men living, I know of: the D. de la Vauguyon, who has a great share in this business.



Translation.

Materials for my Despatch, No 41, to Congress, May, 1784.

On the 5th, the States of Holland resolved to make known to the King of France, the pretensions of the Emperor, and to ask the protection and the mediation of His most Christian Majesty; also to send all officers commanding fortified places, to their respective garrisons, with or-

ders to repel force by force. This resolution was adopted and passed the same day by their High Mightinesses.

On the 7th May, it was decreed by the States of Holland, that a Private Committee should be appointed to make inquiries of the Prince of Orange, touching a certain *act of consultation*, which is said to have been extorted from him at the time of his coming of age, in 1766, by the Duke of Brunswick.*

On the 21st, upon the motion of Dort to encourage the troops of their contingent, who are marching to Flanders and elsewhere, for the purpose of protecting the frontiers, their High Mightinesses have granted to those troops, 6 sous more a week, during the space of six months.

On 22nd, their High Mightinesses resolved upon the *motion of Dort*, to enjoin upon all the commanders of the cities of Holland, which have no votes in the States, not to attend to the decree of the Council of State of the Confederates, of 17th March last; by which decree this Executive Council gave to the military jurisdiction, more extent than is allowed by the laws of Holland. At the same time, the Dutch Deputies to the said Council of State, have been ordered to appear before a Committee of their High Mightinesses, for the purpose of giving an account of these proceedings of the Council of State.

Zealand has resolved to join Holland in its alliance with France.

* The Prince of Orange has since acknowledged, and given a copy of this act to Holland, and to the States General; the Deputies of which have communicated it to their constituents.

June, 1784.

Their High Mightinesses have caused a report to be made to them, for improving the direction of the East India Company. It is a master piece which does honor to Messrs. De Gyselaer, Van Berckel, and Van Ugn, respective pensioners of Dort, Amsterdam and Gouda.

Schiedam has acceded to the provisional arrangement proposed by Dort, that whilst their High Mightinesses are deliberating on the resolution of the Council Committee or Executive of Holland, of 1766, which gave the disposal of all offices within their gift to His Highness, no offices should be bestowed by virtue of said resolution. This accession gives a majority of ten against nine.

By a Proclamation of their High Mightinesses, all kinds of meetings, seditions, speeches and *factions*, that is to say, Orange cockades, are forbidden.

The Council Committee, or Executive of Holland, has rigorously enjoined the Provincial Court of Justice and the magistracy of the Hague, to give a specific notice of the proceedings and Orange masquerades of the famous fish-woman of Rotterdam named *Kaat Mossel*, at the Hague; also to watch seditious meetings and cockades. The information received from the magistracy, is very satisfactory, and will throw much light on the subject.

The baker, *Trago*, another firebrand at Leyden, has been arrested there, by order of the magistrates, and carried to the criminal prison, under the escort of the under Bailiff, 8 archers and 12 horsemen. Six other ring-leaders have also been arrested, and their trial which is going on causes much excitement.

Colonel Macalester, who had refused to take the new oath required in Zealand, will be dismissed by the States of Holland, his masters, with orders humbly to ask pardon and permission to take the oath required by the sovereign.

Besides the resolution touching the Duke of Brunswick, Friesland has communicated another to the Generality, to the effect that His Highness, as Captain General, should account for the *bad condition of the Army*.

July, 1784.

The States of Friesland having required that Colonel Bentink, commanding a squadron of the Holland Contingent, under General Pons, garrisoned in that Province, should take the newly required oath, by which their garrisons, among others, are not allowed to march from one place to another, except by orders from Friesland; that officer had asked and obtained a delay, for the purpose of giving information of it to his superiors, and had, consequently, written to the States of Holland, under whose pay he is, and also to the Council of State, or Executive of the Corporation. The report of the Great Committee of Holland, on that subject, which was adopted by 11 members, and taken *ad referendum* by 8, viz: the nobles and 7 towns, is, that Bentink should obey. The Prince, therefore, thinking himself sure of four of the seven votes of the Generality, appeared unexpectedly before their High Mightinesses, and proposed that the Council of State should declare, that the new oath was unconstitutional, and ought not, therefore, to be taken by the Colonel. When it came to the turn of Pestors (the only deputy from Utrecht present) to vote, he was about to de-

clare in favor of the proposition, when his colleague Perponcher, who had been immediately sent for, appeared, and soon showed him that his *nay* was worth as much as the *yea* of the other, and Pestors was so frightened that he dared not give his vote but left it *ad referendum*. The deputy from Groningen followed his example. Guelderland and Overijssel were the whole of the minority, which was ineffectual as regarded the proposition. After an altercation of 10 minutes, the head of a certain person appeared, puffed up like a balloon, went through the place where the clerks of the Council of State were setting with their pens ready, and an explosion of inflammable air taught them that the experiment had failed—and they were dismissed.

The 8th of July, Colonel Macalester, by the unanimous resolution of all the towns, received orders from the States of Holland, his masters, to succumb to the States of Zealand, and ask permission to take the oath which he had before refused.

The mob in Rotterdam continues to insult the Burgher Guard, but without any success. These attempts, however, show that nothing is to be expected from the cowardly jealousy of the aristocrats, who might put a stop to them there as well as in other places, for instance at Leyden, where a firebrand, named *Brender A. Brandis*, Captain of a company of Burghers, has been cashiered by the authority of the magistracy. This is the farewell address which he made, according to usage, to his company. "Gentlemen, I thank you, because I have been thanked myself."

Friday, July 9th, the members from Dort, Harlaem and Amsterdam, went as a deputation to propose to the Prince

that he should co-operate with them in requesting the Duke of Brunswick to take leave, and to quit the country willingly, otherwise he would be compelled to do so by force. The Prince, although he had anticipated this, was much moved and troubled; he required the message in writing, also, that they should allow him to think of it till the next day, when he would give them his answer, in writing. If this answer is, as usual, equivocal, the Prince will gain nothing (according to all appearances,) but a little time.

15th July.—Every thing is broken off. The Prince has declared that he would not consent to the dismissal of the Duke, against whom, he says, he knew of no cause of complaints, but on the contrary, that he had always well served him and his family (as if he and his family were the country, the Republic, and every thing). He offered them, however, his services in re-establishing the former harmony. The deputies have promised to accept the offer, as soon as they shall have removed the stumbling block, that is to say the Duke; wishing him to remember, that they have warned him of the unpleasant situation in which he will necessarily find himself, by the forced resignation of the Duke, whose fate will be decided by a resolution next week. The Prince took upon himself to say, that this removal could only be decided by the unanimous consent of the Provinces, and could only be executed by the Council of State. In answer, they gave him to understand that it was a question with which he had nothing to do, and which would be decided between the Provinces and the Council of State, without him. In the mean time they have advised him, in case he wished for information, to read a memorial on the subject, written by the Grand Pensionary, De

Witt, in the year 1657, in which he will learn that a Field Marshal can be dismissed by a single Province. The conference has terminated as it began, without any breach of politeness on either side. Every thing that this Prince does or says, comes daily from Boisleduc, the residence of the Duke, (of whom the Prince is the automaton) in the same manner that, as it was said, the Holy Spirit was brought from Rome to the Council of Trent, in a valise.

The Committee on the affair of Brest, goes on with vigor. Byland pretended that he was not bound to answer all their questions. The Committee has complained of it to their High Mightinesses, who have decided, by a resolution, that he should answer all the questions put by the Committee.

Rotterdam made, on the 12th or 13th, a proposition similar to that of the above mentioned cities. 70 or 80 of the citizens standing highest on the Exchange, have presented an address to their High Mightinesses, to ask their protection. It is thought that a solemn deputation will be sent to them.

July 22nd.—Next Thursday a Committee of the States of Holland will sit on the affair of the Duke of Brunswick.

July 25th.—Nothing could be done last week, touching the Duke of Brunswick, as the Regents of Amsterdam being absent, have not given instruction in time. I made the deputies, who remain here, laugh, by applying to them the expressive verses of Ennius:

Olli respondit rex Albæ longæ.

These people have not indeed the agility of the hare, but like the tortoise, by slow steps, they succeed in attaining their end.

It is said that Mr. Thulemeier has received orders from the King, his master, not to beset their High Mightinesses any longer with his memorials, for obtaining an answer to the letter of the King. On the other side, it has been hinted, through the minister of the Republic, at Berlin, that his Prussian Majesty thought it strange that the Republic did not condescend to give him an answer. Whilst Leyden, better advised than Rotterdam, is preparing means to chastise the rogues, and has obliged its Great Officer to employ the brave Jean Luzac, as its consulting Attorney, the Regency of Rotterdam has made a Jesuitical and virulent report against its best citizens. They are not willing that Commissioners should be sent to them, as being against their privileges; but they want troops which they might use, not against the mob, but against those who are in favor of order. This is understood here, but no one will be deceived by it. This subject was discussed on Thursday, in the Assembly of their High Mightinesses, and will be continued next Wednesday.

They are now occupied in adjusting the difficulties between the nobles and the towns in Overijssel.

Mr. De Linden will not go to London before the fall; he is now afflicted with the gout.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS, TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

The Hague, July 28th, 1784.

Sir,

The importance of what passes here, obliges me to resume my pen for the purpose of transmitting to Congress

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C. W. F. DUMAS.

the annexed *projet* of a Treaty of Defensive Alliance
(A) between France and this Republic.

The Plenipotentiaries, on receiving this *projet*, or as Mr. De Vergennes calls it, this plan of his, required of him an explanation of the 2nd article, which he gave, as your Excellency will find in the enclosed B. These papers, taken *ad referendum*, are at present the subject of the deliberation of the towns of Holland.

July 29th, 1784.

This morning the famous *Act of Consultation* was the subject of the deliberations of their Noble and Great Mightinesses, and already, 7 towns, Dort, Harlaem, Leyden, Amsterdam, Gouda, Alcmarr and Purmerend, have moved according to the unanimous resolutions of their Sovereign Councils, “not only to discharge and dismiss the Duke of Brunswick on account of his *reprehensible conduct* in his military capacity, in neglecting the frontier places, the magazines, arsenals, &c. of the Republic, and in having brought the army into a bad and confused situation; but also to expel him from the territory of the Republic, as having been for many years past, a *dangerous, pernicious and fatal cause of trouble to the State*:—consequently, to suppress his salaries, under the Province of Holland, from the 1st of January next; and to cause the Executive Council of the Province to give orders to all commanders of places, officers and troops, in the Province of Holland, not to consider him longer as a Field Marshal, &c. nor to obey his orders.” The other members of the States of Holland left the motion *ad referendum*; no doubt it will be carried by a majority, and Zealand, Friesland, Utrecht and Groningen, will agree to the resolution of

Holland; after which, the other Provinces must comply, if not in form, at least in effect, as far as regards its principal object—the dismissal and removal of the Duke.

I have been assured, that in a few days the States of Holland will resolve, that Colonel Bentinck shall submit to the States of Friesland, and take the newly required oath.

As to the Alliance with France, it having been already asked, and unanimously proposed by their High Mightinesses, it is clear that the unanimous voice of the Assembly is not necessary, but simply a majority, as well of the Provinces as of the members of each of them.

A new memorial, presented unexpectedly by Mr. De Thulemeier, and a note from the Prussian Ministry, transmitted from Berlin, instead of intimidating the people, only serve to irritate them against the intriguing party which has brought them forward. I am assured that the Republic will soon answer them with proper dignity. It can do so now, as it has less cause to fear in the actual fermentation of Europe, for itself and its possessions, than the King of Prussia has for his own; and he will be glad to profit by the Alliance between France and this Republic.

July 30th.—This morning Amsterdam and Alcmár, in consequence of their instructions, have proposed and recommended, in the Assembly of the States of Holland, the adoption *in toto* of the plan of Mr. De Vergennes. The other cities not having yet received their instructions on the subject, the Grand Pensioner has entreated them to urge the matter, as being of the greatest importance.

I am, with the greatest respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.

A,

Projet of a Treaty of Defensive Alliance between France and the United Provinces, sent by the Count de Vergennes to the Plenipotentiaries of the Republic, at Versailles, on the 15th of July, 1784, and by the latter to their High Mightinesses, who received it on the 21st.*

ARTICLE 1. There shall be amity, and a sincere and constant union, between His Most Christian Majesty and his heirs and successors on the one part, and the United Provinces of the Netherlands, on the other. The High Contracting Parties will consequently use their utmost care to preserve friendship and good understanding between themselves, their States, and their respective subjects, allowing no act of hostility to be committed on either side, for any cause, or under any pretext whatever; avoiding every thing which may tend to weaken the union thus so happily established; and on the contrary, using every effort, on all occasions, to advance the dignity and interests of each other.

ART. 2. His Most Christian Majesty, and their High Mightinesses the States General, engage to contribute, as far as possible, to their mutual safety; to preserve and maintain tranquillity, peace and neutrality for both, as well as the possession of all their States, domains, privileges and rights; and to secure each other against every hostile aggression, in whatever part of the world it may be attempted.

*This *Projet* was *really* drawn up by the Patriots here.

ART. 3. In consequence of the engagement contracted by the preceding article, the two High Contracting Parties will act always in concert, for the maintenance of peace; and in case either should be threatened with an attack, the other shall employ its good offices in the first instance, towards preventing hostilities, and placing affairs in a train for reconciliation.

ART. 4. But if the aforesaid good offices should not have the desired effect, then the High Contracting Parties, mutually engage to assist each other by land and by sea. For which purpose, His Most Christian Majesty will furnish the Republic with — infantry, — cavalry, — ships of the line, and — frigates. And should His Most Christian Majesty be engaged in a war which may render a marine force necessary for him, their High Mightinesses shall supply — ships of the line, and — frigates; in case of an attack on the territory of France, the States General will furnish an equivalent in money, for their contingent of troops, at a rate which shall be fixed by a separate Article or Convention, unless they should prefer sending men. Said contingent is to consist of — infantry, and — cavalry, or their equivalent in money.

ART. 5. The party furnishing vessels, or troops, is to pay and support the same, wherever its ally may require them to act; and the party requiring said vessels or troops, is to provide them with all that they may stand in need of, while in its ports or territory, at the same price as if they belonged to said party. It is agreed, and clearly to be understood, that the troops, or vessels, thus furnished, are in no case to be at the charge of the party requiring them, and that they are to remain at its disposal as long as the war in which they may be engaged, lasts.

ART. 6. His Most Christian Majesty and the States General bind themselves to keep all the troops and vessels which they may reciprocally furnish, completely armed and equipped; the party which on requisition furnishes aid to the other, according to the terms of Article 4th, shall keep a number of vessels ready in its ports, to replace immediately any which may be destroyed by accident at sea, or in the course of war.

ART. 7. In case the assistance here above stipulated, should prove insufficient for the defence of the party receiving it, and a further supply should be necessary in order to obtain peace on proper conditions, the other party shall increase its force, according to the wants of its ally, and shall even, if circumstances require, send its whole power in aid; but it is expressly stipulated, that under no circumstances shall the contingent, in land forces of the States General, exceed — infantry and — cavalry or their equivalent; and the reservation made in the 4th Article, in favor of the States General, with regard to land forces, shall take effect.

ART. 8. In case a war should be carried on by sea, in which neither of the High Contracting Parties is engaged, they guaranty to each other the liberty of the seas, conformably to the principle, *that the flag of a friend covers the goods of an enemy*, except where the contrary is stipulated, in articles 19 and 20 of the Treaty of Commerce concluded between France and the United Provinces, at Utrecht, on the 11th of April 1713, which two articles are to have the same force as if they were inserted in the present Treaty.*

*Of the Articles here referred to, the 19th declares all arms and military equipments to be *contraband of war*, and as such, liable to

ART. 9. Should one of the High Contracting Parties be involved in a war, (which God forbid!) wherein the other should be in a situation to engage directly, they shall arrange together the plan of operations to be pursued, in order to injure the common enemy, and oblige him to make peace; and they shall not disarm, or make, or receive propositions for peace, or truces, except with the consent of both.

ART. 10. The High Contracting Parties bind themselves to keep their forces always in good condition, and each shall have the right of requiring any information from the other on this subject. They likewise confide to each other the state of defence in all their military establishments, in every part of the world, and shall take measures, in common, for maintaining and strengthening them.

ART. 11. Each of the High Contracting Parties shall faithfully lay before the other, the engagements actually subsisting between itself and other European Powers, which are to remain entire as at present; and they mutually agree, to contract no alliance or engagement, in future, of any sort whatever, which may be either directly or indirectly at variance with the present Treaty.

ART. 12. The object of the present Treaty being not only the safety and tranquillity of the High Contracting

confiscation, if found on their way to an enemy's port, even in a friend's vessel; the 20th stipulates, that grain, flour, oil, salt, all other provisions, and indeed every thing not specified in the 19th, are to be free, and may be safely transported in a friend's vessel to an enemy's port, or place, unless it should, at the time, be besieged or blockaded.

Parties, but also the maintenance of general peace, His Most Christian Majesty, and their High Mightinesses, reserve to themselves the liberty of inviting such Powers as they may think proper, to participate in, and accede to the terms of this present Treaty.

ART. 13. In order to give additional strength to the union and friendly correspondence hereby established, it is agreed, that until a Treaty of Commerce can be concluded between the parties, the subjects of the Republic shall be treated in France, in all that relates to commerce and navigation, as those of the most favored nations; and the subjects of France shall enjoy the same advantages in the United Provinces.

B.

On receiving the *projet*, or, as Count De Vergennes calls it, the plan of the Treaty of Alliance, the Plenipotentiaries required of him an explanation of the 2nd Article, respecting the existing difficulties between the Republic and the Emperor, to which he answered:

“That from the opinion universally entertained respecting the sentiments of justice which animate His Majesty the Emperor, and the conciliatory disposition of their High Mightinesses, he was persuaded that matters would not be carried to extremities; that the principal object of his most Christian Majesty in establishing a Defensive Alliance with the United Provinces, was to secure, as far as in his power, the tranquillity of the Republic by land and by sea. That with this view, His Majesty will guaranty all their possessions, rights and privileges; but that it was a rule, a universal and constant

usage, that guarantees of this kind should not affect any disputed points, as such proceedings would give offence to the opposite party; that besides, the King having promised his good offices to the Emperor as well as to the States General, even before the Republic proposed to form an alliance with him, His Majesty could not now make promises which would be contrary to those he had already made. That however, he could at the same time declare on the part of His Majesty, that he would zealously employ, his influence with the Emperor, in favor of their High Mightinesses, and do all in his power, to bring matters to a friendly arrangement."



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS, TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

The Hague, August 4th, 1784.

I am informed by letters dated July 26th, that while waiting for the ratification of the Convention signed and concluded on the 23d, the Ministers at Berlin are conferring together on the manner of inviting those of the *German Provinces* whose views are known to be favorable, to enter into the league; and that as soon as their answers shall have been received, the Convention will be communicated to the other Powers, especially to this Republic.

Meantime, negotiations are secretly going on here between a certain lady and one or two ministers. As the league seems to be pacific in character and intentions, and calculated to serve as a basis for a lasting peace, not

only in the Empire, but throughout all Europe, it is possible that the Republic may take part in it, as far as may be compatible with the peace which it is anxious to conclude with the Emperor, and the Defensive Alliance with France, which will be the immediate consequence thereof.

We learn by the latest letters from St. Petersburg, that a review has been made of the Russian Squadron, consisting of 15 ships of the line, two of which carry 100 guns and 1,200 men each; others 64 and 74, besides frigates, &c. completely equipped and provisioned for 6 months, but that the Russian Admiral who is to command, does not yet know its destination. At the French Minister's, where I stated this, it is believed that the object is only to take a cruise, as in former years, and that one of the three divisions at farthest, will be ordered to the Mediterranean.

I am, Sir, with the greatest respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS, TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

The Hague, August 9th, 1784.

My last letter gave accounts down to the 30th of July. On the 5th of August, ten cities, viz. Dort, Harlaem, Leyden, Amsterdam, Gouda, Schoonhoven, Gorcum, Almar, Monnikendam and Purmerende, (forming, consequently, a majority, as the whole number is 19,) fixed the 18th instant, as the day for finally determining on the dismissal and removal of the Duke of Brunswick.

In the course of the same day, and the next, fourteen cities, viz. Dort Harlaem, Leyden, Delft, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Gouda, Gorcum, Schoonhoven, Alcmár, Hoorn, Edam, Monnikendam and Purmerende, gave their votes for the *projét* of a Defensive Alliance with France; it will probably, within the week, receive the approval of the whole, or nearly the whole, although that is of little consequence after the unanimous demand made for such an alliance.

To-morrow, Tuesday, is the day fixed for determining as to sending a commission to Rotterdam, in the name of the States of Holland, which the Regency would not wish to see at the head of the troops which they are anxiously expecting.

On the 6th, the Committee called the *Grande Besoigne* of the States of Holland determined, by a large majority, to reply, in behalf of that Province, to the letter, memoirs, notes, &c. of the King of Prussia, in the style of the wise preamble made by the Committee of the States of Zealand, as published in the 62d No. of the Leyden Gazette.

I am, with the greatest respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS, TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

The Hague, August 10th, 1784.

Sir,

The great blow was struck this morning. The *projét* of Alliance with France was adopted by the States of

Holland unanimously, and without reserve, just as it was received from Versailles. Even the Equestrian Order (that is to say, the Prince, for the members of that body are mere automata, whom he moves at his pleasure,) dared not refuse its vote, although the 4th and 7th articles, which take away all hope of increasing the army, and the 10th, which places the direction entirely under the control of France, are fatal blows to their secret views. That party will probably endeavor secretly to excite some difficulties on the part of one or other of the Provinces, but the only advantage they could gain by that, would be to cause the resolution of the States General to be delayed a few weeks perhaps. By this important resolution, the nation at once takes ample revenge on the English, and secures itself against the other enemies of its rights, liberty and independence at home, as well as abroad.

This morning, also, their Noble and Great Mightinesses resolved to send five Commissioners to Rotterdam, to act in concert with the four Burgomasters of that City in restoring tranquillity and harmony, and affording redress for injuries complained of. The Commissioners are Messrs. Berkhout a Counsellor of Delft, Van Halteran, Counsellor of Leyden, Vischer Counsellor and Pensionary of Amsterdam, Jurg of the High Council of Holland and Zeeland, and Mollerus also of the latter body; they are all zealous patriots. Troops will be sent to serve as a guard for the Commissioners and Burgomasters; their number will be fixed by the City, the Executive Council of Holland, and the Prince; and they will take an oath, the form of which has been drawn up by their High Mightinesses.

The Grand Committee of the Affairs of Holland has not been engaged in preparing the reply to the King of Prussia, but in considering whether the reply should come from the Province, or from their High Mightinesses. Of the eleven members of the Committee, 7 Cities have voted that it should come from Holland; the Equestrian Body and two Cities, that their High Mightinesses should reply. Amsterdam had not come to any determination; its Deputies being for the answer from the Province, whilst the Chamber of Burgomasters were of the other opinion. Thus, as a piece of politeness, and to give the said Chamber further time to instruct their Deputies, the business has been adjourned. Meantime the answer will be preparing, and I hear from good authority, that it will contain some rather strong expressions.

I am, Sir, with great respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.

P. S.—Next Wednesday, the 18th, still remains fixed as the day for the dismissal of the Duke of Brunswick on the part of Holland, that is to say, finally; for Holland is like Rome of old, the *tribus prærogativa*.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS, TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

The Hague, August 18th, 1784.

Sir,

After their masterstroke of concluding the Alliance with France, on M. de Vergennes' plan, their High Mightinesses have just taken another resolution, scarcely

less important, by which the famous Act of Consultation has been declared illegal, and consequently annulled, and Field Marshal the Duke of Brunswick, is dismissed from the service. As to the business of the King of Prussia's letter, the Stadtholder's party has just proposed to the Province of Holland a *projét* of an answer, being ignorant that said Province had determined to descend to no details, and fearing on the other hand lest some answer should be resolved on which would unfold the artifices employed to deceive the monarch. They have, moreover, been urged by a letter from the King, (the contents of which have been communicated to me,) to obtain a reply as suitable and as speedy as possible. This *projét* will doubtless please the Republicans, as it contains acknowledgments most precious for the perfect independence of the Seven Provinces, and most humiliating for the Assembly of the States General, which has been constantly shuffling on that point.

I have the honor to be, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS, TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

The Hague, August 22, 1784.

Sir,

I send you a copy of the *projét* referred to in my last. It will convince Congress of the justness of my views as expressed in the memorials which I had the honor of transmitting last year, on the subject of the Stadtholderate and of the States General, which contain many important facts not generally known in Europe. The King

of Prussia will be pleased with this answer, which is in fact the result of a letter written under his orders, and by one of his courtiers, to a person here.

August 25, 1784.

The five Commissioners of the States General are to set off for Rotterdam on Saturday next, where they are to have a battalion and two squadrons as guards.

I have just been informed that the *projét* has been approved by the Assembly of Holland.

I am, with the greatest respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.



Projét of an answer to the King of Prussia's letter proposed in the Assembly of the States General, on the 20th of August, 1784, and taken, ad referendum, by the several members of the States of Holland, to whom it had been communicated.*

Having heard the Report, &c. and deliberated thereon, their High Mightinesses have resolved, that a reply should be sent to the King of Prussia's letter, expressing:

That their High Mightinesses had desired to answer the kind and friendly letter of His Majesty as soon as it was received, but that upon examination, they found the greater portion of its contents to be on subjects which did not come within their powers, but concerned the States of the Provinces only, to which it had in consequence been referred, in order that each should determine what-

*The letter from the King of Prussia here referred to, may be found in the 27th vol. of the Annual Register, page 319.—*Ed.*

ever it might consider most proper and compatible with its own Constitution.

That as the greater part of the letter was thus upon subjects not within the competency of the States General, but concerning the Provinces in their individual capacities only, it was impossible to avoid the delay which has taken place.

That their High Mightinesses had not yet received from the Provinces the instructions necessary for a general reply; but that, considering the urgency of the case, they had determined to make an answer as definite as circumstances would warrant.

That His Majesty having in said letter been pleased to declare, that he was not well acquainted with the Constitution of this Republic, they should first take the liberty of explaining its nature and powers, at least so far as concerns the objects of said communication; in order that His Majesty may be undeceived as to the idea which seems to have been instilled into him, that their High Mightinesses, in their General Assembly, were competent of themselves to debate and decide on such matters.

They, therefore, observe to His Majesty, that this Assembly, being composed of Deputies from the several Provinces, who come furnished with instructions which they are bound to obey, neither does, nor can deliberate or decide upon any affairs other than those which have been specially confided to it by the unanimous consent of the Confederates.

That all subjects which relate specially to the internal situation of the country, or to the direction of the respective Provinces, are entirely excluded from this As-

sembly: said Provinces being, on such points, perfectly independent, and in no wise accountable to the States General.

That from this statement, His Majesty may, and will conclude, that their High Mightinesses cannot act upon any matters forming the subject of his said letter, except on such as may fall within their powers, according to what is stated above.

That their High Mightinesses are most grateful to His Majesty, for the interest which he takes in the prosperity and welfare of this Republic, and in the preservation of its liberties and independence, for which His Majesty has been pleased to declare his most friendly attachment; and that, placing the utmost value on this friendship, they intreat His Majesty to continue in the same disposition, and recommend the Republic still more strongly to his benevolent attention.

That their High Mightinesses having specified above, the subjects which fall within their powers, cannot pass over in silence a clause of His Majesty's letter, in which he declares, *that he cannot approve a design which seems to be entertained, of abolishing the Stadtholderate, or of so restricting its powers as to leave it nothing more than an empty dignity.* On this they must beg leave to observe to His Majesty, that the Stadtholder is not recognized as possessing any powers in the Union, other than those which have been expressly delegated to him by authority and resolution of the several Provinces, and even then, only as concerns those territories which are subject to the General Government, as not being included within either of the Provinces; each of which has

of its own free will, and without entering into any obligations towards, or communicating with the other, disposed of its own Stadtholderate, and rendered it hereditary in the family of the Prince of Orange. That in all cases of difference, each Province has the right of deciding for itself, separately, and without regard for the others. Their High Mightinesses assure His Majesty that there is not the slightest foundation for the report which appears to have been so industriously propagated, of an intended diminution of those legitimate rights, with which the hereditary Stadtholder has been invested by their High Mightinesses; they are themselves confident that the Provinces have no such intention, which may indeed be concluded from the manner in which several have already expressed themselves on this subject.

As to the internal situation of the Republic, their High Mightinesses acknowledge, with great regret, that it has received a severe shock, and has been for some time suffering in consequence of the discontent and mistrust pervading the minds of a large portion of its citizens: the fatal, though natural results of which, have been, a number of calumnious writings and insinuations, directed even against their High Mightinesses themselves, and most of the members composing the Supreme Authority; that although the regulations of the country provide amply against such licentious proceedings, yet their High Mightinesses, in concert with the States of the Provinces, did not fail, on the first representation of his Serene Highness, to issue orders and decrees, as far as consistent with the Constitution, in order to arrest the diffusion of these libels (par-

ticularly two most notorious ones) committing the execution of these orders and decrees to the regularly appointed officers of justice. And that if these measures have proved not so effectual as could have been wished, in preserving the Supreme Authority in general, and his Serene Highness, or other individual members of the Government in particular, from being openly traduced or attacked; yet that should not be attributed to any want of energy or good intention on their part in seeking out the authors, and applying the laws with regard to them, but entirely to the difficulties arising from the nature of the case, and of the proceedings, which, by the Constitution, are to be observed in regard to it.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS, TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

The Hague, August 28, 1784.

Translation.

Another important event has just occurred. M. Leslevenon, one of the Plenipotentiaries of the Republic at Brussels has arrived, bringing with him a memorial from the Emperor's Minister, Count Belgioioso, of which I send you a copy, (B) together with the reply of the Plenipotentiaries, (C) and their letter to Mr. Secretary Fagel (A). Their High Mightinesses held an extraordinary meeting on the same evening at six o'clock, in which they referred the papers to a Committee charged with devising measures against the pretensions of the Emperor to the opening of the Scheldt; and then despatched a courier to

the Court of France with the said memorial, and instructions to their Minister to intreat the good offices of the King, as they are firmly determined to yield nothing which was insured to them by the peace of Westphalia.

I send you also an extract from their Register on the subject (D).

I am, Sir, with great respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.

A

FROM THE DUTCH PLENIPOTENTIARIES, TO MR. FAGEL
SECRETARY OF THE STATES GENERAL.

Brussels, August 24, 1784.

Sir,

Yesterday at the request of Count de Belgioioso, we had another conference; on returning home, we read over, with great attention, the memorial which His Excellency had given us, after which we unanimously agreed, that taking into consideration the importance of the affair, said memorial should be carried by one of us, in order that you, Sir, might be informed of the state of things here, as well as of the conversation which took place between that Minister and ourselves. Mr. Lestevenon has been pleased to accept this commission, and we refer you to him for farther information.

(Signed,)

H. HOP,
P. VAN LEYDEN,
P. E. VAN DE PERRE.

B.

FROM THE AUSTRIAN PLENIPOTENTIARY, TO THE PLENIPOTENTIARIES OF THE STATES GENERAL.

Brussels, August 23, 1784.

Ever since the affairs which now form the subject of the conference at Brussels have been in question, the Emperor, while expressing his sentiments and inclinations in favor of the Republic of the Netherlands, has constantly been anxious to find some means of terminating all difficulties, and of establishing peace with the United Provinces on a firm and lasting basis.

In this spirit of reconciliation and confidence, the memorial of May 4th was drawn up, displaying, in a summary manner, the demands and pretensions of His Majesty with regard to the Republic, and it would be superfluous to remind the Plenipotentiaries of their High Mightinesses, of the favorable sentiments by which the Emperor has been guided in all his negotiations with the Republic, as they, in their Memorial of July 27, have acknowledged themselves satisfied upon that point.

As their High Mightinesses have in their answer thought proper to contest the most essential points of the demands and pretensions of the Emperor, it was considered expedient and due to the honor and dignity of His Majesty, that they should be justified: this was done in the reply made to the Plenipotentiaries on the 18th instant.

Now that this preliminary explanation has been made, the Plenipotentiary of the Emperor can no longer delay in communicating to their High Mightinesses, the plan

which moderation and generosity have suggested to His Majesty, for restoring completely that order of things on which reconciliation and confidence must depend. His Majesty, in arranging this plan, has preferred the good of his subjects, and even the advantage of the Republic, to his own rights and interests; but he does not regard sacrifices when occasions present themselves of displaying his disinterestedness, his good feelings towards the Republic, and his desire to be on good terms with it.

This plan is, that their High Mightinesses should acknowledge the Scheldt to be open, and the navigation of that river to be entirely and absolutely free; that the subjects of the Emperor are at liberty to navigate and trade directly between the ports of the Netherlands and the East and West Indies; and that His Majesty may regulate his own custom-houses as he pleases.

Provided, that all these things be acknowledged; that the limits in Flanders remain as settled by the Convention of 1664; that arrangements be made for preventing all trouble and difficulty as to the carrying off the waters in that country; that their High Mightinesses evacuate Forts Lillo and Liefkenshoeck, and demolish Forts Cruyschens and Frederic Henry; His Majesty is willing to waive all his other pretensions as to territory, set forth in the summary aforesaid; especially his claims on the City of Maestricht, the County of Vroenhoven, and the Dutch possessions beyond the Meuse, as well as all pecuniary demands on the Republic.

As to the claims of municipalities on private individuals subjects of his Majesty, and the little differences

which may exist regarding limits in Brabant, the Dutch possessions beyond the Meuse, and Guelderland, all these matters shall be discussed and settled in conferences, conformably to equity, and with due respect to the interests of both parties.

Such are the conditions on which the Emperor is willing to conclude a general arrangement with the Republic. They form his *ultimatum*, and, considering the intentions of their High Mightinesses in this affair, there can be no doubt that they will readily accede to these conditions, receiving them as proofs of His Majesty's benevolence and affection towards the Republic.

In the meantime His Majesty has considered it proper to regard the Scheldt as entirely and absolutely open and free; and has consequently resolved to restore the navigation on that river; Count de Belgioioso is therefore expressly ordered by the Emperor to declare to the Plenipotentiaries of their High Mightinesses, that if any insult should be offered to his flag by the Republic, His Majesty would consider it as a declaration of war, and a formal act of hostility.

The Plenipotentiaries are requested to lay this present memorial before their masters, their High Mightinesses.

(Signed,)

LOUIS COUNT DE BARBIANO DE BELGIOIOSO.

C

REPLY OF THE DUTCH PLENIPOTENTIARIES.

Brussels, August 23, 1784.

The Plenipotentiaries of their High Mightinesses accept the note from Count de Belgioioso, His Imperial

Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary, and will lose no time in transmitting it to their masters. While waiting for further orders, they, however, venture to declare, that the Republic of the United Provinces continues to regard the Treaty concluded at Munster, in 1648, as equally binding on both parties in all its points.

As to the declaration made in the said note respecting the opening of the Scheldt, the Plenipotentiaries of their High Mightinesses, considering that the form of Government of the Republic renders a precipitate decision on the subject impossible; and as they foresee that said declaration may be attended with consequences prejudicial to the amity and good understanding between the two States, which is so essential to the interests of both, they hereby declare, in the name of the United Provinces, and in order to clear themselves, that the said Republic ought not to be considered as in any way aggressing, or giving cause for events which may occur ere it has had time to prevent them.

The Plenipotentiaries of their High Mightinesses, however, place too much reliance on the favorable disposition of the Plenipotentiary of His Imperial Majesty, not to indulge a hope that His Excellency will take proper measures to prevent all occasions for the occurrence of such events, until their High Mightinesses shall have had the time necessary, and required by their Constitution, for taking such a determination on the subject as their wisdom and conciliatory dispositions may suggest.

(Signed,)

BARON HOP,

P. VAN LEYDEN,

W. A. LESTEVENON,

P. E. VAN DE PERRE.

Extract from the Register of Resolutions of their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces.

Tuesday, August 25, 1784.

Received a communication addressed by Messrs. Hop, Van Leyden, and Van de Perre, Plenipotentiaries of the States General near the Government of the Austrian Netherlands, to Mr. Fagel Secretary of their High Mightinesses, dated Brussels August 24th, and brought by Mr. Lestevenon, one of the Plenipotentiaries; being a memorial from Count de Belgioioso, containing the *ultimatum* of the Emperor, and the conditions on which he is willing to make a final arrangement with the Republic, accompanied by a copy of the reply to the same from the Plenipotentiaries aforesaid; both of which documents have been copied into the Register by order of their High Mightinesses.

Whereupon, after deliberation, it was proposed and determined, that copies of the said papers be submitted to Messieurs de Randwyck and other Deputies of their High Mightinesses, for the affairs of Flanders, in order that they may, jointly with some Commissioners of the Council of State to be named hereafter, examine such parts as concern the District of the Generality, and after receiving the considerations and advice of His Highness thereon, may report to this Assembly. That copies of the same documents be given to M. Randwyck and the other Deputies for Naval Affairs in order that they may examine those points which relate to the opening of the Scheldt, the free navigation and commerce with the

East and West Indies, and the regulation of the Imperial Custom houses; and after taking thereon the opinions and considerations of the Commissioners of the respective Boards of Admiralty now here, they may report on the same to this Assembly. Moreover, that copies of said papers be sent to Messrs. Lestevenon, de Berkenrode, and Brantsen, Ambassadors Ordinary and Extraordinary of their High Mightinesses, near the Court of France, and that they be directed to communicate Count de Belgioioso's memorial to the Minister of France; to make known to him the surprise with which their High Mightinesses received the demand for the opening of the Scheldt, and for the free navigation and commerce between the Austrian Netherlands and the East and West Indies; and to intreat the Court of France, most earnestly, to interfere at once, according to its promises, for the purpose of arranging the difficulties with His Imperial Majesty, respecting affairs of such importance for the Republic, as these in which nothing can be conceded without breaking and annulling the principal articles of the Treaty solemnly concluded at Munster, in 1648, on which the preservation of this Republic, and of its commerce, depends. The Ambassadors to inform their High Mightinesses of the result of said communication as soon as possible.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS, TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

The Hague, August 30, 1784.

Their High Mightinesses have this morning resolved on an answer to the King of Prussia, conformably to the *projet* given in my last.

They also determined to declare, in reply to the Imperial Memorial, that the Scheldt will not be opened, nor any thing be allowed to pass. The Stadtholder's party, which is anxious for war, has prevailed upon the Admiralty to propose, that the guarantee of the Peace of Westphalia should be instantly claimed; but the other party, with more discretion, has obtained that this proposition should be referred to a Committee, and that in the mean time they should rely entirely on the good offices of France, with the reserve of claiming its intervention, and that of the other guarantees, in case the Emperor should proceed to any open act. Directions have been given, however, for putting the frontiers in a state of defence, and the troops are ordered to hold themselves in marching order.

The five Commissioners arrived at Rotterdam, and were received with due honors.

The resolutions of Guelderland and Friesland, are all that are wanting to render the adoption of the Treaty of Alliance with France unanimous.

I have the honor to be, Sir, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS, TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

The Hague, September 3, 1784.

Sir,

The annexed resolution is calculated to afford so just an idea of affairs here, that I shall endeavor to forward it

to your Excellency, by the same packet which will carry my last despatch. If (which God forbid) war should be inevitable, it will not begin till next spring, but in that case it will perhaps extend throughout Europe.

I am, with respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.

*Extract from the Register of Resolutions of the States
General of the United Netherlands.*

Monday, August 30, 1784.

Having heard the report of Messrs. de Linden, de Hemmen, and other deputies of their High Mightinesses, for Naval Affairs, who have, in compliance with the resolution of their High Mightinesses, of the 25th inst., examined the memorial of Count Belgioioso, presented to the Ministers Plenipotentiaries of their High Mightinesses, near the government of the Austrian Netherlands, so far as relates to the opening of the Scheldt, and the navigation and free commerce to the East and West Indies.

Having also received the considerations and advice of the Committee from the respective colleges of Admiralty now here on those subjects; and having deliberated hereupon, it has been found proper and resolved, that a letter shall be written to the Ministers Plenipotentiary, near the Government of the Austrian Netherlands, directing them to communicate to Count de Belgioioso, in answer to his memorial of the 23d instant, in the most cautious and circumspect terms, to the following effect:

That their High Mightinesses are grateful for the repeated assurances of the sincere affection of His Majesty,

as well as of Count Belgioioso, for the Republic; and also of His Majesty's disposition to sacrifice even his rights and his interests for the welfare of the inhabitants of these countries, and for the preservation of a good understanding with their High Mightinesses.

That their High Mightinesses, relying on the sincerity of those assurances, could not have suspected that it should be His Majesty's real intention, to require from the Republic the surrender of rights and possessions which undoubtedly belong to it, on which its security and independence are founded, and which it consequently cannot relinquish without rendering itself unworthy of the esteem and regard even of His Majesty himself; and that too in lieu of claims heretofore urged against the Republic, which cannot but be considered as long since liquidated.

That without dwelling on several arrangements, proposed in the said memorial, which, at His Majesty's pleasure, might be treated upon hereafter, it is without doubt necessary to consider under this light, among others, *the opening of the Scheldt*, upon the results from which actually depend the question of the safety or ruin of the Republic, as well as of the security of its citizens.

That for such reasons, the peace of Munster was only concluded, in 1648, with the Sovereign of the Netherlands, only under the express condition that the *said river should be kept shut by their High Mightinesses*.

That their High Mightinesses feel assured, from the magnanimity and equity of the Emperor, that he will no longer insist on this point, which never has, nor ever can be relinquished by them.

As to the free navigation between the Netherlands and the Indies, it is also necessary to remind His Majesty, that in 1732, when their High Mightinesses were prevailed upon to accede to the Treaty of Vienna, of March 16th, 1731, for the purpose of maintaining the Pragmatic Sanction, regarding the succession of the house of Austria, the Emperor Charles VI, and the King of Great Britain, in consequence of a separate article added to said Treaty, held out to them among other means of persuasion, the prospect of the abolition of the East India Company at Ostend; and that it was expressly promised, in the 5th article of the said Treaty, to Great Britain as well as this Republic, *that all commerce and navigation, between the Austrian Netherlands and the Indies, should cease entirely and forever.*

That as the hereditary succession in the house of Austria has been maintained by the Republic, even at its own cost, it is equitable that the conditions should be observed on the other side. That accordingly it must entirely be attributed to the regard which their High Mightinesses have shown on so many occasions, and which they will always willingly show towards His Imperial Majesty, that they have withheld their just complaints during the present negotiation, concerning the pretensions of the Court of Brussels, and the entry into the port of Ostend, against the letter of the Treaty, of five vessels returning from the East Indies, without the least word being mentioned on the subject of this navigation; one of which vessels indeed, having been driven from her anchors, and subjected to great danger, in the channels of this Republic, was so far relieved and provided with

necessaries, in this country, that its preservation is due to the assistance thus afforded.

That their High Mightinesses also hope that it will be taken in good part, if, instead of accepting the proposed arrangements, which surely must have been presented to His Imperial Majesty under a different light, they should choose rather to examine farther what has been alleged for the justification of His Majesty's pretensions in the memorial last transmitted; and they declare that with regard to some, they are ready to yield, provided they should be convinced of their justice; and as to the remainder, they will continue in the same spirit of reconciliation which they have already manifested in the controversy. They feel assured at the same time, that with regard to such other points as their High Mightinesses conceive ought not, nor cannot be relinquished, His Imperial Majesty, conformably to the magnanimous and equitable manner of thinking which characterises him, will prefer the opinions of other Neutral Powers, for which their High Mightinesses will likewise show all due deference.

That, moreover, their High Mightinesses are firmly assured that the declaration made by his Majesty, that "*the navigation of the Scheldt is henceforward open and free,*" is to be considered as extending only to the waters which His Majesty claims as his own, and in no way to the waters and channels known under the names of Osterschelde, and of Hond, or Westerschelde, the sovereignty of which belongs, unquestionably, to their High Mightinesses; not only because they are neither claimed in the statement sent, which is supposed to contain all

the pretensions of His Majesty with regard to this Republic, nor in any other document; but also, because this right of their High Mightinesses to the said waters, is founded on the Laws of Nations, supported by the Treaties and Conventions avowed and acknowledged by the sovereigns to whose rights and pretensions, respecting the Netherlands, His Majesty has succeeded.

For this reason, their High Mightinesses cannot conceive it possible that any of His Majesty's subjects will, by an erroneous interpretation of this declaration, act in opposition to orders which have been observed on this subject by all, without distinction, and the execution of which cannot be prevented. Their High Mightinesses still less expected that the inevitable execution of orders long enforced, would be attributed by His Majesty, in a case so unexpected, to any hostile intention on their part, or that they should be followed by hostile measures, which would necessarily provoke retaliation; particularly, as thereby all prospect of accommodation would be cut off, the character of His Imperial Majesty for grandeur and generosity would suffer, and the lustre of his glorious reign be tarnished.

That, furthermore, for the information of Count de Wassenaar, Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of their High Mightinesses at the Court of Vienna, a copy of this resolution be transmitted to him, and likewise to the Ambassadors of their High Mightinesses at the Court of France, in order that they may continue their solicitations for the good offices of France near His Imperial Majesty.

FROM C. W. F. DUMAS, TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

The Hague, September 9, 1784.

Sir,

Zealand having concurred, by resolution of its States, with those of Holland and the other Provinces, as to the Defensive Alliance with France, according to the plan inserted in one of my former despatches,* their High Mightinesses have this morning unanimously determined on the Alliance.

Yesterday, M. de Berenger having received a despatch by a Courier from his Court, presented a note, of which he has had the kindness to give me a copy, and I send it herewith.

Sep. 12.—By a letter received from the Ambassadors of the Republic, at Paris, we learn that they have received from the Minister of France, the assurance, that in case the good offices of the King should prove fruitless at the Court of Vienna, and things should be pushed to extremities, other and more efficient means would be employed in favor of the Republic.

I am, with great respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.

NOTE OF M. DE BERENGER.

The Hague, September 8, 1784.

The King has received, with great emotion, the communication made to him by the States General, of the

*Vide page 52.

memoir sent to the Dutch Plenipotentiaries, at Brussels, on the 23d of last month; and His Majesty can only reply to this new mark of confidence, on the part of their High Mightinesses, by continuing his good offices near His Imperial Majesty.

But the King cannot withhold from their High Mightinesses, that his efforts will probably be ineffectual, unless they are accompanied by overtures, which may serve as bases for an arrangement of a reciprocal nature; His Majesty, therefore, proposes to their High Mightinesses, to take some steps to that effect, and if such overtures should be confided to him, he will, with the utmost pleasure, submit them to the Emperor, and use every means which his relations with that monarch afford, for the purpose of inducing him to take them under consideration.

In the actual state of things, the King thinks that he would not be proceeding in conformity with his friendship for the Republic, and with the interest which he takes in its tranquillity, if he did not exhort their High Mightinesses to persist in that just system of moderation which they have hitherto shewn, and to abstain from every thing which might offend the dignity of the Emperor, and thus impede the reconciliation which is so ardently desired by their High Mightinesses, as well as by His Imperial Majesty.

BERENGER.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS, TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

The Hague, September 18, 1784.

Sir,

I have thought proper, for the information of the Honorable Commissioners, at Paris, to send them an open

letter, addressed to your Excellency, enclosing an extract from the Register of the proceedings of the States General, with respect to the answer to M. Berenger's last note, which I am convinced has, as yet, been communicated to no stranger besides myself. The resolution was taken on the day before yesterday, and a courier set off with it this morning for Paris.

I begin to fear that war in Europe is unavoidable, and that this Republic will be the first attacked.

I am, with great respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS, TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

(Sent open to the Commissioners at Paris.)

The Hague, September 18, 1784.

Sir,

I sent, on Tuesday last, by way of Amsterdam, two packages, from which the following is extracted, in order that the Honorable Commissioners at Paris, may be informed of what passes here, without any risk of my disclosing to others the contents of papers often entrusted to me alone; which might have happened, had the communications passed through a certain channel.

According to a resolution passed on the 16th instant, their High Mightinesses have answered M. Béranger's note,* and sent a courier off with it this morning. The tenor of the note is as follows:

“That the repeated assurances given by His Majesty,

*Vide page 81.

of his intention to use his good offices with the Emperor, in favor of the Republic, have been most grateful to their High Mightinesses, who have been thereby induced to hope that His Imperial Majesty has not yet seen, under a proper light, the affairs which now form the subject of dispute between himself and the Republic; as it is impossible that he could, while declaring that he bore the most sincere affection for the Republic, and would willingly sacrifice a part of his own rights and interests for its advantage, at the same time propose to dispossess their High Mightinesses of that which is to them of so much consequence; offering, too, as a proof of his moderation, to surrender in return, claims which have certainly been long since liquidated.

“ That their High Mightinesses accede, with great pleasure, to the proposition so kindly made by His Majesty of France, with regard to overtures to serve as bases for an accommodation; and, agreeably to his advice, will continue carefully to avoid every thing which could give offence to His Imperial Majesty. That with this view they had already issued directions, that the utmost caution should be used in carrying into effect those regulations which have always been enforced by the Republic, if unexpected cases should require their application; avoiding, as far as possible, every thing which could be construed as an insult to the flag of His Imperial Majesty. But that after having shown so much deference, and such a conciliatory spirit respecting the barriers of the State generally, and particularly as to the evacuation of Namur; the affairs of St. Donas, St. Job, and Old Lillo, in ordering the retreat of their guardship for some time from before Lillo, and regarding several pretensions since form-

ed and set forth in the table annexed, their High Mightinesses would have reason to fear that they might be considered as wanting in their duty towards themselves and the people of the Republic, and that they might lose the respect which they now enjoy as a Sovereign Power, particularly that inestimable consideration with which his Most Christian Majesty has been pleased to honor them, if they should, after all this, and after having already declined opening the Scheldt, and acknowledging the freedom of navigation and commerce with the Indies, now entirely retract the orders hitherto always observed, for keeping the Scheldt closed, (even during the negotiation on the subject of the pretensions last brought forward) and thus surrender what has been so clearly stipulated in an acknowledged Treaty, to which the Republic owes its existence.

“That their High Mightinesses feel assured, from these reasons, and from the interest which His Majesty, and his predecessors have, in all times, since the commencement of the Republic, taken in its preservation and advancement, that His Majesty will not suffer any portion of this Treaty to be infringed, nor the Republic (which has always scrupulously observed its Treaties, and has never encroached on the rights of others) to be forced to make so important a sacrifice, the results of which would be to endanger its very existence; but that conformably with his high character for wisdom, His Most Christian Majesty will demonstrate to the Emperor, the injustice (of which he is doubtless unaware) of such a proceeding.”

The present is a crisis which must soon determine; I begin to fear that war is unavoidable, though I have some hope that an accommodation may be effected; principally

from the circumstance that the Emperor can have no interest in carrying on war on this side, as the result is somewhat problematic, and may be against the aggressor.

I am, Sir, with great respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS, TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

The Hague, October 8, 1784.

Sir,

Last Monday an express arrived here from the Minister of the Republic, at Vienna. The import of his despatch is, that the Emperor persists in his intention to consider the Scheldt as open to his flag; and I yesterday saw, in the despatch from the Ministers of the Republic, at Brussels, dated the 5th instant, that orders have been given, by the Government, to the vessels of Ostend and Antwerp, to enter and leave those ports by that river.

Here, on the other hand, they persist in the resolution which has been made known, not to allow those vessels to pass; and preparations are making to repel force by force. To effect this, the Republic will, forthwith, not only increase the number of soldiers and non-commissioned officers of the different corps of infantry, cavalry, miners, and artillery of the Army, but will also receive into its pay, a body of troops from a quarter not yet named. In the mean time, General Dumoulin, Director in Chief of the fortifications, is now engaged in repairing the lines in Flanders, and will afterwards proceed to repair others. Finally, I have the pleasure to inform your Excellency, that at the time I am writing this, a very

important conference is going on with a view to re-establish, on the most solid footing, the harmony between the Direction and the Legislature. If one of the parties brings with it as much candor and good feeling as I am convinced the other does, this day will be a most advantageous one for the nation. This is all that I can say on the subject consistently with secrecy and my promises.

Colonel Senf, Chief Engineer of South Carolina, has honored me with a visit. I have shown him the fine cannon foundry here; and Mr. De Roo, of the Executive Council of Holland, honored us by taking us to Delft in his carriage, for the purpose of showing the superb arsenals and workshops of that Province, which were opened by his influence, a favor seldom granted, either to the inhabitants or to strangers. The Colonel then went on his journey, by the way of Rotterdam, to Bergenopzoom, and perhaps to Zealand, where he will see General Dumoulin, and from thence will go, by way of Amsterdam, to Saxony, for the purpose of visiting his family. He intends to be here again in the spring, in order that he may be in Charleston at the expiration of his furlough. The pleasure which he experienced from the sight of those objects, the knowledge of which he intends to turn to the advantage of the United States, can only be equalled by mine in procuring it for him. Foreign officers, passing through this place, generally request to be presented to the Prince of Orange, as Captain General; but the measures which the Colonel had taken to see the arsenals at Delft, have, in addition to want of time, caused him to prefer what was more important; he can, however, be presented, if he pleases, on his return.

Mr. Thulemeier has just sent me a letter from his Court, in reply to that which I had presented from the Commissioners, with a request that I would transmit it to those gentlemen by the post of to-day, which I have done.

Allow me, Sir, as Congress is about to sit, to recall to the memory of that illustrious body, as well as to that of your Excellency, my existence and official character; and to remain, with the highest respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS, TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

The Hague, October 12, 1784.

Sir,

Consummatum est! Since my last, of the 8th, war has been declared; at least from the terms of the Memoir presented in the Emperor's name, by the Court of Brussels; for the Republic has fired the first gun in its defence.

On Saturday night, at ten o'clock, a Courier arrived from Zealand, bringing news that a brig, commissioned by Count de Belgioioso, had gone down the Scheldt, from Antwerp, into the waters of the Republic, where it met with the Dutch squadron; that Captain Volberg, who commanded one of the frigates of the Republic, sent a boat on board the brig with a polite request to the Captain, that he would not attempt to pass; which being disregarded, a gun had been fired at the brig, loaded only with powder, and then another with ball, follow-

ed by a broadside; after which she had come to, and dropped anchor.

Their High Mightinesses, their Council of State, the Admiralty, and the Deputy Council of Holland, assembled, and passed the whole night at work in their respective departments; the Prince of Orange, too, came in from his country house. On Sunday, expresses were sent to the Admiralty in Zealand, to Paris, to Brussels, to Vienna, and to each of the Provinces and Cities, making known that their High Mightinesses approve the conduct of the officers who obeyed their instructions, and complaining of the violation of their territorial rights. It was believed that Baron Reischach (the Imperial Representative) would instantly have quitted the Hague; but he has not yet shown any signs of preparation, which gives reason for suspecting that matters may yet be arranged, or that M. de Belgioioso will write some more notes. His master, the Emperor, has done every thing to persuade Europe that he is anxious for war; meanwhile, as I stated in my despatch of the 8th, the Republic is preparing to defend itself, and the Executive has taken the wise part of submitting to the Legislature.

Another thing I am at liberty to say, which is, that the Prince, urged on by some one greater than himself, invited our friends, de Gyzelaer and Van Berkel, to a conference, through the intermediacy of a distinguished personage; which has been held, and if it does not result in his sincerely endeavoring to change his system, it will at least leave him no opportunity of retreating.

During this week the points in the plan of Alliance with France, which still remain undetermined, will be conclusively settled by the States General and the States

of the other Provinces, so that this great business will be concluded.

October 13.—Your Excellency will receive this packet of despatches from me, by John Veder, master of the merchant vessel *Despatch*, who, being anxious to get off, requested me to give him a sea letter, which I thought proper to do, after consideration, and consulting with people of note and experience in such matters; he having declared, upon oath, and proved by authentic papers, from the magistrates of Philadelphia, Rotterdam, and Amsterdam, that he is a citizen of Philadelphia, and that the said vessel and cargo are the lawful property of Mr. E. Dutilh, merchant of that city. I append the duplicate of a declaration as signed by him, in order to clear me from all suspicion of having accepted compensation for what I have done.

Copy of the Declaration of Captain Veder.

The undersigned, John Veder, of Philadelphia, master of the vessel the *Despatch*, the property of Mr. E. Dutilh, merchant of Philadelphia, bound from Amsterdam to Philadelphia, declares that, upon his request, Mr. Dumas has given him a sea letter, without either pretending to, or accepting any reward whatsoever for it.

Done at the Hague this same day, 13th October, 1784.

(Signed,)

JOHN VEDER.

Yesterday the Province of Utrecht conformed with the resolution of Holland, as to the dismissal of the Duke of Brunswick; so that four, and consequently the majority of the Provinces, are against him; Groningen will probably soon follow the example of Utrecht.

October 15.—After the resolution taken by Utrecht, on the 12th inst., the Duke fearing, with good reason, that he would be dismissed by a majority of the Provinces, has taken the wise part of anticipating them, and in consequence has sent to the Prince all the papers, maps, plans, &c. of his Department; he also sent to-day, four letters for the President of the States General, the Prince, the Secretary Fagel, and Van Hees the Secretary of the Council of State. The President received his letter just as he was about to take his seat in the Assembly; the Duke therein resigns his offices, by virtue of an article in his engagement, securing to him the right of quitting the service of the Republic whenever he pleased, and declares his intention of departing immediately, without waiting for an answer; in fact he quitted *Bois-le-duc* this morning, for *Aix la Chapelle*, as it is said.

Gyzelaer, Van Berkel and the rest, may now complete the coalition with the Stadtholder, which they have begun so auspiciously, and I have the satisfaction to perceive that the business is advancing. I assure your Excellency, that it is to me a source of great pleasure to have seen usurpation and oppression fall prostrate before the banner of liberty in America, and overthrown by the quiet force of legislation in Holland.

October 16.—I could not refuse to promise a sea letter to Mr. R. Wildick, a citizen of Pennsylvania, recommended to me by Colonel Senf, on condition of his producing the same proofs of American citizenship and proprietorship. Indeed I could no longer hesitate after learning, that had I refused, in either of these cases, the English merchants and captains would have taken advan-

tage of the circumstance, to the detriment of American trade.

October 20.—I shall send you with this, all my newspapers, which I have preserved in order to complete your collections in the Department of Foreign Affairs and elsewhere.

October 21.—On the 19th instant, their High Mightinesses sent an express to Paris, with the unanimous acceptance, on the part of the seven United Provinces, of the arrangements with regard to the blanks in the Defensive Treaty, agreed upon by both Parties; with an order to their Plenipotentiaries, to sign the said Treaty.

The Committee of the six Provinces, for adjusting the difference about votes, between the cities and the nobility of Overijssel, has been made up; five of its members at least, are patriots: I do not know what are the opinions of the member from Guelderland, who is brother to M. Linde de Heme, Deputy to the States General.

It is believed that the Prince of Orange, in order to prevent the Democratic Party (especially at Utrecht) from going farther than it has gone, or probably ought to go, under the present circumstances, will be advised, and forced by the nature of the case, himself to demand that the famous regulation of 1674 be annulled, and everything be restored to the old constitutional footing, in the three Provinces which had been conquered by Louis the Fourteenth, and were afterwards re-admitted into the Union under very tyrannical conditions.

M. de Linde has just set out for London as Envoy; so that four of the ministers in foreign countries are now patriots, viz. Van Berkel in America, Brantsen in Paris, Dedem in Constantinople, and de Linde in London. It is also said that Count de Wassanaer at Vienna, is in-

clining that way. So much the better for the Republic and for him.

October 27.—I am happy to say that such good measures have been adopted to secure Dutch Flanders, that nothing is to be feared from the Imperial forces now in the Netherlands; and that other arrangements are now in progress for repelling any other force which may be brought against the Republic.

I yesterday saw, confidentially, a letter, dated the 21st, and just received from an important person in Paris, which says, "we are assured, from the highest authority, and from several sources, that France will not abandon the Republic; we, therefore, earnestly recommend perseverance in the firm and moderate conduct hitherto observed, which is applauded by the whole French nation, which has completely banished every idea of disrespect towards the Government of that State, and which will secure to it the esteem of all the Powers of the earth."

Under date of the 12th, I spoke of an important conference, *ne quid Respublica detrimenti capiat* between stupidity and Republican excellence. Another was held yesterday, which ended to the mutual satisfaction of both parties.

I am, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS, TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

The Hague, November 7, 1784.

Sir,

In vain do I perplex myself in endeavoring to form some idea of the Emperor, and of his character; all

that I can make out is, that this singular being, by trying to become a King of Kings, and to resemble Alexander, Charles the Twelfth, Peter the Great, and Frederick, all at once, actually resembles no one, not even himself. I know from good authority, that he has seriously maintained in the conferences, the strange principle, that the United Netherlands are indelibly stained with the sin of their original rebellion against Philip the Second; and that the United States of America are in a like condition; for which reason he has forbidden his Envoy, the Baron de Reichshach, from returning Mr. Adams' card. The Baron has left the Hague without taking leave; the Ministers of the Republic at Vienna and Brussels, will act in like manner.

Baron de Reede, Minister of the Republic at Berlin, has written a letter to their High Mightinesses, and another to Mr. Secretary Fagel; from the former we learn that the Emperor has, through his Minister at Berlin, *amicably* notified his *good neighbour*, the King of Prussia, of his having ordered eighty thousand men to march against the United Provinces, to punish them for the insult offered to His Imperial dignity. He makes use of the same language in his circulars to other Princes of the Empire, through whose dominions he requests a passage for his troops; and there is no doubt that he pretends to the right of putting the Republic under the *Ban of the Empire*, and of condemning it to forfeiture and confiscation.

In his letter to Mr. Fagel, the Baron relates that four days before he received this notification, the King of Prussia, talking with the Chevalier de Normandy, who was curious to learn what would be the probable issue of

this German quarrel, said, "France will be the mediator, and every thing will be arranged; meanwhile the Emperor will make a great stir. *Parturient montes nascetur ridiculus mus*. Recollect this is my prediction."

On the part of the Republic there is no want of energy, I assure you. Orders have been given, and every thing has, for some days, been prepared for opening the sluices, piercing the dykes, and inundating the frontiers; this is kept secret here, but will soon be made known. The whole country, as far as the gates of Ghent, may be laid under water at pleasure.

The Rhinegrave of Salm is gone to Berlin, charged with secret commissions; at the request of our friends I have prepared a cipher for him, by means of which he will correspond with them, and I shall probably have to write out, and to decipher the whole correspondence, which may be of great importance. In conversation with this young Lord, he asked me what I thought of the Emperor's measure, and of the course that France would take in consequence. I told him in reply, that, "like Aretino, I kept a list of fools in my head, and that I had too good an opinion of France to entertain any fear of being obliged to alter it, in case the Emperor should proceed further;" he understood me, smiled, and said he agreed with me. What I referred to was this: Charles the Fifth having passed through France, in going from Spain to the Netherlands, on arriving in the latter country, wrote to the caustic Aretino, to convince him that he had not acted like a fool, in travelling through his enemy's dominions. "So it appears," replied Aretino, "and in consequence, I have taken your Majesty's name off my list of fools, and put that of King Francis in its place."

It will in fact, be much easier for His Most Christian Majesty to incline their High Mightinesses to an accommodation on reasonable terms, than to keep back the French, especially the military, who are all anxious for a war with the Emperor, that sovereign being much disliked in France. A distinguished traveller, just from Paris, tells me that the following Epigram is in circulation throughout the city:

Demande.—L'Ambassadeur d'Hollande

Au Roi demande,

Ce qu'il fera?

Reponse.—La Reine veut, que chacun exerce

Le libre commerce,

Aux Pays-Bas.

I hope Captain Veder will soon reach Philadelphia with his ship *Despatch*, and that Congress will be induced by the letters which he will deliver, to send me instructions on all that relates to the service of the United States in this country, as soon as possible. In order that nothing may be wanting, I append to this, copies of the most essential parts of my correspondence on the subject, A, B, C, and D. I will also take the liberty to observe, that during the last war a great part of the Dutch trade was carried on under foreign flags, especially under that of the Emperor. The Powers willingly granted sea letters, which were considered sufficient, and no disagreeable consequences resulted, in any case, to the grantors, who were glad to see their flag respected, as that circumstance was advantageous to their own marine and commerce. In the present case, the United States, by being accessible to the wishes of this Republic, would increase their standing here in every way.

I have been assured here, that I may and ought to style myself *Chargé d'Affaires* of the United States, as I do in the Declaration B, in virtue of my having been presented by his Excellency, Mr. John Adams, in 1782, as such, to the President and Secretary of their High Mightinesses; and that unless I did so, my Declaration would be of no avail.

I am, with great respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.

A.

Extract of a letter from C. W. F. Dumas to John Adams.

The Hague, October 26, 1784.

Now that the probability of war has become so great, I am beset, by Americans and Hollanders, intreating me to give them American sea letters. The Hollanders, though they return to the charge, are easily repelled by my assurances that I have no power to grant such papers, and that I will write to your Excellency on the subject. But the Americans complain loudly, that they do not receive from me the assistance which they have a right to expect; that they cannot proceed in their business without being certain of receiving immediate aid whenever they may require it; and indeed I think them in the right. Among those who presented themselves were Mr. C. Dutilh, a merchant of Rotterdam, and John Veder, a sea captain, introduced to me by M. de la Baussaire, Agent of France; they informed me that their

relation, Mr. E. Dutilh, a merchant of Philadelphia, had empowered Mr. C. Dutilh to purchase a vessel on account of them both; to be commanded and carried to Philadelphia by the said J. Veder, who produced a certificate proving him to be a citizen of that place. I consulted our friends on the subject, and also M. de Berenger, *Chargé d'Affaires* of France; all of whom insisted that I should be acting very ill unless I took upon myself to assist these persons; so I promised to give them a declaration, which would serve as a sea letter, provided they would show me the legal and authentic deed of the sale of the vessel called the *Transport*, the certificate of the Admiralty, and the manifest of the cargo; these they produced some days after, and in consequence, I gave them the declaration, of which B is a copy, *gratis*: taking from him also an acknowledgment of my having neither demanded nor received any fee or reward, of which I sent a duplicate to his Excellency, the President of Congress. I drew up this declaration as accurately as possible on the model of that contained in the Treaty of Commerce concluded here by your Excellency; omitting only the apostrophe to Emperors, Kings, &c.; which would have been absurd on my part. The vessel is now on her way for Philadelphia.

I have promised to assist, on the same conditions, another American, Mr. John Wildrick, a citizen of Pennsylvania, owning lands in that State, and also a vessel which he had built at Philadelphia; he was recommended to me by Colonel Senf. Mr. Wildrick observed to me that, unless I assisted him in this matter, the English merchants would take advantage of the opportunities which he would be obliged to neglect. I have mentioned both

these cases in my letters to his Excellency, the President of Congress; but as I am still uneasy on the subject, I beg your Excellency to send me your opinion as soon as possible, and if you think proper, that you would authorize me to refuse in all future cases.

As to the Dutch applicants, I am bound to give them, at least, the reasons of my being unable to do what they wish. I know not what to say to Messrs. W. and J. Willinck, of Amsterdam, who ask me, in a letter dated the 12th instant, "whether I could procure American papers for their vessels, lying in several ports, in order to obviate the difficulties which may occur in the present condition of things; intreating me, if that could be done, to give them such information as would enable them to act with certainty, and to be exposed to no difficulties." Another merchant, Mr. Bend, came expressly from Rotterdam to consult me on the same subject. Messrs. J. and N. Van Staphorst have written to me in like manner; and finally, M. Gallois, a ship broker of Amsterdam, has sent me a set of questions, C, which, according to my promise, I transmit, with a hope that you will answer them.

I have received a letter from Mr. Wildrick, who insists that it is unjust to subject Americans to greater difficulties in Europe than in America, where they may have their vessels commanded by capable persons, from any country; this I am assured, by Mr. Brush, is the case. Mr. Wildrick complains too, of the heavy duties which he is obliged to pay here, merely on buying a vessel, and would be glad to be relieved from them.

On this latter point I reply, that I can do nothing to free persons from the duties of the country; and, more-

over, that I cannot give him the declaration which he wants, until he has shown me the deed of sale of the vessel, legally authenticated by a magistrate, to prove that she is really and truly *American property*.

B.

Copy of the Declaration made by Mr. Dumas, and delivered to Captain Veder, to serve as a sea letter.

We,

Chargé d'Affaires from the United States of America to their High Mightinesses, the States General of the United Netherlands, declare and make known by these presents, to all whom it may concern, that Jn. Veder, master of the vessel the *Despatch*, appearing before us, after having exhibited to us the deed, by which it appears that he has taken oath of allegiance, as a citizen of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, has not only declared upon oath, so may God Almighty help him, that the said vessel, called the *Despatch*, of the burthen of about 70 lasts, which he is at present to navigate, is the property of a citizen of one of the United States; but that he has also exhibited to us the deed, by which it appears that the said vessel has been lawfully sold to Mr. E. Dutilh, an inhabitant and merchant at Philadelphia, and purchased in behalf of the said E. Dutilh, by his cousin and proxy, Christian Dutilh, merchant at Rotterdam:

That he has further exhibited to us the certificate of the magistrate of Rotterdam, and the manifest of the cargo, by the cargadors or brokers of Amsterdam, certifying that the said vessel has been cleared before them, as being the property aforesaid, bound from Amsterdam to Philadelphia, laden with goods and merchandises therein particularly described and specified: and as the United

States wish to see their good citizens prosper in their lawful affairs, our prayer is, to all who are to be requested, and to each of them separately, where the said master shall arrive with his vessel and cargo, that they may please to receive the said master with goodness, and to treat him, upon the usual tolls and expenses in passing and repassing, to pass, navigate, and frequent the ports, passes, and territories, to the end to transact his business, where and in what manner he shall judge proper: whereof the United States shall be willingly indebted. In witness, and for cause whereof, we have subscribed our name to these presents, and affixed the seal of our arms.

At the Hague, October 13th, 1784.

Was signed,

C. W. F. DUMAS.

C.

A paper containing several Questions sent by M. Gallois, a ship broker of Amsterdam, to Mr. Dumas; with the Answers of the Honorable John Adams, to whom it was transmitted. The same letter, with the exception of a different and a more precise translation of the questions, may be found in the correspondence of John Adams.—Vol. 2, page 149.

QUESTIONS OF M. GALLOIS.

1. Can sea letters and other papers be procured at the Hague for a vessel after she has been proved, in due form, to be the property of an American citizen?

2. Must the purchaser be a citizen of some place in one of the thirteen States; or is it enough that he be established there ever since the recognition of independence? Has a citizen any greater right to the protection of Congress than one who is only an inhabitant?

ANSWERS OF MR. ADAMS.

1. There is no man at present in Holland authorized by the United States, in Congress assembled, to issue sea letters.

2. Both citizens and inhabitants have a right to protection; but every stranger who has been in the United States, or who may be there at present, is not an inhabitant. Different States have different definitions of this word. The *domicile* and the *animus habitandi* is necessary in all.

QUESTIONS OF M. GALLOIS.

3. When a vessel is proved to be American property, as by No. 1, is it matter of consequence in what port she may be lying, and for what place bound; or is it enough that she be in a European port and bound for America, or *vice versa*?

4. Must the Captain of such vessel be an *American citizen*; or is it sufficient that he is a *native* of some place subject to the authority of Congress.

5. In case a vessel be bought for an American, and be required for instant use, may she not be commanded by a captain of some other nation, provided no American could be found capable of assuming the command?

6. If a vessel, sold and transferred to an inhabitant or citizen of America, while sailing in the open sea, under a foreign flag, be captured by an enemy, is there reason to believe that Congress would interfere to reclaim her?

7. If a vessel bought for an American, be bound from an European port, for any place in the Mediterranean, or be in the Mediterranean bound for some other place, how can she procure Turkish passports and other papers necessary for navigating in that sea?

ANSWERS OF MR. ADAMS.

3. All vessels *bona fide* the property of American citizens or inhabitants, have a right to protection.

4. American citizens and inhabitants have a right to navigate their vessels by captains and seamen of any nation.

5. Certainly; but let the parties look to themselves that the transaction be *bona fide*, and clearly proved.

6. The evidence of this must be very clear. The United States will scarcely interfere in such a case, if there is a doubt of the fact, or a suspicion of collusion.

7. The United States have not yet a Treaty with the Turks or Barbary Powers, and, therefore, no such papers are to be had.

From the Honorable John Adams to Mr. Dumas, accompanying the above.

Auteuil, November 3, 1784.

Sir,

I have given to the several preceding questions the only answers in my power, and hope they will be satisfactory. It is in the power of Congress alone to authorize any other answers. To that august assembly, you will do well to write a full account of all these things, and

if it is consistent with their wisdom, it will be very pleasing to me if they should send you a commission as *Chargé d'Affaires*. For such an officer, or another minister,* seems now to be necessary, on account of the dangers of a war.

D.

Copy of a letter from the Honorable John Adams, Minister to France, to Mr. Dumas.

Auteuil, near Paris, November 3, 1784.

Sir,

I have received your favor of the 26th October, with the seven questions enclosed. I have answered these questions to the best of my judgment, believing it to be my duty to give to my inquiring countrymen, all the satisfaction in my power upon such occasions. I should wish, too, to gratify the Dutch merchants, and all others, as far as I can in character. But we must, above all things, have the utmost caution that we do not involve the United States in quarrels which are not their own. We can give no countenance whatever to any kind of fraud or collusion, or to any false or suspicious papers. The United States will protect their own flag, and the rights, liberties, and properties of their own citizens; but they can go no farther. If we could assist any man in Europe in this way, we ought surely to do it for Messrs. Willinck, and if we refuse it to them, certainly no others can complain. Although these gentlemen are in so high a trust

* *Note by Mr. Dumas.*—Minister Resident, for instance. I could show good reasons for such an appointment.

under the United States, I cannot think them entitled to the character of citizens or inhabitants, and, therefore, should not think myself safe in giving them American papers for their vessels.

I hope the certificate you have given to Captain Veder may answer the end; and in the present unexpected circumstances of the war, or at least danger of war, I should not venture so advise you not to give others in clear cases. They may do much good, and save to merchants and masters of vessels much trouble and expense; and I cannot foresee any evil they can do. But if any such certificate should be disputed and examined, it will be found null. You will continue to write all to Congress; and you will soon, I hope, receive their commands.

With great esteem, I have the honor to be, dear Sir, yours, &c.

JOHN ADAMS.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS, TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

The Hague, November 14, 1784.

Sir,

The courier who has been impatiently expected from Paris, for the last fortnight, arrived to day, about one o'clock. He brought a letter for me from a most respectable person, enclosing others of a confidential nature for our friends, which I received at two; by the contents I was convinced that the despatch for their High Mightinesses from their Plenipotentiaries, was of the most consoling and encouraging nature, as indeed it proves to be. My correspondent says, under date of the 9th instant:

"I have received your last letters to the 29th of October, inclusive, and thank you most sincerely for your attention and exactness. It gives me the highest pleasure to learn that our friends conduct themselves in the most noble, firm, and at the same time, moderate manner, and I hope their efforts will be crowned with all the success, at home and abroad, which they merit. They have excited the strongest feelings of esteem and admiration here, and their acts have received universal approbation. The confidential letter, from one of the Plenipotentiaries in France, which you have seen, contains nothing but the truth. I am convinced that the King has adopted a proper tone in his language to the Emperor, and that unless the latter retracts very soon from the position he has assumed against the Republic, much stronger measures will be adopted. You may communicate this opinion of mine to Gyzelaer and Van Berkel, but to no one else; assuring them, that my sentiments towards them remain unchanged; of which I shall continue to give proofs whenever opportunities offer. I shall remain here until the middle of February, and beg you to accept the assurance of my constant esteem."

The writer of this letter holds a place very near the throne. Your Excellency must not suppose, from my silence on the subject, that the patriots have been foiled in their endeavors to restore the Constitution *in integrum*; the good work goes on, and I shall inform your Excellency of its progress, as soon as the German quarrel allows me time.

N.^tB. The Cabinet of Versailles was unanimous in

its resolution to defend the Republic, in case the mediation were refused.

I am, with great respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

The Hague, December 1, 1784.

Sir,

A cloud has been slowly gathering over the Council of State, which, with the Prince at its head, directs the whole affairs of the Union: it burst, at length, on the 26th of November; which day had been fixed, in the States of Holland, more than a month since, for the purpose of taking away from the shuffling members of that body, every pretence for retreat, on the ground that they were not furnished with instructions on the subject.

A resolution was adopted by a majority of that Province, in which the negligence of the Council was displayed to view, and a circular letter was ordered to be sent to the other Provinces, setting forth—that the plans for repairing the lines and water defences, recommended hitherto in vain by General Dumoulin, and those of General Martfeld for improving the artillery, should immediately be carried into effect; and that the Deputies of the Province to that Council, should be obliged, hereafter, annually, to render an account of their conduct.

I annex a copy, A, of the second declaration which I have given to serve as a sea letter; and take the liberty of repeating to your Excellency, that there is the utmost

necessity for my being speedily furnished with instructions from Congress on this subject, which is of the highest importance for the safety, the interest, and the increase of the commerce and navigation of the United States. For even though the present difficulties should be arranged, yet the fire will have been but smothered, and will, ere long, break out afresh in more than one quarter of Europe.

I am, Sir, with the greatest respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.

A.

Copy of a Declaration given by Mr. Dumas to serve as a sea letter for the brig Porpoise.

We,
declare and make known by these presents, to all whom it may concern, that Mr. Theodore Gallois, ship broker for the American trade at Amsterdam, has sent to us, in original, and exhibited the legal transfer or deed, passed on October 23th, before Mr. E. M. De Vyver, public Notary of Holland, at Amsterdam, by Mr. L. M. Graves, for himself, and for his partners, Messrs. Graves & Co., merchants at Amsterdam; by which they have sold and transferred, in full property, to Messrs. Vos, De Vyver, and Graves, merchants at Charleston, in South Carolina, the brig, of late called *Vry Van Dwinglandy*, and commanded by Mr. Tan Schram, with all her appurtenances, and so as she lies, actually before the City of Amsterdam; and that he has also sent and exhibited to us, in original, the certificate of their lordships, the Burgoasters and Regency of Amsterdam; by which, on

November 18th, 1784, has appeared before them, Mr. Isaac De Vyver, and declared upon oath, *So may God Almighty help him*, that the aforesaid brig, now called *the Porpoise*, of the burthen of about sixty-five lasts, and commanded by Mr. Miles Casson, of Boston, is the full property of him, Isaac De Vyver, and of his aforesaid company, established at Charleston, in South Carolina, and of them alone, and that she is actually bound from Amsterdam to Charleston, in South Carolina, laden with goods and merchandises.

And as the United States wish to see their good citizens and inhabitants prosper in their lawful affairs, our prayer is, to all who are to be requested, and to each of them separately, where the said master, Miles Casson, shall arrive with his vessel and cargo, that they may please to receive the said master, &c. &c.

B.

Copy of the Certificate.

The underwritten, Theodore Gallois, ship broker for the American trade at Amsterdam, declares, that upon his request, he has received, gratis, from Mr. Dumas, a declaration to serve as a sea letter for the brig *the Porpoise*, commanded by Mr. Miles Casson, of Boston, and being the property of Messrs. Vos, De Vyver, and Graves, merchants at Charleston, in South Carolina, without pretending or accepting any reward for it whatsoever, in behalf of the said Mr. Dumas; who has also returned him the deed and the certificate mentioned in the aforesaid declaration.

Done at Amsterdam, November 25, 1784.

THEODORE GALLOIS.

FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

The Hague, December 8, 1784.

In the present letter I shall resume my account of the operations of the Republicans in this country, for restoring their Constitution to its original purity. The minority of the Council of Brielle complained to the States of Holland, of resolutions made in that Council, in 1750 and 1766, ceding to the Stadtholder the disposal of places in their magistracy, and of all commissions in their regency. Whereupon the Grand Committee of the States of Holland reported, that the said cession is null, informal, and contrary to the privileges of that city. The report has already in its favor a majority of the members of that Province. The minority of Edam, made a similar complaint to their Noble and Great Mightinesses, which will be attended with the same successful results.

Guelderland, Holland, Utrecht, and Overysse, have resolved, in their respective States, to put the frontiers of their Provinces in the best state of defence, by water works, &c. so as to be able to inundate the country at a moment's warning. They have likewise resolved, that all the inhabitants of the level country should be armed; the rich at their own expense, the poor at that of the country.

All the Provinces have agreed that the army should be increased; with the understanding, however, that as soon as the war is at an end, these additional troops shall be immediately discharged.

The Prince has been long since urged by the States of Guelderland, to give, in his capacity of Captain General of that Province, his considerations on the abolition of all acts by which titular and supernumerary offices exist,

and by which commissions in the army are made saleable. On both of which subjects, as I have already informed Congress in my previous letters, admirable resolutions have been passed in Holland, Zealand, and Friesland; he has constantly been equivocating and deferring his reply; but he can do so no longer, and must declare himself at the next Diet, otherwise they will act on the subject without consulting him any farther.

Utrecht, and the Cities of Overijssel which have votes, have proposed, in their respective Provinces, to instruct their deputies to the States General not to vote in future cases of vacancies in the offices of Prime Minister, or of the Generality, without having first received the orders of their constituents on the subject.

The Prince of Orange wishing, as Stadtholder, to give a greater extension to his prerogative of pardoning than his commission allows, for the purpose of saving a seditious fellow named Trago, of Leyden, had granted a reprieve of the sentence condemning him to be whipped under the gallows; but it was executed, notwithstanding; whereupon the Attorney General of the Province was about to begin a criminal prosecution against the high officer of Leyden. But Leyden proposed to the States of Holland, "to forbid the Provincial Court of Justice from interfering in the affair, and to summon it to make a report in consequence of a former resolution, by which it was called upon, to declare what use had been lately made of the right of pardoning or annulling a sentence." While the States are deliberating on this matter, they have ordered the Attorney General to suspend his prosecution.

In Guelderland, those noble patriots, Capelle de

Marsch, Zuylen de Nyvelt, and Niewenheim, have proposed that the famous and iniquitous regulation of 1674, which still weighs so heavily on Guelderland, Utrecht, and Overysse, be revised and amended. Holland has proposed to the Union, that a Committee be assembled for most important purposes, viz.

For examining into the state of the treasury of the Generality, and amending the system of the quotas;

For regulating all the means of the defence, by sea and by land, as well as the directing powers of the Admiralty; examining into the state of the forces; giving a Council to the Prince as Captain General, and High Admiral; and for regulating the system of patents and military jurisdiction in the countries of the Generality.

A great majority in the States of Holland have already accepted the proposition of Harlaem, for abolishing and annulling the odious distinction, yet existing in the Republic, between Catholic and Protestant religious establishments, in the payment of taxes on real property.

There will be soon held at Utrecht, a General Assembly of Deputies from the various corps of armed citizens, which were some time since formed throughout the whole of the Republic. Differences on financial matters have arisen in the Council of the City of Delft, from which good effects may result.

This is as much as I can now say. I shall hereafter communicate to Congress some State secrets of great importance, which I cannot yet trust to paper.

I am, with great respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.

FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

The Hague, January 31, 1785.

Sir,

Novus rerum jam nascitur ordo. I have obtained a partial discovery, from a correspondence in which I am particularly engaged, and which, within the last fortnight, has brought to light matters of importance.

The Emperor has altered his system. A treaty, we are assured, is already signed between the Emperor and the Elector of Bavaria, by which Bavaria is exchanged for the low countries; excepting the towns of Namur and Luxembourg, and some adjacent territories, which are, it is supposed, to be offered to France, in order to secure its consent to the exchange. The Emperor, at the same time, yields to the Elector all his claims and pretensions with regard to this Republic, gives him the title of King, and makes his revenue equal to the highest received from Bavaria.

The Emperor is said to have communicated this contract to France, which has given an evasive answer, intimating, at the same time, its intentions to consult the King of Prussia, and the Duke of Deuxponts, who is the successor of the present Elector Palatine, and of Bavaria.

The Duke of Deuxponts, whom Romanzof, Minister of Russia at Vienna, would compel, by threats, to sign this treaty, telling him he had him in a net, complained to Versailles and Berlin, which latter Court has not only exhorted the Duke to persist in his refusal, and promised its assistance, at all events, but also complained to the Court of St. Petersburg, of the conduct of its Minister with

regard to Deuxponts, reminded Vienna of the peace of Tesken, guarantied by Russia as well as by France, and wrote to Versailles to know what part France will take.

This unexpected event is very fortunate for the Republic, which will disengage herself from a difficulty, whether the projected exchange take place peaceably or occasion a war. In the first instance, she will have a much less formidable neighbor, with whom she can adjust all reciprocal pretensions, through the good offices of France, which, by the intended alliance, will secure to the Republic all her rights and pretensions. In the other case, the heat and scenes of the war, in which she will be under no necessity of taking a part, will be removed to a distance from her borders.

This new system of the Emperor's, appears to be more ingeniously designed than the former, in which he must have failed; for he rids himself of a territory at a distance from his dominions, which gives France an advantage over him in all his enterprises; and he receives in return, another, contiguous to Bohemia, Austria, and by that means, to Hungary and Austrian Lombardy, which makes his dominions more compact, and gives him a great superiority in Germany, Italy, and towards Turkey, and of which it will be difficult, perhaps impossible, to divest him.

31st January.

In many villages of this Province, particularly about Dort, Rotterdam, Gorcum, Brielle, Schoonhoven, and Leyden, the peasantry, irritated by the ordinance to arm and exercise the flat country, and exclaiming, that all

this would not have happened if the advice of the Prince had been followed, and they had not depended on France, which abandoned the Republic, seditiously displayed the Orange colour on their towers, and in their hats; blessed the Prince; cursed the States in their intoxication, and threatened to begin commotions even in the cities. The Councils, Regents, and citizens of Dort, Schoonhoven, Gorcum, and Leyden, boldly smothered part of this commotion in its origin. Those of Leyden demanded assistance, on Saturday, from this place. An extraordinary assembly of the States was held this morning. The Prince appeared there without any person rising, as usual, to receive him, and having proposed an insidious, artful placard, similar to that of 1748, as though he disapproved of these commotions, instantly retired, that his presence might not, as he said, restrain the deliberations; at the same time recommending clemency and moderation. But in fact, he dreaded invectives, (indeed, they were actually uttered against him,) such as those of the famous St. Nicholas' day, in 1782. Their Noble and Great Mightinesses, without giving the least attention to the proposition, unanimously resolved, that rigorous inquisition be made concerning the conduct of the bailiffs and sub-bailiffs, in these riots, in apprehending and punishing the ringleaders of the sedition, in order that by these means, the instigators of the disorder might be discovered; giving extraordinary power to the Council instituted for this purpose, and ordering troops to march thither, in order to support this respectable resolution. Before the meeting of this Assembly, the Deputy Council had already obliged the Prince to send to different places of security the most mutinous of the detachments of cavalry.

1st February.

This evening, one of these detachments, of 18 horsemen, returned, with four peasants bound, in two wagons. Two others have been apprehended through the care of the Bailiff of South Holland, more vigilant and with better intentions than the one of the Rhineland, who resides here and belongs to the body of horse. Mr. de Gyzelaar thundered, a real Catilinian in the Assembly, against this person, (who, after the Prince, passes for the principal instigator of this affair,) terming him a *contemptible man, despised and detested by every body*. At first sight it would seem but proper that some of these wretches were apprehended, without reckoning those who shall hereafter be unmasked. They have already committed great excesses.

This morning the Prince, although apprized of the resolution of the evening before, sent to the Assembly of their Noble and Great Mightinesses, a large packet of the printed placard; which was rejected with contempt.

These are, in all probability, the efforts of a desperate party, playing their last stake. I foresee that before long the King of Prussia must interfere, not in the affairs of the Republic, but in order to reform the family and those about the person of the Prince, which he alone can do, as a near kinsman, and for the sake of the Prince and his children.

I am, with the greatest respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.

✍ The letters of Mr. Dumas, written between the 31st of January, 1785, and the 26th of January, 1787, have, unfortunately, not been found, although strict search was made for them among the archives of the Department of State. Their dates, and the subjects of a few, have been preserved in the Journal of the Department of Foreign Affairs; they are given here, in order to supply, as far as possible, the deficiency, and with a hope, that their publication may lead to the recovery of the important documents to which they refer.

Dates of letters addressed by C. W. F. Dumas to the President of Congress, during the years 1785 and 1786.

1785.—February 22. April 10, 15. May 1. June 26. July 5, 10, 22, 26, 29, with a copy of the Address made by the Deputies of the United Provinces to the King of Prussia. August 2, 4, 16, 17, 22. September 27. October 23. November 25.

1786.—January 27, acknowledging the receipt of Mr. Jay's letter of October 22, 1785, and of the Act of Congress fixing his salary, with an account of his receipts and expenses to that date. February 12, 24, informing that complaints had been made to their High Migh-
tinesses against the Navigation Act of Rhode Island; and that Mr. Van Berckel will be directed to present a memorial to Congress on the subject. March 23, giving accounts of the disputes between the Stadtholder and the Patriots; and of the discovery of a plot to murder two of the latter. April 11, 23, his opinion that the King of Prussia will not interfere any farther in support of the Stadtholder; informing that the King of France had settled a pension of 1500 livres a year on him, (Mr. D.) the half of it to be continued to his daughter, after his death. May 6, respecting the Rhinegrave of Salm; intelligence about Russia, Germany, the Prince of Orange, the *fite* at Rotterdam, and the connexion between France and the United Provinces. April 31, with three secret papers, containing intelligence of party affairs in the Netherlands. May 6, 14. June 26. September 23, containing accounts of the dispute between the Stadtholder and the Republicans, and enclosing the following papers relating to Dutch affairs, viz.

Complimentary Address to the Marquis de Verac, on the conclusion of a Treaty of Alliance between France and the Netherlands.

Three letters respecting the troubles of Utrecht.

Paper respecting the free corps formed in some of the Provinces.

Extract from the Register of Resolutions of the States of Holland, respecting the command of the garrison at the Hague.

Authentic information of what took place at Utrecht, on 2d of August, 1786, at the introduction of the Deputies of the College of Citizens.

Projets of answers to certain memorials extracted from the Resolutions of the States General of August 4, 1786.

Patriotic propositions for forming a National Fund.

Address pronounced before the assembly of Patriotic Deputy Regents, held at Amsterdam, on the 7th and 8th of August, 1786.

Act of Confederacy for maintaining the Republican Constitution.

Letter of Credence of Count de Goertz, Envoy of the King of Prussia, dated September 2, 1786.

Extracts from the Resolutions of the States General of the 22d of September, 1786, discharging the troops from their oath to the Captain General.

Letter from the Prince of Orange to the States General, (may be found in the Annual Register, vol. 28, page 282.)

Memorial of the Pensionary of Harlaem, respecting the command of the garrison of the Hague.

Representation made by the Pensionary Van Berckel, of the reasons for depriving the Prince of Orange of the office of Captain General, and for vesting the command of the Hague in the Deputy Council.

October 3, requesting an order for the arrears of his salary, on the Bankers of the United States at Amsterdam: further relation of the affairs of Holland, with a copy of his letter to the Marquis Lafayette.

October 23, 31, with addresses of the citizens of Gonda, Alcmarr, and of the non-voting towns; extracts of letters.

November, 4, 17, containing addresses of certain cities and towns to the States General. Conference of Count de Goertz with the Pensionary of Amsterdam. Recommends the sale of the Hotel of the United States.

November 29, December 2, 22, systems of France and the United Provinces gain strength.

1787.—January 1, proposed negotiation of M. de Rayneval and Count de Goertz, January 6, with the following papers, viz.

Address of the citizens of Harlaem to the States General, of October 20, 1784.

Resolutions of Holland and West Friesland, respecting the Stadtholder's guards.

Extract from the resolutions of the States of Holland, containing answers of 15 cities of Holland.

Extracts of letters respecting the Emperor's having put his Flemish ports into a state of defence.

An essay on the subject of the Stadtholder's power; with a number of newspapers.



FROM JOHN JAY TO C. W. F. DUMAS.

New York, 22d October, 1785.

Sir,

It gives me great pleasure to have an opportunity of communicating to you an Act of Congress, which expresses the sense they entertain of your services in a manner which I flatter myself will be agreeable to you. You will find a copy of it herewith enclosed.

This letter will be conveyed to you by the way of England. Whenever a direct opportunity to Holland shall offer, I will write to you more particularly, and send you the public papers. Be pleased to favor me with frequent letters, and be assured of the esteem and regard with which I have the honor to be, &c.

JOHN JAY.

Extract from the Journals of Congress, October 14, 1785.

“ On a Report from the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, to whom was referred a letter of the 26th June, from Mr. Dumas,

“Resolved, That in consideration of the valuable services of Mr. C. W. F. Dumas, of the City of Amsterdam, in the United Netherlands, he be allowed and paid a salary of 1300 dollars per annum; that the said salary commence the 19th day of April, 1775, and continue till the further order of Congress, he continuing his services, and that he be charged with all such sums of money as may have been heretofore advanced to him from the United States.”

Office for Foreign Affairs, 13th October, 1785.

The Secretary of the United States for the Department of Foreign Affairs, to whom was referred the letter from Mr. Dumas of 26th June last, reports:

That the conduct of Mr. Dumas, detailed in that letter, evinces his zeal for the honor and interests of the United States, and, in the opinion of your Secretary, merits the approbation of Congress.

That the early, continued, and important services which Mr. Dumas has rendered to the United States, are so generally known and acknowledged, that it would be unnecessary to detail and enumerate them.

That his warm and unceasing attachment to the United States created him powerful enemies, and has reduced him from easy, to very uncomfortable circumstances.

That it would neither be just nor politic in the United States, by neglecting him, to discourage others from a similar line of conduct.

Your Secretary therefore recommends, that an allowance of about three hundred guineas a year be made him, from the day he first entered into the public service, (which can be easily ascertained,) and continued during

the remainder of his life, which cannot be long; and that from this allowance be deducted the sums he has already received.

All which is submitted to the wisdom of Congress.

JOHN JAY.

Office for Foreign Affairs, 24th July, 1787.

The Secretary of the United States for the Department of Foreign Affairs, to whom was referred the letters of Mr. Dumas respecting the house of the United States at the Hague, reports:

That, by his letter of 17th November, 1786, Congress are informed that the house is in a suffering condition; that it is charged with a tax of 167 florins per annum; that the care of it causes some expenses; that it should, in his opinion, be either repaired and inhabited or sold; and that he, (Mr. Dumas,) cannot occupy it without a formal order.

As any change of measures not dictated by a change of circumstance, seems to argue either want of consideration in adopting them, or want of constancy to adhere to them, and as the United States have thought proper to purchase the house in question for the residence of their minister, he thinks it would not be expedient to order it to be sold, as well for the reasons above mentioned, as because such order, if in other respects proper, would, in his opinion, be unseasonable at present; for it would look as if the United States intended either to have no resident Minister there in future, or as if the present troubles of the Republic, or the present state of their own finances, had, in some degree, influenced the measure. He thinks it would be advisable to put Mr. Dumas into the house;

for the expense of taking care of it would be thereby avoided, and that gentleman obliged. If Congress should concur in this, it will be proper to order—that Mr. Dumas be permitted to occupy and reside in the house of the United States at the Hague, until a Minister of the United States shall arrive there, or until the further order of Congress; and that Mr. Adams do direct such repairs to be made (at the expense of the United States) to the said house, as may be really necessary to render it tenantable.

The repeated mention which Mr. Dumas makes of his accounts, and of the arrearages due to him, induces your Secretary to take the liberty of hinting, whether it would not be best to direct that his accounts be settled, and that his little stipend be regularly paid to him.

All which is submitted to the wisdom of Congress.

JOHN JAY.



FROM JOHN JAY TO C. W. F. DUMAS.

New York, 14th December, 1786.

Sir,

The expectation of being able to communicate to you the sentiments and orders of Congress, on certain of the matters mentioned in your letters of 27th January, 24th February, 23d March, 11th, 23d, and 31st April, and 6th of May last, induced me, from time to time, to postpone replying to them.

A variety of circumstances have hitherto occurred to retard those arrangements which Congress have under

consideration, relative to foreign, as well as other affairs of importance. The annual election which lately took place, has, by the absence of the members, caused a stagnation of business, which will probably continue some time longer. I flatter myself, however, that by the January packet, I shall have the pleasure of writing to you, very fully, on several subjects, and particularly on those respecting your salary.

The manner in which his Most Christian Majesty has been pleased to acknowledge your services, must be very acceptable, both to you and your friends; and you have my best wishes that your tranquillity and happiness may always be equal to the unremitted zeal you have manifested for the prosperity of the United States.

I have the honor to be, &c.

JOHN JAY.

Office for Foreign Affairs, 31st January, 1787.

The Secretary of the United States for the Department of Foreign Affairs, to whom was referred a letter of 23d April last, from Mr. Dumas, together with the papers that accompanied it, reports:

That there is but one circumstance mentioned in the said letter and papers, on which it appears to him necessary to report, viz.

That his Most Christian Majesty had conferred upon Mr. Dumas a pension of 1500 livres a year, for life, and of half of that sum, after his death, on his daughter. To accept of which, he requests the permission of Congress.

As Mr. Dumas has, in fact, no commission from the United States, your Secretary doubts the propriety of

giving such express *permission*; because, to *permit* implies a right to *forbid*. He, nevertheless, thinks it would be proper to authorize him to inform Mr. Dumas, that this mark of His Majesty's generous attention to him gives pleasure to Congress, and that they have not the least wish that he should decline to accept and enjoy it.

All which is submitted to the wisdom of Congress.

JOHN JAY.



FROM JOHN JAY TO C. W. F. DUMAS.

New York, 9th February, 1787.

Sir,

I have been favored with your letter of 15th October last, which, with the papers enclosed with it, has been communicated to Congress.

In answer to the one of 23d April last, I have the honor to congratulate you on the manner in which his Most Christian Majesty has been pleased to acknowledge your merit and services. That mark of His Majesty's generous attention to you, gives pleasure to Congress, and they have not the least wish that you should *decline* to accept and enjoy it.

The annual election of Congress, which takes place every autumn, necessarily retards the despatch of such business as may then be under consideration. It was not until last week that delegates from a majority of the States re-assembled, and elected a President. I flatter myself, however, to be soon enabled to write to you particularly on the other subjects of your letters.

With great esteem and regard, &c.

JOHN JAY.

FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN JAY,
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE U. STATES.

The Hague, January 26, 1787.

Sir,

The departure of M. de Rayneval makes it necessary that my letters should be, as formerly, mere journals. What I have now to communicate, may be depended on as correct; I receive my information from a certain source, and am permitted to use it with discretion in my despatches to you.

By resolution of the States of Holland, taken yesterday, the tax hitherto paid by Catholics, under the title of *recognition tax*, has been abolished. At Zwoll, the chief city of Overijssel, the *Jurés*, or representatives of the *Commune*, in consequence of a requisition to that effect, signed by 1800 citizens, declared, that they considered the oppressive regulation of 1674 as abolished and annulled; and that at the next election for Burgomasters, to take place on the 25th January, no one should be chosen who did not show himself ready to introduce the new regulation which has been projected. Besides the five Regents of Zwoll, who have already declared for the abolition of this tyrannical regulation, two others have come forward in the same cause, so that half of that regency are in favor of the measure; and as it is certain that at the election which was to have been held yesterday, there will have been at least two more patriotic magistrates chosen in the places of those whose infirmities prevent them from attending to their duties, there is no doubt that at the next Diet of the Province, the ma-

majority of Zwoll will vote for the abolition of the regulation of 1674.

At Deventer, the second city of Overijssel, the sinister and indecent commotions of the Orange Faction against the great majority of the good Regents, has happily caused six hundred of the chief citizens to unite in support of the said Regents; and that faction, composed of the vilest of the people, has lost its power. The instigator of the troubles was a Burgomaster named Putman, employed by the Stadtholder and his cabal, in stirring up sedition in Guelderland and the adjoining country.

The *missive* of the pretended States of Utrecht assembled at Amersfoort, on the subject of the mediation, is worded in a manner so disobliging to the States of Holland, that it has produced no effect upon them; copies have, however, been delivered to the members. On the other hand, the report on the *missive* of the City of Utrecht, which was sent on the 10th to their Noble and Great Mightinesses, was this morning concluded, notwithstanding a most abominable resolution of the oligarchy at Amsterdam sent with a letter to its Deputies in the States of Holland. So another machination of the mock-states at Amersfoort, concertèd between them, the Orange faction, and the Amsterdam oligarchy, has failed. A committee from the citizen captains of Amsterdam, has positively insisted that the Burgomasters should call a Council of War before the second of February, when the regency of the city is to be changed.

On the 24th instant the States of Holland referred to a committee the address of 1150 chief citizens of Rotterdam, which required that they should refuse to receive into their body, fourteen deputies from the city, among

whom were Burgomasters Van der Hoeven and Van der Haim, and Counsellors d'Escury, Van Teyling, Mossel, Van Hogendorp, Van Staveren, and Van Basel, until the *Grande Besoigne* of their Noble and Great Mightinesses had sat upon the report of the Commissioners sent to Rotterdam.

January 28.—The *Jurés* of the *Commune* of Zwoll, after mature deliberations and conferences held with a committee of the citizens, have declared that they approved those points in the proposed new regulation, which have been settled as fundamental, and that they will act in consequence, if the citizens insisted on it; so that the *Jurés* have yielded to the citizens so far, as to consent that in future they shall be elected by them; whilst the Regents shall be annually continued in place, or dismissed by these *Jurés*, as representatives of the *communes*; the whole in conformity with the ancient rights of the city.

However, in order to show as much condescension as possible to those Regents who had hitherto refused to concur in the abolition of the regulation of 1674, the *Jurés*, before proceeding to the election, which takes place annually on the 25th of January, (the powers of the magistrates being considered as expiring on that day,) offered, in the name and behalf of the citizens, to re-elect the Regents if they would agree to the introduction of a new regulation. Seven of the Regents agreed to do so, and accordingly were re-elected, on the 25th of January; the remainder, nine in number, having refused to sign this declaration, were in consequence excluded, and their places filled by others more agreeable to the citizens.

The same *Jurés* then, in the name and behalf of the

citizens, informed the Stadtholder, by a *missive*, that the said regulation of 1674, was held to be abolished as far as concerned their city, and that, therefore, it had elected and installed its magistracy, and would hereafter do so always, without any regard to his wishes on the subject; which right was claimed by virtue of Zwoll having been formerly a free imperial city, and as such entitled to elect and install its own magistrates. The citizens, in full assembly, entirely approved all that the *Jurés* had done in their name, and every thing passed off with the utmost calm and decency, and without the least disorder having been committed; the ex-regents themselves acknowledging, that the greatest order had prevailed during the whole solemnity.

January 30.—On Saturday, the 27th instant, a meeting of the *Besoigne* of the States of Holland was held, at which Dort, Harlaem, Leyden, Gouda, and Almar, were of opinion that the Council of Rotterdam should be requested, in the mildest manner, to take measures for preventing the Counsellors concerned in the affair, from being sent to the Assembly during the deliberations on the report of the commissioners of the States of Holland. Amsterdam could give no opinion in the case, on account of a letter received from the city, or rather from its oligarchy. The equestrian body, Delft, Hoorn, and Enkhuisen, were of opinion that the address should be rejected, and that the Council of Rotterdam should be left at liberty to send such deputies as they might choose to the States of Holland. At this period of the deliberation, the report would probably have been conformable with the advice given by Dort and the other four members; but Dort, seeing that there

was little chance of carrying such a report through, proposed jointly with the other four, to the Rotterdam Deputies, to come forward with measures which would prevent a resolution contrary to their wishes, unless they had rather lay the matter before their constituents. The Rotterdam Deputies having undertaken to act accordingly, the *Besoigne* was continued up to this very day, when the Amsterdammers sent four Deputies to the Hague, who took side with the Equestrian body in the business; as also did two new Deputies who came from Rotterdam. So that the Equestrian Body being in majority, a report, unfavorable to the objects of the Rotterdam Address, was carried in the States of Holland, leaving the oligarchy in that city at liberty to send what Counsellors they pleased to the Assembly. This report was taken *ad referendum* by Dort, Harlaem, Leyden, Amsterdam, and some other cities, and the final resolution was put off for further deliberations.

The Deputies from Harlaem have also to-day, agreeably to unanimous resolution of their city, made a very important and salutary proposition to the Assembly of Holland. It has two objects in view, 1st, to put in execution the resolution of their Noble and Great Mightinesses of the 13th of December last, relative to the committee to be employed on the instructions for the Prince of Orange. This has been settled, and the members of the committee, fifteen in number, are to be named on Thursday next: 2ndly, to establish some general maxims to the effect that the people may be really represented in the deliberations of the States, and have a fair influence on their representatives, as the constitution of the Province requires; to calm at the same time the agita-

tion prevailing, as to the understanding which is suspected to subsist between the Prince of Orange and the Regents, and to endeavor to prevent those embarrassments which might ensue if the government of the Province should become too complicated. This second part of the proposition has been taken *ad referendum* by the members.

February 2.—Having communicated to you every thing of which I could be certain, I avail myself of a courier which the French Ambassador is about to despatch to Paris, and conclude *ex abrupto*, sending you some newspapers which will serve as a commentary on my letter.

I am, Sir, with great respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, February 13, 1787.

Sir,

I have nothing to add to my last about the affairs of Overijssel, except, that the administering of the oath with respect to the famous regulation of 1674, was determined on in the Diet of that Province by the great majority of three cities and eight nobles, though opposed by twenty-two nobles, who entered their protest against the proceeding. I must here remark, that the Equestrian body has one voice in the Diet, and the three cities the other; and that *one* noble only, voting with the cities, gives a majority. Moreover, the members have deferred examining the newly proposed regulation until the next meeting of

the Diet in March; the Stadtholder thus having time to prepare his opinion on the subject, and lay it before them. I have translated the *projet* of this new regulation for the French Ambassador, in order that he might send it to his court. As it is very long, and the Diet will probably make some changes in it, I shall wait until it has been perfected and sanctioned, and then transmit it to Congress. It will doubtless be a very remarkable document.

You will see, Sir, by the annexed *missive*, A, from the Stadtholder to the States General, of the 29th of January last, that although abandoned by his brother-in-law, the King of Prussia, he goes so far as to endeavor to implicate France in his desperate contest, and that very serious measures may be expected from that power. The Ambassador received a courier from his court yesterday, whilst I was dining with him. I can say no more on this head at present. I send you a gazette containing the important proposition of Harlaem, (D) of which I gave the substance in my last. America and Europe are thus offering to the world the imposing spectacle of two great Republics, one of which is acquiring strength, the other regaining what it had lost.

The annexed papers, B and C, have been issued for the purpose of letting the citizens of Amsterdam know the dangers to which the Dutch possessions in the Indies are liable, from the internal and external enemies of the Republic. The same have been sent to the Court of France. Their importance to Congress will be sufficiently clear without any efforts on my part to explain it.

I have been absolutely obliged to make some payments which rendered it necessary for me to request from

Messrs. W. & J. Willinck and N. & J. Van Staphorst, bankers of the United States, an advance of 2500 florins, (or 1000 dollars,) of the 15,010 florins which the Treasury of the United States is in arrears to me, by virtue of the Act of Congress of October 14, 1785, in my favor, according to the account which I have the honor of sending. Those gentlemen granted my request immediately, offering to inform the Treasury of it, and to pay the remainder upon its order. But as you, Sir, must doubtless have a voice in the matter, I entreat you to use your interest in having the delay terminated, which causes me most serious injury, and renders my situation hardly bearable.

I am, Sir, with great respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.

PAPERS ACCOMPANYING THE PRECEDING.

From the Ambassador of France near the States General to C. W. F. Dumas.

The Hague, Friday at noon, January 26, 1787.

The Ambassador of France begs Mr. Dumas to inform him, whether he has learnt any thing positive about the proceedings in Overijssel. He awaits Mr. Dumas' answer, in order to finish his despatch, and desires that it may be such as could be written in cipher before dinner.

The Ambassador presents his compliments to Mr. Dumas.

Note made by Mr. Dumas of the information furnished in compliance with the above request.

Tuesday, January 30th, 1787.

Details respecting the Rotterdam affair; about the proposition made in the States of Holland by the city of Harlaem, on the subject of the Stadtholder's instructions, and the rights of the people; on the state of things at Amsterdam.



From the French Ambassador to C. W. F. Dumas.

Wednesday evening, the 31st January, 1787.

You must pardon me, my dear Dumas, for the trouble I give you; but here is a most important paper in Dutch, which I am anxious to have translated as soon as possible. If you want young St. Martin to help you, send me word by the bearer. I need not repeat that I am truly your friend.

VAUGUYON.

A.

Missive from the Prince of Orange to the States General, received January 31st, 1787; being the paper referred to in the preceding billet from the French Ambassador, which was translated into French by Mr. Dumas. The papers referred to in it were probably not sent by Mr. Dumas.

TO MR. FAGEL, SECRETARY TO THEIR HIGH MIGHTINESSES.

Nimeguen, January 29th, 1787.

Sir,

As the editors of certain privileged newspapers, as also other periodicals, have taken the liberty of representing

what occurred during the residence in this Republic of M. de Rayneval, Counsellor of State to His Most Christian Majesty, and the negotiations which that gentleman conducted with the Count de Goertz, Minister of State of His Prussian Majesty, accredited on his part to their High Mightinesses, and the Baron de Thulemeier, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of his said Prussian Majesty near the States General, I am under the necessity of giving you an account of what really took place as far as I was myself concerned ; requesting you to communicate the same to their High Mightinesses in the manner which you may judge most proper ; laying before them the annexed copies of papers relating to the business, in order that their High Mightinesses may know the exact truth of the case.

You will recollect, Sir, that when his present Majesty of Prussia ascended the throne, he accredited the Count de Goertz near their High Mightinesses, and made known his views regarding the present situation of the Republic, and the differences which had arisen within it. This monarch, in order to restore tranquillity in the Republic, and conceiving that the alliance contracted in 1785, between it and France, had bound the two very strongly together, intimated to the court of that kingdom, his interest in the welfare of this country, and his desire to have some means adopted, for reconciling the differences which were disturbing its peace, and could not but prove most detrimental to its prosperity ; he at the same time requested that court to co-operate in arranging the difficulties, and restoring that quiet and good understanding, which are so absolutely necessary for the true interests of this country.

In consequence of this wish, expressed by His Prussian Majesty, M. de Rayneval was sent to the Hague by the Court of Versailles, to confer with Count de Goertz, and if possible conclude privately upon some arrangement to reconcile existing differences, and provide for the maintenance of peace and harmony in this country.

My desire and zeal for the prosperity of our country, which is only to be attained by the establishment of confidence and good understanding amongst those who participate in the Government of these Provinces, are the only motives which induced me to enter into this negotiation, and I hoped that its results would be of a nature calculated to remove the difficulties which exist, to the satisfaction of all parties. For that reason, I did not refuse to condescend so far as to answer the propositions of M. de Rayneval, with whom I should otherwise have hesitated to treat, as he was not, to my knowledge, accredited in any way to this Government.

The Count de Goertz came, as you know, about the first of December, to communicate to me and to the Princess my wife, the contents of the letter addressed to him by M. de Rayneval, of which I send you a copy, No. 1. It contained the conditions which M. de Rayneval had, in a separate note, declared to be the *non plus ultra*, obtained by himself and the French Ambassador, from those whom they had addressed on the subject. On the day after his arrival, the Count gave me a summary of the said letter, from M. de Rayneval, (copy No. 2,) in which he merely makes known to me the propositions of the last named gentleman, in rather more moderate terms, retaining the whole sense, but leaving out the disagreeable reflections which were interspersed.

I suspect, indeed, that M. de Rayneval had authorized the Count, before he left the Hague, to act thus, if he thought it proper for the advancement of the objects of the negotiation.

On the 20th of December, Count de Goertz gave me M. de Rayneval's second letter, (copy No. 3.) which he had just received. It appeared, by its tenor, to be in reply to a letter from the Count, in which he had avowed his conviction that difficulties, apparently insurmountable, lay in the way of the project to which they wished me to accede.

The Princess my wife, then took upon herself to write a letter to Count de Goertz, (copy No. 4,) in order to give him a summary of the principal considerations to which M. de Rayneval's propositions had given rise, and which had been the subject of the conversations between us and the Count, requesting him to let its contents be known to M. de Rayneval. The only answer which it produced from the latter, was the letter copied in No. 5. By it we learned with regret, that M. de Rayneval considered our answer as putting an end to the negotiations; however, a few days after, we flattered ourselves that a means still remained of continuing, on an equitable and reasonable basis, those negotiations, which might lead to the restoration of peace and tranquillity in the Republic. This hope was induced by the contents of a note, from M. de Rayneval to Baron de Thulemeier, which the latter had communicated to Count de Goertz. We did not hesitate to explain ourselves farther in a note (copy No. 6,) which we gave to Count de Goertz the day after we had received from Baron de Thulemeier account of a conversation which he had lately had with M. de Ray-

neval, in which the latter had expressed his desire, that some basis were adopted on which the negotiations could be continued. It was indeed, in consequence of this very conversation, that M. de Rayneval had written the above mentioned note to Baron de Thulemeier.

Count de Goertz sent this note to Baron de Thulemeier, in order that he might give it to M. de Rayneval; but it had no better success than that of the Princess. M. de Rayneval did not think proper to make any answer to it, and persisted in considering the negotiation as at an end. He declared to M. de Thulemeier, that he had in the mean time received orders from his Court, which rendered it necessary that he should set off directly; and in fact he quitted the Hague, as you know Sir, about the middle of this month.

Nothing could give me more pleasure, than to learn that their High Mightinesses approve of my conduct in this affair, and I take this occasion to declare, that I will at all times zealously employ every means which may be proper, and compatible with my honor and duty to the Republic, to put an end to the troubles and differences which have for some time past distracted our dear country; and that I desire nothing more than to be permitted to direct my efforts to its advancement and real welfare, and to the maintenance of liberty, religion, and independence in the State; for which I am ready when necessary, to devote even my life.

I am with great esteem, sir, &c.

WILLIAM, PRINCE OF ORANGE.

Extract from the Leyden Gazette des Nouvelles extraordinaires of February 6, 1787, on the subject of the for going Missive, and other matters.

The Hague, February 4, 1787.

The States of Holland and West Friesland adjourned on the day before yesterday until the 15th. Their Noble and Great Mightinesses appointed on that day, three members of the Government of that Province, to act as mediators on their part in the disputes which are agitating Utrecht. It is feared, however, that this mediation will be of little avail, as the members now in session at Amersfoort persist in their desire, that the other six Provinces should also engage in the attempt at reconciliation, whilst the Regency at Utrecht will admit none others than Holland, Overijssel, and Groningen. The mediators appointed are Messrs. Gevaerts Burgomaster of Dort, Van Kastellen Pensionary of Harlaem, and Temminck Counsellor of Amsterdam.

On the 1st of this month, Counsellor Pensionary Van Bleiswyck informed the States of Holland, that "a letter from the Prince Stadtholder had been received by the States General, together with copies of the correspondence with Count de Goertz, and of the propositions made to His Highness." We learn that these papers will be published forthwith; but in order that a clear idea be given, *some others should be added which the Stadtholder has thought proper to keep back.* Count de Goertz being about to return to Berlin, has taken leave of the States General in the following letter:

Nimeguen, January 29, 1787.

High and Mighty Lords: Having received orders from my Sovereign which terminate my mission, and re-

quire me to attend on him, I take the liberty of presenting to your High Mightinesses the letter of recall which His Majesty has ordered me to deliver to you, and which contains fresh assurances of the constant friendship entertained by the King towards the Republic, his sincere wishes for its welfare, and his regret at not seeing peace and amity established throughout the State, in the restoration of which he is interested most strongly by all the titles of neighbor and friend, and particularly by his alliance, as a near relative of the illustrious House of Orange.

I shall be most happy if, during my short residence as Minister here, I shall have been able to contribute in any degree, towards cementing the union between the two States, and shall have merited the esteem and good wishes of your High Mightinesses.

Your High Mightinesses will pardon me for not having delivered His Majesty's letter in person, and received again my letters of credit from their hands, which nothing but the haste with which I was obliged to set off prevented me from doing.

COUNT DE GOERTZ.

B.

Important notice respecting the despatch of British troops to the East Indies.

Ever since the peace, the English have kept in India all the troops which they had sent there during the last war, entirely against the spirit and the letter of the treaty of peace, which France had executed on her part, by withdrawing her troops from the service of her allies the Indian Princes, and recalling them home.

The King of England did indeed make pretence of doing the same thing, by recalling the regiments, which he had lent the Company; but this reciprocity was rendered entirely illusory, by an understanding between the King and the Company to the effect, that all the officers and soldiers of the Royal regiments, should be allowed to remain in India, on condition of their entering the service of the Company. It was managed in this way.

In addition to the ease and pleasures of India, the Governors of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, offered a premium in money, to every Royal soldier who entered the service of the Company; and they not only promised promotion to every officer, but also officers' commissions to every individual of these troops who would bring a certain number of soldiers as recruits to the service; thus, for instance, he who brought one hundred was made captain; for fifty, the rank of lieutenant was given; for twenty-five, that of ensign; and for a less number, the places of sergeant or corporal.

The Company might doubtless have retained the King's troops in India at much less expense; but this will serve to show that the English neglect no artifice or sacrifice in attaining their ends. A single instance of inconvenience which resulted from this arrangement, proves how fertile they are in resources. A sergeant, named Harper, having prevailed on a hundred soldiers to enlist, was suddenly raised to a rank much higher than those of a number of officers who had been his superiors the day before. This mushroom-like elevation excited discontent, murmurs, and remonstrances, from the corps of officers; in order to calm which, the expedient was adopted of sending the new made captain to command a battalion of

Sepoys; an office much more lucrative, and generally given as a recompense to the oldest or most distinguished captains.

So glad were the royal troops to avail themselves of all these advantages, that there returned to England, out of the whole body, none but the staff officers and some invalids, whose places having been soon filled, the regiments appear to be just the same with those which served in India during the late war. In the 50 trading vessels sent to India in 1786 by the Company, each carrying one hundred recruits, according to custom, England has sent there 5000 men, and it was known a month ago, that a considerable number of German troops was soon to follow. Those who were questioned on the subject, declared it to be false; however, the following was stated in London, on the 9th of January, 1787:

“ The foreign troops engaged for the East India Company’s possessions in Asia, and about to set off in the merchant fleet, are all Hanoverians, supplied by His Majesty, who brought them from Hanover on purpose. Half of them are already on board, having been, immediately on their arrival at Gravesend, divided among the vessels of the Company, lying at that place; which vessels are the Chesterfield, the Thetis, the Lord Camden, the Locke, the Melville Castle, the Britannia, and the Princess Royal. These troops are destined for St. Helena, Bengal and Bombay. Another detachment which was put on board at Bremerlech is daily expected; although there is some fear that the severity of the winter may have prevented the transports containing them from leaving the river. Should they arrive, they will be imme-

diately put on board some other of the Company's vessels, which are only waiting for them in order to set sail.

"Prince William Henry, who is now commanding the frigate Pegasus, on the Halifax station, has asked leave to return to England, in order to embark next April for India, on board the vessels which are then to sail."

So, in addition to the English troops which have remained in India ever since the peace, and the 5000 men annually sent out, we see there are a large body of Germans already embarked, and others daily expected, for the same destination; besides a squadron of ships of war, and a Prince of the Blood, to sail in April.

It is impossible to reflect on the intentions with which these forces were despatched, without trembling for the Dutch and French Indies. We might speak more at large, nay, even suggest a plan for neutralizing the power of these forces, or turning them against Great Britain herself; but the sinister machinations of your oligarchies on the one hand, and the inconsiderate effervescence of your democrats on the other, induce us to fear that your best heads and hearts will be unable to take up the matter until it is too late; that is to say, the English will have struck their blow, and the Indian possessions of France and the Netherlands, will have either been invaded, or on the point of being so, while on your part, nothing has been done towards establishing order, repairing your fortresses, completing your garrisons, or increasing your land and sea forces, in that part of the world.

C.

Reflections on the establishment of a Bank in Bengal.

The London Bulletin of the 9th of February, 1787, says: "By the last advices from Bengal, dated July 12th, and received during the past week, we learn that the news of the appointment of Lord Cornwallis reached Calcutta on the 2d of July, and that several vessels had arrived. A return of twenty lacks of rupees, had been declared for this year. The Hindostan Provinces are in a state of perfect tranquillity. 'Nothing,' says the paper from which we extract, 'could happen more favorably for the ministry, as it can at the next meeting of Parliament, give authentic news from India, calculated to dissipate entirely all fears of disturbances in our eastern possessions. The letters from Bombay are to the end of August.

"We learn also, that the plan proposed for establishing a bank in Bengal, has been fully matured, and that Mr. Hall has set out for Europe, to negotiate the arrangements necessary for the purpose. The intelligence and perseverance exhibited by Mr. Mair, in this business, is highly honorable to him. The East India Company will apply for a charter for this bank."

The following reflections have been caused by the above paragraph:

If nothing more be wanted for the establishment of a bank in Bengal by the East India Company, than a charter from the British Government, we may consider the affair as already settled. The object of such an establishment is, to employ the present interval of peace, in transferring all the specie now circulating in Bengal

into the hands of the Company, and thus creating a fund, which the Government may employ in time of war, for the purpose of carrying into execution its well known plans of usurpation, to the detriment of the natives, and of the other European powers holding possessions in or trading with this quarter of the world.

The following is an outline of the project in view, which is at once commercial and political:

The whole of the territorial revenue drawn by the government from the Kingdom of Bengal, amounting annually to more than one hundred millions, will be employed in forming the first funds of the bank. This sum, deposited in the vaults of the citadel of Calcutta, will be represented by bank notes thrown into circulation in place of the specie thus abstracted. The credit of this paper, once fixed upon the deposit of the territorial revenue, will extend to all the expenses of the civil and military administration, which the Company is obliged to supply, for the maintenance of its sovereignty in this Kingdom. All such payments will be made in paper; the civil and military officers of the company will be eager to set the example of confidence, by receiving it as pay, on condition of its being easily convertible at the bank office into bills of exchange on England, for the amount of a year's pay of each. This method of remitting to England, will cause all the persons employed to have recourse to the bank: for in addition to their pay, almost all are able to live, and even to acquire fortune, by other means, lawful or illicit. At the worst, they could negotiate these bills in India, not only at par, but even at a premium, by delivering them either to masters of vessels returning to England, or to the free merchants estab-

lished in India under the protection of the Company; because neither these merchants, who have the privilege of carrying certain articles which the Company does not usually introduce, in the vessels of the company which they command, nor the free merchants, who, by paying the freight, can have the same goods brought from England, have any facility in obtaining return cargoes from India ; all the direct trade between the two countries, being comprised within the exclusive privileges of the Company, except that in diamonds, on which a loss of at least twenty-five per cent. is often occasioned by the great competition.

The mode of remitting offered by these two classes of merchants, will give a great value to bills of exchange obtained by the persons employed, in return for their bank notes, received as pay. There is no doubt that the high officers of the company, who by monopolies in trade or by using every species of extortion and embezzlement, have acquired immense fortunes, which they wish to transmit to Europe in an indirect manner, will eagerly seek for these bills of exchange, and that this competition will increase their value on the spot.

I would not, in truth, be security for the Company's continuing long to authorize such transactions ; and it could easily find pretexts for refusing to pay these bills, in England, even although the funds were actually in its own hands in India. Every one who is acquainted with the singular expedients which this Company has been in the habit of employing during the last thirty years, may easily foresee, that on the first shock given to public confidence in India, on the first real or supposed embarrassment of its affairs, either from losses by sea or land, or

consequent upon a war in Europe or Asia, the Company could easily purchase an authorization for suspending these payments, or for reducing them into interests on the capital ; or that, by its intimate connexion with the Government, it may contrive to get its own debt incorporated into the national debt. But before that time, the bank of Bengal, having acquired solidity enough to accomplish the object for which it was established, will have succeeded in getting into its hands all the specie of Bengal, in exchange for its paper, without having employed any portion of its immense treasures, except in buying return cargoes for Europe, if it could not obtain them for its notes. The exercise of the sovereignty which it possesses in Bengal, furnishes the Company with too much power over the great capitalists in that country, the Indians, Banians, Circars, Shroffs, merchants and manufacturers, whom it has at times paid by assigning the profits of lands, to leave any doubt that it may easily induce them to contribute to these ends, by giving them notes on the Bank, which is the depository of all the land revenues.

There is a political reason, too, which contributes to make this latter arrangement of great importance to the Company; which is, the necessity of interesting in the maintenance of its authority, a vast population which is at present strongly opposed to it, from the tyranny they have undergone, and much inclined to throw off the yoke, even only for a change, if an opportunity should offer. But if, by the establishment of the bank, the Company can only contrive to get into its hands the fortunes of the rich, and the pittance of the inferior classes, then all those who have thus received for their gold

nothing but a representative in paper, will find themselves chained to the existence of the Company, and will have no other resource against total ruin, than the sacrifice of all their faculties, nay, even of their lives, when called upon for the support of a power, whose fall would be fatal to themselves.

England is now at peace with all the world, and has taken advantage of that state of things to establish this bank of Bengal. The idea is not new; it was conceived twenty-two years ago, by that famous Machiavelist, Lord Clive, its execution having been only retarded by the continual wars in which the Company has been engaged in India during that period; and the excitement of another war in that country would probably be the only means of closing this gulf, by which, without such obstacle, we may soon expect to see all the circulating medium of Bengal swallowed up; a sum amounting, by the most moderate calculations, to not less than six hundred millions. With such an immense sum at its disposition, for the restoration of its credit, and the advancement of its power, what may not England effect at the next rupture, towards satisfying its ambition and revenge? It must be recollected that the hundred millions sent from Bengal in 1781, enabled it to make the greater part of the preparations for the campaign of 1782. That first essay at violent exaction, made by Governor Hastings on the Indian Princes depending on the Company, is an encouraging precedent for attempting a more extended system of depredations, by the establishment of a bank, into which every species of cunning will be employed to induce those funds to be deposited

which a want of confidence had hitherto enabled the holders to preserve from the rapacity of their rulers.

The Hague, January 27, 1787.

D.

Proposition of the City of Harlaem.

This paper, which is so frequently referred to by Mr. Dumas, is translated from the Leyden Gazette des Nouvelles Extraordinaires of February 6th, 1787, which accompanied Mr. D.'s despatch of February 13th, 1786.

The Deputies from the City of Harlaem, by order of their constituents, submit to the Assembly of the States of Holland:

That their said constituents are deeply affected by the present disturbed state of affairs in their dear country, and are no less aware than the Regency of Amsterdam has, by its proposition of the 25th of October last, shown itself to be, of the injurious results which these circumstances must produce to the most precious interests of the nation, and of the indispensable necessity which exists, that all Regents who love their country should, without delay, zealously employ their efforts towards alleviating these difficulties as promptly as possible;—that they have therefore seen, with the utmost satisfaction, that part of the said proposition of Amsterdam which recommends “*the appointment of a commission composed of members of the government of this Province, whose duty it should be to inquire into the extent of the Executive powers of the Stadtholder, Captain General, and the High Admiral, in order to prepare such plans and instructions relative to the duties and prerogatives of those offices, as may be considered compa-*

tible with the dignity of the sovereignty, the preservation of the rights and liberty of the country and citizens, and the general welfare of the State; and to report thereon to their constituents." That the said constituents, concurring entirely with these sentiments, do fully approve of the vote given by their Deputies in favor of the resolution of their Great and Noble Mightinesses of the 13th of December last; inasmuch as they conceive, that taking into view the origin and nature of the existing difficulties, the most effectual means of putting an end to them and preventing their recurrence, must be such an examination as is recommended above, and the definitive resolution which may result from it.

That the more evident the utility of this proposition, the greater the necessity of proceeding without delay towards the examination recommended; for there can be no doubt, that unless the work be begun in that quarter, the tranquillity which is so ardently desired can never be obtained, or at least permanently established, as it must be based on the suppression of the causes of the present misunderstanding; and that sad experience proves but too clearly, that the longer such differences last, the more heated become the minds of those between whom they exist, and the less inclined are they rendered to those mutual concessions which must precede every accommodation.

That for these reasons the said constituents cannot too seriously recommend the execution of the provisions of the above mentioned resolution, made by their Noble and Great Mightinesses upon the point in question; particularly as they are convinced that no more effectual mode could be adopted for disproving or rectifying the

false ideas which have been formed by many, and studiously encouraged for certain evil ends by others, that a change in the constitution was meditated which should destroy the offices of Stadtholder, Captain General, and High Admiral, or at least deprive them of all their essentials, than the establishment of a commission which, with the preservation of those important dignities as its basis, should furthermore have in view the rendering them more conformable with the rules of equity, and with the real constitution of the State, as well as more useful for great purposes for which they were instituted; placing them at the same time above those doubts and uncertainties which must now often disturb the exercise of their functions, and render it of no advantage to the State.

That their constituents, notwithstanding they are fully convinced of the necessity of urging on this work, and having it finished as soon as possible, are at the same time well aware that it can but *partially* effect the grand object of establishing tranquillity and mutual confidence in the State, unless an examination of another nature were also undertaken and completed. No one who is acquainted with the constitution of this Republic in general, and of this Province in particular, can be ignorant that the form of government is and can be no other than *representative*; and taking into consideration the nature of this government, and the bases on which our liberty and independence rest, it must be admitted to be no more than equitable and truly constitutional, that this representative form should be subject to no doubts, and that at the same time the people should enjoy a certain degree of influence over their representatives, by which

their real prerogative and advantage over those who live under an absolute government be at all times manifest. But however legitimate and equitable be this principle, it is no less certain that it should have its limits, in order that, on the one hand, jealousies should not arise among the citizens, and on the other hand, those who are charged with either branch of public administration, should not be shackled so far as to prevent them from fulfilling their duties to the advantage and welfare of this nation, which they contribute to represent, and thus advancing the prosperity of the country which is theirs in common.

That such considerations now more than ever merit attention, and should suggest dispositions proper on the one hand, to free all good citizens from fear, lest while concerting the means of restoring tranquillity, we should lose sight of the fundamental principle of a representative government, and of that influence which the people should have over the administration; and on the other, to prevent pernicious dissensions in the nation, which would tend to overthrow all attempts at restoring the constitution, and which must be the final result of a diversity of plans and projects, causing immediate confusion and embarrassments.

For all which reasons, the deputies of Harlaem have been charged by their constituents to make to this Assembly, and to urge, as far as lay within their power, the following

PROPOSITION.

First. That in virtue of a resolution made by their Noble and Great Mightinesses, on the 13th of December, 1786, (the execution of which is expressly called for in the present proposition,) measures should be taken, as soon as possible, to organize the Commission thereby

decreed, for the purpose of examining into the limits of the Executive power held by the Stadtholder, the Captain General, and the High Admiral, and of concerting the necessary plans and instructions relating to the duties and prerogatives of those offices; and that as nothing more remains than the appointment of the members of said Commission, a day be fixed for making such appointments.

Secondly. That there be likewise instituted forthwith, a Commission consisting of members of the government of this Province, to examine into what is so commonly advanced at present respecting the general representation of the whole nation, as established by the Constitution of this Republic; and also to inquire whether it would be proper and in accordance with the Constitution and the true interests of the State, to settle some general maxims respecting the people in connexion with the government, as also the limits within which such maxims should have force, in order that all doubts and suspicions on the subject might cease. That the said Commission being by nature intimately connected with that proposed in the first article, may end its labors at the same time, in order that resolutions may together be taken on the results of both.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, February 16, 1787.

Sir,

Yesterday, the first point of the important proposition of Harlaem, respecting the Commission for instructing the

Prince of Orange, was at length concluded on, and carried into effect, by the nomination of twelve Commissioners, besides three consulting ministers for the *retro-acta*, who have also their votes in that commission.

I send a list of the Commissioners, affixing the letter *g* to the names of those whom I consider *good men*; *b* to those of a contrary character; and *p* to such as are merely passable.

g Mr. Gevaerts, Burgomaster of Dort.

g Mr. Zeeberg, Counsellor Pensionary of Harlaem.

b Mr. Vander Goes, formerly Burgomaster of Delft.

g Mr. Van Halteren, Counsellor of Leyden.

p Mr. Huidekoper Van Marseveen, Counsellor of Amsterdam.

b Mr. Van Eyk, Counsellor of Gouda.

g Mr. Hoogstraten, Counsellor of Rotterdam.

p Mr. Bleiswyck, Counsellor of Gornichem.

g Mr. De Beer, Counsellor of Shierdam.

g Mr. Vander Miede, Burgomaster of Alcmarr.

p Mr. Foreest Counsellor of Hoorn.

p Mr. Duyvens, Counsellor of Enkhuysen,

p Mr. Clotterboke, Secretary of the States of Holland.

g Mr. Block, Secretary of the Deputy Counsellors of North Holland.

g Mr. Pr. Paulus, Fiscal Counsellor of the Admiralty of the Meuse.

The nobility would appoint none. They may be safely spared.

I am informed that great dejection has been remarked in the countenance of a certain person at Nimeguen, especially since the turn which affairs have taken in Overysse.

I am, with great respect,

C. W. F. DUMAS.

FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, February 27th, 1787.

Sir,

Your Excellency's favor, dated the 6th of December last, gave me great comfort, as it induced me to hope that the January packet would bring me effectual relief. Since the letters, the receipt of which you did me the honor to acknowledge, I have sent others by way of Paris, dated respectively the 23d of September; the 3d, 5th, 9th, 15th, 23d, and 31st of October; the 4th, and 17th of November; the 2d, 6th, and 22d of December, 1786; the 1st and 2d of January; and the 13th and 16th of February, of this present year.

I have omitted mentioning, in my preceding letters, that, from the sum stated in my account as arrears due me, amounting to - - - 15,010.8 florins
is to be deducted, as since received

from Mr. Jefferson - - - 1,219.4 „

Leaving due me 13,791.4 „

which can not be paid without an order from the Treasury.

Mr. Jefferson has, I know, sent to Congress by the last packet from Havre, a most important proposition, which came through me to him, but I am ignorant whether it was addressed to your Department. In any case, I think it necessary to inform you, Sir, that the affair which will be most favorable to the United States, as well as agreeable to France, must be carried on with the utmost secrecy, not only in America, but also in Europe, especially at Amsterdam, at which place it is most essential to

its success, that no one should be made acquainted with it, nor authorized by Congress to act upon it, except Mr. Jefferson and myself, under his orders. In this case, Congress would only have to acquiesce in a most admirable arrangement.

I can give nothing in addition to what is contained in the papers sent herewith, except that an inveterate oligarchy, (the old vice of this country,) has just occasioned a crisis which must soon determine, and might be fatal, if a certain tyrant possessed as much boldness and capacity as ambition and obstinacy. I hope soon to be able to inform you that the boil has suppurated. Under the present circumstances, (as always,) it is lucky that there is no American Minister here to fawn upon the representative of Great Britain,* which would produce the most injurious effects upon this country as well as on France.

That diplomatist is employing every means to increase the *Anglomania*. Pleasures, *fêtes*, play, intrigue, *espionnage*, and corruptions of every kind, are set at work, and with but too much success. The representatives of all the other powers, except France and Spain, have fallen into the snare, and become devoted slaves.

The interest which you, Sir, are so kind as to take in the way chosen by His Majesty of France to testify his satisfaction with my conduct, is most precious to me. I shall endeavor always to merit it by the most faithful perseverance in those principles which have hitherto directed and supported me, and by the sincere respect which I shall ever entertain for you.

March 2, 1787.—The crisis above mentioned has been

*Sir James Harris.

brought about by an oligarchical majority in Amsterdam, which tyrannised over the good citizens by sinister and insidious resolutions. Its example had encouraged those of the same class in other cities: the good cause began to fall into a minority in the States of Holland, and the Equestrian order was insolently triumphing. Nothing less was intended than to forbid the people from making addresses, and to procure the withdrawal of the *cordon* of troops opposed to those which the Prince, under the auspices of the Generality, has contrived to use in strengthening his party in the Provinces of Guelderland and Utrecht. The pretext is, that the establishment of such a *cordon* could only be made by unanimous consent, as it involved an extraordinary expense. But on Monday and Tuesday last, the citizens of Amsterdam boldly came forward in support of the honest minority of its Council, at the head of which is the brave Hooft, presiding Burgomaster, against the rest of the regents and the unprincipled majority, which latter were obliged to come to terms, and consent to the formation of a representative body, (*constitués*,) which should have the right hereafter of making addresses and remonstrances. Thus the blow, on the effects of which the Stadtholder relied, after being abandoned by the King of Prussia, has been parried, and the forced system, which has for some time made the great city play a contemptible part, will be changed.

I am, Sir, with great respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.

Private note from Mr. Dumas to Mr. Jay, enclosed in the preceding.

Note, which I beseech you, Sir, to keep for yourself alone, without letting any one else see it, or know that I wrote it.

Under the present circumstances, and certainly for a long time to come, as it is my duty to repeat, it is worse than useless to send any one here as Minister, who, by consorting with the *Anglomanes*, and idle, sensual, gaming diplomatists, who are always to be found at Sir J**** H*****'s, would only give umbrage to the party of the Patriots and of France, which is fortunately the superior here. I am authorized, nay entreated, Sir, to impress this upon you, and to assure you that the party I have mentioned do not wish Congress to send them a mere minister of etiquette and ostentation. In the present state of affairs, political as well as financial, *being* is better than *seeming*.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, March 23, 1787.

Sir,

The good citizens are gaining ground at Amsterdam upon the oligarchy, and will eventually triumph. The latter continue their exertions, *per fas et nefas*; but so much the better; they only serve to irritate and shock the good party, and prevent them from slumbering like Issachar the Ass, (Genesis, chapter 49; verses 14 and 15.) Four colonels, devoted to the cause of tyranny, endeavored to prevent, or to render illegal, the holding of a citizens' Council of War, which, composed of nearly all the captains and subalterns, with an honest colonel

at their head, having been excluded from the Hall of Assembly at the Town house, met in another place, and made several elections of officers, intending to adjourn to the 4th of April next. The majority of the Burgomasters has refused to administer the oath to these new officers; but no matter, the Council of War continues its session, and will render this trick of no avail.

Yesterday the Burgomasters entered into a solemn engagement to appoint one of the fifteen Counsellors of the honest minority as Commissioner on the part of, Amsterdam, to report on the second point in the proposition of Harlaem, respecting the legal influence of the nation over the Regency. M. Abbema will probably be the person appointed.

On Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday next, they will take up the subject of three associations, known at Amsterdam under the names of the Citizens', the Patriotic, and the Army associations, which are corresponding together about the appointment of the *Constitués* or representatives of the people of Amsterdam, who are to have the right of making addresses and remonstrances, and of conferring with the City Council. The citizens' Council of War, on its part, has already appointed a committee of its members to act in concert, and indeed to form part of the *Constitués* of the citizens. This latter body will enter upon its duties in eight or ten days, and cannot fail to have an important influence in favor of the rights and privileges of these citizens.

In order that you may clearly comprehend my meaning, I must observe, that the political vice which has so long caused Amsterdam to play a contemptible part in the Assembly of Holland, and laid it at the feet of the

Orange party, is the tyranny exercised by the Burgomasters over the citizens by means of the City Council, a majority of which body, through family connexions, depend upon the former. In addition to which, the Prussian Envoy scatters money in abundance every where, in order to keep up the divisions: for instance, it is said that he pays certain expenses, to the amount of 60 florins a month, for an Amsterdam Deputy, whom the Burgomasters were obliged to recall; and that the son of a Burgomaster, a dissipated fellow, has received from him 250 florins within the last three months. He keeps both sexes in good humour by pleasures and brilliant entertainments. Low fellows, too, are spread about the towns and the flat country, distributing money, which they receive from his emissaries, and from those of the oligarchy and the *Anglomane* Orange party.

But to return to my journal.

This morning, in the Assembly of the States of Holland, were concluded:

1st. The second point in the important proposition of Harlaem respecting the establishment of the influence of the People over the Regencies. You will recollect, Sir, that the first point regarded the Committee actually in session, charged with defining the limits of the powers of the Stadtholder, the Captain General, and the High Admiral.

2d. The fugitives of Hattem and Elburg having prayed their Noble and Great Mightinesses to give them the means of subsistence, in virtue of the protection which had been granted to them, Dort and Harlaem strenuously took their part, and their petition was finally granted.

3d. Notwithstanding an insidious proposition of the

Burgomasters of Hoorn, the States of Holland persisted in their resolution of the 17th, referring to the Deputy Counsellors of North Holland the trial and punishment of the persons who excited the troubles at Hoorn. They are to settle the affairs in a week at farthest, and to have a detachment of cavalry at their command for enforcing their orders.

4th. On proposition being made to fill some vacancies in the places of officers of the Holland contingent, some Deputies having pretended that they had received no instructions from their cities as far as regarded the legion of the Rhinegrave of Salm; other cities declared that they were also without instructions as to filling the vacancies in the Captain General's guards. Here I must remark that the Orange party and the oligarchy are anxious to have that corps dismissed; but the citizens of Amsterdam have raised a subscription of 160,000 florins, which they have placed in bank in order to preserve it for six months longer. *Interim aliquid fiet.*

I have been informed, under promise of secrecy, that the Minister of a certain great power, who some time since demanded and easily obtained his recall on the score of ill health, in fact only adopted that as a pretext, in order to save appearances, as most serious insinuations had been alleged against him, on account of his excessive devotion to the British Envoy. Upon that subject, Sir, I must again repeat what, as I said in my last letter I was authorized, nay entreated to urge upon you, respecting a certain person, who, as I learn from our friends here, is endeavoring to be sent by Congress as Minister to this place; and whose appointment would give pleasure neither here nor in France.

I must also impress upon you, Sir, the necessity of keeping secret the financial operations, on the subject of which Mr. Jefferson has laid a proposition before Congress, and of not suffering any one else to interfere with it, except that gentleman, and myself, under him. This is absolutely necessary, from very the nature of the business, for its success. The persons who would undertake it, and who will make themselves known in proper time, on the one hand, with France on the other, will be the chief contracting parties; and the United States, if they agree to it, will be only consenting to what will be very advantageous for themselves.

I have the honor of sending you with my next, two very remarkable papers, viz. a most haughty address from the Prince of Orange to the States of Overijssel, and their most vehement reply. My translations of them are now on their way to Versailles, where they very properly take great interest in all that occurs here.

I continue to send you the Leyden Gazette, in order that you may keep up with the affairs of the day; my letters being only characteristic, and explanatory.

March 25.—I have just learned from a certain source, that the Deputy Counsellors of North Holland, who, as I observed above, had been sent to Hoorn with troops, entered that city, and put in prison the four chiefs, and the servant of the Orange band, who had pillaged the house of a patriot, and obliged the Bench of *Echevins* to take refuge in the town. If they hang these fellows even, the four Burgomasters deserve as much.

I recommend myself to the attention of Congress, and remain, Sir, with the highest esteem and respect, your very obedient servant,

C. W. F. DUMAS.

FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, March 30, 1787.

Sir,

I send you the two papers which I had the honor of promising in my last. I hope, by the next packet from Havre, to be able to announce the complete triumph of liberty over tyranny in Overysse, by the final and sovereign abolition of the infamous regulation of 1675, and the sanction of the new one.

The citizens of Amsterdam have named their representatives, (*constitués*), among whom is J. Van Stap-horst, one of the bankers of the United States in Holland.

At Hoorn, the Deputy Counsellors of North Holland, have had three other scoundrels of the Orange band put in prison, and seized upon a collection of arms and ammunition which had been formed for them. The *Echevins* who had been obliged to leave their posts, have been restored, solemnly and with all the honors and dignity which the States of Holland are capable of displaying.

I am, with great respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.



Missive of the Prince of Orange, Hereditary Stadtholder of Overysse, to the Nobility and Cities of that Province, containing his considerations upon the proposed change in the regulation of the Regency, which had been requested by that body; received and read at the Assembly of the Nobility and Cities, on the 13th of March, 1787.

Noble and Mighty Lords, our very good friends:
The Deputies of your Noble Mightinesses have sent us,

as they were authorized by you, the proposition made on the 26th of October, and the 5th of December, 1786, by M. Drossard d'Ysselmuyder, and other nobles of your assembly; with the opinions of the respective members of the States, on the subject, as delivered; informing us, at the same time, that your Noble Mightinesses had resolved to determine on the points contained, at the next meeting of the Diet; and requesting us, if we had any considerations to offer, to submit them to your Noble Mightinesses before the opening of the said Diet, at Campen, on the 12th of next month, in order that they might receive proper attention.

We have examined the said missive, papers and opinions, with all the attention which the period allowed would permit; a period indeed entirely too short, considering the importance of the affair, and the consequences which may result from it; and we cannot conceal from your Noble Mightinesses, that we have been indeed, most deeply affected by it. We never have considered, nor could consider, the regulation of the Regency of the year 1675, as any other than a solemn *Pactum Conven-tum* between the States of your Province and the Stadtholder of that period, and consequently between your Noble Mightinesses and ourselves; and as a fundamental law, on the order of the Regency, sworn to by the respective members of the State: for which reason we consider that it can neither be abrogated, nor changed, without the unanimous consent of the members of the States, and our own. For the same reason, we cannot conceive that the rights and privileges of the Stadtholderate, which were specially and legitimately conferred upon our father by this same regulation, which were en-

joyed by him, and on his decease descended legitimately to ourselves, by virtue of their hereditary character, and were moreover confirmed by resolutions of State, and numerous public acts, could at this day be so far placed in doubt as to admit of changes being made in the greater number, of their being diminished, and in a word of the Stadtholderate being deprived, as far as concerns ourselves and our legitimate successors, of those essential rights and prerogatives, by which, under the blessing of God, it may be useful to this Province, and answer the true end for which it was instituted.

We find that the contrary of this is maintained in the aforesaid papers and opinions; and we have been surprised at learning that the business has been pushed so far, as to conclude upon dispensing with the oath to observe this regulation, which has always been taken by your Noble Mightinesses; an oath, which besides the solemn and hitherto uncontradicted resolutions of the State, should render such observance still more binding; and that too, notwithstanding the protest of a number of your members; notwithstanding that when it was taken, the members had respectively renounced, all that could in any way relieve them from the obligation to observe it; and notwithstanding that until the present day, the ideas and opinions of the great majority of the State have been always in accordance with our own, on this point, that no Resolution should ever be taken, either on any change of this regulation, or on dispensing with the oath, unless with our consent.

We are, therefore, under the necessity of declaring, though with great regret, our opinion, that the conclusions of the majority with regard to this matter, are justly and

rationally contradicted by the terms of the protest entered by the minority, which proves clearly, the inconsistency and illegality of the act, by reasons the most irrefragable.

We could easily dilate on the subject, and bring forward various important considerations, which may be deduced from the very nature of the hereditary Stadtholderate, the rights and prerogatives with which it is invested, and the circumstances which attended its establishment and confirmation. We could moreover communicate to your Noble Mightinesses, many reflections on the subject of the dispensing with the oath, which go to show, that from the moment in which such dispensation takes place, all the legitimate authority and obligations of the members, consenting thereunto, ought of right to be considered as at an end.

But, in the first place, we are persuaded that we have already said enough to justify completely our protest against the said conclusion and dispensation, with all that may result therefrom; a protest which, with all respect for your Noble Mightinesses, we have considered as due to our office and oath, to ourselves and our hereditary successors, and, above all, to the Province and to you; and which we regret most sincerely that we are obliged to make. Moreover, we flatter ourselves that a mature examination of what has passed, and of the disastrous consequences which may ensue, will induce the members of the Regency no longer to persist in their conclusion and dispensation, and to agree with their brother members, that the said regulation never can be either altered or abrogated, with validity, except by unanimous consent, and with our own concurrence. And we

do not hesitate to add here, that if any part of the said regulation be obscure, or any of its articles can be proved to need alteration for the benefit of the Province, nothing could be more agreeable to us than lending our aid, which we would do with cheerfulness and the best intentions; that we have the most ardent desire to assist in the rectification of all abuses, and are willing to show as much condescension as could be expected from us, according to the rules of justice and right, on all points except those fundamental principles of the constitutional Regency, and of the hereditary establishment of the Stadtholderate, the real destination of which, for the good of the Province, and the constant interests of the inhabitants, we can never lose sight of, without forfeiting our oath, and becoming unfaithful to the country.

We have moreover too intimate a connexion with your Province, and we take too much interest in its preservation and prosperity, not to desire most anxiously, that peace and harmony should subsist, in place of the present want of confidence; and we would even be willing to waive our legitimate rights, on many points, if that could contribute to the satisfaction of the good inhabitants. Nor are we at all averse to any proper arrangement calculated to give to the citizens of the capital cities some share in the advancement of their private interests, and those of their own city, under reserve, however, and with such precautions, as the constitution of the Province and the welfare of the citizens themselves require. This may be hereafter regulated without any prejudice to the essential rights of our hereditary dignities; which we can never renounce, to the detriment of our legitimate successors, and the general welfare, and the preservation of

which is absolutely necessary for the success of those measures themselves.

But as these are objects of the highest importance, and should only be treated with the utmost care, and in the most regular and constitutional manner, we conceive that the best plan would be, to submit them to Commissioners; and we willingly offer, in case this proposition be adopted, to appoint certain persons, and furnish them with proper instructions for examining all that pertains to these objects, in order that, after mature deliberation on the part of the Council, we may arrive at the desired end, and obtain a plan which, if agreeable to all, will be approved, confirmed, and ratified.

This is, in our opinion, the best, if not the only means remaining, in the present state of affairs, for restoring peace and harmony; whilst every thing calls upon us to unite, and no longer leave our dear country exposed to the dangers of total ruin, which must result from a continuance of dissensions and factions. And we assure ourselves that your Noble Mightinesses, actuated by the same love of country, will take this our proposition into serious consideration, and instead of attempting to overthrow a constitution so excellent, and which you have sworn to observe, that you will unite with me in endeavoring to bring this design to a happy conclusion.

With which I remain, &c.

WILLIAM, PRINCE OF ORANGE.

Reply of their Noble Mightinesses, the States of Overijssel, to the Missive of the Prince of Orange of March 11th, 1787.

Campan, March 21, 1787.

Most Serene Prince,

Having duly considered your Highness's Missive the 11th instant, we cannot but express our surprise at its contents. After the many and repeated attempts we have made to obtain the considerations of your Highness with regard to the many evils which press upon the State, and the propositions which various members have made respecting a reform in the system of government of our Province, it certainly does appear to us most strange that Your Highness should, in your missive, speak of the shortness of the period, and instead of transmitting the considerations which we have so long been soliciting in vain, that you should propose to send Commissioners to us; which, inasmuch as the real intention of the respective members of the State regarding the regulation of the Regency in general, must have been long since known to your Highness, might certainly have been proposed, many months since, in a manner more suitable, and more likely to prove beneficial to the Province and the whole State.

We could also cite various assertions in the said missive, which, as your Highness might have seen from the papers laid before you, could never be admitted by us. It is not, however, our intention to enter into any discussion, but rather to declare our disposition to employ every means which could with any probability contribute to the restoration of peace, harmony, and good understanding, in our distracted country. We pass over those

assertions in silence, with the exception of one, conveying an insinuation, that from the moment in which we resolved to dispense with the oath to observe the regulation of the Regency, all the legal authority of the members who consented to this measure was of right to be considered as at an end. Hereupon we have to remark, that this reflection produced such an impression upon our body, that two considerations only prevented us from at once giving vent to our just indignation. We first reflected that this passage in your letter was directly in contradiction to the principal object of your whole missive; as your Highness could not certainly intend to send Commissioners to persons whom you did not acknowledge to be the States of this Province; and we conceived that this part was rather to be attributed to the carelessness of the person who composed the paper, than to any intention on the part of Your Highness to question our authority. We hoped, in the next place, that this circumstance would cause your Highness to be more cautious, and not to allow such expressions in future to appear in documents addressed to us.

Passing over these things, we confine ourselves to the proposition made by your Highness to send Commissioners to us, provided with the necessary instructions, and declare ourselves ready to receive them, and to appoint a Committee on our own part with whom they can confer, and to whom they may make such propositions as your Highness may authorize, which we will afterwards examine, and determine on them, in the manner which we consider best calculated to advance the interests of the Republic in general, and of this Province in particular. We shall expect those Commissioners on

Wednesday, the eleventh of April next at Campen; and should they not appear, we shall be under the necessity, without entering on any further discussion which may cause delay, of continuing our resolutions on all that concerns the said regulation, as the safety and interest of this Province may dictate. We, however, annex one express condition, which is, that as the said conferences must cause our deliberations to be prolonged, and as their principal subject will be the disposal of employments and commissions, your Highness will fill no office which may in the mean time become vacant; and we plainly declare that we cannot treat on that part of your missive respecting capital cities, as it concerns the municipal governments entirely, in which we have no right to interfere.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, March 31, 1787.

Sir,

In sending you the two last volumes of the life of Turgot, I am happy to remind you that I last summer communicated my presentiment that it would produce a good effect in France. That presentiment is now verified by the proceedings of the Assembly of the Notables, in which, with the exception of the *Jurandes*, all the plans of the late M. de Turgot are about to be adopted.

I am, with great respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.

FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

Duplicate enclosed in the preceding.

The Hague, August 31, 1786.

Sir,

Although I have already had the honor of sending to you, as also to Messrs. Franklin and Robert Morris, copies of the life of M. de Turgot, yet as I have some others on hand, which I intend for Congress and the public libraries of America, I send them with my despatches. I am the editor of the work, the manuscript of which was sent me from Paris in order to have it printed here; a commission which I executed with the utmost pleasure, on account of the importance of the matter, and from a secret presentiment that it will produce good results, not only in France, but every where else.

I am, with great respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, June 7, 1787.

Sir,

You will see by the note which accompanies the enclosed letter, that it should be forwarded to its address in a manner as speedy and as legal as possible. As it is an act of humanity to a citizen of the United States, too, I doubt not that you, Sir, will approve my eagerness in performing this duty.

This Republic is now in a state of most dreadful convulsion, from which it must recover in a month, with more liberty than ever, or perish. I have, thank God,

more cause for hopes than fears; and shall delay saying more until the struggle be over; and, meantime,

I am, with great respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.

N. B. The letter enclosed was probably forwarded to its address without being opened. The following is the

Note from M. Feronce de Rotencrantz.

Brunswick, May 15, 1787.

The letter to M. George Charles Frederic Hartmann, formerly an inferior officer in the Brunswick troops, contains a notice respecting a large inheritance which has fallen to him in Brunswick, of which country he is a native. In order to receive the property, the said Hartmann must present himself at the city of Brunswick, by the first of February, 1788, at the latest; in default of which, his claim will be forfeited.

The part of Virginia in which Hartmann has established himself, is not exactly known; all that can be learnt with certainty about him is, that two years after the Brunswick troops quitted Virginia, that is to say, in 1782, he was living three miles from Knowland's ferry, on the Potomac, having married the daughter of a farmer, who was also a weaver, and that he himself had engaged in the latter employment. Information about him may be received from a certain Colonel Clapham, who lives in the same district.

The person who may engage to make the necessary search, and to deliver this letter to the said Hartmann, is earnestly requested to take from him a receipt for the same, and to send it either to Brunswick, to the

address of the undersigned, or to the person who will deliver this letter and note.

FERONCE DE ROTENCRANTZ.

P. S. by Mr. Dumas.

The Hague, June 4, 1787. M. Feronce de Rotencrantz having sent this letter and note to the undersigned, with a request that he would transmit it to the Department of Foreign Affairs of the United States, he has the honor of so doing, and of requesting from the said Department an answer, to be shown in case of need, in proof of his having done his duty.

C. W. F. DUMAS.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, June 7, 1787.

Sir,

I have the honor to send you the original of a note (B) from Baron Schultz Von Ascheraden, Envoy Extraordinary of His Majesty the King of Sweden at the Hague, with copy of a letter (A) from that Minister to me, on the subject of a Swedish pirate, whom the United States are requested to have seized, together with his vessel, on account of Sweden, in case he should enter any of their ports.

As soon as I have received your receipt of the present communication, I shall inform the Minister on the subject.

I am, with great respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.

A.

From Baron Schultz Von Ascheraden, Swedish Envoy at the Hague, to Mr. Dumas.

The Hague, May 24, 1787.

Sir,

I should have waited on you personally had not indisposition prevented me from leaving my house, to which I am at present confined, as I have been indeed for a year past. I have, therefore, by letter, to solicit your good offices with the Government of the United States, in favor of a subject of another and a friendly country, who entreats its protection under circumstances which the enclosed note (B) will explain. As I am convinced of your good feelings, I have no doubt that you will grant my request; and I, therefore, send you my thanks beforehand, assuring you that the Government of Sweden will always act with reciprocity, whenever a similar request should be made in favor of a citizen of the United States.

I have the honor to be, with the most entire consideration, Sir, your most, &c.

SCHULTZ VON ASCHERADEN.

B.

Note from Baron Schultz Von Ascheraden, Swedish Envoy at the Hague.

M. Adolph Roxendorff, major in the King's service, has informed the Royal Chamber of Commerce that Captain Adolph Frederick Dahlberg, while commanding the trading vessel *Mary Elizabeth*, formerly a corvette, the property of the said major, took in a cargo at Villau, in the summer of 1785, for Gottenburg; and

he, the said major, having since that time received no notice of the vessel, or her crew, had considered them as lost at sea, until he accidentally learnt that several Norwegian sailors had arrived at Carlsrona from Copenhagen, who declared that the said Captain Dahlberg had been seen with a ship in one of the ports of the Danish colonies in the West Indies. Whereupon the major, having obliged the said seamen to state before a magistrate what they knew, they declared, under oath, that they had, at Copenhagen, met with several Norwegian seamen, who informed them that, being at one of the Danish establishments in the West Indies, they had conversed with some seamen who said they were natives of Gottenburg, and that their captain was named Adolph Frederick Dahlberg, a native of Calmar, in Sweden, a man of middle size, with a dark and knavish countenance, and brown hair cut close to his head; that the vessel which he commanded was painted black from the bends upwards, and had every appearance of having been once an armed corvette.

From this deposition, and the correspondence of the description, Major Roxendorff concludes that the Dahlberg therein mentioned, is no other than the master of his vessel, which he had run away with, and was navigating under false pretences; and at his solicitation, the undersigned has been required, by the Chamber of Commerce, to communicate the above details to Mr. Dumas, *Chargé d'Affaires* of the United States of America, near the States General, and to entreat him to obtain from his superiors, that proper means should be adopted to have Dahlberg seized, with the vessel and all on board, in case he should enter any port of the United

States, and delivered up to the authorities of the Swedish island of St. Bartholomews. This the undersigned does, by the present communication, promising that a perfect reciprocity will be observed by the Swedish Government, in all cases of a similar nature.

Dahlberg is a native of Calmar, in Sweden, rather below the middle height, but stout and fat, with a dark, swarthy complexion, brown or nearly black hair, and eyes deep set in his head. The vessel is built partly of oak, and the rest of pine; her burthen is about 22 lasts, and she was built for a corvette. She was painted black when she left Calmar, had a figure of a little girl at her head, and was called the Mary Elizabeth.

SCHULTZ VON ASCHERADEN,

Envoy Extraordinary for His Majesty the King of Sweden.

Certificate of Mr. Dumas, at the bottom of the above note.

The above note was signed, in my presence, by Baron Schultz Von Ascheraden, Envoy Extraordinary of His Majesty the King of Sweden, at the Hague, on this 7th day of June, 1787. *Quod attestor.*

C. W. F. DUMAS.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, June 30, 1787.

Sir,

I avail myself of a courier, despatched to-day by the French Ambassador, in order to send you the enclosed

packet of newspapers, from which, by examining the articles I have marked, you will obtain a complete account of the troubles, distracting this country. You will see, that the Netherlands are now a prey to a most horrible and monstrous coalition between a detestable oligarchy and a vile rabble, ready to destroy and pillage whatever it can lay its hands on.

There is, however, one consolation, in the fact, that the really rational portion of the people, has taken a high stand, and placed itself in a situation, which gives reason to hope, that the good cause will triumph, not only by its interior dispositions, but also by its alliance with a power which has adopted most wise measures. Providence has hitherto so clearly protected the Republic, and constantly overthrown the perfidious attempts of its enemies, that I cannot believe they will succeed at present.

The Stadtholder has thrown off the mask, as far as such a person can, and remains inactive at the head of the troops, with which he invaded the territory of Utrecht; having recourse, at the same time, to his chief and dear assistants, the mob, which his party are stirring up wherever an opportunity offers. At Zutphen in, Guelderland, the infamous Regency, with the aid of the garrison which is devoted to it, has treacherously disarmed the good citizens, and then suffered the populace to pillage their houses.

The Princess has just been arrested, as she was passing the frontiers of Holland, and prevented from continuing her journey to the Hague, where she wished to arrive, in haste, under pretence of "*negotiating the restoration of tranquillity, according to the true interests of the*

nation, and under certain conditions;" (these were her expressions, when she was stopped in her march by a body of armed citizens,) but in reality, intending to take advantage of the frightful disorders for which the mob here were already prepared. They should have made her return to Guelderland; but a degree of respect, perhaps extravagant, for her sex and birth, caused them to allow her to remain at Schoonhoven, a city of Holland, until the resolution of the States of Holland had been taken, on a letter which she wrote to them about her said pretended negotiation, although she has no right nor title to meddle with affairs of State at all.

I have only a moment left to entreat you, Sir, again most earnestly, to have an arrangement made by the Treasury, for the United States bankers at Amsterdam, (the most rational and least expensive way,) to pay me, not only the arrears which are justly due, and should be paid in virtue of the express orders of Congress, but also my ordinary salary, without the regular and certain receipt of which, I cannot live from day to day. My distress in this way is extreme; and whatever may be the momentary embarrassments in the finances of the United States, certainly my claim is not of such an extent, that any difficulty could exist in ordering its payment immediately, by the Amsterdam bankers, who would willingly comply. And I must give notice to you, Sir, and through you to the Treasury, and to Congress even if necessary, that as I can no longer conceal my distress, which daily becomes more evident and public, most disastrous consequences must result from its exposure, not only to me and my family, but also to the credit of the United States, in every way. I continue to live on, in

the most cruel apprehensions, faithful to my invariable principles of devotion to the United States and to Congress, and cherishing always the highest respect for you, Sir,

Whose obedient servant I am,
C. W. F. DUMAS.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, September 5, 1787.

Sir,

For these two months past, I have had neither courage nor strength to write you any connected account of the state of things in this agitated country. You may, however, form some idea of its distracted condition, from the articles which I have marked in the newspapers now sent.

In Guelderland and Zealand, the Orange party and the Aristocrats have been committing the most horrible deeds, and have completely subdued the people by their soldiers and the mob. In Friesland, where they endeavored to do the same, the people have taken up arms against them, and we are daily in expectation of receiving news of blood having been shed in that quarter. Groningen is, as yet, undecided; the city is in favor of liberty; the country partly intimidated, and partly gained over to the other side. In the Province of Utrecht, the civil war has broken out; the city is, however, safe, and well provided with troops, &c. In Overijssel, the cause of liberty prevails in all the cities in the country, and in the Assembly of the States. In Holland there

is now, in the Assembly of the States, a majority of thirteen cities against five and the Equestrian body; but the Executive, that is, the Deputy Council, owing to the manœuvres of some of its members, acts tardily, inefficiently, and without any devotion to the cause; the Judiciary is still worse, and every thing would be going downwards, if the good citizens and the armed volunteer corps in the cities and the country had not united themselves in a Provincial Assembly, in which measures are taken for supporting and increasing the legislative majority and checking the other two powers. In the mean time a little flying camp of citizens passes from place to place in the Province, even to the gates of the cities which are oppressed by an unpatriotic Regency, disarming the pillaging Orange clubs, and assisting citizens in overthrowing these Regents; all which has been done with the utmost ease and success, and without any disorder, at Delft, Gorcum, and their environs, and the same will soon be done in North Holland. As to the frontiers of the Province, they are secured by troops forming a *cordon*. The most alarming circumstance at present, is the vicinity of 20,000 Prussians; if they attack the Province, which is not improbable, recourse will certainly be had to the extreme but infallible means of defence, viz. inundation.

I am yet in expectation of the order on the Amsterdam bankers of the United States, which I entreated you, Sir, to procure from the Treasury, for the payment of the arrears due me in virtue of the resolution of Congress which you were so kind as to send me. To add to my distress, I am not sure whether I am to draw on Paris or Amsterdam for the half year's salary of 650

dollars, which will be due me next month. I shall be obliged to draw upon Amsterdam on the account of the United States, unless I soon receive from Mr. Jefferson orders to draw upon him as formerly. I am aware, Sir, that my letters being always in a strain of lamentation on this subject, must be disagreeable to you; they cannot, however, be otherwise, to my sorrow indeed, whilst I continue in this state of suffering, *political as well as pecuniary*. Not being formally and directly accredited to this Government by Congress, I am in the greatest danger during these fatal disturbances, particularly from the *Anglomans* of the country, who will never forgive me for the acknowledgment of the independence of America by this Republic, and its consequences; for they know all that I have done, and my success in procuring it; and they curse that independence as the cause of their fall in this country.

I am, Sir, with great respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.

(Accompanying the preceding letter.)

Declaration of the Provincial Assembly of the Corps of Armed Volunteers of Holland, held at Leyden, presented to the States of Holland, by the Counsellor Pensionary, on the 4th of August, 1787, and referred by them to the Committee of the Grande Besoigne.

Noble, Great, and Mighty Lords,

At this critical moment, in which the fate of our dear country is at stake, and the question of the safety or fall

of our Republic in general, and of this Province in particular, must soon be decided, the members of the General Assembly of the armed corps of citizens of Holland, consider it their duty to communicate their sentiments and intentions to your Noble and Great Mightinesses, with all the respect due to you, but at the same time with all the energy which becomes a free people, at a period so fraught with peril as the present. And as the said Assembly has assumed the honorable office of pleading the interesting cause of the people, and of advancing as far as it can the correct and just ends which they have in view, it ventures to hope, that the worthy representatives of this nation will listen to the frank avowal of the best and most enlightened portion of its citizens, and come forward to their assistance.

It is not our intention to paint the evils which have forced a patient people to employ the remedy recommended by your Noble and Great Mightinesses; that is, to take up arms and make a last effort at resistance against tyranny. We had rather turn our eyes from so frightful a picture, towards that happy state of the Republic, in which the people were supported in their rights, and its supreme representatives devoted to the public welfare, rendered themselves worthy of the name of Fathers of their Country; when neither they nor the people sighed under the yoke of a tyrant, and when other ambitious tyrants had not entered into a league to overthrow the liberties of the Netherlands; when, in a word, navigation and commerce, with peace and harmony among ourselves, made our Republic happy at home and respected abroad. That golden age is past: William the Fifth, supported by the Aristocrats of Guelder-

land and Utrecht, openly declares himself the enemy of this Province, assembles a hostile force on our frontiers, distresses our faithful confederates of Utrecht, and lights up among us a flame of rebellion and treason, which, unless stifled by the foresight and determination of your Noble and Great Mightinesses, seconded by the armed hands of your courageous citizens, will soon consume our once flourishing Province.

These outrages are too numerous, and too well known, for your Noble and Great Mightinesses to require any details respecting them. We confine ourselves entirely to the means required for arresting their progress, preventing their recurrence, and punishing, most rigorously, those which have been already committed; and as we have ourselves determined that this shall, as far as lays in our own power, be done, we have the honor of submitting to your Noble and Great Mightinesses, the following resolutions, with the solemn assurance that nothing shall induce us to swerve from them, and that all the armed citizens in whose name and behalf we speak, are ready to spend the last drop of their blood in carrying them into execution.

We resolve, that we conform, as far as times and circumstances warrant, with the declarations made by those patriotic corps which have marched out of their cities for the purpose of punishing severely, those who have pillaged and injured the patriots of other places; and that we will endeavor to prevent all further destruction, by assembling, with due diligence, a corps of observation composed of citizens, provided with every thing requisite for its affording the most efficient aid, either offensively or defensively, and which shall be stationed wher-

ever we may consider its services most likely to be of avail, for the preservation of the good inhabitants of this Province.

We have moreover resolved, to use our utmost efforts to deprive William the Fifth—the instigator of a blind and lawless populace—of the power of ever again plotting destruction to the liberties of a free born people; for which purpose, and in order that we may not show ourselves unworthy of the confidence reposed in our Assembly by the nation, we again insist most positively, as we have already in our preceding address to your Noble and Great Mightinesses, not only that the said William the Fifth be suspended from all his offices, dignities and emoluments, but that he be forbidden from ever again setting foot on the territory of Holland; and that the Princess his wife, and their children, be not allowed to enter the Province while the present troubles last.

We are well aware that the resolutions we have taken are of a most decided nature, and that the consequences may be serious: but what other course is left? What but the courage of patriots, can we oppose to the rage of an infuriate populace, which, goaded on by the Orange party, seeks nothing less than our destruction. The more nearly we regard the present state of our country, the more do we shudder at what may ensue. Civil war is the most deadly and obstinate of all; and as the blood of our citizens, so long oppressed and injured, now begins to boil in their veins, there is, alas! but too much cause to fear that our country, once so blessed with peace, may soon be covered with gore, and offer to posterity, a terrible example of the courage of those who love their country, and of the fury of the enemies of

liberty. Upon your Noble and Great Mightinesses it depends to ward off these evils, against which we solemnly adjure you to employ your utmost power. Let justice, which has so long slumbered, awake; let not the impunity with which the guilty commit their crimes, longer encourage their accomplices to do the same; let not the sword be regarded as a mere plaything, but let it be used in putting down rebellion. Your Noble and Great Mightinesses surely cannot expect that a degenerate multitude will ever be prevailed on by indulgence and clemency, to return to its duty. Has not experience proved the contrary but too clearly? Have any other effects ever been produced by your kindness and extreme patience, than disobedience, outrages and new crimes?

We, therefore, most strongly insist, that adequate measures be immediately taken for acting in concert. A resolution made instantly, and executed without delay, might yet be in time to prevent many formidable evils, which, as we foresee with horror, must otherwise occur. In furtherance of such measures, we offer the voluntary and zealous assistance of the said corps of armed citizens. No doubt can exist as to what should be done; extraordinary dangers require extraordinary measures to counteract them; and if the ordinary means of enforcing justice appear insufficient, we respectfully propose to your Noble and Great Mightinesses, to resort to others more effectual.

We entreat you either to establish a State Commission of members honored by the confidence of the good part of the nation, furnishing them with unlimited powers for restoring peace, and dispersing seditious assemblages of the populace; or to adopt some other equally energetic

plan for the same purposes, such as your well-known wisdom may suggest, with the assurance that the citizens' corps of observation will always be ready to sustain and enforce it by arms.

We likewise seriously, but respectfully, call upon you to provide immediately the means requisite for defending our Province against an attack from without. Our enemy is ever on the watch, and neglects no means which may be necessary for attacking us. This makes it indispensable that efficient measures be adopted, with the utmost speed, in order to counteract these designs; otherwise, our Province will soon become a prey to the enemy.

We must here declare the discontent with which we see how much our Province has been neglected, notwithstanding its present imminent peril; our carelessness being equalled only by the indefatigable activity of our enemies; who employ against us every possible resource, even our own power, and the means which we had in our hands for defending ourselves. The nation insists most strongly, that this latter source of supply to our enemies be cut off, as that circumstance gives the most just discontent to the well-intentioned part of the people.

We have no fear that your Noble and Great Mightinesses will consider us as judging without reason, and too rigorously on this point; on the contrary, we conceive that the moderation of our expressions with regard to things so unpardonable, reflects the highest honor upon us. Could we make known the neglect which has been suffered so long to exist, on so interesting a subject, with more respect? Whilst the army of our enemies is in the

best possible condition, and well provided with every thing, we remain, on our side, totally destitute. A large portion of our troops, being without the requisite field conveyances, and without any one to direct them, have mutinied and abandoned us; which, indeed, might have been prevented, as it had long since been foreseen and represented to the proper authorities. And even after this fatal occurrence, a considerable time was suffered to elapse, before any pains was taken to repair the evil. It would have been, indeed, too late, had not the indefatigable energy of the citizens averted the catastrophe from the Province.

The appointment of experienced and patriotic officers to fill vacancies, is daily deferred, and many of those posts are suffered to remain in possession of persons by no means qualified to hold them. The same delay is observable with respect to the raising of new levies. We learn that a portion of our troops are dispersed here and there, in stations of no importance, as, for instance, Ysselsein, Oudewater, &c. under pretence of putting down internal sedition, for which purpose certainly a much less number would suffice. Indeed, on this point, the corps of armed citizens are ready to assure your Noble and Great Mightinesses, that they will themselves see to the arrangement of such matters, and that the pretence aforesaid shall not long exist.

We also take the liberty of assuring you, that nothing could be easier than to supply, immediately, the want of the aforementioned articles. The warehouses of Holland could furnish almost every thing necessary for an army in the field, and the remainder could soon be obtained; and certainly your Noble and Great Mighti-

nesses should not hesitate to make use of the arsenals of the Generality, seeing that our declared enemies are now doing so themselves. All these things, improbable though they may appear, are, nevertheless, by no means false or exaggerated; the incontestible proofs of the sad realities, are indeed in our hands, and may, at your pleasure, be laid before you.

We hope, and indeed are convinced, by the sincere love of your Noble and Great Mightinesses for your country, that resolutions so necessary will be immediately taken and executed. However, we think it our right and duty, for the sake of our companions in arms, and their defenceless wives and children, who, like ourselves, are the victims of mobs, to declare, that in case you should not think proper to carry into effect the proposed plan, we shall be reduced to seek our preservation in our own way; and that we shall not rest until we have avenged the innocent blood of our patriotic fellow-citizens, already shed, as well as the injuries we have sustained, and have placed our Province in security against the pitiless monsters who are ravaging it. Should we fail in this noble enterprise, and should our blood have been spilt in vain, for objects so precious, we leave it to God to avenge us, being well assured that so just a judge will not suffer the guilty to escape. And if the cries, the just and legitimate demands of a good people, which we here make known, be uttered in vain, the fatal consequences must rest on those who have neglected them, or frustrated, in the most unnatural and unpardonable manner, the resources which yet remain.

We have not hesitated to submit our thoughts and designs openly to your Noble and Great Mightinesses, and

we feel assured that you will honor them with your approbation, as they are the unequivocal expressions of love and unshaken fidelity to our country, and also of that attachment which we have already frequently testified for those of our representatives who merit them, from their devotion to the cause of the people. We persist in the same sentiments, and hope always to show, as we have hitherto, by our deeds, that our property and our blood are ready to be sacrificed at all times in defence of the liberties of our country, and of you our representatives, whom may the Supreme Being protect and long preserve for the honor and safety of the Republic.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, September 28, 1787.

Sir,

Evils of all kinds have contributed to lay this poor country at the feet of its enemies. Amsterdam yet holds out; on what hopes however, I know not. Whether it can long continue its resistance, God only can tell. Meanwhile we are here at the mercy of soldiers and of a cruel populace, entirely unchecked, and apparently excited by the hope of vengeance. The Executive and Judiciary encourage and connive at their violence, instead of repressing it. Hitherto I have preserved my person, family, and house, by having recourse to the protection of the military, as you will see by the notes A and B, hereunto annexed. Their assistance, however, was granted with a very ill grace, and I can

place but little dependance on it; it being urged against me, that I had irritated the people by giving money to the free corps of the Hague, a body solemnly recognised and openly protected by the sovereign power just overthrown, in whose service it was regularly enrolled under oath. All this it is easy to refute, by examining the lists of those who contributed, and of the honorary members, who are now nearly all protected, while I am abandoned, and every moment exposed, either at home or in the street, to the blind fury of a mob, whose proceedings could not be checked nor disavowed until it should be too late. When I complain, I am told that *I must stay at home*. I must, however, go out, in order not to perish from want of assistance. I have been twice to the headquarters, demanding to be arrested, which was refused; and have in vain invoked the laws of nations, as my notes C and D will show. Danger, however, continued increasing, and I was at length forced to take refuge, some days since, with my wife and child, in the hotel of the French Ambassador, which is likewise threatened. As I am innocent, I have no wish to avoid appearing before my proper judges; but menaced every instant as I am, and spared or sacrificed as I may be hereafter, I commend my cause, my person, my family, and property, to the hands of God, and of the United States, who have been so manifestly injured and insulted in the person of their servant. I know that my house is numbered among those which the populace is now about destroying and pillaging. The mob do not indeed know me, but are excited against me for having been the friend of the members of the oppressed government, and having paved the way for the recognition of the independence

of the United States, and for the reception of Mr. Adams, who himself loved them, and associated with them at his own house, and at theirs, as was proper.

This account of my dreadful situation, incredible as it may appear, is not exaggerated; but, on the contrary, below the reality. For the last ten days, indeed, I and my family have every moment expected to be destroyed. I pour forth my sad complaints into the paternal bosom of Congress. I call on that body to demand protection for me, my family, and property, directly from this Government, and also from the Minister of the Republic near itself. It is due to the honor, dignity, and independence of the United States; it is due to all their Ministers, servants, and subjects, whom business, either public or private, may require to set foot in this country.

September 29. News has just arrived, that Amsterdam has made terms with the conqueror and capitulated. If it be true, I shall seize the first safe opportunity to go there and converse with Messrs. Willinck and Van Stap-horst on the subject of the house of the United States here, in order that measures may be taken to carry into effect the resolution of Congress on the subject, and with respect to myself.

I received your packet, Sir, on the 25th, in the midst of my troubles and anguish; and conclude with commending myself to your kindness, being

With great respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.

A.

Note from Mr. Dumas to General Kratchmar, commander of the Garrison of the Hague.

The Hague, September 19, 1787—11 o'clock A. M.

Sir,

Had I been able, I should have gone in person to have the honor of representing to you the extreme distress in which I and my family pass our time at present, from alarms for the security of our lives and property, and from the reports which we every moment hear, concerning us. Our house and persons should be under the protection of the laws of nations, as those of the Envoy of this Republic are in the United States. I hope, Sir, soon to receive assurance from you, that effectual measures have been adopted for placing us out of reach of danger by day or night. Our house is in the 2d Wagestraet, between those of M. Haverslag and the Carpenter Duyfhuys.

Expecting this justice at your hands, Sir, I remain, with respect, &c.

DUMAS,

Chargé d'Affaires of the United States of America.

Having received no answer to this note, I went myself to the head-quarters, to ask assistance, which they gave me some hopes of receiving. At five in the afternoon, reports and threats multiplied so rapidly, that I wrote the following note (B) to the General, which also remained unanswered; but two sentinels were placed in my house, whom I had for some days to support, and who were indeed on the point of pillaging the house themselves, with the aid of some of the populace whom they called in.

B.

From Mr. Dumas to General Kratchmar.

The Hague, September 29, 1787—5 o'clock, P. M.

Sir,

After having had the honor of sending a note to you this morning at eleven o'clock, and having been warned by several persons that my house was marked for the purpose of being pillaged, I went to the head-quarters, to demand that real and effectual assistance which is never refused in such cases among civilized people, and to which I have the greater right by virtue of the laws of nations. On returning to my house, I received further notices to the same effect, and have therefore thought proper to repeat my request, that you will take measures for defending me, by military force, from all violence during the present critical period.

I am, Sir, &c.

DUMAS, &c.

C.

From Mr. Dumas to the Secretary of their High Mightinesses, and to the Counsellor Pensionary of their Noble and Great Mightinesses.

The Hague, September 27, 1787—half past 9, A. M.

Sir,

I have just received several orders from the United States of America, in whose service I am; and among others, a copy of a resolution made on the 24th of July last, to the effect, that I should occupy the house belonging to them at the Hague until a Minister should arrive,

or until further orders from Congress, with directions to consult Mr. Adams on the repairs and expenses necessary for rendering the said house habitable; of all which I have thought proper to give notice to you, Sir, hoping that you will have the kindness to submit it to their High Mightinesses,[or their Noble and Great Mightinesses] under whose favor and protection I hope to carry into effect the intentions of my Government, as far as possible. Being afflicted with an indisposition, the duration of which I cannot foresee, I am unable to appear before you in person, and therefore hope that you will accept the present, with my respects, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS,

Chargé d'Affaires of the United States of America.

D.

Note from C. W. F. Dumas to the Secretary of their High Mightinesses.

The Hague, September 28, 1787.

The undersigned, *Chargé d'Affaires* of the United States, can no longer conceal from their High Mightinesses, the extreme distress in which he is plunged. Warned of dangers from every quarter, threatened, and insulted, he knows not why, with his wife sick and delirious, he could no longer remain in his own house; and, in order to save himself and family, has been obliged to remove to the hotel of the French Ambassador, leaving his house and property at the mercy of those whom he has placed in charge of them, without being able to appear there or in the streets, except at great risk. He

has not attempted, nor will he attempt, to avoid appearing before any competent judge; and considering that he, with his family and property, real and personal, are under the protection of the laws of nations, and of a treaty, as well as under the safeguard of their High Mightinesses, the sovereigns of the country, he invokes their aid and assurance against all damages, violence, or unlawful force, in order that he may immediately, with perfect security, and free from all imputation whatever, transport himself back, with his sick wife, to his own house, and remain and live there peaceably with her, going and coming as may be necessary for the service of the United States.

He, moreover, entreats the Secretary, with whom he had the honor of exchanging the ratifications of the said treaty, to submit this note to their High Mightinesses, and at the same time to urge the necessity of attending to his requests; assuring him and them that entire reciprocity is and ever will be observed by the United States, with regard to all Ministers or other servants of this Republic.

C. W. F. DUMAS,
Chargé d'Affaires of the United States of America.

From C. W. F. Dumas to the Counsellor Pensionary of Holland, enclosing a duplicate of the foregoing note D.

The Hague, September 28, 1787.

The undersigned thinks it his duty to enclose to the Counsellor Pensionary of Holland, this duplicate of a note to the Secretary of their High Mightinesses, with a request that he will use his efforts to advance the objects

set forth in it, in the place where, in the manner in which he may judge most proper.

C. W. F. DUMAS,
Chargé d'Affaires of the United States.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, October 17, 1787.

Sir,

Within a few days the communication between this place and Amsterdam has been opened, a Prussian garrison being in possession of the latter city.

Here, although placards have been issued for repressing licentiousness, it yet continues to prevail. The vilest of the mob, beggars, women, children, soldiers, drunkards, &c. act in the most unrestrained manner, pillaging and insulting with the utmost impunity, the other and better part of the people, who are themselves divided by hatred, mutual distrust, and fear of compromising themselves. My house, which I was obliged to quit, remains exposed to insult and pillage; as I can neither inhabit, nor rent it, nor sell it, without losing more than half its value. My furniture and effects are many of them ruined, while others have been lost or stolen, in the hurry and confusion of removal. My wife, who is very intelligent, though weak, ill, and out of spirits, is attending to the repairs which Congress has authorized, and using therein the utmost economy.

I will not trouble you with further details about my domestic troubles, and only intreat that you will submit to Congress, as soon as convenient, the situation in which I

now am; remind them of the custom hitherto generally adopted and practised by sovereigns, of indemnifying persons for losses sustained in their service; and impress upon them the necessity of taking steps to obtain satisfaction for outrages offered to the servant of the United States, in public and in his own house, in order that they may be prevented from recurring; demanding that the said servant be regularly accused, and tried before themselves, as his only proper judges, in case any thing illicit be laid to his charge, and not thus attacked by vague insinuations, brought forward by persons employed to cry him down, and destroy him and his family. I have also to request, Sir, that you will instruct me as to my future conduct under the new system, which I must respect so far as it does not injure the interests of those whom I serve.

Allow me, Sir, to hope that you will take a warm part in my behalf, and will so impress upon the august body which has been insulted in my person, the necessity of demanding redress.

I am, Sir, your most unhappy, though innocent, faithful, and respectful servant,

C. W. F. DUMAS.

P. S. I communicated to the Leyden Gazette, as soon as I could, the authentic documents which arrived with your letter of the 28th of July; and they cannot but have a favorable effect on the public. May you, Sir, be able to send me many such papers, calculated to make known the benefits which Providence showers on the United States, particularly the harmony with which their confederacy proceeds, and the credit and prosperity produced by the wise measures of their legislative body.

FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, October 26, 1787.

Sir,

You will see by the enclosed newspaper, what pains are taken to injure me by vague expressions, although nothing special can be alleged against my conduct. They have gone much farther with the populace, who never require proofs; making them believe that I gave money to the former free corps of citizens of the Hague, that I kept arms for them in my house, and received them there with great attention; that I have been, for twelve years, one of the chief instigators of all that has been done against what they call the Constitution, &c. In consequence of this, I have been threatened openly and loudly; insulted by persons employed for the purpose; followed by crowds, as a *Kees*, a name signifying dog, given to the Patriots in derision, as that of *Yankee* was applied to the Americans, and which is a signal either for falling upon a person, or for shunning him as one under the ban. In this and other ways they try to ruin me; and I remain here in inexpressible anguish, with my wife and daughter in a most dreadful condition: under the firm conviction, however, that the honorable Congress will protect their old servant, whose whole crime, in the eyes of certain persons, consists in his having been too faithful to the United States, and having obtained the good will and confidence of their friends, the former sovereigns of this country; that justice will be done me openly and before the world; and that my honor and means of subsistence will be preserved, as the friends of America expect, by means however, which will not embroil the United States in present or future quarrels.

I learn that a proposal has been made to the States General for a triple alliance between England, the King of Prussia, and this Republic. I doubt not that it will soon be effected, to the destruction of that now existing with France. The army will also be increased, by taking into service a number of German troops.

It has also been proposed, and will doubtless be resolved, that the Republic should recall its Minister near the United States. The whole political system of this country, with regard to Europe and America, is changed. The Government is in fact military, the executive power is every thing, the legislative nothing. Every attempt is made to depreciate the United States, and the papers you lately sent me, have served to destroy a great many lies.

I conjure you, Sir, to engage in my behalf, and obtain for me speedily, some consolation.

May God bless the United States, Congress, and you, Sir, whose devoted and respectful, though unhappy, servant I am.

C. W. F. DUMAS.

(From the Hague Gazette, of Wednesday, October 24, 1787,—
accompanying the preceding letter.)

*From the Register of the Resolutions of their High
Mightinesses, the States General of the United Pro-
vinces.*

Thursday, October 18, 1787.

Having read a letter from Messrs. Lestevenon de Berkenroden and Brandsen, Ambassadors of their High Mightinesses near the Court of France, dated the 4th

ult. to Mr. Secretary Fagel, informing that Mr. Jefferson, Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, had, on the preceding day, paid each of them a private visit, in which he declared his having learnt that Mr. Dumas, *Chargé d'Affaires* of the said United States, had been obliged to take refuge in the hotel of the French Ambassador at the Hague, on account of the animosity which the people appeared to have conceived against him, and of which he could not discover the cause; he therefore begged the said Ambassadors to employ their good offices to the effect that Mr. Dumas, who was accredited near their High Mightinesses as *Chargé d'Affaires* from his Government, should be protected from all insult and danger to himself, his family, and property.

That the Ambassadors could not refuse this, the Minister's request, and therefore solicited that the said *Chargé d'Affaires* might receive the required protection.

Having also examined a letter from Mr. Adams, Minister of the United States of America, near their High Mightinesses, written at London, on the 1st inst., to Mr. Secretary Fagel, with a note to their High Mightinesses, on the same subject, annexed:

Mr. Secretary Fagel was authorized to reply to Mr. Adams, that Mr. Dumas having addressed a note to him, on the 28th of last month, the States of Holland and West Friesland had been instantly requested to protect his person; that their High Mightinesses would not willingly suffer Mr. Dumas to be disturbed, any more than one of their own citizens; but are obliged to declare to Mr. Adams, that the said Dumas deserved their protection but little, as he had behaved most indecorously in every respect; for which reason, they request Mr. Adams not

to employ him here any longer, but to appoint some one else to perform his duties during his absence. A copy of this present resolution shall be sent to Messrs. Lestevenon de Berkenroden and Brandsen, for their information, and in order that they may communicate it to Mr. Jefferson.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, November 14, 1787.

Sir,

The conduct of the reigning system evidently denotes either a fixed design to ruin this Province and the others entirely, or an incapacity to restrain the disorders which every where prevail, particularly on the part of the soldiery. About fifteen days ago two hundred houses were pillaged in Utrecht, in open day, by the garrison. Within a few days the garrison of Bois-le-Duc plundered *every house* in that town containing any thing of value. A battalion was sent there from hence, yesterday; they will march, look, and then return with an account of what they have seen; that will be all. At the Hague, five hundred houses are said to have been stoned since the 19th of September, many of which have been twice or three times repaired, and twelve houses have been entirely pulled down. The emigrations from this country are considerable; the Austrian Netherlands and France profiting thereby. The court of justice, by allowing these riots and pillagings, has established a real inquisition against all the officers, abettors, and promoters, whatever, of the former free corps of armed citizens,

who (look to this) being acknowledged, protected, and employed, under oath, by the sovereign, supported with decency and modesty, good order and tranquillity every where, until their last hour. The executive power continues to connive at every thing. Should this Government go on at this rate for a couple of years, grass will grow in the streets of the first commercial cities of this country.

Since I have been able to recover my spirits a little, I think that I see the dictatorial and peremptory letter which it was judged fit to write to Mr. Adams, respecting me, in the same light which your Excellency and the honorable Congress will no doubt view it. *Love me, love my dog*, says the proverb; the dethroned sovereign loved me, and, consequently, the United States; persecution has proved my fidelity to both. It will do me honor in the eyes of the wise, though I could have dispensed with it, more on account of my poor family than on my own. I could not submit to the conquest, and respect it, till after it took place; had I done so before, I should have betrayed and disgraced the sovereign of that time. They say that *I little deserve protection*. And against what? *Against secret attacks and assassination!* And they did not think of saying this until I demanded their protection, (due even to a criminal,) and after the Ministers of the United States at Paris and London had demanded it for me. I twice requested that my person might be secured. If there had been any thing unlawful in my conduct, wherefore did they not take me at my word? They say my conduct has been very indiscreet. In what? This is what ought to be directly specified to Congress, through their own Minister; otherwise that

august body is not obliged to pay the least attention to the disposition they have manifested against me, in their letter, dated October 18th, to Mr. Adams, who was so kind as to send me a copy of his answer, written the 25th; it was in a style so very proper, that I was much surprised at their permitting it to be published in their gazette. Besides, I am always subject to my judges, Congress, and ready to justify myself, when I shall know of what I am accused, precisely, directly, and regularly, before that body, through their Minister there, if he be there still; for it is rumored that he has been recalled, as Mr. Brandsen, their Ambassador Extraordinary at Paris has been, because he was attached to the other system. In short, I resign my cause, my honor, and my interests, with submission, to God, who knows my rectitude, and after him, to Congress, through your Excellency, whose most respectful servant I am.

C. W. F. DUMAS.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, November 27, 1787.

Sir,

Since my last, of the 14th inst. things here continue in the same way. The new system triumphs completely, and is rapidly destroying all that had been built up by the patient and scrupulous care of that which has been overthrown. The soldiery and populace make all tremble, and the judiciary, leaving them in impunity, directs its efforts only against those who wished to have become citizens in fact. In the sovereign assembly of

this Province, every thing is carried unanimously and without debate; the Equestrian body (though merely nominal) has the only voice, the eighteen cities always conforming, and every one who ventured to have an opinion having been cast out of the assembly. In short, submission is the order of the day in this country; *fêtes* in the palace, orgies in the streets, terror, distrust, despair, emigration—God knows where it will end. This much is certain, that neither I nor any other person in the service of the United States, can be of farther use to them. There is, indeed, a country close by, where I could be of great use, even for affairs here, and where my life would be supportable. I may speak farther and more at length on this subject, as soon as I have received an answer to a letter which I wrote by the last post to Mr. Jefferson.

I wished to have prepared a list of the resolutions taken within the two last months for you, but I really have not had courage to do it. The number of houses pillaged lately at Bois-le-Duc by the soldiery and mob, amounts to no less than 2,000, of which 100 have been completely destroyed. The pillage lasted three days.

A great lady wrote a letter about the beginning of this month to the Duke of Brunswick, praying him *to intercede* with her brother the King of Prussia, for the liberation of the inhabitants of this Province who had been carried, as prisoners, out of the country. And the Duke has replied, that he will do his best to obtain that favor. By what right are they prisoners? We must refer, for an answer to that question, to the same code by which it is made a crime to serve one's masters by pleasing their friends.

While I continue to recommend my cause, my honor, and my existence, to God, and, under him, to Congress and to you, Sir, I conjure you to hasten the decision with regard to me, as much as you can; for my situation, in the meantime, is most distressing without, as well as painful in the bosom of my family. I am now nearly sixty-seven years old, with a weak and injured constitution, attacked on all sides by calumny and sarcasm, persecuted by the wicked, and subjected to bitter complaints from those nearest me: I am anxious to quit this life.

I must inform you, Sir, that, with a view to remove every pretext for insulting the house of the United States, I have put over the door the arms which Mr. Adams had carved for the purpose, four or five years ago. And that I may not be accused of endeavoring to hide my person and my conduct under that shield, I go out every day, and have, hitherto, thank God, escaped with only a few curses, and the name of *dog*, which is given to all true patriots and their friends, by the rabble.

In the hope, the only hope remaining, of receiving soon some consolation from you, I remain, Sir,

Your most respectful humble servant,

C. W. F. DUMAS.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, October 4, 1787.

Sir,

From certain assurances received in the month of October last, respecting the facility of concluding a treaty of friendship and commerce with the Emperor, I took the liberty of proposing to Mr. Jefferson, in case he yet

retained the power, to give me a commission to go for a couple of months to Brussels, for the purpose of conferring with commissioners to be named by that government, and, if possible, proposing a *projet* of such a treaty, taking as models (*mutatis mutandis*) the treaties already concluded between the United States on the one part, and France, Holland, Sweden, Prussia, and Morocco, severally, on the other; and as the assurances that such a proceeding would be acceptable at Brussels became stronger, I repeated my solicitations to Mr. Jefferson, in my subsequent letters. The reply with which he honored me on this subject, is inserted in the annexed note. I communicated it to the Imperial Chargé d’Affaires here, first verbally, and afterwards, at his request, in the said note, which he will send to Brussels; informing him also, that I had given you notice of the same, as we had agreed. He told me that as it was only proposed at first to concert and draw up a *projet*, a simple commission or letter of credit, either from you or from Mr. Jefferson, would be sufficient authority for me.

You, Sir, can appreciate better than I, the importance and advantages of such a treaty for the commerce and navigation of the United States, not only with the Austrian Netherlands, but also, and more especially, with the Mediterranean ports. I have, therefore, nothing to add, except that, considering the proximity of Brussels, where I can go in a few days, the expense of my journey and residence there cannot be great, and that I can easily find a pretext for this short absence, so that the whole affair may be kept out of the knowledge of all who might wish to impede it from jealousy, and may remain a secret until its conclusion by the Plenipotentiaries.

I can only repeat to you, Sir, what I had the honor of remarking in my last letter to Mr. Jefferson. This country is now ruined. Will it again rise? I cannot say. The people are a mere cipher in the calculation; the government is military, that is to say, legislature, executive, and judiciary together; passive obedience is the only resource of the oppressed citizens. Every thing appears peaceable without, but there is a deep feeling of resentment under this apparent calm.

The good city of Zuriczee, in Zealand, has undergone nearly the same fate with Bois-le-Duc, and is almost ruined. At Amsterdam, five of the *constitués* of the citizens, who were absent, and did not appear when cited, have been tried *par contumace*, and will be condemned to banishment. All who had been punished for sedition and other crimes, even the most infamous, by the late government, have been recalled, recompensed, and honored.

The Ambassador of France will not return here this winter, and heaven only knows when he will come. Meanwhile, the poor Chargé d'Affaires is as miserable as myself, and as little respected. They would be very glad to treat France and the United States both in the same way, if it were possible.

I am, Sir, with great respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.

(Accompanying the preceding.)

Note from Mr. Dumas to M. S. Chargé d'Affaires of the Emperor of Germany, residing at the Hague.

The Hague, October 3, 1787.

The undersigned having received information which

gave him reason to hope that a *projet* of a treaty of friendship and commerce, between the dominions of his Imperial Majesty and the United States of America, might be drawn up at Brussels, in accordance with directions which he might receive from his Government, wrote, in the month of October last, to Mr. Jefferson, Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States in France, in order to obtain a commission to that effect. In reply, he received the following, under date of November 14th, 1787, from Mr. Jefferson:

“I have duly received your favors of October 23d and 26th. With respect to the mission you suggest in the former, no powers are lodged in the hands of Mr. Adams and myself. Congress commissioned Mr. Adams, Dr. Franklin, and myself, to treat with the Emperor on the subjects of amity and commerce, at the same time they gave us the commission to Prussia, with which you are acquainted. We proposed treating through the Imperial Ambassador here. It was declined on their part, and our powers expired, having been given but for two years. Afterwards the same Ambassador was instructed to treat with us. I informed him our powers were expired, but that I would write to Congress on the subject. I did so, but have never yet received an answer. Whether this proceeds from the multiplicity of their occupations, I am unable to say; but this statement of facts will serve to show that we have no powers in this instance to take the measures you had thought of.”

The undersigned has, therefore, written a despatch, which will be sent to-morrow to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Congress, assembled at New York, proposing that he should be authorized, either directly or

through Mr. Jefferson, to proceed in the business, and prepare a *projet* to serve as a preliminary to what may be concluded by the Plenipotentiaries at Brussels. The undersigned has no doubt that a proposition for an arrangement which may prove so convenient and salutary to all parties, will be embraced with the eagerness which it merits, now, particularly, that the report of the Federal Convention, held at Philadelphia, in which, among other subjects, treaties of commerce are enlarged upon, is to be submitted to the United States.

C. W. F. DUMAS,
Chargé d'Affaires of the United States of America.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, December 18, 1787.

Sir,

With respect to the affair which formed the principal subject of my last letter, dated the 4th inst. I have the honor to inform you that things remain as they were, and will not probably be at all changed during this winter; the same facilities for conducting the business at but little expense, still existing. In this country the military government continues paramount; criminal persecutions, arrests, seizures, proscriptions, &c. are daily taking place.

Their High Mightinesses caused complaint to be made to the Emperor, through their Minister at Brussels, of his having received and protected emigrants from this country. The Emperor replied, (as I learn from the best authority,) that in fact many had entered his dominions, some, as he was happy to see, remaining, but the

greater number only passing through, on their way to France. That all, however, should be treated with attention and kindness, and that he would grant special protection for the persons and property of those who should remain in his States.

Commissioners are making a tour through the cities of Holland, for the purpose of effecting a *second removal* of the Magistrates. The first acted only on the most decided friends of liberty; the present has in view all who have as yet dared, or may hereafter wish, to form, not indeed a majority, but even a shadow of a minority, opposed to the reigning system. This second removal has already been made at Amsterdam, and in several other cities; last Saturday it took place at Rotterdam, at which place the mob had a few days previous stoned eighteen houses, and beaten twelve of the most respectable merchants in the public square.

Mr. De Linden, Envoy from this Republic to London, has been recalled, and another appointed in his stead.

I understand that an ordinance is in preparation, for determining what may be published in a newspaper, and what must not.

I am most anxious to learn whether their High Mightinesses have addressed Congress directly about me, or have confined themselves to the letter sent to Mr. Adams. [Vide page 198.] In the first case, provided they have specified the acts of indiscretion which they lay to my charge, I shall be heard and judged by Congress; and if they have merely, without specifying any thing, declared their wish for my recall, and for the appointment of some one else, who would be better satisfied with the present state of things, I have a firm conviction that the august

body whom I serve, even if it should see fit to comply with that wish, will use its paternal care in defence of my honor, and in providing for my subsistence, on which depends that of a beloved daughter, who alone reconciles me to life, and of her mother, who suffers even more from the evils which surround us than myself.

Recommending myself and my cause to you, Sir, I remain, with the utmost respect, and devoted attachment,

Your most obedient servant,

C. W. F. DUMAS.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, December 21, 1787.

Sir,

I have but one word to send with the accompanying packets, as I do not know when they may reach you. You will find among them the Court (i. e. the Hague) Gazette, which I send, in order that you may see the operations of the present system.

The triple alliance between this Republic, England, and Prussia, has been resolved on within a few days past, and is about to be concluded.

Receive, Sir, on the beginning of a new year, the good wishes of a faithful servant, who has grown old, has suffered in the cause of the United States from their cradle, and suffers now more than ever for them, as well as those of his family. May the Almighty bless them, make them prosperous in peace, and preserve them from the vices and troubles which desolate this continent. May he more

especially protect the honorable Congress, and you, Sir, with your family. I conclude by recommending myself, and mine, to your care, and am,

With great respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, January 22, 1788.

Sir,

I have the honor of sending, with the newspapers, the annexed note and memorial of Mr. Frey, Counsellor to the Prince of Furstenberg, and his *Baillie* at Moehringen in Germany, on the part of the Chancery of said *Bailliage*, respecting an inheritance of 300 German florins which has fallen to Dr. Frederick Rehm, of Burisburg, in South Carolina, and which it is requested that he should cede to his brothers-in-law, Furst and Bosinger, who are very poor; particularly, because this sum, after deducting the expenses, &c. of its transmission, which could be effected only at intervals, and not entirely until after eight or nine years, would be too insignificant to be regarded by Mr. Rehm, who is supposed to be in very good circumstances.

I am, Sir, with great respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.

(Accompanying the preceding.)

Note from Mr. Frey, Counsellor of the Prince of Furstenberg, to Mr. Dumas.

Moehringen, December 20, 1787.

Sir,

You will see by the annexed memorial, that a native of this country, named Frederick Rehm, who was many years ago a student of medicine, is living at Burisburg, in South Carolina, and that he has a right to 300 florins here, which his two poor brothers-in-law entreat him to leave to them.

I have, therefore, taken the liberty of requesting you, Sir, to communicate the said memorial to your Government, in order that it may cause it to be delivered into the hands of Mr. Frederick Rehm, and afterwards to transmit his reply or declaration, with a certificate from the proper authorities in the United States, to this our Chancery.

All the expenses which this may occasion will be cheerfully paid as soon as I have received an account of the same.

Hoping that I may soon have an opportunity of reciprocating the favor, and of proving my entire respect for you, I remain, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

FREY, Counsellor, &c.

MEMORIAL.

Mr. Frederick Rehm, born at Amtenhausen, and formerly a student of medicine, who has for many years resided at Burisburg, in South Carolina, at present owns

in this country 300 florins, current money of the German Empire. It is conceived that this gentleman is now in circumstances sufficiently prosperous to render this sum of no great moment to him, particularly as after deducting the expenses of transmission, he would receive but a very small amount.

These 300 florins are in the hands of one of his brothers-in-law, named Furst, a huntsman of Thalhofen, who married his sister Konigonde, and is in very straitened circumstances; so much so, that for many years he has been unable to pay the interest on the sum; and nothing can be obtained from him except it be deducted each month from his wages. Such a mode, however, of obtaining the principal, would be very difficult, as the said huntsman could spare but a small portion, his wages being very low; and he could not be suffered, with his family, to die of want. From these reasons it is, that the money could only be sent in small sums, and that eight or nine years must elapse before the whole is paid.

Joseph Bosinger, who married another of Mr. Rehm's sisters, named Magdalen, is in a still more pitiable condition. He has eight children, who can receive no education whatever; and from various causes this family is entirely destitute. Their misery is such, that they have been allowed to occupy small lodgings in the hospital of this place; and the husband, who was once in pretty good circumstances, has now no other means of supporting his family, than what he can earn from day to day by work or by begging.

These two miserable brothers-in-law of Mr. Rehm, have, therefore, entreated the *Grand Bailliage* of this place, to solicit from him a declaration, authenticated in

due form, that he yields up to them the money in question, to be shared equally between them; inasmuch as his brother George, being a hussar in the Prussian service, is well provided for.

FREY,

Counsellor of his Highness the Prince of Furstenberg, &c.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, January 22, 1788.

Sir,

I can only repeat the sad truths contained in my preceding letters. The citizens, conquered and subdued as they are, have no longer any liberty, and are, moreover, obliged to swear submissively that they are free. The dregs of the people do as they please with impunity; every thing is in the hands of the army and oligarchy. It is whispered that one of the cities has introduced a proposition for a monarchy. Among private individuals we find rancor, hatred, daily quarrels, and criminal prosecutions, brought about principally by public and domestic spies; the better part are emigrating; thieves and robbers are multiplying; people tremble at night in their houses, and the delightful environs of this place are no longer the resort of the public. In Amsterdam only, are yet to be found, under the ashes of the conflagration, sociability, tranquillity, love for the United States, and for their servant. Such is the true state of things here now.

Two defensive alliances have been resolved upon provisionally by the States General, and the preliminaries are yet before the Provinces and their cities and members;

the one with England, besides another treaty with that country, by which the commerce of this Republic will be regulated; the other with Prussia. The connexions with France and with the United States have only a nominal value, except with the good people of Amsterdam, who are obliged, however, to be careful in expressing their opinions on the subject. War between the Turks and Russians is yet uncertain. No doubt another war will soon arise, in which the funds of the Republic will be employed in purchasing foreign troops, and disorders, now only stifled, will begin again in this unhappy country.

I am, Sir, with great respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, February 2, 1788.

Sir,

I have received confirmation of the fact, that the two alliances between this Republic on the one part, and Prussia and England severally on the others, have been resolved on by their High Mightinesses, and only wait the sanction of the separate Provinces for their conclusion. It is, however, whispered that these two powers do not approve the project of making the Prince of Orange sovereign. He, it is said, likes the plan, which his Princess disapproves of, and a great schism exists in the family on the subject. These are but rumors; however, the project is disavowed by the Hague Gazette. I cannot yet find out whether, since the ill feeling manifested towards me in the reply to Mr. Adams, any subse-

quent and direct steps have been taken to bring my case before Congress, as was said to be the intention. The most intelligent of my friends think not. I am, however, ready to justify myself as soon as the pretended complaints against me are made known, under the consciousness that I have never done any thing but what I should have done, and could do, for the advantage of my masters, with the sovereigns near whom I was accredited, and with many of whom, now dispersed and banished, I was on terms of intimacy. Where they are I hardly know, as I deny myself the pleasure of corresponding with them. They professed the same principles with my wise masters, to whom and to you, Sir, I commit my honor and my interests, to which are attached those of my family, with full confidence that justice will be done.

You will see by the Leyden Gazette, the best paper in this country, that I have had the report of the Federal Convention published, together with the ordinance of Congress respecting the government of the Northwest territory, and the treaty with Morocco, of which you were kind enough to send me authentic copies; besides all other certain accounts respecting the state of things in America, particularly the admirable arrangement by which the internal debt has been so much reduced. The three articles in the supplements to that Gazette of the middle of January, the 29th of same month, and the 1st of February, are extracts of my letters to Mr. Luzac.

I will merely add, that the Stadtholder, on the 24th of January, made a proposition to the States of Holland, which was taken *ad referendum* by all the cities. Its object is "to grant an amnesty to all except the members and ministers of the Regency, who are regarded as

chiefs and instigators of the late troubles; those who corresponded or negotiated with foreign powers; those who alarmed the country by rumors of a pretended attack from the other Provinces; those who drew up the Acts of Confederation, &c.; all authors and publishers of seditious writings, &c.”

I am, Sir, with great respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, March 15, 1788.

Sir,

The accompanying newspapers will give you information so ample on many points, that what I could add would only be *crambe recocta*.

Sir James Harris yesterday appeared as Ambassador, his audience and visits of ceremony being conducted with great pomp. The French Ambassador is to arrive next month; and great anxiety is manifested as to what will be his conduct; my own, *si fas est magnis componere parva*, will not be, and has not been, such as could detract from the respect due to my masters, notwithstanding all my sufferings from the secret and the open villany of my enemies. From their open attacks I have reason to believe myself at present secure; the others, more dangerous still, will probably pursue me to my tomb.

I have had the satisfaction to see both Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson. The former took leave of their High Mightinesses, who gave him the customary medal and

chain, valued at 1300 florins or 520 dollars. By the same usage, I should have received a present of a similar nature but inferior value, worth 300 florins or 120 dollars, in my quality of *Chargé d'Affaires*; having been presented as such in 1783, by Mr. Adams, to the President, the Secretary, and the Grand Pensionary, acknowledged by them, and, as such, permitted to exchange the ratifications of the Treaty of Friendship and Commerce; and, moreover, on the occasion of the umbrage conceived at Mr. Adams' going as Minister Plenipotentiary to London without taking leave of their High Mightinesses, *expressly required by the then existing States General*, to procure information calculated to dispel the cloud, which I did to the satisfaction of all parties. The *now existing States General* have not given me that present. A person who has continued to retain his place in that body, notwithstanding what has occurred, told me confidentially, in terms, however, which I think proper to soften, that he blushed for them. Others hinted to me that it is an affront of which I have a right to complain. My reply was, "that by so doing I should deserve the affront; and that as their High Mightinesses had not offered any explanations on the subject, it was not my duty to interpret or comment upon their actions."

I have learned from a certain source that no direct measures have been taken to bring my case before Congress; (indeed they could only depend upon calumnies to justify such a proceeding;) and that they have merely confined themselves to the infamous letter to Mr. Adams, to which no other reply is necessary than the most wise and kind one made by that gentleman. They only published their own letter for the purpose of directing against me the hatred of the people.

The general illumination of the 8th of March, the Stadtholder's birth-day, took place, heaven knows how, without any disorder or trouble whatever. The house of the United States was illuminated from necessity, like those of all the other foreign Ministers. I was obliged to contribute to other testimonials of public joy; for instance, to the erection of triumphal arches and superb trophies, with which all the streets and squares of the cities and villages of the country, without exception, are still decorated, and will continue to be as long as the present constitution lasts. All those I have seen, bear the arms of the Prince and Princess of Orange, supported by two lions and surmounted by a crown.

I recommend myself to your good offices, and to the protection of the honorable Congress, during the remainder of a life worn out in the service of the United States, and lately rendered burthensome by persecution. And repeating my ardent wishes that God may preserve and bless the United States, I remain,

With great respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, March 23, 1788.

Sir,

When I had the honor and satisfaction of seeing Messrs. Adams and Jefferson, they were kind enough to make arrangements at Amsterdam for the payment of my arrears, conformably with the resolution of the honorable Congress of October 14th, 1785, to be made on the 19th

of next April, by the United States' bankers in that city. Of this I was again assured by Mr. Adams, as he passed through this place a few days ago. I have, therefore, the honor to send you, herewith, my account for the sum, as allowed me by the said resolution, and for the amount of my salary up to the 19th of April next, balanced by an account of what I have at intervals already received; and I have no doubt that you, Sir, and the honorable Treasury Board, will find it correct, and give it their approval.

March 25. Nothing new has occurred since the 23d; and I have been so unwell that I am unable to add any thing except the assurances of my respectful devotion to the honorable Congress and to your Excellency.

Your most obedient and faithful servant,

C. W. F. DUMAS.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, May 10, 1788.

Sir,

The Leyden Gazette, the best newspaper published in this country, will serve as an antidote to those of the Hague and of Cleves, which I send also.

I begin to rise in the good opinion of the multitude, and the citizens have testified their contentment by planting May trees before the house of the United States.

Count de Merode, the Emperor's Envoy, having been insulted in the street by the populace, on appearing, accompanied by his secretary, without the Orange cockade, made complaint and demanded satisfaction from the States

General and the States of Holland; in consequence of which, a more severe placard was issued against such excesses, which has had a salutary effect.

M. Caillard, *Chargé d'Affaires* of France, presented, last Monday week, a note to their High Mightinesses, in which he demanded, by order of his Court, explanations relative to the treaty concluded between the Republic and England, particularly with regard to the 6th article. Explanations, such as they were, were given, the treaty was officially communicated, and, a few days since, M. Caillard informed me that he had received a letter from M. de St. Priest, stating that the latter was to take leave of the King on the 5th, and set out on the 13th inst. to enter upon his functions as Ambassador here. He will be accompanied by his lady, and will travel slowly, stopping a few days at Brussels, where a Court is held, so that he will probably not reach this place before the end of the month. His presence will give great pleasure to some diplomatists here, who are looked on with an evil eye by the rabble and their instigators.

A great blow was to have been struck yesterday in France, for restoring all its energy to the Government; and its friends are on the tiptoe of expectation to learn the result, which will not be known until next week.

Spain continues to build, fit out, and arm, with all diligence.

We learn from good authority that peace will be soon made with the Turks.

Upon these three accounts, and the fact of the preparation for choosing a King of the Romans, the most clear-sighted persons build their expectations of a war, to begin

in the East Indies and extend thence over all Europe. May the United States, as with God's assistance they can, enjoy, free from all these troubles, that peace and prosperity which their perfect union assures to them. Here, every thing is in a condition directly the contrary.

Recommending myself to the protection of Congress and of yourself, Sir,

I am, with great respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, May 28, 1788.

Sir,

My last, of the 10th inst. was sent, with the newspapers, by a vessel from Amsterdam. I will insert its contents in this letter. [See preceding letter.]

The courts of justice still continue to pronounce the most atrocious sentences; acting with the utmost severity against the partisans of the late system, and smoothing over the excesses of the rabble. They did, indeed, order seven persons to be whipped at Amsterdam on the 17th inst. for an attack on some of the new Regents, whose manner of wearing the ruling color was not exactly to their liking.

Count Saint Priest will arrive here on Sunday; two of his children and some of his servants are already here. To-morrow, M. Caillard, *Chargé d'Affaires* of France, gives a little diplomatic dinner, at which will be present Count de Merode the Emperor's Envoy, his Secretary of Legation, Count de Bonge *Chargé d'Affaires* of

Sweden, M. de Aguire *Chargé d'Affaires* of Spain, and your humble servant; no others. We have all met frequently this winter at M. Caillard's, who is indisposed; and the same *coterie* will probably continue under the roof of the Ambassador of France. A community of interests assembles another at the house of the British Ambassador, which is however much larger, from the necessity of making a show.

June 6th. M. de Saint Priest presented his credentials on Monday the 2d, and received the customary return visit of the President. On Sunday and the two or three succeeding days, the vilest of the mob, particularly the Jews, were constantly assembling in front of his hotel, shouting and committing other acts of misconduct, because he and his servants appear without the orange color. Yesterday, when I went to dine there by invitation, I found the high officer, or Lieutenant of the Police of the Hague, making his excuses and promising that the like should not happen again. The Ambassador remarked politely, but with dignity, upon the continuance of such excesses, and hinted at their real cause, the impunity with which they were suffered to pass. I presented to him, on Sunday, Messrs. Shippen and Rutledge, who are now gone to Amsterdam, to return here shortly. The Count wished them to stay and dine, but they were on that day engaged to dine with Count de Bonge, *Chargé d'Affaires* of Sweden. They will, however, dine with the Ambassador on their return.

I shall send the newspapers soon from Amsterdam; and recommending myself to the protection of Congress and your own,

I am, Sir, with great respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.

FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

The Hague, May 30, 1788.

Sir,

I felt highly honored on receiving your letter of the 15th inst.; its contents and my personal recollections of you, Sir, are equally valued by me. I have communicated as much of it as was proper to the friends of America at this place, Amsterdam, and Leyden; and I hope the gazette of the latter city will show that I have made a good use of the information received. The Stadtholder and his family set out yesterday for Cleves, where the King of Prussia will join them for a day or two, about the 10th of June. They will return here about the end of that month. The enclosed paper, addressed to Congress, contains all that I know interesting to us at present. I hope you will communicate to me all the good news you receive from America, and concerning its ally, which no one desires more ardently than myself to see restored, by a solid and prompt arrangement of its internal affairs, to all the consideration abroad which it merits, and which it may resume as soon as ever the concluding energetic observation of your last letter is reversed. *Here all seems p. w. t. and w. w. v. [in English.]*

I must conclude, as I have to see two young American gentlemen who have favored me with a visit. I shall send you an account of the advice I have thought proper to give them respecting their proposed stay here.

June 6th. You will have seen, Sir, by the last supplement to the Leyden Gazette, the use I have made of the agreeable and valuable pieces of information which you had the kindness to send me lately; and I shall avail

myself of every opportunity which you may offer me of doing so in future. These things have evidently produced a favorable effect upon the credit of the United States, particularly at Amsterdam, while that of all other nations, especially of Holland, is falling. A negotiation has been going on for some weeks, to borrow five millions of florins for this Province, which, unexampled as it appears, does not succeed.

Receive, Sir, my thanks for the kind interest taken by you, as well as by Mr. Adams, in the arrangement which has at length secured to me the interest on my arrears; and accept the assurances of the highest respect, with which I have the honor to be,

Your humble and very obedient servant,

C. W. F. DUMAS,



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

Account of papers which the undersigned has been requested to transmit to the Magistracy of Philadelphia, through the honorable Mr. Jay, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the United States, with an entreaty to that gentleman that he will add his own recommendation to the same.

Petition of the widow Fuhrer and her two daughters, heiresses *ab intestato* to C. L. Fuhrer, an armourer, who died at Philadelphia; to which petition are annexed five documents in proof.

Caspar Ludwig Fuhrer, an armourer by profession, established at Philadelphia and married to Elizabeth Strohm, died there intestate on the 8th of May, 1784, without

children, and leaving no one else there connected with him besides his said widow.

He was born at Wetzlar, in Germany, where now reside his mother, Mar. Christ. Mollenbeck, and two sisters, Mar. Mad. and An. Chr. Fuhrer, the latter of whom has since married a certain Gunther, of Nassau Dillenburg, a subject of the Prince of Orange, and soldier in the service of the Republic. These persons are his heirs *ab intestato*.

They were informed of Fuhrer's death in August, 1784, by O. H. Geisse, of Dillenburg, who acted in behalf of his widow, and produced powers of attorney from her to make an amicable arrangement; insinuating, at the same time, that Fuhrer had left debts; that, according to the law of Philadelphia, half of his property belonged to said widow; and that unless such an arrangement could be made, great difficulties would arise. The petitioners, poor, unknown, and without acquaintances in Philadelphia, allowed themselves to be persuaded by the said Geisse, to sign, on the 13th of August, 1784, an agreement, by which, provided the circumstances should prove to be as stated to them, they were to receive, as their whole share of the property, 1000 florins of the Rhine, to be paid them by the said O. H. Geisse. Luckily for them, it is stipulated in the said agreement that it should be of no avail until they had received the said sum and given their renunciation according to law. Geisse has delayed payment, and still owes a large part of the sum agreed upon; so that the heirs *ab intestato* may yet retreat if they please. Proof will be found in the accompanying paper No. 4, that improper means were used, and that the petitioners were taken by surprise; as also, by

a second agreement, drawn up and proposed by Geisse in May, 1786, of which he will not produce the original, and from which it appears that the deceased left, among other property, a piece of land in Virginia, and a valuable house in Philadelphia.

The heirs *ab intestato*, therefore, address to the Magistrates of Philadelphia a petition, that they will be pleased to assign to them whatever portion of said property, real or personal, may be justly due to them, deducting therefrom the sum of 646 florins 54 kreutzers, which they have received from the said attorney, Geisse, on account of the 1000 florins abovementioned as agreed upon.

Done at the house of the United States at the Hague, this 8th of June, 1788.

C. W. F. DUMAS.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, June 10, 1788.

Sir,

My last despatch, of the 10th of June, sent by way of Amsterdam, together with the gazettes, contained some papers directed to the Magistracy of Philadelphia. If you would do me the honor to send me a line acknowledging their receipt, and stating that you had recommended the subject to the said body, I should be able to make known my good dispositions towards all who have any business with America; particularly as this concerns a subject of the house of Orange, notwithstanding the ill treatment I have received from many who style themselves its partisans, and, under that pretext, do me all the

evil they can. Those who do not wear the Orange cockade, are insulted; and those who do, are insulted also, as being unworthy to wear it.

You will see by the newspapers what is going on here with regard to the Ambassador of France; and you may judge therefrom, to what treatment persons are liable who are not Ambassadors. Honest people are betrayed, vexed, and suffer every species of tyranny even in their own houses, from servants who belong themselves to the mob, and have sold themselves to those who raise disturbances whenever they think proper. And whilst their crimes are cloaked and remain unpunished, proscriptions and violent criminal proceedings are rigorously pursuing the good citizens, particularly those who belong to the body of *constitués*.

The affair of the French Ambassador is not yet over. Neither he nor his family or servants go out, but remain at home, awaiting the promised satisfaction, and further orders or instructions on the subject from his Court. Meanwhile, they are amusing themselves with endeavoring to obtain depositions against the conduct of the Ambassador's servants, in favor of whom no one dares say a word, nor would venture to contradict any thing said against them.

You will see by the Leyden Gazette of June 3d, and the supplement of the 10th, that I am using the surest means of keeping up the credit of the United States in Holland; and I have the satisfaction to see that it succeeds, the more especially as that of all other countries, even of Holland itself, is falling. I must, however, remark, that the article headed *Philadelphia, April 23*, in the supplement, No. 49, of the Leyden Gazette of

June 17, is not mine; and that I know not who inserted it. I have, however, furnished another, which I expect will appear next week.

The enclosed paper was sent me by M. Toscan, private secretary to the Ambassador of France, with the assurance that it contained nothing calculated to give offence in any way.

I pray God to bless the United States and Congress under the new organization, of which we are anxious to hear farther accounts; as well as you, Sir, whose

Most obedient humble servant I am.

C. W. F. DUMAS.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, July 18, 1788.

Sir,

I have been waiting in order to inform you of the issue of the affair of the French Ambassador. The note sent by him on the 16th inst. which is to be found in the *Leyden Gazette*, No. 58, of to-day, will show you in what state he left the question when he set out with his family for the mineral springs of Lorraine, leaving the *Chargé d'Affaires* in his place, and his servants. Probably nothing more will be done in the question of the satisfaction demanded by his Court, until after his return, which will be in the course of some months; and the affair will not become really serious, until the powers think proper to throw off the mask under which they now conceal their intentions towards others.

Some person, either ill-intentioned himself, or set on

by others of that character, daubed the door of the house of the United States with orange color, in the night, some weeks ago. I had it immediately repainted. Some persons came a few days after to ask me whether this was a fact, and if so, why I did not make complaint? I replied, that "they knew as well as I did, that the answer would be '*We are very sorry, but do not know who did it.*'" They then observed, that great attention was in reality paid towards repressing these disorders. I answered, "So much the better then; but I hope never to have to present a note except by express order, and for the service of my masters."

The orgies which are kept up here night and day, afford no assurance to peaceable people; besides which, two most atrocious acts have been committed at Rotterdam. A tailor, who had incurred the hatred of the mob for having deposed against some seditious persons imprisoned by order of the late Government as having been taken in the act, had been obliged to quit the city, but returned secretly to see after his family and business. He was discovered, denounced, and imprisoned for some hours; after which, the high officer took him out of the city in a carriage, which was to convey him beyond the *Banlieu*; but the mob, as might have been expected, waited for him outside the gate, and stopping the carriage, dragged him out by the legs, and murdered him, the high officer all the while looking on, and merely telling the people "*that they were going too far.*" On the same day, Captain Riemersma, the same who took Mr. Van Berkel out to Philadelphia, while returning peaceably and unarmed from the country, where he had been dining, was attacked in the city by another band, and severely

handled, notwithstanding his Orange cockade, which he had thought would have protected him. He succeeded in making himself known, and the band dispersed; but four fellows, who had kept off during the affair, came up, and seizing him, tried to drag him to a canal, in order to throw him in; but a carriage fortunately passed by, the persons in which rescued him, took him to a surgeon, who bled him, and carried him home in a most dangerous condition, with one eye almost destroyed, yet glad to have escaped with life.

He is a man of wealth, owning six of the best houses in Rotterdam, and a manufactory of cotton goods; all of which he had thought of selling, after the invasion; but his own patriotism and that of his friends, had determined him to retain them for the sake of three or four hundred workmen employed in the manufactory. This circumstance, together with others connected with the fellows who attacked him, gives reason for a suspicion that the whole affair was planned and conducted by persons interested in the English cotton manufactures. He is the same person, too, who commanded off the Texel in 1779, and, at my solicitation, suffered the squadron of Commodore Paul Jones to enter; for which he has been hated ever since.

We hear from Leyden, that the populace has again been stirred up, in order to influence the election of certain persons to the offices of *Echevins*, which is to take place on the 25th. The board, if composed as they wish, will have full liberty for proceeding against the former *constitués* of the citizens. This will probably cause more emigrations, to the great detriment of the city.

Mr. Van Berkel's son has obtained the post of *Chargé*

d'Affaires near Congress, in the place of his father. He has effected this, it is said, by the utmost subserviency, and by entering entirely into the views of the now dominant party. He has said many ill-natured things about me to Messrs. Shippen and Rutledge, to whom I had the honor of paying some attention, and who were kind enough to inform me of them. I care very little about them, and say nothing more on the subject, from my respect for his father.

July 20. I send you the London Courier of July 16, in which you will find the provisional treaty between Great Britain and Prussia, signed on the 13th of last June, together with that between this Republic and those two powers, which preceded it. They will serve to show, like every thing else done this year, how uncertain is the duration of peace between the European powers.

The French Ambassador has put off his trip to the mineral springs of Lorraine for some days. I hear that a satisfactory answer to his late note has been promised, but I cannot say whether it has been given. At his hotel I heard a bulletin from Prince Potemkin read by the Russian Envoy; according to which, the Russian squadron had defeated and destroyed that of the Turks in the Black Sea. If this be true, the latter must sue for peace, which will probably be granted on easy terms, in order to take revenge on another power, which has stirred up Sweden against Russia.

I hear, with great pleasure, that the number required for the adoption of the new Constitution, will soon be exceeded. Heaven bless them.

I am, Sir, with great respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.

FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, July 26, 1788.

Sir,

I have just time to send you by the vessel, the answer of the States General to the French Ambassador's note of the 16th. You will thereby see that they are willing to satisfy the Ambassador personally, whom they had offended in their preceding answer, but that they refuse to comply with the demand officially made in the King's name.

A report is gaining credit, that General Conway has set out from Pondicherry with twelve or fifteen hundred men, in order to take possession of Trincomalee. Their High Mightinesses, as I was informed, requested the French Ambassador to obtain information on the subject from his Court, and the Dutch gazettes have since published the rumor. But I have since learned with certainty, that this was not exactly the case; but that still, for this reason, he had put off his trip to the springs, and had told Mr. Secretary Fagel, "However it may be, I am and ever have been of opinion, that the war which must take place, will begin in the East Indies, and will extend thence to the West Indies, and to all Europe; and that unless the French are the first in the affair, their rivals will be."

I have just learned with great pleasure, that the State of New Hampshire accepted the new plan of union on the 23d of June; and that the Virginia Convention, of which Mr. Pendleton is President, will most probably likewise accede to it. This gives me reason to hope that North Carolina and New York cannot, and will not,

longer hold out, to their own detriment and to the disturbance of the harmony of their respective sections of the country. And since I hear too, that Providence has protested against the vote of the people of Rhode Island, I hope that State, too, will come to reason, and that neither it, or any other, will render itself liable to the stigma which must arise from a refusal to enter into so wise and respectable a union.

As soon as the new Congress begins its Session, and I receive orders to communicate it officially, I shall take the utmost pleasure in so doing. It will be best, however, to furnish me with a letter of credence, as *Chargé d'Affaires*, for the purpose; as they will probably endeavor to elude their own resolution of June 24, 1783, by saying that I am no longer in office, since Mr. Adams has taken leave. I send a copy of that resolution, in order to save you the trouble of looking for it among my despatches of that period. You might also take this occasion of repairing the omission of the circular letter, which many diplomatists say should have been sent by Congress to the principal powers of Europe with whom it has no direct relations, informing them of the sovereignty, independence, or majesty of the United States, and of their more perfect union. By such a measure, nothing is engaged on the one hand; and on the other, those powers with whom you might hereafter have any business or discussion, are deprived of all pretexts of ignorance or misunderstanding. Paris and the Hague appear to be the most proper places towards which such advances should be first made; then to the Emperor of Germany, Russia, the Italian sovereigns, Poland, and the Porte. Count de Moustier could give every information about their titles, forms of address, &c.

With respect to the Emperor, I refer you to my despatch No. 32, of December 4th, 1787, and to the remarks of Mr. Jefferson.

Hostilities have commenced in Finland, by the entry of some Russian troops on the Swedish territory, where they endeavored to pass a bridge, which the Russians have broken down; a Russian *chasseur* was killed. A Swedish village in Carelia has also been burnt by another Russian corps. The Russian squadron, it is said, saluted the Duke of Sudermania as commander of the Swedish squadron, not as a relation of the Empress, as others pretend. Another account says, that the frigate sent to demand the salute, had orders to begin the attack by firing a broadside at the Russian Admiral, who saluted with 13 guns, receiving 8 in return.

A person well acquainted with cabinet secrets, assures me that the English hate the United States most mortally; and that the latter would act wisely to prepare for what may happen, particularly as regards their merchant and fishing vessels, which would certainly be seized, for the purpose of impressing their men, if a war should break out with France.

I have the honor to be, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.

(Accompanying the above.)

Extract from the Register of the Resolutions of their High Mightinesses, the States General of the United Netherlands.

Tuesday, June 24, 1783.

Secretary Fagel reported to the Assembly, that in obedience to the resolution of their High Mightinesses,

of December 27, 1782, he yesterday exchanged with Mr. Dumas, *Chargé d'Affaires* of the United States, in the absence of Mr. Adams, Minister Plenipotentiary of the said States, the acts of ratification of the treaty of friendship and commerce between their High Mightinesses and the United States of America, and of the convention concerning recaptured prizes, both concluded on the 7th of October preceding, at the Hague, and inserted at length in the Journal of the 8th. He exhibited at the same time, the act of ratification of the same by the United States.

Whereupon, after deliberation, it was ordained and decreed, that said act of ratification should be deposited in the secret chest.

A true copy from the said Register.

H. FAGEL.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, August 1, 1788.

Sir,

Since my last, of the 26th of July, a letter has been sent to me, which I now enclose to you. It contains a proposition of two officers to be employed in making certain improvements in fire-arms of all sorts, which will render them more useful and manageable, as well as less expensive. It being written in German, General Steuben, who is mentioned in it, (and to whom I beg leave to offer my respects,) may assist you in forming an estimate of the value of the proposition, and in coming to a determination about it.

I have received farther hints, that the United States

should be on their guard in case of a war between France and its rival; not only as concerns their navigation and fisheries, and the impressment of their seamen, but also as to the forts which have not been evacuated and surrendered as they should have been, by the terms of the treaty of peace. The person who gave me these hints, received my word of honor not to name him. I can, therefore, only say, that his information has been considered by me as too important, and coming from too good a source for it not to be communicated to you, particularly as it is strengthened daily by the observations of that rival's party here. I entreat you, at the same time, to protect my honor, my interests, and my existence, against that party and its adherents, with the new Congress, as you have with the old.

The French Ambassador sets out to-morrow for the springs, to return in six weeks. The British Ambassador is also to be absent for some time, on account of his health, as is said. The Prussian Minister goes too; so that we shall only have left the Ministers of Russia and Sardinia; the rest being *Chargés d'Affaires*.

I think it my duty to Congress and to you, Sir, to prevent you from being ever deceived as to the system pursued, and the sentiments entertained here, since the State has been surrendered to the now dominant party, by declaring that, *all which has been done here since 1779, and especially from 1782 to September, 1787, is considered and attacked, directly or indirectly, as the results of a criminal and hostile conspiracy between a cabal at home guilty of high treason, and the enemies of the Republic, (i. e. of Great Britain,) abroad.*

I am, Sir, with great respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.

*Memorial of Baron Julius de Helldorf to Congress,
sent with the preceding letter.*

To the honorable the Congress of the United States of
North America,

Ever since the invention of gunpowder, artillery, and small fire-arms, the opinion has generally prevailed, that half the weight of the ball ought always to be the proportion of gunpowder required for producing the intended effect. Faults and defects, which have been the causes of frequent disappointments and accidents, have indeed been discovered, and many experiments have been tried with a view to remedy or prevent them, but hitherto in vain; for instance:

1st. Muskets, charged with the abovementioned quantity of powder, recoil so much, that no person can keep them in their proper direction; the consequence of which is, that the soldiers become fearful of receiving such severe blows on their heads, and endeavor to avoid them by elevating the muzzles of their guns so much, that the ball is shot too high, and the charge is thus lost.

2d. It often happens that at the moment of discharging a piece, some portion of the wadding is thrown back into the barrel, and may thus either encumber the touch-hole, or set the new charge on fire prematurely, at the great risk of injuring those employed around.

These difficulties exist to a great extent, as all must know who have any acquaintance with fire-arms; to which I must add, that up to this period no one has been able to account for, or remedy, the variations which take place in the path of bomb-shells thrown from mortars.

Having for twenty years been reflecting on these points,

and making numerous experiments, in order to arrive at the exact causes, I was fortunate enough, about two years and a half ago, to discover that they arose entirely from faults in the interior construction of the fire-arms, and that a different arrangement would give them many advantages.

1st. By being made as I propose, there can be no recoil with the ordinary charge; and, consequently, the soldier need not fear any blows on the head.

2d. The balls will not be liable to have their direction changed, but will be carried more nearly straight and with more force.

3d. The arms will not get foul so soon, and may be cleaned more easily.

4th. No part of the cartridge can be forced back into the barrel, by the return of the air into the vacuum formed; and, therefore, there is no danger of the new charge being fired prematurely, or of the touch-hole being encumbered.

5th. The touch-holes will last, without being burnt out, ten times as long as at present, and the match-sticks are not liable to be thrown out of the hands of the matross, on firing, as must be acknowledged by every experienced artillerist to be the case at present.

6th. In throwing shells, the ball is less liable to be driven aside out of its course, by the wind.

7th. My guns and pistols prime themselves; the Prussian mode of priming, now generally used, is most irrational.

8th. My plan may be adapted to arms as now constructed, and indeed they would thus be much better than by making new barrels for them.

9th. The construction [*the alteration* probably] of a piece, would cost but one guilder of Holland, and even less.

Should the honorable Congress consider what I have premised worthy of its attention, and be pleased to treat with me on the subject, I hereby offer, as a man of honor, the following preliminary conditions:

1. That Congress should order their Consul at this place to make strict inquiries into my character, rank, and military knowledge. I will name no persons to whom such application should be made, as a man of true honor is indifferent on the subject.

2. If Congress should think fit to invite me over to America, and my experiments should be found to prove what I have advanced, they are to pay me the sum of five thousand ducats, or two thousand five hundred pounds sterling.

3. They will also provide free passage, suitable to my rank, for myself, Captain Zumberge, two servants, and perhaps two other persons whom I may need.

4. Should Congress determine to adopt my improvements, it is but just that I and Captain Zumberge should receive suitable appointments; that the title of Master of Ordnance be given to me, and that of Major to Captain Zumberge.

5. Should my family affairs render my return to Germany necessary, (for I cannot engage to remain more than four years,) the Congress is to grant free passage back to myself, Captain Zumberge, and two attendants. Captain Zumberge being a young man, may, however, wish to stay longer, perhaps for life.

6. Should my improvements be adopted, and every

thing have been completely and faithfully introduced by me, so that it could be continued without me, in that case Congress may not think it unreasonable to grant me two-thirds of my pay, and to Captain Zumberge half pay, during our lives; the whole to be secured and made payable at Hamburg.

On my own part, I do most solemnly declare on my honor, that this, my improvement in the mode of constructing fire-arms, has never been communicated to any person. I have, indeed, permitted some of my friends to be witnesses of the almost incredible effects produced by it; for instance, a few days since, a ball was sent from a horse-man's pistol of thirteen and a half inches barrel, and an ounce and a half caliber, charged with a quarter of an ounce of powder, through a target of four inches [thickness] at the distance of 300 Rhenish feet; through one of three inches at 400 feet; through one of two inches at 500 and 600 feet; and at 800 feet through one of an inch, burying itself deep in a sand-hill afterwards. What effect was produced by a gun of three feet six inches barrel, I need not mention; nor need I attempt to show how much may be saved in powder and expenses of transportation.

Advantageous as is this discovery, there may be some surprise that I have not yet offered it to one of the European powers; my reasons for not having done so lie within myself. I feel most sensibly that true happiness is only to be found where true liberty subsists; and this I say, though I am by birth a Saxon, and Captain Zumberge is a Prussian from Westphalia.

Should the honorable Congress pass a resolution inviting me to go to America, they will no doubt communicate

it to their Consuls at this place and at Hamburg, and I engage, on my word of honor, instantly to embark for the United States, in company with Captain Zumberge, carrying with us the following articles, to wit:

1. Three new, and three old muskets, of the same caliber.

2. Three carbines for chasseurs or riflemen, with elevated sights.

3. Three braces of horseman's pistols, of an ounce and a half caliber.

4. An eight-ounce swivel, that shall carry farther than a common twelve-pounder.

5. One half-pound cannon, made of wrought iron, the charge for which is four and one-eighth ounces of powder; and,

6. A wrought-iron one-pound cannon, charge eight and one-fourth ounces.

The two latter pieces are charged and fired without fuses; they do not rest upon wedges, but are levelled and pointed with extraordinary speed and accuracy by a simple machinery. As each requires but two hands to manage it, they are admirably adapted for sudden attacks and retreats.

I respectfully request Congress, to inform me, as early as possible, of their determination with regard to what I have here offered. Perhaps General Baron Steuben may yet remember me, as I served in the regiment Moritz, of Anhalt Dessau, during the whole seven years' war. In 1778, the late King was pleased to entrust me with the raising and command of a new regiment of infantry, which was reduced in 1779. In 1784 I entered the Dutch service as Colonel Commandant of a

new corps; and in 1785 had the promise of a corps of my own, which was, however, rendered null by the subsequent accommodation. Captain Zumberge has twice served under my command. Besides my native language, I speak English tolerably well, and French indifferently.

I am, with the utmost veneration and respect, &c.

JULIUS BARON DE HELLDORF.

The Hague, August 1, 1788.

The Hague, August 1, 1788.

The above letter was read, then sealed, and delivered to the undersigned by Colonel Helldorf and Captain Zumberge, to be sent to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in order that his Excellency, after reading it, may make whatever use of it he may judge most proper for the service of the United States.

C. W. F. DUMAS.



The letters of Mr. Dumas, written between the date of the preceding and the 20th of January, 1789, are wanting. Their dates and contents, as extracted from the journal of the Department of Foreign Affairs, are as follows:

August 9, 1788. Repeats his caution to the United States to be upon their guard in case war should break out between France and England. A loan of fifteen millions of florins has been attempted. The illumination took place. The news of the adoption of the Constitution by Virginia had reached Holland. Situation of the

belligerent powers. 12. Recapitulates contents of the preceding. 13. Baron Capellen de Marsen has fled to Paris for refuge. 27. The Dutch East India Company being in great distress, has attempted to borrow five millions of florins at four per cent. State of affairs in Holland. Encloses a memorial from the Bavarian *Chargé d'Affaires*, and a contract between Louis Conrad Kuhn, of Mannheim, and the widow Anne Marie Zeller, residing in Philadelphia, which he requests may be transmitted to the Government of Pennsylvania.

September 4. Difficulty in obtaining the new loan. Tour of the Prince and Princess of Orange. Excesses of the populace. 16. Messages between himself and Mr. Fagel, on the subject of his appointment; conjectures respecting them; requests a letter of credence. 26. Encloses an extract from the Register of the Resolutions of their High Mightinesses, of September 23, declaring him to be a private individual. Informs that he has affixed the word *Correspondent* instead of *Agent* of the United States, over the door of their house at the Hague. The new loan not made up.

October 6. Accounts of his disagreeable situation. Publication against him in the *Courier du Bas Rhin*. 9. He has been summoned before the Deputy Counselors, and ordered to take the arms of the United States from the front of their house, and to efface the word *Correspondent*; both of which he has been forced to do. England had invited their High Mightinesses to become joint mediators with her, between Russia and Sweden. 12. A placard has been published respecting the new loan; its obligations sell for but 60 to 68 per cent. 21. His conversation with Baron Staremborg respecting

his situation. Mode by which it might be altered, viz. by giving him a commission to go to Brussels in order to negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce with the States of the Emperor. 30. Has received an intimation that the hotel of the United States would be searched for his papers. Repeats his request to be sent to Brussels in a public character. He keeps up no correspondence with those who composed the former Government.

December 11. The Emperor has concluded an armistice with the Turks. M. de Mirabeau has published a history of Prussia.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, January 20, 1789.

Sir,

Things still remain in the same state of dejection on the one part, and carelessness on the other, as to the future condition of this country, in which they were on the date of my last, December 11, 1788.

The favorable turn which they are taking in France, as regards its internal affairs, compared with those of England, gives, it is said, the utmost pain to many here, who can scarcely conceal their envy and ill humor on the subject. Another contrast, striking indeed, but the effects of which are more carefully dissembled, is that between the elevation of the good people of France, and their depression in Holland.

As to myself, having exhausted all pretexts for cheating me, politically and diplomatically, they seem to be content with having depreciated me, in the opinion of the

society of this place, so far that I am now like a piece of base money, which every one refuses to take. You may judge, Sir, of my condition, from this simple fact: my daughter is, thank God, soon to be married, and in order not to disturb the tranquillity of the pair, I am obliged to be absent during all the visits of felicitation, which are usual on such occasions. It was even wished that I should give my consent to the marriage before a magistrate, by attorney, which I indignantly refused to do, and appeared in person.

The Gazette of my good friend M. Luzac will present you the best possible picture of the state of affairs in Europe; which are every day becoming more involved, especially since good faith has ceased to be the basis of intercourse between nations, and cunning and perfidy have taken its place. The storm may, perhaps, not break out this year, but it seems impossible that things can remain quiet much longer. Heaven bless the United States and preserve them from its evils.

After having been first obliged to efface the inscription of *Agent*, then that of *Correspondent of the United States*, from the door of the house, I perceive that in the Court almanac for 1789, published at the Hague by Pierre Gorse, I am again placed at length in the list of the diplomatic corps, (as it has been ever since 1783, although I never solicited it,) as *Chargé d'Affaires of the United States*. This almanac, as I am assured, is most scrupulously examined by the said Court, before it goes to press. I cannot easily account for this; nor do I think it worth while to attempt to do so. Just as I was about to close this letter, I received a note from M. Luzac, in which he says, referring to his professorship, "Perhaps

at this very moment, they are endeavoring to displace me."

I commend myself to the United States, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, March 1, 1789.

Sir,

I send you a note [from M. de Berkenrode] with the answer [by the French Ministry] from which you may see how the two powers regard each other now, and how they are likely to regard each other in future. I consider it the more my duty to send you these papers, as their insertion in the public prints of this country is forbidden. It is even dangerous to speak of them.

Sick and in solitude as I am, I have nothing more to say, except that I shall ever be proud to be able to style myself the most humble and obedient servant of Congress, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.



(Papers accompanying the above.)

*From the Hamburg Correspondent or Political Journal
of Saturday, January 31, 1789.*

Paris, January 12. It is well known that when peace was concluded between the Emperor and the United Provinces, our Court engaged to pay to Holland four and a half millions of Dutch florins, in eight instalments, as

part of the ten millions which the latter country was to pay the Emperor. As long as the Patriotic party was in power, these instalments were regularly paid by France; but the two last, which become due in the spring and autumn of 1788, have not been acquitted; and there now remain unpaid, two and a quarter millions of Dutch florins. On this subject, M. de Berkenrode, Ambassador of Holland, sent to Count de Montmorin the following

NOTE.

I have the honor to inform your Excellency, that the States General, my masters, have charged me to communicate with the Ministry of his most Christian Majesty, respecting the ten millions of Dutch florins which were made payable in eight instalments, as agreed upon in 1785, by order of the King, between the Count de Vergennes on the one hand, and the undersigned and M. de Brantsen, Ambassadors of the States General near the King, on the other. Conformably with this arrangement, the four first instalments have been acquitted by the Court of France; but the two which became due on the 24th of March and the 24th of September of this year, remain unpaid.

“Their High Mightinesses attribute this delay entirely to circumstances which may have rendered the Court of France unable conveniently to make the payments at the appointed periods; and they charge me to inform you, that it is by no means their intention to insist upon the immediate payment of the instalments due, if circumstances should render it inconvenient, but merely to recall to mind their claims to the fulfilment of what was settled by the said convention.

Their High Mightinesses are confident that the Court

of France will keep its engagements, not only as regards the instalments already due, but with respect to those which will hereafter become due; and that the King's Ministry will make no difficulty in assuring them of the same. I entreat your Excellency to enable me, as soon as possible, to set their High Mightinesses at ease on the subject of this their most just claim.

LESTEVENON DE BERKENRODE.

Paris, December 11, 1788.

To the above note, the French Ministry, on the 26th of December, sent to M. de Berkenrode the following

ANSWER.

The official note received by the King's Ministry from M. de Berkenrode, on the 11th inst. has for its object the payment of the remaining instalments of the four and a half millions of Dutch florins, which his Majesty engaged to pay in 1785, at the conclusion of the treaty of peace between the Emperor and the United Netherlands. Their High Mightinesses merely recall the said engagement to mind, and testify their conviction that the King will keep it.

In order to have a clear idea of the nature and character of this engagement, it is necessary to review the motives and circumstances which gave rise to it, as well as the events which have occurred since it was made.

Their High Mightinesses surely cannot have forgotten, that when they were forced into a war with Great Britain, they were effectually supported by France and Spain; that the King's arms preserved the Cape of Good Hope for them, and reconquered Ceylon, St. Eustatia, and Dutch Guiana; all which possessions were restored to the Re-

public. Gratitude for benefits so signal, induced the States General to seek an alliance with his Majesty. The King consented, but the treaty was not drafted until a war between the Republic and the Emperor was on the point of breaking out; at which time, although no engagement then existed, his Majesty did not hesitate for a moment to come forward as their ally, and exert himself actively in their behalf.

By his solicitations, the Emperor was induced to agree to receive an equivalent in money for his pretensions, the King agreeing to take upon himself the acquittal of a part of the sum, in order to prevent hostilities which were on the point of breaking out, and to save the Republic from a ruinous war. Their High Mightinesses, filled with gratitude at so generous a conduct, deliberated, and resolved to accept the offer. They testified their feelings towards his Majesty, by ordering two ships of the line to be presented to him, and hastened to sign the treaty of alliance, which was immediately followed by the treaty of peace with the Emperor, concluded in November, 1785. Shortly after began the disturbances in several Provinces, arising from the events of the last war. The King employed his influence and counsels, as far as possible, in order to bring about a reconciliation; but his efforts were vain. *An unexpected revolution changed the whole face of affairs in the United Provinces; those who had shown inclinations towards the only ally of the Republic, were expelled from the country, and new alliances were concluded.*

The alliance with Great Britain contained engagements which had been omitted in the treaty of alliance with France. His Majesty demanded, in a note which his

Ambassador was ordered to present on the 3d of last June, that those engagements should be annulled, or similar ones entered into towards France. The States General rejected this demand, for reasons which have but little consistency, and thereby deliberately altered their alliance with his Majesty, in its most essential points.

In this state of things, the King considers that he is not under obligation to fulfil conditions, the very bases of which have been shaken by their High Mightinesses; the silence which they have hitherto observed, having caused his Majesty to suppose, either that they had renounced that object, or that their present demand would have been accompanied by a satisfactory answer to the note alluded to above. His Majesty, therefore, leaves it to their High Mightinesses to adopt such measures as their wisdom may prompt.

Versailles, December 24, 1788.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, March 21, 1789.

Sir,

By order of the Council of State of the United Provinces, of the 19th inst. General Van Ryssel, who commanded the *cordon* of troops of this Province at Weerde, in 1787, against the invasion, and Colonel Van de Pol, who are living in retirement, and with pensions, in France, have been broken; the former with infamy attached to his name, and both declared incapable, and banished from the Republic forever.

Here all social enjoyments are dangerous for any one

who cannot, or will not, make a practice of simulation; (simple dissimulation is insufficient;) even in the bosom of families. This is no exaggeration.

You will learn from Mr. Jefferson how things are going on in France, to the advantage of the nation and of the King.

There is still more probability that the war will continue in the east, and will be carried farther in the north of Europe. The internal affairs of France and England will, probably, prevent those two powers from engaging in it, at least this year. Heaven only knows what will happen the next, for the political state of Europe is now a chaos, into which no human mind can penetrate. A general war is expected by the most clear-sighted, and all honest and peaceable people here, shudder at what may then take place in this country.

Heaven bless the United States, and keep them out of the way of the gathering storms. I am, as well as all their friends, most anxious to learn the proceedings of the wise and honorable Congress, to the protection of which, and to yours, I recommend myself. My only consolation amid all the evils of old age and solitude, being, that I am the servant of a free and generous people, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, April 1, 1789.

Sir,

I have just received the following from Amsterdam, under date of March 28:

“ Within a few days past, three American vessels have

been subjected to a most rigorous search, and soldiers have been kept on board them. It is reported that the shippers of the cargoes have been obliged to pay a penalty of ten thousand guilders. Had it been thought likely that you could have obtained any protection or redress, by your interposition with the States General, application would have been made to you; but the conviction that your services would be of no avail, prevented it; and I am not sorry, as your feelings might probably have been hurt on the occasion. Some consider the proceeding as a measure of the new Commissary General, in order to obtain money; others attribute it to a more remote cause, considering it strange that American vessels should be singled out for such persecution. May it not be intended particularly to show what feelings this Government entertains against the United States of America?"

Until I have been better informed, I shall hazard but one observation; which is, that many persons here are industriously employed in disseminating notions derogatory to the character of the United States, and calculated to lower them in public estimation; particularly the idea that they are tired of their independence, and will soon return into the arms of their *mother country*.

I immediately wrote word to Amsterdam, that I could at least do what was most essential, namely, give official information of what had occurred to Congress; and to that effect, I have demanded a clear and precise exposition of the facts, in order that Congress may judge how far they are at variance with the terms of the treaty of commerce. Meantime, I have thought proper to inform you and Mr. Jefferson of all that I have learned. I shall send farther particulars under cover to that gentleman.

April 3. I have just received the following answer to my letter:

“Amsterdam, April 2. It would be very difficult, if not entirely impossible, for us to obtain the information you desire, respecting the American vessels which have been searched here; as it would tend to draw upon us much more of the public attention than we could wish, especially at the present moment, when we are only endeavoring to keep quiet.”

The same reasons which direct my friends, must influence me; they will serve at least to show what is my situation, and that of American citizens in this country.

I pray God always to bless the United States &c.

Your most humble and obedient servant,

C. W. F. DUMAS.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, April 27, 1789.

Sir,

I could wish always to send you something interesting in my despatches, but the intermitting political fever, which is sometimes rising, sometimes falling, torments all Europe; and the languid situation in which I am, interrupted only by the noise of carriages, drunkards, soldiers, or beggars, prevents me from having any thing to say.

Bread is constantly rising in price. Heaven preserve us from such commotions as are taking place in other countries.

April 29. By the last letters from Vienna, the Empe-

ror was so ill that no expectations were entertained of his recovery. His death would leave the German Empire without a head: a new apple of discord for Europe. France being luckily occupied with internal reform and amendment, may escape, for a time at least, from the contest. All the other powers, except Spain, Portugal, and perhaps Italy, must be involved. The United States are most happy in being at a distance from such scenes. Heaven bless them, and me through them, while I live, which cannot be much longer, as I am weak and sick.

Be pleased, Sir, to present my profound respects to their Excellencies the President, the Vice President, and the Senators of the new Congress: recommend me to their protection and kindness while I live; and believe me ever to be,

Sir, your and their most humble and devoted servant,
C. W. F. DUMAS.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO HIS EXCELLENCY GEN. GEORGE
WASHINGTON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA.

The Hague, June 13, 1789.

Sir,

The oldest diplomatic servant of the United States cannot restrain his feelings, on learning the news of the eminent dignity conferred upon your Excellency, by the unanimous voice of the wise men elected for that purpose by the freest people on earth. He shares the transport of that noble nation, and ventures, likewise, to offer to your Excellency his most heartfelt homage, praying

that God may bless the United States, and long preserve them under the direction of the most virtuous and paternal Government now existing.

Yes, your Excellency, my heart is moved by the same filial affection which the American nation bears towards you, as in duty bound; it flows from the same pure and immoveable principles which have so successfully guided me in the service of the United States; which have secured for me the good dispositions of their friends, and the implacable hatred of their enemies. The honorable Congress is informed of these facts by my despatches, particularly those written since September last; and by the papers annexed, of which I will cite my letter to the Secretary of their High Mightinesses, dated September 14, their resolution on the same, and my postscripts of the 9th and 21st of October, &c.

I have taken the liberty to suggest to the honorable Congress, a means of managing their affairs here, and of keeping me at the same time under the protection of the laws of nations in this country. It is, by accrediting me near the Court of Brussels, and making me the bearer of letters from Congress for the said Court, as well as for that of Vienna, giving them direct and immediate information of the sovereignty of the United States under their new form of Government, and authorizing me to draft a provisional treaty of friendship and commerce with the Austrian Netherlands, which would be well and useful at all times, but more especially in case this Republic should, as is very probable, be engaged in the quarrels of the northern powers.

Their Excellencies, Messrs. John Adams, John Jay, Thomas Jefferson, and Robert Morris, can inform your

Excellency of my present disagreeable situation, and how urgent is the necessity that something should be done for me calculated to convince the public that, although I may not be agreeable to the dominant party here, I still preserve the good graces and protection of the august Congress, and of your Excellency, whose most respectful and obedient servant I am.

C. W. F. DUMAS.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, June 15, 1789.

Sir,

In consequence of the letter with which you honored me, bearing date the 9th of March last, I delivered to the *Chargé d'Affaires* of the Palatinate a note, which he has despatched to his Court, and of which I send you herewith a copy, (A); as also a copy of another, (B), which I shall present to the Swedish Envoy, who will reach this place about the end of the week.

The hope which you have been kind enough to give me, that the honorable Congress will take my case into consideration, affords me great consolation in the midst of the evils which surround me. After the resolution taken by their High Mightinesses, the object of which is to involve me in the downfall of the late Government, and to deprive me of the protection of the laws of nations, there is but little probability they will so far retract as to receive any letters of credence in my favor, near themselves; I therefore see no other means of restoring me to the enjoyment of those rights here, than that which I

have taken the liberty to point out, viz. to accredit me near the Court of Brussels, and to make me the bearer of two letters, one for the said Court, the other to be sent by it to the Court of Vienna—each giving direct and immediate notice of the independence and sovereignty of the American Confederacy, under its existing form and perfected Constitution. It would also be well, and would completely rectify public opinion with regard to me, if I could deliver similar letters to several foreign Ministers residing here, to be transmitted by them to their respective Courts, and in particular, one for Mr. Secretary Fagel, to their High Mightinesses. Thus I could be protected here in two ways, by the United States, and by the Emperor, as accredited to his Court at Brussels, where there would be no necessity for my constant residence, as I could easily go there and transact any business with which Congress might charge me: for instance, to draft a provisional treaty of friendship and commerce, which would be useful at all times, but more particularly in case this Republic should be involved in the disputes of the Northern Powers, which circumstances render very probable. As to circular letters in general, addressed by Congress to all the principal Sovereigns of Europe, particularly the maritime powers, the idea of the advantage to be derived from them, long since suggested itself to me, and it has lately been brought to my mind by several weighty persons as particularly proper on the occasion of the new organization of the Government, and as a measure of mere politeness, binding the United States to nothing.

The annexed letter, addressed to the Magistracy of Lancaster, in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, was given

to me by William Buker, corporal in the Hirtzel regiment, Smith's company, with a request that I would transmit it through the Department of Foreign Affairs of the United States. It is on the subject of an inheritance in Germany, for which persons have presented themselves who are suspected of imposture; the Magistrates of Lancaster are entreated to throw light on the business.

The famous military jurisdiction has been provisionally introduced into Friesland, with a view, no doubt, to restore it in the other Provinces, especially in Holland. You will see the regulation establishing it, in the Gazette of Holland, of June 12, sent herewith, as are also the French Gazettes of Leyden, which afford me the only opportunity of acting, in order to keep up the credit and dignity of the United States. I do not particularize my insertions for the purpose of praising myself; but merely to prevent others, which I have not furnished, from being imputed to me.

I am much obliged to you for the list of my despatches received in 1788, with the accounts of the disposition made of the accompanying papers. It affords me the means of giving accounts on the subjects of said papers to those who committed them to me.

June 19. Baron de Leuwenhielm, the Swedish Envoy, received me this morning very politely, thanking me for my note, which he will instantly send to his Court, and declaring the interest he took in the prosperity of the United States. As I was going away, he asked me if I were in a public capacity here. I answered, "that I had been, but that since last September they had been determined to regard me merely as the keeper of the house of the United States, and that I was waiting for the orders

of my masters." He smiled, and hoped that the affair would be settled.

I recommend myself, and all my affairs, to the consideration and protection of Congress, praying God that he will bless that honorable body, its illustrious President and Vice President, and you, Sir,

Whose respectful and devoted servant I am,

C. W. F. DUMAS.

(Papers accompanying the above letter.)

A.

Note from C. W. F. Dumas, to M. Von Willingen Chargé d'Affaires of the Elector Palatine of Bavaria, near the States General.

The Hague, June 2, 1789.

Sir,

You will no doubt remember that, in the month of August last, you honored me with a visit, during which you handed to me, by order of your Court, a memorial and contract, requesting me to transmit them to the Congress of the United States of America, and through that body to the Government of Pennsylvania; the object of which papers was to obtain justice in a case between a subject of the Palatinate, and a person established at Philadelphia. I instantly acted in compliance with your request, and have just received an official communication on the subject, of which I will give the abstract.

Congress not being in session when the said papers reached the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the United States, they could not be submitted to that Assembly as

requested, but copies of them were sent to the Government of Pennsylvania.

The Minister nevertheless expresses his surprise that the Government of a country should be expected to decide in a controversy between a private foreigner and a private citizen, in any other way than the ordinary course of justice. He states that in Pennsylvania, as in the other States, regular courts of justice are established, for determining all such cases, to which those having demands to make should have recourse, either in person or by attorney; and that whilst they remain open, it can neither be necessary nor proper that Government should interfere. He concludes by hoping that the *Chargé d'Affaires* of his Electoral Highness the Palatine, on being made acquainted with these his opinions, will consider them based on proper principles.

On my own part, Sir, I hope I have completely performed what you requested, and satisfied you of my desire to merit your personal esteem and consideration.

With which I have the honor to be, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.

*Copy of the letter from John Jay to C. W. F. Dumas
referred to in the preceding.*

Office for Foreign Affairs, }
March 9, 1789. }

Sir,

Among other letters which I have had the pleasure of receiving from you, there is one of the 27th August last, in which, at the request of the *Chargé d'Affaires* of the Count Palatine of Bavaria, you enclosed a memorial and contract, to be conveyed to Congress, and through

them to the Government of Pennsylvania, in order to obtain justice for a Palatine subject, from a person settled at Philadelphia. This memorial is, it seems, made by the *Chargé d'Affaires*, by order of his Serene Electoral Highness. Congress not being in session, I have had no opportunity of laying it before them; but I have transmitted copies of these papers to his Excellency the President of Pennsylvania.

It appears to me singular, that it should be expected the Government of a country should decide upon the merits of any controversy between a private foreigner and a private citizen, in any other way than the ordinary course of justice. In Pennsylvania, as in the other States, regular courts of law, competent to all such cases, are established; and to those courts, all persons having such demands should, either by themselves or their agents, apply for justice. While those courts remain open, and act uprightly, it can neither be necessary nor proper for Government to interfere. These, Sir, are my sentiments on the subject, and I flatter myself that on being explained to the *Chargé d'Affaires* of his Highness, they will appear to him well founded.

It would give me pleasure to convey to you the sentiments of Congress on several topics in your letters; but the change about to take place in our Federal Government, has necessarily produced such delays relative to matters not of immediate importance, that I am without orders or instructions relative to them. The Government, under the new constitution, will probably soon be organized. All our foreign and other affairs will then be duly considered; and I am persuaded that those you mention and recommend, will meet with proper attention.

That you may know exactly, whether all the letters which you have done me the honor to write during the last year, have come to hand, I subjoin a list of all such as I have had the pleasure of receiving.

With the best wishes for your health and happiness, I have the honor to be, &c.

JOHN JAY.

B.

From C. W. F. Dumas to Baron de Leuvenhielm, Envoy of Sweden, near the States General.

The Hague, June 2, 1789.

In the month of June, 1787, the undersigned, in the service of the United States of America, received an official letter and a note from Baron Schultz Von Ascherading, which, agreeably to his request, were immediately transmitted to the Congress of the said States. The undersigned did not know, until yesterday, what further disposition had been made on the subject of those papers; and he hastens to communicate what he has learnt to his Excellency the Envoy of Sweden, in order that he may see the respect with which the United States regard the wishes of his Swedish Majesty, and be able to inform those who are interested, of the measures which have been adopted in relation to the business.

The following is taken from the list of despatches received from the undersigned in 1788, at the Department of Foreign Affairs in New York; which came with a letter from his Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the United States to the undersigned, dated March 9, 1789.

“Date, June 7, 1787. Enclosing a letter and note

from the Envoy of Sweden, relative to a Captain Dahlberg; which have been transmitted to the Governors of the different States, and published in the gazettes.”

C. W. F. DUMAS.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, June 19, 1789.

Sir,

A rumor has been some time in circulation, and, to a certain extent, credited, that a general amnesty would soon be declared. If it prove true, it will probably furnish me with materials for another despatch. I do not, however, put much faith in it; nor even if it were so, do I think that it would produce all that is expected from it. The people every where, but particularly in the cities, begin to be very much discontented at the dearness of bread, which is daily increasing.

At Rotterdam, a few days since, the windows of fifteen houses were broken. A person in that city, on whom I can depend, informs me that on this occasion the patriots were not the sufferers, and that but for the garrison, still greater excesses would be committed. At Gouda, they are loudly and openly demanding the restoration of their old Regency.

I commend myself to the protection of Congress, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.

FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, July 20, 1789.

Sir,

The London Courier (newspaper) cannot be procured here, as it is liable to seizure wherever found. The sudden change in the French Ministry keeps every body in suspense. Gold is becoming very scarce, and can only be obtained at an exorbitant price; the English, as it is said, carrying away all they can get, by the agency of the Jews. The war continues about the Baltic and the Danube. The Emperor, it is said, cannot recover; the health of the King of England is also in a precarious state, and it is supposed that there is but little union in his family. The Prince of Orange is at Bremen, and no one knows when he will return. England has refused to allow the exportation of flour to France, as requested. The English Minister, though but just arrived, it is said will go immediately to England in order to marry. The Spanish Minister will pass the summer at the Pyrmont springs, and the winter in some other part of Germany; he left a card for me on departing, as also did the *Chargé d'Affaires* on entering on his new duties. It is believed that the Imperial Envoy will also absent himself. The Stadtholder is at his country seat, from which he comes here every day in state. Society is dull and unpleasant still. I endeavor to keep up the honor of the United States by continuing to reside in their house, by going out every day and appearing in the public places and streets. I am also careful to visit only at the hotels of Spain, France, and the Emperor, and at the houses of some private citizens.

July 21. A fresh revolution of the 15th inst. has overthrown the new Ministry in France, united the King and the people more closely, and recalled the old Ministers. All this has been brought about by the firmness of the National Assembly on the one hand, and by that of the city of Paris on the other; in which place 100,000 armed citizens, with the assistance of 10,000 national soldiers, have taken possession of the arsenals, magazines, the Bastille, &c. The Marquis de la Fayette is at their head, having been obliged to accept the charge by unanimous acclamation. That is all we have as yet been able to learn here. Mr. Necker, now that he has been restored, must follow the noble example which has been set in another hemisphere; he must save France, and then become again a simple citizen; he will then be regarded as the second citizen of the known world. On the 13th inst. the National Assembly, by an *arrêté*, thanked and justified Mr. Necker, rendered the new Ministry responsible for all the consequences of his dismissal, and specially for the infamy of a bankruptcy, by taking the national debt again under the guarantee and loyalty of the nation.

July 22. The Count d'Artois, the Princes of Conde and Conti, and the Duke of Bourbon, with their families, and many other persons, have taken refuge at Brussels. The Queen is said to be at the country seat of the Imperial Minister.

I yesterday received two packets by Amsterdam, for Mr. Jefferson; they are under your seal, the address in the hand writing of one in your Department, and are simply recommended to my care. As I have reason to believe that Mr. Jefferson is absent, I wrote to the Lega-

tion at Paris, in order to learn how, under present circumstances, they should be transmitted in safety.

The people here are again beginning to stone the houses of peaceable citizens.

July 24. Having fortunately been assured that Mr. Jefferson is still in Paris, I have thought proper to send him the two packets to-day, by the post; having them entered and paid for as usual.

I commend myself to the august Congress, the honorable Senate, their Excellencies the President, the Vice President and yourself, Sir; whose most obedient and faithful servant I am.

C. W. F. DUMAS.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, August 14, 1789.

Sir,

On the 7th of this month a cabinet-maker at Rotterdam attacked a wine-seller for not wearing an orange riband, and received a stab; this gave rise to a disturbance, in which a hundred or more houses had their windows broken. The next day a placard was issued, exhorting people on the one hand not to stone, or rob, or insult; and on the other, to wear orange ribands in order to avoid ill treatment. At Amsterdam, where the police is better, quarrels and fights take place in the taverns.

The affairs in France contribute not a little to keep up and excite animosities in this country. Heaven grant they may be soon arranged for the greater glory and happiness of the French nation and its good King. It would

be dangerous for me to enter into any details as to the part which the surrounding powers are inclined to take in the case. The news received last Tuesday, causes great excitement in the minds of persons here; some are overjoyed; others view with great sadness what took place in the session of the National Assembly of the 4th and 5th inst. Persons are every where stationed, charged with watching the proceedings of the people. Thank God I have escaped them, although I go out every day to walk or to pay a visit at the hotels of France, Spain, and the Emperor, or to some good citizens of my acquaintance, from whom I learn the threats and calumnies uttered against me by persons who hate me, and who use every means to distress and disturb me, in order to drive me from the place. In this, however, they will not succeed, as I am determined at every risk to await the resolution of the honorable Congress, with regard to its old servant, who has nothing to reproach himself with, and whose greatest consolation is, that he has merited the hatred of the reigning system.

For this reason, and in order to deprive my enemies of all means of exercising their ill feelings towards me, likewise that the honorable Congress may have no difficulty with the Government here, I respectfully repeat my solicitation to be formally accredited by you, in the name of Congress, near the Court of Brussels; to be made the bearer of a circular letter for that Court, and of another to be transmitted through it to the Emperor himself, as also of a third for their High Mightinesses here, and others for the powers who have Ministers at the Hague, making known the new form of confederation which has been adopted by the United States: moreover, to be charged

at Brussels with drafting a treaty of amity and commerce between the United States and the Austrian Netherlands; which treaty might form part of that which Mr. Jefferson could finally conclude on his return to the Imperial States. I know that I should be well received if accredited near the Court of Brussels. I should not be obliged to reside there constantly, and I could return here, where in future they could not cheat me, nor refuse to acknowledge me in my character of a servant of the United States, accredited near a neighboring Power, nor decently refuse to receive me, when I should be the bearer of such a circular letter from Congress.

I am not urged to this by any vain ambition, nor do I wish to make any insipid, disgusting display here; but by a just and praiseworthy desire to make my honor triumph in public before my friends and family, and to end my career in this life, by a last exertion of my zeal under the public authority, and with the approbation of my masters, the United States. I wish to die with my reputation untouched, and to be acknowledged as a man faithful to his principles and his masters—not with that stain which mean and malignant courtiers are endeavoring to cast upon me. That, Sir, is my last and most earnest wish. I believe it to be innocent and honorable; and I venture to hope that their Excellencies, the President, the Vice President, you and Mr. Jefferson, will favor it by your influence, so far as to have some determination taken with regard to it.

Allow me, Sir, to hope, that I may consign my interests in this case to your care, without writing specially to any of those gentlemen, or to the august Congress; and that you will present my respects to them, as well as to Dr.

Franklin, Messrs. Robert Morris, J. Dickinson, and H. Laurens.

I am, with the utmost consideration, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.

(Accompanying the preceding letter.)

ANECDOTE.

Whilst an idea was entertained of investing Paris, and a few days before the dismissal of Mr. Necker, it was discovered that a great purchase of grain had been made; for instance, 5,000 lasts, at 470 to 475 florins of gold (28 Dutch florins each) the last, by the house of H—— and others, devoted to the A——; that 500 lasts were about to be sent immediately to Dunkirk in three vessels, the rest to follow afterwards. Meanwhile came the news of the revolution in Paris, the recal of Mr. Necker, the flight or dispersion of his adversaries, &c. and the grain was not sent. In order to keep the affair secret, to make the name of H—— disappear from the enterprise, and to propagate the idea that the whole was only an arrangement for the benefit of the city, in order to render bread cheaper and more abundant, the Regency came forward, and, on the 3d of August, under its authority, the said 500 lasts were publicly sold, at 220 gold florins the last. No one knows what will be done with the remainder; whether it will be sold in parcels, or otherwise disposed of. This circumstance may be put with the refusal of England to allow the exportation of the 20,000 sacks of flour, which had been requested by direction of Mr. Necker, and with the observation which escaped at Am-

sterdam, with regard to the 5,000 lasts purchased to no purpose, "two millions more lost to England!" with the intercourse now existing between the D—— of D——t, and d'A——, and the party now dispersed, &c. &c.

Since writing the above, I have been further informed, that the said grain, which was 6,000 lasts of the best Zealand wheat, instead of 5,000, was bought on account of their High Mightinesses, in order to counteract Mr. Necker and to favor his adversaries, at 370 to 375 florins the last, and that it has since fallen to 205 to 240; so they lose a great deal.

I have another anecdote to relate, which happened about the same time with the preceding. M. V. C. of the States General, from Zealand, who had been a rival candidate to Baron N—— for the embassy to England, expecting on this occasion to receive that to France, sent for his tailor and commanded a Court dress for himself, a new livery for his servants, and, remark—a *chasseur's* dress, exactly like that worn by Count de Saint Priest's *chasseur*, who escaped from the hands of the people last year by the aid of his sword; the whole to be ready by the 7th of August, the Prince of Orange's birth day, in order to go to Court in that style. But when news arrived of the fall of the ephemeral Ministry, of Mr. Necker's recall, &c. the order was quickly countermanded, the stuffs sold, and there was nothing more than the ordinary gala on the 7th inst.

His Excellency, the Vice President, knows the persons whose initials I have given above, and can inform you who they are.

FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, September 17, 1789.

Sir,

Since my last, of the 14th of August, in compliance with a friendly invitation from our good friends Messrs. N. and J. Van Staphorst, and Hubbard, of Amsterdam, I have been spending three weeks with them most agreeably in that city. I observed that the affairs of France, Liege, &c. without causing as much licentiousness there as at Rotterdam, yet excited the same diversity of feeling in the minds of the two parties. Scarcely had I been there a week, before the persons in whose care I had left the house of the United States, wrote me word, that on the 24th of August, (the birth day of the young hereditary Prince of Orange,) fire-works were thrown in several parts of the Hague: among others, in front of the hotel of France, and in the *Koediestraat*, opposite the house of the United States, which is separated from it by a canal; and that of several large grenades which were thrown between 9 and 10 o'clock in the evening, one fell in the window of the dining-room of our house, and, by its explosion, destroyed the window sashes and frames entirely, so as to cover the walk below with the remains. The servant who took care of the house, by going instantly and extinguishing the burning fragments of the grenade, which had set fire to the woodwork, and by watching all night, prevented farther injury. Next morning, the *Baillis* of the city and of the provincial court, came to examine the facts; and the carpenter to whom I entrusted the direction of the house, in case of accidents, repaired the damages. Since my return, nothing more has been said about it, and it is already forgotten.

The present state of Europe keeps those who are most capable of judging, in a state of anxiety; others, the more numerous part of course, reason at random. Within the last few days, the populace have been celebrating at Rotterdam, what they are pleased to call the "*happy revolution*," by firing guns in the streets, and burying the figure of a patriot. Luckily no unfortunate occurrence took place.

I commend myself to the protection of Congress, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, September 22, 1789.

Sir,

My despatch of the 17th, by Paris, and the duplicate, by Amsterdam, inform you of the fermentation again excited in this country, by the present state of affairs in Europe; of my trip to Amsterdam, and residence of three weeks there; of the orgies of the 24th of August, the birth day of the young hereditary Prince of Orange, and of the injury done to the house of the United States, on that occasion, by a grenade; of other orgies celebrated within a few days past, in honor of what the mob call "*the happy revolution of 1787*," by the vilest of the populace, who are not only tolerated, but perhaps even excited; whilst the good and peaceable inhabitants are trembling in their houses, and scarcely dare say to each other, "*this cannot last forever*."

I learned yesterday that orders had been given to all the regiments in this place, to hold themselves ready to

march; the rumor is still in circulation; they are to go, it is said, to Dutch Brabant. It is rather dangerous to inquire, and imprudent to hazard a conjecture on the cause of this. Time alone must show what will be the result.

Heaven bless the august Congress, its illustrious President and Vice President, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, October 13, 1789.

Sir,

In the present political system of Europe, it is impossible for the most clear-sighted persons to predict what is to happen. It is a problem of which Providence retains to itself all the data, at least until the solution of the French question. In this political darkness, uncertainty alone is certain, silence the only safety, false reports the most common, and truth most rare. I will not repeat to you all the rumors as to the part which certain powers may take in the troubles of Brabant, Liege, and even of France; as to the claim for thirty-six millions of florins laid by the Court of Berlin against this country, for the expenses of re-establishing the constitution, &c. Thus much is certain, that the finances of this country, with other causes, will prevent it from meddling in any external affairs; that it has been obliged to lend its East India Company a great portion (twenty-two millions) of the forced loan imposed last year, and that the said Company wants from eight to fourteen millions more, in order to retard at least its total ruin. To all which add distrust, suspicion, fears, and internal hatred.

In the midst of all these troubles my only consolation is the good news which I receive from our happy States, and publish for their credit and glory, to the great mortification of the envious, and in opposition to the stuff which the Anglomane party from time to time insert in the newspapers, particularly the Hague Gazette; such, for instance, as that several of our States, New York in the number, are anxious to return under the dominion of Great Britain, &c. You will, I hope, approve what you will find in the two numbers of the Leyden Gazette sent with this, as will also their Excellencies the President, the Vice President, the Senators, and Mr. Jefferson, which latter gentleman will, I trust, long ere you receive this, have arrived among his friends.

The annexed letter for the Magistracy of Philadelphia, was given me by the same soldier, Gunther, and his wife Fuhrer, (together with a certificate from his Captain,) whose memorial, relating to the property left by Fuhrer, has already been sent to the said Magistrates through the Department of Foreign Affairs. They are subjects of the Prince of Orange, and I gave them reason to hope that the honorable Department would likewise transmit the present letter.

I add likewise a Frankfort Gazette, in German, of the 2d of this month, given me by the Emperor's *Chargé d'Affaires*. The article which I have marked invites Charles Bent, a cooper, from Sietersheim, near Wolfstein, in the Upper Palatinate, who went to America in 1752, to come forward and receive his portion of an inheritance, which will otherwise be lost to him.

I am, Sir, with great respect, &c.

C. W. F. DUMAS.

FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, November 8, 1789.

Sir,

Since my last, of the 13th ult. the internal convulsions of Europe have been increasing instead of diminishing. Some thousands of the inhabitants of Brabant have been raised against the Government, under the name of patriotism, by their clergy and a part of their nobility, who are, it is believed, secretly stimulated and encouraged by the higher powers, supposed to have an interest in making this diversion in favor of the Turks, and in order to prevent them from concluding peace too soon.

The facts are simply these: some Brabanters and others who joined them, met in the country of Liege, and there forming, marched into the territory of this Republic, and made use of Dutch Brabant and the Barony of Breda, as places from which they could invade Austrian Brabant. The Court of Brussels have been remonstrating very urgently upon the subject, and the Government here excuses itself as well as it can. We shall see how the Court of Vienna will take it: its *Chargé d'Affaires* here, who corresponds with both Courts, awaits his Majesty's orders as to what he shall do.

November 10. Some friends from Amsterdam have informed me that they have received news of the appointments of yourself, Mr. Jefferson, and Mr. Hamilton, to the eminent and important offices of Chief Justice, Secretary of State, and Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, respectively, and of the universal satisfaction given by the same. I enter fully into their feelings, and receive from the news great consolation amid all the

disorders, hatred, baseness, atrocities, and vices of every sort which surround us here, desolating States, and disturbing the peace of societies and private families throughout Europe. I entreat you, Sir, to continue your good feeling towards me, which is most precious. I shall go on directing my despatches to you, until I have been officially informed to whom they should be addressed, endeavoring to merit the favor of the Department by my unalterable zeal for the service of the United States.

I am, Sir, your most obedient and respectful servant,
C. W. F. DUMAS.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO JOHN JAY.

The Hague, November 12, 1789.

Sir,

The insurrection in Brabant appears to be nothing more than an abortive attempt made by the clergy of that country, who endeavored to conceal under a show of patriotism, their real object of exciting a crusade; they have indeed adopted a red cross as the emblem in their flag. It is certain that these misguided people intended, if the conspiracy discovered at Brussels had succeeded, about the end of last October to have massacred all the principal persons of the Government, and all the Dutch refugees at Antwerp and Brussels, as so many heretics or persons serving a heretic. All this must be taken in conjunction with the fruitless efforts made by the deputation of the Belgian Provinces to the National Assembly of France, for the purpose of saving the church property from being appropriated to the uses of the nation. In

comparison with the old and monstrous abuses which they are now extirpating in France, such as the hierarchy, monastic institutions, oligarchy, feudal tenures, &c. the violent commotions of Europe become much less astonishing. It will be worse yet, however, when these abuses are attacked in Germany, where they are now enthroned.

November 13. It is whispered here, that a certain lady does every thing herself, at home and abroad; that her husband is out of humor at this, and that it is in vain for him to promise employments to the old and faithful servants of his house, such, for instance, as Rymer, a descendant of the famous collector of the *Acta et Fœdera* of England; for *Madame's* creatures have every thing to themselves.

A certain M——n, steward to the Prince de Br——, a person who has long been troublesome and seditious, lately received into his house Van der Noot, the famous demagogue of the Brabant insurrection; went every where with him, in the city and throughout the Barony, during the whole time of the disturbances, the march, and invasion. The plan was said to be, to call to the Dukedom of Brabant, the hereditary Prince, who is to marry the Princess of Prussia.

November 15. I have just learned that the Friesland-ers have refused to suffer a regiment of the Province which is in garrison at Lewarden, to go from that city in virtue of a patent from the Prince; and that they had shut the gates against a regiment not of their Province, which had been sent to replace the former. It is also said that the Provinces are again at variance on the subject of quotas; Guelderland particularly, refusing

to stand to what was decided on that point by the Great Commission, some years ago. These are, however, only disputes between Regencies, in which private citizens have no voice. The Legislature and the Executive do every thing, in virtue of their pretended divine right. Passive obedience is the lot of the people, and licentiousness, under the name of liberty, is the idol of the mob, which has lost nothing.

The crusaders of Brabant having been routed by the Austrian troops, retreated into Dutch Brabant. On Thursday last, the Emperor's *Chargé d'Affaires* presented, on the part of the Government of Brussels, a note on this subject. We shall soon hear how the Vienna Government views what has occurred since the 24th of October; and what orders it will give to that of Brussels.

These disturbances in Brabant, and respecting Liege, form an episode, serving to divert the attention of the public here from the great proceedings in France, on which, however, depend the fate of all Europe.

November 16. It has been proved, and the Court of Brussels knows, that the Brabant insurgents received arms last month at Breda, which were brought from Rotterdam in boxes marked as containing old iron. It was discovered by the boatmen, who, being afraid of the edict which forbids the transportation of arms, gave information, notwithstanding the threats of the commander of the garrison, and of a certain Mr. Maclean, whose father is the minister of the English church here, and who endeavored to intimidate him and make him keep silence. It is said that these arms are the same which belonged to the former corps of free citizens of Rotterdam, and were seized there during the last revolution.

The annexed letter for Mr. Vogels, of Philadelphia, was sent to me, and recommended by my good friend Professor Luzac, of Leyden; the other, for Mr. Kugler, of Philadelphia, was given me by a dragoon.

November 18. Yesterday and the day before, there were rumors of insurrections at Ghent and Bruges, which received confirmation from Rotterdam to-day.

November 21. Many rumors are afloat about the progress which the revolution is said to have made in Brabant, Flanders, &c. It was even reported that the Government of Brussels had taken flight; but the Emperor's *Chargé d'Affaires* received a despatch from that Government, dated the day before yesterday, the 19th, as also another of the 16th, which prove that every thing is quiet there.

I am, Sir, most respectfully, your devoted servant,

C. W. F. DUMAS.



FROM C. W. F. DUMAS TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

The Hague, November 15, 1789.

Sir,

As I have every reason to suppose that you will see my despatches at the honorable Department of Foreign Affairs, I write now merely to express the sentiments of my heart on receiving the news from my friends at Amsterdam, of your appointment to the eminent situation of Secretary of State to the American Confederacy.

I shall then never more see you, Sir; but you will continue towards me that affection which I so highly prize. You will doubtless be much happier while employed

more immediately in advancing the interests of your country than you could have been in Europe, situated as this continent now is. May heaven bless the United States, you, and your dear children. Although I have not received my information directly, yet it comes from too good a source to be doubted, and I therefore cannot hesitate to compliment you on the occasion, as also Mr. Jay on his appointment as Chief Justice of the Union. I have not the honor of knowing Mr. Hamilton personally, but my friends describe him as a man of most exalted character. I long to hear of your safe arrival in your country, and am, with the utmost respect and devotion, your most humble and obedient servant,

C. W. F. DUMAS.



FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON TO C. W. F. DUMAS.

New York, June 23, 1790.

Dear Sir,

I arrived at this place the latter end of March, and undertook the office to which the President had been pleased to appoint me, of Secretary of State, which comprehends that of Foreign Affairs. Before I had got through the most pressing matters which had been accumulating, a long illness came upon me, and put it out of my power, for many weeks, to acknowledge the receipt of your letters.

I will state to you first, the whole of the years 1788 and 1789, which had come to hand before my arrival, to wit: 1788, January 22, February 2, March 15, 23, May 10, 28, June 10, 20, July 18, 26, August 1, 9, 12, 13, 27,

September 4, 16, 20, 26, October 6, 9, 12, 21, 30, December 11; 1789, January 20, March 1, 21, April 1, 27, June 15, 19, July 20, August 14, September 17, 22. Since my arrival here, I have received those of October 13, November 8, 15, December 2, and February 28.

It will doubtless be satisfactory to you also to know what was done with the papers you have from time to time sent.

The memorial from De Helldorff to Congress, enclosed in your letter of August 1, 1788, respecting an improvement in fire-arms, was laid before them, but nothing is decided on it.

The memorial of the 8th June, 1788, and papers, concerning a Mr. Fuhrer, gunsmith, who died in Philadelphia intestate, were transmitted to the President of Pennsylvania.

The memorial from the *Chargé d'Affaires* of Bavaria, and the contract between Lewis Conrad Kuhn, of Mannheim, and the widow Marie Zeller, a resident of Philadelphia, enclosed in your letter of August 27, 1788, were transmitted to the President of Pennsylvania.

The letter and memoir from the officers of the Prince of Nassau Saarbruck, respecting property left to the heirs of a certain Johann Ludwig Schumann, of Pennsylvania, were transmitted to the President of that State.

A letter for the Government of Pennsylvania, which was enclosed in yours of October 13, 1789, was transmitted to the President of that State; and the citation to Charles Brant, contained in a German gazette enclosed in your letter, has been published in our newspapers.

An extract of your letter of December 2, 1789, on the subject of your disbursements for gazettes, postage

of letters, and repairs to the hotel of the United States, has been given to the Secretary of the Treasury.

On the subject of gazettes, I must beg the favor of you to desire that of Leyden to be sent by every post, as it comes out to London, by which means I shall receive it by every English packet. These vessels come fraught with lies regularly once a month, which throw us into a very disagreeable suspense. I am anxious, therefore, to receive, at the same time, a paper which will, in a good measure, serve as an antidote to their effect. If Mr. Luzac's correspondent or agent in London, can at once put my paper into the post-office, so that it may go into the American mail, it will be well. If there must be a person there to receive them for me, I must get the favor of you to find one till we can have a Consul, Agent, or Correspondent there, which will be soon. In the meantime, I must get you also to have the postage paid as far as London, that the papers may not be stopped there for the want of postage. As I have very much at heart to receive these papers regularly, and as early as possible, I must beg the favor of you to put them into the surest train possible. They will be less liable to be opened if directed to me by name simply, and without addition of any title.

We are much pleased to learn the credit of our paper at Amsterdam. We consider it as of the first importance to possess the first credit there, and to use it little. Our distance from the wars of Europe, and our disposition to take no part in them, will, we hope, enable us to keep clear of the debts which they occasion to other powers. It will be well for yourself and our bankers, to keep in mind always that a great distinction is made here between

our foreign and domestic paper. As to the foreign, Congress is considered as the representative of one party only, and I think I can say with truth, that there is not one single individual in the United States, either in or out of office, who supposes they can ever do any thing which might impair their foreign contracts. But with respect to domestic paper, it is thought that Congress, being the representative of both parties, may shape their contracts so as to render them practicable, only seeing that substantial justice be done. This distinction will explain to you their proceedings on the subject of their debts. The funding their foreign debts, according to express contract, passed without a debate and without a dissenting voice. The modelling and funding the domestic debt occasions great debates and great difficulty. The bill of ways and means was lately thrown out, because an excise was interwoven into its texture; and another ordered to be brought in, which will be clear of that. The assumption of the debts contracted by the States to individuals, for services rendered the Union, is a measure which divides Congress greatly. Some think that the States could much more conveniently levy taxes themselves to pay off these, and thus save Congress from the odium of imposing too heavy burthens in their name. This appears to have been the sentiment of the majority hitherto. But it is possible that modifications may be proposed, which may bring the measure yet into an acceptable form. We shall receive with gratitude the copy of Rymer's *Federa*, which you are so good as to propose for the use of our offices here.

I have the honor to be, with great esteem, Dear Sir,
your most obedient and most humble servant,

TH. JEFFERSON.

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON TO C. W. F. DUMAS.

New York, July 13, 1790.

Sir,

I wrote you last on the 23d of June, since which I have received yours of March the 24th to the 31st.

Your letters are long on their passage, as you will observe by the following statement:

<i>Dates of letters.</i>	<i>When received.</i>	<i>Time of passage.</i>
Dec. 2 to Jan. 26,	May 3,	97 days.
February 28,	June 10,	102 “
March 24 to 31,	July 2,	93 “

Could we receive them quicker, their contents would be more interesting. Our communications from London are from thirty to forty days only; but these are mixed with such large doses of falsehood, as to render it extremely desirable that we should receive authentic intelligence with the same quickness. I cannot, therefore, but press on you to effect the certain transmission of the Leyden Gazette by the English packet.

Congress have passed a bill for removing the Federal Government to Philadelphia for ten years, and after that to Georgetown. Be pleased, therefore, to direct your future despatches to me at Philadelphia. The English packet will still come to New York, and their despatches will come from thence by post to Philadelphia in two days.

Congress are still engaged in their funding bills. The foreign debts did not admit of any difference of opinion. They were settled by a single and unanimous vote: but the domestic debt requiring modifications and settlements, these produce great difference of opinion, and consequently retard the passage of the funding bill. The

States had individually contracted considerable debts for their particular defence, in addition to what was done by Congress. Some of the States have so exerted themselves since the war, as to have paid off near the half of their individual debts. Others have done nothing. The State creditors urge that these debts were as much for general purposes as those contracted by Congress, and insist that Congress shall assume and pay such of them as have not been yet paid by their own States. The States who have exerted themselves most, find that, notwithstanding the great payments they have made, they shall by this assumption, still have nearly as much to pay as if they had never paid any thing. They are therefore opposed to it. I am in hopes a compromise will be effected by a proportional assumption, which may reach a great part of the debts, and leave still a part of them to be paid by those States who have paid few or none of their creditors. This being once settled, Congress will probably adjourn, and meet again in December, at Philadelphia. The appearance of war between our two neighbors, Spain and England, would render a longer adjournment inexpedient.

I have the honor to be, with great esteem, Dear Sir,
your most obedient and most humble servant,

TH. JEFFERSON.

THE
CORRESPONDENCE
OF
CAPT. JOHN PAUL JONES,

**AGENT TO SOLICIT PAYMENT FOR PRIZES TAKEN IN
EUROPE UNDER HIS COMMAND.**

**FROM R. MORRIS, AGENT OF MARINE, TO THE PRESIDENT
OF CONGRESS.**

Marine Office, 15th October, 1783.

Sir,

I do myself the honor to enclose, for the perusal of Congress, the copy of a letter from Captain Jones. The matters contained in it being of a nature to affect, in some degree, both the dignity and interest of the United States, will doubtless obtain such attention as they may merit.

I am, Sir, with perfect respect, &c.

ROBT. MORRIS.



FROM JOHN PAUL JONES TO ROBERT MORRIS.

Philadelphia, October 13, 1783.

Sir,

Permit me, through you, to recall the attention of Congress to the interest of the gallant officers and brave men, who served in the squadron I had the honor to com-

mand in Europe. It is now four years since the services were performed, which did so much honor to themselves and to the flag of America, yet they had not, in all that time, received any gratification either in respect of wages, bounties, prize-money, or for the losses which many of them sustained when the *Bon Homme Richard* sunk. Allow me, Sir, to refer to what I have said on this subject, in a letter I had the honor to write the 10th of May, 1782, to the honorable Mr. Secretary Livingston. I understand that hitherto no progress has been made towards satisfying their just claims. Allow me also to entreat the most serious attention of Congress to the insult that was offered to the flag of America by the Court of Denmark, in giving up to England towards the end of the year 1779, two lettre of marque ships (the one the *Union* from London, the other the *Betsey* from Liverpool) that had entered the port of Bergen in Norway, *as my prizes*, for though the Government of Denmark might have had a right to refuse them an asylum, yet it could have no right to force them out of our hands and restore them to our enemies. Those two prize ships mounted twenty-two guns each, and were richly laden. I think it my duty to make this application *now*, when the sovereignty and independence of America are acknowledged by Great Britain, and I trust that Congress will now take such effectual measures as they, in their wisdom, shall think proper to obtain suitable acknowledgments in behalf of our flag, as well as that justice to my late officers and men, which they so highly merit.

I have the honor to be, &c.

PAUL JONES.

Extract of a letter from Captain John Paul Jones, of the ship of war America, to Mr. Secretary Livingston, dated Portsmouth, May 10th, 1782.

“The within extract of a letter I lately received from Mons. Gourlade, of L'Orient, will show you that the complaints made to Congress against Mons. Chaumont, by the officers and men of the Bon homme Richard and Alliance, are but too well founded, and I beg leave to refer you to Mr. Wharton, of Congress, who can inform you how much pains I took to obtain them justice. I was obliged to go myself to Court, before I could obtain the sale of my prizes. I sent regular rolls and accounts to Mons. de Sartine, which were laid before him and explained by my friend Mons. Genet, first Commissioner of Foreign Affairs. And I wrote, I may say volumes of letters on the subject, to our Minister at Court, to Mons. de Sartine, and to others, without any success. Mr. Franklin always wrote, “*Mr. Chaumont informed him the money was not received from the King.*” And this was all the satisfaction I could obtain. Forty-five of the Americans only, belonging to the Bon homme, received their wages; the rest, to the number of a hundred and twenty-five, were never paid off, all my endeavors having failed. The accounts were regularly transmitted to the Minister of the Marine, who always said “M. Chaumont would pay;” and Chaumont as constantly pretended “he had not the necessary funds.” Thus, between them, I find myself liable to one hundred and twenty-five different actions at law for 27,667 livres 11s. 4d. the balance of wages due to the American part of that crew. Those Americans appointed Messrs. Gourlade and Moylan their

agents for prizes, and I entirely believe Mons. Gourlade's letter. It remains to account for the infamous concordat. In the first place, I had received express orders from Mr. Franklin to send my prizes to the address of Mons. Chaumont. I am yet to learn by what authority he gave such orders; but I thought it my duty to obey. Mons. Chaumont came from Court to L'Orient just before the squadron sailed. He pretended to be vested with extraordinary powers, and that he could even supersede the commander if he should think fit. This cabal had such weight with the captains, that they agreed to his concordat without seeing his selfish motive, to call it no worse, I say they had agreed to it before it was brought to me, because he insinuated that it would render me less absolute over them, and besides preventing me from sending prizes to America, it would oblige me to consult them in all my operations; and as the greatest sweetener, he insinuated, as I am told, that if I would not comply, some one of them might have the command. The paper was produced the day before the squadron sailed. I found how they stood, and reflecting that my signing it could in fact give him authority over no part of the prizes except my own share as commander in chief of the squadron, I thought it my wisest course to comply. Enclosed is a list of the squadron, and the force of each ship in men and metal, agreeably to which the division ought first to be made for each ship, and then subdivided among the officers and men."

FROM PAUL JONES TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, October 18, 1783.

Sir,

Since writing my letter of the 13th of this month, to the Agent of Marine, respecting the prizes taken by the squadron I had the honor to command in Europe, I have seen and had some conversation with the prizemaster of the ship *Union*, and find that, besides the two prize ships mentioned in that letter, there was also a brigantine (another of our prizes) forced out of our hands by the Government of Denmark in the port of Bergen, and restored to our enemies. As the business of those prizes, both in France and in Denmark, is of a special nature, and affects both the dignity and interest of the United States; and as the means hitherto employed have proved ineffectual, I beg leave to acquaint you that I am ready to proceed to Europe in order to make the necessary application at those two Courts, provided I can go honored with the sanction of Congress. I propose to visit Princeton about the middle of next week, and shall then have the honor to give such further explanation as may be necessary.

I am, Sir, with great respect, &c.

PAUL JONES.



Extract from the Journals of Congress, November 1, 1783.

On the report of Mr. S. Huntington, Mr. A. Lee, and Mr. Duane, to whom were referred a letter from Captain John Paul Jones to the Agent of Marine, of the 13th of October, and a letter from him to Congress, of the 18th of the same month,

Resolved, That Capt. John Paul Jones be, and he hereby is, recommended to the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at the Court of Versailles, as Agent to solicit, under the direction of the said Minister, for payment and satisfaction to the officers and crews for all prizes taken in Europe under his command, and to which they are in anywise entitled. And the said Capt. John Paul Jones shall receive the commissions usually allowed in such cases out of the money which he shall recover as Agent for the said prizes, in full compensation for his services and expenses: *Provided always*, That the said Capt. John Paul Jones, previous to his entering upon the execution of the said trust, shall give to the Superintendent of Finance, for the benefit of all concerned, sufficient bonds, with good security, for the faithful discharge thereof, and for the just payment of the same to the said Superintendent of Finance, to be by him distributed to those persons who may be entitled thereto,

Resolved, That the Agent of Marine provide Capt. Jones with a passage to France in the ship Washington.



To the Honorable Captain John Paul Jones, Commander in the service of the United States of America:

In pursuance of a resolution of Congress of the 1st of November, 1783, a copy whereof is hereunto annexed, I do hereby authorize and direct you to solicit, as Agent for payment and satisfaction to the officers and crews, citizens or subjects of the said United States, for all prizes taken in Europe under your command, and to

which they are in anywise entitled, and in whose hands soever the prize-money may be detained.

Given at Passy, this 17th day of December, 1783.

B. FRANKLIN,

Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States
of America at the Court of France.



FROM J. P. JONES TO THE MARECHAL DE CASTRIES.

Paris, February 1, 1784.

My Lord Maréchal,

As I wish to give your Excellency as little trouble as may be respecting the money arising from the prizes taken by the squadron I had the honor to command in Europe, I have waited since the day you did me the honor to present me to his Majesty until this moment, in order to give you sufficient time for any arrangement that you might find essential, before the division should take place between the ships and vessels, that composed the force under my command when the prizes were taken. I now do myself the honor to transmit you the enclosed official letter on that subject, from Mr. Franklin, Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States, containing a copy of my credentials, as Agent, from Congress, of which I had occasion to render an account on my arrival. I also enclose a statement of the force, in guns and men, of each ship and vessel that composed the squadron I commanded, which is the only paper essential to the first division of the prize-money. It is the custom, in cases like the present, to multiply the number of the crew by the sum of the caliber of the cannon mounted on board each ship.

The product gives the intrinsic force, in proportion to which the share of the prize-money arising to each ship is determined. On that ground it is my duty to claim the proportion arising to the *Bon homme Richard* and the *Alliance*. Their proportions will afterward be divided by the American Superintendent of Finance, agreeably to the rules of the American navy, between the officers and crews of these two ships.

The subdivision of the shares of the other ships and vessels, in proportion to their force in men and metal, of the prizes in which they are concerned, will remain with your Excellency to determine, as may be most agreeable to the respective officers and men. As those ships and vessels were entirely his Majesty's property, and their officers and men composed of French subjects, I do not presume to interfere in their respect any farther than to pray your Excellency, in the most earnest manner, to render them and all concerned that immediate justice to which all Europe knows their distinguished services so highly entitle them. As nearly four years and a half have already elapsed since those captures were made, I rely on the kind promise you gave me that the prize-money shall now be immediately settled.

I am, with profound respect, &c.

J. P. JONES.



FROM J. P. JONES TO THE MARECHAL DE CASTRIES.

Paris, February 18, 1784.

My Lord Maréchal,

I have examined, as you desired, the account that was laid before your Excellency by M. Chandon, on the

papers that have by your orders been put into his hands by M. le Ray de Chaumont, relative to the prizes that were made by the squadron I had the honor to command in Europe, under the flag and commission of the United States, and under the orders of Mr. Franklin, the American Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of France.

Permit me, my Lord, before I make any observations on the account, as it there stands, to lead back your attention to some circumstances which I presume induced the Government of France to ask, first of Mr. Franklin, and afterward of the other American Commissioners, that I might be permitted to remain in Europe to command such expeditions, with a force at the expense of France, but under the flag and commission of America.

My conduct from the beginning of the war till the capture of General Burgoyne had so much commended me to the favor of Congress, that I was sent to Europe with the news of that glorious event, and with orders to the American Minister in France to put under my command, in addition to the ship I then had, a very large frigate, mounting a battery of thirty-six pounders, then at Amsterdam, called the *Indien*. Soon after I came to France, the treaty of Alliance was concluded, and the property of the *Indien* was, with my consent, assigned over to the King, on account of difficulties that arose in Holland about getting that ship to sail. On the 10th of February, 1778, being at Nantes, and having there received some very particular and late advice from America respecting the pretended force of the British ships and vessels of war under Lord Howe, I wrote to Mr. Deane, and communicated the exact plan that was afterward adopted, from Toulon, under the command of the Count

d'Estaing, which, had it been immediately adopted from Brest, would have put an end to the British power in America. Soon afterward, when the alliance between France and America was announced, I transmitted my ideas through Count D'Orvilliers, at Brest, to M. de Sartine. I proceeded into the Irish Channel, made several descents, took and destroyed a number of ships, and, among other prizes, brought in with me a British frigate of superior force, that had been sent out expressly to take me. I also made prisoners, and brought with me twice the number of my crew. It was, as Mr. Franklin informed me by a letter dated at Passy, June 1st, 1778, the account that had been given of my conduct, &c., by Count D'Orvilliers, that then determined the Government of France to invite me to remain in Europe. I received from the then Minister of Marine the most flattering hopes and promises, but his performance fell far short. He received from me through the hands of M. Le Ray de Chaumont, many ideas on the secret expeditions I wished to have commanded; among which were the interception of the Baltic fleet, and the destruction of the Hudson's Bay establishment. I was, however, trifled with for more than a year before I could say I had a force under my command. This was, I think, owing chiefly to the ill-judged confidence which the Minister placed in M. de Chaumont, who showed neither judgment nor secrecy. On that account many enterprises were laid aside that I had brought almost to the point of execution. On the last instance of this kind, a number of troops had arrived at L'Orient, and in the moment when I expected them to have embarked, with their General, the Marquis de la Fayette, the expedition was laid aside. I was then

charged with a convoy with troops and military stores for the different ports and garrisons in the Bay of Biscay, and on my return to L'Orient to drive the enemy's privateers out of the bay, had M. de Chaumont then remained at Paris instead of meeting me again, as he did, at L'Orient, that want of subordination which was so fatal to my projects would have been avoided. If your Excellency will please to call for my official letter written at the Texel the 3d of October, 1779, you will be convinced that if M. de Chaumont had confined himself to his own duty, which was that of commissary of the armament, and not interfered with, or caballed against mine, as the military commander, I might have rendered many more important services. I might have taken eight sail of homeward bound East India ships, which entered Limerick in Ireland without convoy, three days after I was obliged to leave the entrance of that port, and of which I had received particular advice from England before I left France. I might have taken or destroyed the whole Baltic fleet, which would have prevented Admiral Rodney from relieving Gibraltar. I might have destroyed or laid under contribution various towns and their shipping round the Irish and British coasts. And I might have entered the Texel with my ships in such good condition as might have enabled me to take under my convoy the Indien, and a large fleet of transports, loaded with stores and materials for the marine, that then waited there for my escort for Brest. That these projects failed must stand to M. de Chaumont's account. I shall say but little of the services that were actually performed, of which, however, the prizes taken and sent into port, or destroyed, make but the least part. I expected at that moment, that a

great army would have made a descent in the south of England, under the cover of the combined fleets; and it was therefore of the utmost consequence to make a great diversion in the north to favor that design. I think I may say I did my duty in that respect, and though almost left alone, nothing but a tempest that arose in the moment when I should have made a descent, could have hindered me from laying Leith, and perhaps Edinburg too, under contribution. I need not mention that Admiral Rodney was detained two months in port by my affair with the Baltic fleet; or that my situation in Holland, and before I arrived there, caused no less than forty-two British ships of war and frigates to be sent in pursuit of me, and posted to intercept me in every quarter. And the world knows, that my conduct in the Texel was a great cause of the British resentment against Holland, and stands as the first article of the declaration of war against that republic. On the whole, my Lord, it cannot be admitted that the Government of France, having generously taken by the hand the young Republic of America, and having been so beneficent as to arm and support a naval force at his Majesty's expense, under the commission and flag of America, should wish to put the Americans who served as the officers and men, under any other laws than those of Congress, which I here subjoin, and agreeably to which I pledged myself to every individual among them at the time when I engaged them, viz.

“ In Congress, Wednesday, October 30, 1776.

“ Resolved, That the commanders, officers, seamen, and marines in the continental navy, be entitled to one-half of merchantmen, transports, and storeships by them

taken, from and after the first day of November, 1776, to be divided among them in the shares and proportions fixed by former resolutions of Congress; that the commanders, officers, seamen, and marines of the continental navy, be entitled to the whole value of all ships and vessels of war belonging to the crown of Great Britain by them made prize of, and all privateers authorized by his Britannic Majesty to war against these States, to be divided as aforesaid."

The Americans were every one of them treated at their enlistment, and during the whole service, by the laws of the American flag, and the few of them who were paid their wages, were paid by the rules of Congress, from which, neither my duty as their agent, nor my honor as their commander, can now permit me to recede. As I went into the Texel in obedience to orders, and as my prizes and prisoners were there taken out of my hands, a circumstance of inexpressible mortification to me, and remained in the direction of the Duc de la Vauguyon, they were not at the risk of the captors; and, therefore, the expenses made in Holland, cannot stand against the sale of the prizes. I admit that the *Serapis* had need of repairs in the upper works and masts, but being a new ship that had cost the British Government 50,000 guineas, I deny that she wanted either anchors or cables while in my hands. The Countess of Scarborough sustained little or no damage in the battle, and therefore had as little need of repairs. It cannot be made appear from the sale of that ship or the *Serapis*, that they fetched a greater price on account of any repairs at the Texel: the *Serapis* arrived at L'Orient dismasted and in a worse condition than when she entered the Texel, and as the officers of

the port of L'Orient cut to pieces and destroyed her orlop-deck with all the magazines and store-rooms, &c., before I knew any thing of the matter, (which obliged me to make a journey to Paris, to obtain an order from Government for the sale of my prizes agreeably to the laws of the American flag,) I think if the account was fairly stated there would be an indemnification due to the captors for the injury thereby done to their hardly-earned property, without their leave or consent. As the captors were not consulted respecting the expense of the *Serapis* at Dunkirk, nor the disarmament of that ship at L'Orient, which were no advantage to her sale, those articles ought not to stand against them in the account. And I never heard that even the owners of privateers, far less an established Government, had charged the captors with the expense of provision for themselves or their prisoners! The expense made by Captain Cottineau regards not the captors: it is for him to show his authority for having made that expense, and the vouchers to support the different articles. I remember that I sent M. Chamillard express from the Texel to Versailles, on my arrival; but that was surely a necessary expense of the armament, and cannot regard the captors. Whether M. Le Ray de Chaumont is indebted to the Government, or the Government is, as he says, indebted to him, is a matter that ought not to regard the captors, but they have a right to claim the protection of Government to force M. Le Ray de Chaumont to render the money with interest, which he has unjustly detained from them for four years and a half, while many of them are perishing with cold and hunger.

In short, it can make no difference to the captors

whether the ships that I commanded under the flag and commission of Congress, were owned by the King or by the United States. Therefore, I am ready to admit all regulations and charges on the sale of my prizes, which have been usually admitted on other prizes sold in France, and taken by frigates owned by Congress. But I am persuaded that you will not think it just that any thing should be deducted from the shares of the Americans, on account of the Hospital of Invalids at Paris; as they receive no benefit from that hospital, but have, on the contrary, been pensioned by Congress for the wounds they have received.

I am, with full confidence in your justice and generosity, my Lord Maréchal,

Yours, &c.

J. P. JONES.



FROM J. P. JONES TO THE MARECHAL DE CASTRIES.

Paris, March 6, 1784.

My Lord Maréchal,

M. Chandon has just now put into my hands a letter written to your Excellency by M. le Ray de Chaumont, dated at Passy the 9th instant. M. le Ray de Chaumont appears by that letter to insinuate that I was under his orders. That insinuation merits nothing but my contempt. He might as well pretend that the Marquis de la Fayette, with whom I had the honor to be joined in command for an important expedition, (which failed only through the unwise confidence that had been placed in the secrecy of M. le Ray de Chaumont by the

Minister of Marine,) was also under his orders. For my own part, as I had served with reputation in America from the beginning of the war, and was, through Mr. Franklin, in consequence of the high opinion the Minister had of my bravery and good conduct, &c. invited by the Government to remain in Europe to command secret expeditions, with a force at the expense of the King, but under the commission, laws, and flag of the United States, I made it a condition that I should receive orders only from the Minister or Ministers of Congress; and while I remained in Europe, I never received any other. I had before that time declined to accept a captain's commission in the royal navy, which Count d'Orvilliers had offered to procure for me; and at any time, and in every situation, I would have disdained to prostitute my honor under the orders of so light-headed a man as M. le Ray de Chaumont. He seems to claim also the idea for intercepting the British Baltic fleet; an idea which did not originate either with the Minister or M. le Ray de Chaumont, but which had been, with many others, suggested to Government by myself, at and before the time when I was first invited to come from Brest to Versailles. But I beg leave to refer your Excellency to the Marquis de la Fayette, who knows that M. le Ray de Chaumont was regarded only as a simple commissary, and was therefore under my orders, instead of my being under his. I aver, that if M. le Ray de Chaumont had not been intrusted with the secret of the service intended, the views of the Minister would have been not only fulfilled, but far exceeded. I had, however, a much greater latitude given me by my orders from Mr. Franklin than M. Chaumont seems to imagine: and it is clear, from the

strong and pointed letter of recommendation which I carried with me to Congress, approving and applauding my whole conduct, that the King and his Ministers were perfectly satisfied, and even asked of Congress to send me back again to Europe, to command a larger force, which would have been done if the circumstances of America had not rendered it impracticable.

M. le Ray de Chaumont seems to be ignorant that the American agent in Holland had, and can have, no power whatever over the property of the captors. It is a power which even Congress has not reserved, and which is contrary to the established laws of the American navy. As to deducting from the prize money four deniers per livre for the Hospital of Invalids at Paris, because the expense of the armament I commanded was taken from the funds of the royal navy, &c. I presume M. le Ray de Chaumont might, with more modesty, have spared that observation to your Excellency. It is certain that the Government of France foresaw that an expense would attend the armament I was so generously invited to command under the laws and flag of America, and it is not my place, much less that of such a man as M. le Ray de Chaumont, to intrude such pitiful observations as may militate against, or diminish the value of such delicate acts of friendship between two allied nations.

I can only recur to facts mentioned to your Excellency in my former letters, viz. The force I commanded was under the commission, laws, and flag of the United States, and the officers and men were engaged under my command, as in the American navy. I received my orders as an American officer from the Minister of Congress, and it follows that the captors are entitled in every

light to be treated exactly by the laws of the American navy. And whatever understanding there may have been between the two Governments, *respecting the expense of the armament*, it makes not the least difference to the captors. I but ask for justice for the brave men I commanded, and I expect no less from a generous mind like yours.

I am, with profound respect, &c.

J. P. JONES.



FROM J. P. JONES TO THE MARECHAL DE CASTRIES.

Paris, March 26, 1784.

My Lord Maréchal,

The within copy of a letter which I had the honor to receive yesterday from Mr. Franklin, will convince you that he never consented, and could not consent, to the manner proposed by your predecessor, and by M. le Ray de Chaumont, for settlement of the prize money due to the American officers and men who served under my orders in Europe.

I will not now complain that the prisoners which I took, and carried to Holland, were not exchanged for the Americans who had been taken in war upon the ocean, and were long confined in English dungeons by civil magistrates, as *traitors*, *pirates*, and *felons*. I will only say, *I had such a promise* from the Minister of Marine. It was all the reward I asked, for the anxious days and sleepless nights I passed, and the many dangers I encountered, in glad hope of giving them *all* their liberty; and if I had not been assured that Mr. Franklin

had made an infallible arrangement with the Courts of France and England for their immediate redemption, nothing but a superior force should have wrested them out of my hands, till they had been actually exchanged for the unhappy Americans in England.

I am, &c.

J. P. JONES.

FROM B. FRANKLIN TO JOHN PAUL JONES.

Passy, March 25, 1784.

Sir,

I return herewith the papers you communicated to me yesterday. I perceive by the extract from M. de Sartine's letter, that it was his intention all the charges which had accrued upon the *Serapis* and Countess of Scarborough, should be deducted from the prize-money payable to the captors, particularly the expense of victualling the prisoners and seamen, and that the liquidation of those charges should be referred to me. This liquidation, however, never was referred to me; and if it had, I should have been cautious of acting in it, having received no power from the captors, either French or Americans, authorizing me to decide upon any thing respecting their interests. And I certainly should not have agreed to charge the American captors with any part of the expense of maintaining the 500 prisoners in Holland till they could be exchanged, when none of them were exchanged for the Americans in England, as was your intention, and as we both had been made to expect.

With great esteem, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

FROM J. P. JONES TO THE MARECHAL DE CASTRIES.

Paris, ——— 13, 1784.

My Lord Maréchal,

I am exceedingly sensible of the favor you did me yesterday, by having the goodness to relinquish the claim that was made for deducting four deniers per livre for the Hospital of Invalids at Paris, from the prize-money due to the Americans who served in the squadron I had the honor to command in Europe. And as you have been so obliging as to postpone your orders for the final liquidation of the prize-money, till I have time to show you more particular causes than I have yet done, why the expenses incurred in the Texel should not be taken from the property of the captors, I have no doubt but that the following circumstances will induce your Excellency to relinquish that charge, which is now the only difficulty remaining.

I was ordered by Mr. Franklin to enter the Texel the last of September, but I could not reach it, notwithstanding my best endeavors, till the 3d of October. Therefore, I had not time to have *previously* landed the prisoners in France. And as the Bon homme Richard sank after the battle, it was absolutely necessary that the prizes, the *Serapis* and *Countess of Scarborough*, should accompany the Alliance and Pallas into the Texel; for those two last-mentioned ships had not sufficient water and provision, and (being crowded with the remains of the crew of the Bon homme Richard) would not contain the prisoners, which were between five and six hundred in number. During the whole time, which was three months in the Texel, the *Serapis* and *Countess of Scar-*

borough were employed as prison-ships, and the small repairs of these two prizes in that road make but an inconsiderable part, a sixth, perhaps, of the whole expense; so that the service they performed was at least worth the repairs they received. Had it not been for the prisoners, the *Serapis* and *Countess of Scarborough*, after they were taken, might have been immediately ordered for French or American ports; for they had plenty of water and provision, and the *Serapis* was made perfectly manageable, and sailed fast under her jury-masts; so that they could have been out of danger before the enemy had placed their cruising squadrons to intercept them; whereas, by their being detained till the middle of winter in the Texel, where they were blockaded by the enemy, they ran an infinitely greater risk; and, therefore, the captors had a just right to look upon Government as the assurers of those prizes. M. Chaumont persuaded the Minister of Marine to take the *Serapis* for the King, without exposing that prize to sale. The Minister sent his orders in consequence to L'Orient; and the people of that port destroyed the orlop-deck, magazines, store-rooms, galleries, breast-works, barricades, &c., in order to make such alterations in that prize as they thought fit. When I saw this, I came from L'Orient to Court, and the Minister was so much convinced that M. Chaumont's advice was wrong, that he, without difficulty, gave immediate orders for the public sale of all my prizes, agreeably to the laws of the American navy. But the *Serapis* was much more damaged by the operations just mentioned, that had been made previously to her sale, than the value of her repairs in the Texel; to say nothing of her having been dismasted and losing anchors and cables by violent wea-

ther, on her passage from the Texel to L'Orient: therefore, taking all circumstances together, the repairs in the Texel were far from being of any advantage to her sale. She cost the King at public sale only 240,000 livres; whereas she had, when new, six months before, cost the British Government 50,000 guineas. The expense in the Texel arose chiefly from the provision that was supplied from Amsterdam for the prisoners and crews of the ships that guarded them; and from the provision, repairs, and outfits for the frigates, the Alliance and Pallas, and the small brigantine Vengeance. Now, if any part of those expenses were chargeable to the captors, the same principle, carried a little further, would make them liable for the first cost and second outfit of the armament before the squadron sailed from France, and oblige them to sustain the loss of the Bon homme Richard. If America had asked of France to support that armament under the continental flag, or if I had asked for that command, the matter might have had a different complexion. But it was an act of the King's free bounty, and his Majesty is too generous to lessen it by any afterclaims that are beneath his dignity. If it were asked why Americans should be placed on a more favorable footing than the subjects of France, I would answer that question by asking, why Americans should be expected to accept an *invitation* from France which should put them on a more unfavorable footing than that on which France found them. Does not France pay foreign troops in her service more than she pays her own subjects?

Permit me, my Lord, to conclude, by saying that no equal expense in the war was made with so great effect, or had such good consequences, as that made by the

ships I commanded in the Texel; since Holland was thereby drawn into the war, without which the world would not have been this day at peace. Had I known any thing of the order of the Minister to Mr. Chaumont, respecting the expense in the Texel, I am certain that, on my representation, he would have revoked it, as he did his order to the commandant at L'Orient, respecting the alteration of the Serapis; both of which Mr. Chaumont obtained by misrepresenting facts, and by falsely saying it was the desire of Mr. Franklin.

I am, with profound respect, &c.

J. P. JONES.



FROM J. P. JONES TO THE MARECHAL DE CASTRIES.

Paris, November 6, 1784.

My Lord Maréchal,

By the state of the liquidation and repartition of the prizes taken by the squadron I commanded in Europe, which you signed the 23d of last month, I find there is an error made in the proportion due to the Vengeance. That tender was armed with only twelve four-pounders and sixty men, as you will see by the enclosed certificate of the second lieutenant. I am exceedingly sorry for this mistake, which ought to have been avoided. I beseech your Excellency to give orders that it may be rectified.

I am, with respect, &c.

J. P. JONES.

FROM J. P. JONES TO THE MARECHAL DE CASTRIES.

Paris, June 23, 1785.

My Lord Maréchal,

By the letter your Excellency did me the honor to write me on the 13th of May last, you were pleased to promise that as soon as M. Chandon should have sent you the liquidation of my prizes, "*which you expected without delay,*" you would take measures for the payment, and that you would let me know.

From the great number of affairs more important that engage your attention, I presume this little matter which concerns me in a small degree personally, but chiefly as the agent of the brave men who served under my orders in Europe, may have escaped your memory. Since the first of November, 1783, when I received authority to settle this business with your Excellency, I have been waiting here for no other purpose, and constantly expecting it to be concluded from month to month. To say nothing of my expenses during so long an interval, the uncertainty of my situation has been of infinite prejudice to my other concerns. My long silence is a proof that nothing but necessity could have prevailed on me to take the liberty of reminding your Excellency of your promise. I hope for the honor of your final determination, and I am, with great respect, yours, &c.

J. P. JONES.



FROM J. P. JONES TO THE MARECHAL DE CASTRIES.

Paris, ——— 1785.

My Lord Maréchal,

By the letter your Excellency did me the honor to write me the 27th ult. you are pleased to desire me to

address myself to the Ordonnateur at L'Orient, for the payment of the prizes made by the squadron I had the honor to command, and you are pleased to inform the Marquis de la Fayette, that you had assigned the funds necessary for that object. I have the honor to remind your Excellency that I came from America to France in the character of agent for the American captors who served in the *Bon homme Richard* and in the *Alliance*. Therefore, that no misunderstanding may ensue between myself and the Ordonnateur at L'Orient, I must pray you, my Lord, to give orders that the shares due to those two ships, (after deducting what is due to the subjects of France who served in the *Bon homme Richard*,) may be immediately paid into my hands in mass, agreeably to your Excellency's decision, in the state of the liquidation of my prizes, which you signed the 23d of October last, and conformable to the powers with which I am vested, which were announced to you by the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States, in a letter dated in December, 1783.

I am, my Lord, with profound respect, &c.

J. P. JONES.



FROM J. P. JONES TO THE MARECHAL DE CASTRIES.

Paris, July 8, 1785.

My Lord Maréchal,

I had the honor to reply, the 23d of last month, to the letter your Excellency did me the honor to write me on the 17th. I enclosed a copy of my public credentials, and referred you, on the subject of my mission from Con-

gress, to an official letter written to you by the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States, dated the 18th of December, 1783. From these documents, and as I have already given ample security to the United States for the faithful performance of the trust reposed in me by the act of Congress of the first of November, 1783, I naturally concluded that you would immediately see the impropriety of my giving you the security of a subject of France for funds arising from my prizes, which belong to the subjects of the United States. If it were possible that any doubt could remain in your mind respecting my public mission, I should refer you to a letter which I had the honor to put into your hands on my return to France, from the Chevalier de la Luzerne. As particular reasons render it extremely inconvenient, if not impossible, for me to attend this business any longer, I shall take the liberty to wait on your Excellency to-morrow, to be favored with your final determination.

I am, with great respect, yours, &c.

J. P. JONES.



FROM J. P. JONES TO THE MARECHAL DE CASTRIES.

Paris, July 10, 1785.

My Lord Maréchal,

I have the honor to enclose an official answer from Mr. Jefferson, Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States at the Court of France, to a letter written to him yesterday by your Excellency, on the subject of my mission from Congress, to settle with you the claims of the sub-

jects of America, on the prizes that were taken in Europe by the squadron I commanded.*

Mr. d'Umons informed me yesterday that the concerned in the privateer *La Granville*, had, a few days ago, claimed a share in two of my prizes, the *May-Flower*, and the *Fortune*, by virtue of a sentence given to that effect by a court of justice. To that sentence I can offer no objection; because the *La Granville* was present when those two prizes were taken. But since the sentence of the court has very pointedly excluded the *La Granville* from any share in the other prizes that were taken by the squadron after that vessel had returned to a port of France, I beg leave to submit to your Excellency to decide the question, whether the captors who purchased the other prizes, and particularly the *Serapis*, at the expense of their blood, will not have reason to be discontented if the *Cerf*, that returned to a port of France at the same time with the *La Granville*, should be allowed to share in all the prizes?

Whatever may be your Excellency's determination on that point, it can make no difference to me, as far as I am personally concerned, and I mention it again now, because, should you think fit to order a new arrangement in that respect, it can, under the present circumstances, give no additional trouble to the "Bureau."

I am, with great respect, yours, &c.

J. P. JONES.

* See letter of Mr. Jefferson referred to, with his subsequent correspondence with the *Maréchal de Castries* on this subject, Vol. 2, page 392 to 400.—En.

FROM J. P. JONES TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

L'Orient, July 29, 1785.

Sir,

I have been with M. Clonet, the Ordonnateur here, to whom the Maréchal de Castries sent orders, the 15th of this month, to pay into my hands the money arising to the subjects of the United States from the prizes taken by the squadron I commanded in Europe. I find that a French merchant, M. Puchilberg, of this place, who opposed Dr. Franklin, and did all in his power to promote the revolt that took place in the Alliance, has produced a letter of attorney which he obtained from the officers and men of that frigate, when their minds were unsettled, authorizing him to receive their share in the prizes. And notwithstanding the orders of the Maréchal of the 15th, I find there is a disposition here to pay the money to M. Puchilberg, in preference to me.

When I undertook the difficult and disagreeable business of settling for the prize-money with the Maréchal de Castries, I thought it necessary, to prevent any reflection on my conduct, to give security for two hundred thousand dollars to remit the money I recovered to the treasury of the United States, to be from thence divided among the persons concerned. Not to mention the great expense I have been at, and the loss of two years of my time since the peace, to obtain a settlement, I may be permitted to say, that M. Puchilberg was at no expense, and never took any effectual steps to obtain a settlement of the prize-money; and it would have been very difficult, if not impossible, for him to have obtained any satisfaction for the concerned, because no other man but myself, (except Dr. Franklin, who would not act,) could have explained,

at Versailles, the nature and circumstances of my connexion with that court. And I may add, that M. Puchilberg will not, and cannot, if he had the best intentions, do justice to the subjects of America. He has given no security to do them justice. He has no authentic roll of the crew of the Alliance, which can only be had in America, and he is unacquainted with the manner of classing the officers and men in the division of prize-money by the laws of the American flag.

What I request of you therefore, is, to write to the court to obtain an explicit order from the Maréchal de Castries to M. Clonet, to pay into my hands the whole mass of the prize-money that appears due to the Alliance, and also the share of the *Bon homme Richard*, (after deducting the proportion due to the French volunteers who were embarked on board the ship as marines.)

As my situation here is exceedingly disagreeable, because, till this new difficulty is removed, I cannot receive any part of the money that appears due, I shall hope to be relieved from my embarrassment as soon as possible, by a letter from you.

They have objected here, that the captain of the Alliance was born in France. But he had abjured the church of Rome, and been naturalized in America, (as his officers reported to me,) before he took command of the Alliance, and his crew were all the subjects of the United States.

I am sorry to give you this trouble, but I am convinced that the business would have continued in suspense for a long time, if I had not come here myself.

I am, with great esteem, &c.

J. P. JONES.

N. B. M. Clonet has written to court by this post, there-

fore it will be necessary to make your application immediately. M. Barclay can give you the character of M. Puchilberg.



FROM JOHN JAY TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Office for Foreign Affairs, }
October 13, 1785. }

Sir,

Your Excellency will find herewith enclosed a letter from Chevalier Jones, of 6th August, and a copy of a letter (which is the same that is published in the Philadelphia paper of 11th instant) from Mons. Soulanges, dated 14th July last, to the Judges and Consuls at Nantes, informing that the Algerines had declared war against the United States.

As their late peace with Spain has rendered their armaments unnecessary against that power, they probably choose to turn them against us, to prevent their being useless, and in hopes of acquiring considerable booty. This peace, if the public accounts of it are true, gives those pirates just matter of triumph, and in this moment of their exultation, I am inclined to think that an advantageous treaty with them is not to be expected.

This war does not strike me as a great evil. The more we are ill-treated abroad, the more we shall unite and consolidate at home. Besides, as it may become a nursery for seamen, and lay the foundation for a respectable navy, it may eventually prove more beneficial than otherwise. Portugal will doubtless unite with us in it, and that circumstance may dispose that kingdom to extend commer-

cial favors to us farther than they might consent to do if uninfluenced by such inducements.

For my own part, I think it may be demonstrated that while we lend our attention to the sea, every *naval* war, however long, which does not do us essential injury, will do us essential good.

I have the honor to be, &c.

JOHN JAY.



FROM J. P. JONES TO JOHN JAY.

L'Orient, August 6, 1785.

Sir,

I came down here from Paris about a fortnight ago, on the business of the prize-money belonging to the subjects of the United States, who served in the squadron I commanded in Europe.

The enclosed copy of a letter from Mons. Soulanges, the commandant at Toulon, to the *Juges et Consuls* at Nantes, dated at Toulon the 14th of last month, announcing that the Algerines have declared war against the United States, was communicated to me the 31st ultimo, and I immediately sent it to Mr. Jefferson, at Paris.

The information of Mons. Soulanges is believed here, although there is, as yet, no official account of the Algerine war arrived from Court. It is of too serious a nature not to be sent immediately to Congress, and I therefore do not wait for the packet, but send this letter by a merchant ship that will sail the first fair wind for Philadelphia.

This event may, I believe, surprise some of our fellow-

citizens; but for my part, I am rather surprised that it did not take place sooner. It will produce a good effect if it unites the people of America in measures consistent with their national honor and interest, and rouses them from that ill-judged security which the intoxication of success has produced since the revolution.

The Regency of Algiers is a powerful State, that can put 200,000 troops into the field, and has a navy consisting (as I have been assured by the commandant here, and by many other gentlemen with whom I have conversed on the subject) of several ships of two batteries, and frigates of forty-four guns, and downwards. And there is no doubt but that they will strengthen their navy and employ its whole force against us, because they have just made peace with Spain.

My best wishes will always attend America, and my pride will be always gratified when such measures are adopted as will make her respected as a great nation that deserves to be free.

I am, Sir, with great esteem, &c.

PAUL JONES.



FROM JOHN JAY TO J. P. JONES.

New York, October 13, 1785.

Dear Sir,

I was last evening honored with your letter of 6th August last, enclosing a copy of that of Mons. Soulanges, and this morning communicated them to Congress.

The intelligence they contain is very interesting, and I am greatly obliged to you for transmitting it.

To what measures it may give occasion, is as yet uncertain. I flatter myself they will be such as the honor and interest of the United States demand.

It would not, in my opinion, become us either to return an unprovoked declaration of war, by overtures for peace or offers of tribute.

I have the honor to be, &c.

JOHN JAY.



FROM J. P. JONES TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

L'Orient, August 17, 1785.

Sir,

I am still waiting for a decision respecting the claim of M. Puchilberg. But I think it my duty to inform you that one or two of the common sailors that served on board the Alliance, when that frigate was under my orders, are now here in a merchant vessel, and as I am this moment informed, they have been persuaded to write to M. Puchilberg, desiring that their share in the prizes may not be sent to America, but paid to them here. This, I am told, has been urged as a reason to the Maréchal to induce him to decide in favor of M. Puchilberg's claim. Those two men will, however, sail in a day or two for Boston, and perhaps may never return to France; besides, their objection is too trifling to be admitted, as it would greatly injure the other persons, both officers and men, of that crew, who would, in all probability, never receive any part of their prize-money, unless they should come from America to L'Orient on purpose; which would not pay their expenses.

As the post is just going, I must defer answering the letter you did me the honor to write me on the 3d, till another opportunity.

I am, with great esteem, &c.

J. P. JONES.

N. B. I beg you, therefore, to write again to the Maréchal de Castries.



FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON TO J. P. JONES.

Paris, August 3, 1785.

Sir,

I received yesterday your favor of the 29th, and have written on the subject of it to the Maréchal de Castries this morning. You shall have an answer as soon as I receive one. Will you be so good as to make an inquiry into all the circumstances relative to Peyrouse's expedition, which seem to ascertain his destination. Particularly what number of men, and of what conditions and vocations, had he on board? What animals, their species and number? What trees, plants or seeds? What utensils? What merchandise or other necessities? This inquiry should be made with as little appearance of interest in it as possible. Should you not be able to get satisfactory information without going to Brest, and it be inconvenient for you to go there, I will have the expenses this shall occasion you paid. Commit all the circumstances to writing, and bring them when you come yourself, or send them by a safe hand.

I am, with much respect, &c.

TH. JEFFERSON.

FROM J. P. JONES TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

L'Orient, August 19, 1785.

Sir,

I am by this day's post honored with yours of the 13th current, which appears to have been intended to be forwarded by M. Carnes. I esteem myself particularly obliged by that mark of your attention; but as there is no mention made of my letter to you of the 31st ult. I presume it has miscarried, and it is therefore that I have now written the foregoing copy. The 6th of this month, finding a ship here bound directly for Philadelphia, I sent a copy of Monsieur de Soulanges' letter to Mr. Jay, for the information of Congress. I had the honor to write to you on the 17th, to inform you that I was just then told that two of the seamen, formerly of the Alliance frigate, who are now here in a brig belonging to Boston, have been wrought upon by an expectation of immediately receiving their prize-money, to desire that M. Puchilberg might, in their name, object to sending the prize-money of the Alliance to America. That brig is now at Port Louis, and will sail for Boston, it is supposed, to-morrow morning.

I am, with great esteem, &c.

J. P. JONES.



FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON TO J. P. JONES.

Paris, August 13, 1785.

Sir,

Supposing you may be anxious to hear from hence, though there should be nothing to communicate, I write

by Mr. Carnes merely to inform you that I have, as yet, received no answer from the Maréchal de Castries. I am in daily expectation of one. Should it not be received soon, I shall urge it again, which I wish to avoid, however, if possible; because I think it better to await with patience a favorable decision, than, by becoming importunate, to produce unfavorable dispositions, and perhaps a final determination of the same complexion. Should my occupations prevent my writing awhile, be assured that it will only be as long as I have nothing to communicate, and that as soon as I receive any answer, it shall be forwarded to you.

I am, with much esteem, &c.

TH: JEFFERSON.



FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON TO J. P. JONES.

Paris, August 17, 1785.

Sir,

Mine of the 13th informed you that I had written to the M. de Castries on the subject of Puchilberg's interference. Yesterday I received his answer, dated the 12th. In that, he says that he is informed by the Ordonnateur, that he has not been able to get an authentic roll of the crew of the Alliance, and that, in the probable case of there having been some French subjects among them, it will be just that you should give security to repay their portions. I wrote to him this morning, that as you have obliged yourself to transmit the money to the Treasury of the United States, it does not seem just to require you to be answerable for money which will be no longer with-

in your power; that the repayment of such portions will be incumbent on Congress; that I will immediately solicit their orders to have all such claims paid by their banker here; and that should any be presented before I receive their orders, I will undertake to direct the banker of the United States to pay them, that there may be no delay. I trust that this will remove the difficulty, and that it is the last which will be offered. The ultimate answer shall be communicated the moment I receive it. Having pledged myself for the claims which may be offered before I receive the orders of Congress, it is necessary to arm myself with the proper checks. Can you give me a roll of the crew, pointing out the French subjects? If not, can you recollect personally the French subjects, and name them to me, and the sums they are entitled to? If there were none such, yet the roll will be material, because I have no doubt that Puchilberg will excite claims upon me, either true or false.

I am, with much respect, &c.

TH: JEFFERSON.



FROM J. P. JONES TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

L'Orient, August 24, 1785.

Sir,

I yesterday received the letter you did me the honor to write me on the 17th, mentioning the difficulty made by the Maréchal de Castries in his letter to you of the 12th, and that you had removed that difficulty by your answer. I am exceedingly sensible of the favor you do me by your attention to my situation here; and it gives me great con-

cern that it is not in my power to send you the roll you ask for of the crew of the Alliance. The rolls were in the proper time sent to court, and put into the hands of M. de Sartine by M. Genet, first commissioner of foreign affairs, the certificate of which I have among my papers at Paris; and the Maréchal de Castries might remember that I showed him and that he read that certificate. Those rolls, however, have been mislaid or lost in the bureau. Copies of them were sent at the same time to Dr. Franklin, who, I suppose, put them into the hands of M. Le Ray de Chaumont; but since my return, I never could obtain any account of them. A third set of the rolls I carried with me to America, and before I embarked in the French fleet at Boston, I put them into the hands of Mr. Secretary Livingston; and they were sealed up among the papers of his office when I left America. It is, however, impossible that any legal demands should be made on you for French subjects in consequence of your engagement to the Maréchal. The Alliance was manned in America, and I never heard of any person having served on board that frigate who had been born in France, except the captain, who, as I was informed, had in America abjured the church of Rome and been naturalized.

I have made all the inquiry I have been able here respecting the expedition you mentioned in a former letter; but I have not obtained much satisfaction. I propose to go to Brest.

I am, &c.

J. P. JONES.

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON TO J. P. JONES.

Paris, August 29, 1785.

Sir,

I received this moment a letter from the Maréchal de Castries, of which the enclosed is a copy. Having engaged to him to solicit orders for the payment of any part of this money due to French subjects, to be made here, and moreover engaged that, in the meantime, I will order payment, should any such claimants offer themselves, I pray you to furnish me with all the evidence you can, as to what French subjects may be entitled to any part of the moneys you will receive, and to how much, each of them; and also to advise me by what means I can obtain a certain roll of all such claimants.

I am, Sir, with great esteem, &c.

TH: JEFFERSON.



FROM J. P. JONES TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

L'Orient, September 5, 1785.

Sir,

I am just returned here from Brest, where I have passed several days. I have received your letter of the 29th ultimo, with the copy of that written to you by the Maréchal de Castries, the 26th, and I have reason to expect, in consequence, that my affairs here will be finished as soon as the formalities of the bureau will permit. I shall obtain a roll of the Alliance, conformably to the pretensions of Puchilberg; which, though perhaps not quite exact, may however answer all your purposes. I really do not believe that ever any claims will be made

on you; for I never heard that any French subject had served on board that frigate except the captain, and I commanded the Alliance in person seven months.

I am, Sir, &c.

J. P. JONES.

N. B. I take the liberty to enclose a letter for M. Ledyard. It contains a small bill. If he is not at Paris, I request you to keep the letter till I come.



FROM J. P. JONES TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Paris, October 8, 1785.

Sir,

As the Baron de Waltersdorff does not return here, as was expected, and I wish to apply, without farther loss of time, to the Court of Denmark, for a compensation for the prizes taken by the squadron I commanded in Europe, and given up to the British, by the people in authority at Bergen, in Norway, if you approve it, I will assign the powers I received for that business from Congress, to my friend, Dr. Bancroft, in London. You will oblige me therefore, if you will write to Mr. Adams, requesting him to support Dr. Bancroft's application through the Danish minister in London.

I am, &c.

J. P. JONES.



FROM J. P. JONES TO JOHN JAY.

Paris, October 9, 1785.

Sir,

I have at last obtained a settlement with the Court of France, for the prizes that were taken by the squadron I

commanded in Europe. But the bills I have received are not yet due; and as I am now turning my attention to the reclamation I am directed by Congress to make from the Court of Denmark, for a compensation for my prizes that were delivered up to the British by the people in authority at the port of Bergen, in Norway. I hope to finish the whole business, and to return in the spring to America, and pay the whole of the prize-money due to the subjects of America into the Treasury of the United States, conformably to the bonds I have lodged for that purpose.

I am, with great respect, &c.

PAUL JONES.



FROM J. P. JONES TO JOHN JAY.

Paris, January 7, 1786.

Dear Sir,

I am honored with your letter of the 13th October last, advising me that you had that morning communicated to Congress mine of the 6th August, with the enclosed copy of that of Monsieur Soulanges.

Whatever may be the determination of Congress, in consequence of that unprovoked declaration of war, I have, in the mean time, received great satisfaction from the noble sentiments you express on the occasion. I have shown your letter to Mr. Jefferson, who also appears very much pleased with the contents.

I have the honor to be, &c.

PAUL JONES.

N. B. It is doubted whether the peace between Spain and Algiers will be effectual, because neither Naples nor Portugal are included.

FROM J. P. JONES TO JOHN JAY.

Paris, May 9, 1786.

Dear Sir,

The application I have made to the Court of Denmark for a compensation for my prizes that were delivered up by that Government to the British, not having yet produced a decision, prevents me from embarking, as was my intention, about this time, for America. The prize-money arising from my negotiation with the Court of France, that is due to the citizens and subjects of the United States who served on board the *Bon homme Richard* and *Alliance*, (amounting in the gross to one hundred and sixty-seven thousand four hundred and eighty-three livres, six sols, ten deniers,) is now ready in my hands. I expect that the application that is now depending with the Court of Denmark will terminate so as to enable me to embark for America before the month of September. But lest a longer delay should be found necessary in Europe, and prevent my appearance in time for a passage after that date, I shall be ready to accept the draughts of Congress at usance for the amount in my hands.

I say nothing of the amount of the allowance that ought in justice to be made for the great expense, trouble, and time I have dedicated to this business, from the 1st of November, 1783. A commission on the sum recovered will certainly be no indemnification for my expenses, far less a recompense for my time and trouble.

I shall be happy to be honored with a line from you in answer to this; and I am, with great esteem and respect, &c.

PAUL JONES.

Extract from the Journals of Congress, June 7th, 1786.

Resolved, That the Board of Treasury be directed to take such measures as may appear to them to be most effectual for procuring accurate returns of the officers and men serving on board the *Bon homme Richard*, commanded by John Paul Jones, and the frigate *Alliance*, commanded by Peter Landais, at the time the captures were made by the late squadron under the command of John Paul Jones:

That the amount of the prize-money paid by Captain John P. Jones to the order of the Board of Treasury, on account of the officers and crews of the vessels above-mentioned, be by the said Board distributed to the officers and men entitled to receive the same, or to their proper heirs or assigns, in proportion to the shares respectively due to them, agreeably to the returns abovementioned, and the ordinances of Congress in that behalf made.



FROM J. P. JONES TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Paris, July 4, 1786.

Sir,

I have the honor to enclose for your examination the documents of my proceedings, with those of this Government, in the settlement I have obtained of the prize-money belonging to the officers and crews of the squadron I commanded in the late war in Europe, at the expense of his most Christian Majesty, but under the flag of the United States. By those documents I presume you will be convinced that, from a want of sufficient know-

ledge of circumstances, it would have been very difficult, if not impossible, for any other man, (except Dr. Franklin, who never would act in it,) to have gone through this business. Mr. Barclay made no progress in it, though he was charged with it by Congress two years and a half before I undertook it. I could not obtain an allowance in favor of the captors for the service of their prizes as prison-ships in the Texel, nor for the damage done to the Serapis at L'Orient, previous to her sale; but I have taken care of the honor of the American flag. The American captors pay nothing towards the support of the Royal Hospital of Invalids; and his Majesty has generously renounced, in favor of the captors, the proportion of the sale of the merchant prizes, which, by the laws of the flag of America, he might have retained. I ask the favor of you to return me those papers, with your observations.

I enclose, also, a note of my expenses since I arrived in Europe on this business. When I am honored with your sentiments on this subject, I will prepare copies of the within papers, and, I flatter myself, comply, to your satisfaction, with the order you have received from the Board of Treasury.

I have the honor, &c.

J. P. JONES.



FROM J. P. JONES TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Paris, July 7, 1786.

Sir,

I have the honor to enclose and submit to your consideration, the account I have stated of the prize-money in

my hands, with sundry papers that regard the charges. I cannot bring myself to lessen the dividend of the American captors by making any charge either for my time or trouble. I lament that it has not yet been in my power to procure for them advantages as solid and extensive as the merit of their services. I would not have undertaken this business from any views of private emolument that could possibly have resulted from it to myself, even supposing I had recovered, or should recover, a sum more considerable than the penalty of my bond. But I was anxious to force some ill-natured persons to acknowledge that, if they did not tell a wilful falsehood, they were mistaken when they asserted "that I had commanded a squadron of privateers!" And, the war being over, I made it my first care to show the brave instruments of my success, that their rights are as dear to me as my own.

It will, I believe, be proper for me to take oath before you to the amount charged for my ordinary expenses. I flatter myself that you will find no objection to the account as I have stated it, and that you are of opinion, that after this settlement has been made between us, my bond ought to stand cancelled, as far as regards my transactions with the Court of France. Should any part of the prize-money remain in the Treasury, without being claimed, after sufficient time shall be elapsed, I beg leave to submit to you—to the Treasury—and to Congress, whether I have not merited, by my conduct since I returned to Europe, that such remainder should be disposed of in my favor?

I have the honor to be, with great esteem, &c.

J. P. JONES.

Paris, July 7, 1786.

Amount of prize-money belonging to the American part of the crew of the *Bon homme Richard*, (and to some few foreigners, whose name and qualities, &c., are inserted in the roll,) with the amount, also, of the prize-money belonging to the crew of the *Alliance*, received at L'Orient, by order of the Maréchal de Castries, in bills on Paris—

Livres. S. D.
181,039 01 10

From which deduct, viz.

Nett amount of my ordinary expenses since I arrived in Europe to settle the prize-money belonging to the citizens and subjects of America, who served on board the squadron I commanded, under the flag of the United States, at the expense of his Most Christian Majesty, stated to his Excellency Tho. Jefferson, Esq. the 4th of this month, 47,972 11 0

Paid the draft of M. le Jeune, for the amount of prize-money due to Jacques Tual, pilot of the *Alliance* 670 13 6

Amount of prize-money paid M. de Blondel, lieu-

tenant of marines of the
Pallas, as stated on the roll
of the Bon homme Rich-
ard,

283 00 0

Advances made to sun-
dry persons, which stand
at my credit on the roll of
the Bon homme Richard,

264 09 6

Advances made by me
to sundry persons belong-
ing to the Bon homme
Richard: these advances do
not stand at my credit on
the roll settled at L'Ori-
ent, by M. le Jeune, be-
cause the commissary had
neglected to send him the
original roll from the bu-
reau at Versailles; but that
commissary has rectified
that omission by his certi-
ficates, dated September
5, 1785, and February 22,
1786,

6,385 00 0

My share by the roll, as
captain of the Bon hom-
me Richard,

13,291 05 6

68,866 19 06

Balance nett,

112,172 02 04

PAUL JONES.

FROM J. P. JONES TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Paris, July 10, 1786.

Sir,

After what you mentioned to me before your favor of this date, respecting the imperfect powers you have received from the Board of Treasury, I did not expect you to make a settlement with me that should be final, for the prize-money I have recovered. But as I have produced, and still offer you proofs to support the charges I have made, I naturally flattered myself, and I still hope you will do me the favor to receive and transmit them to Congress, with your sentiments. This becomes the more necessary to me at present, because, from what Dr. Bancroft tells me of the application to the Court of Denmark, it will be necessary for me to continue in Europe for some time longer, and to take your advice on some farther steps to obtain an answer from that Government.

With respect to the balance of the prize-money I have recovered, you may, if you please, give an immediate order on me for the amount, or I will pay it into your own hands.

I have the honor, &c.

J. P. JONES.



FROM JOHN JAY TO J. P. JONES.

New York, August 18, 1786.

Dear Sir,

Your letter of 9th May, and also a copy of it, has been received and laid before Congress; and the only reason

why I have not till now answered it, was an expectation of being able to give you some information or answer on the subject of it. Congress referred it to the Board of Treasury, and that business is now under their direction. It is usual for the Secretary of Congress to inform me regularly of such of their acts as respect matters in my Department; but it has so happened that I heard nothing of this matter until this morning, owing to an inadvertent omission in his clerks in not entering it in the book which I send every day to his office for receiving copies of such acts.

It certainly is highly proper that an adequate compensation should be made to you for the trouble, time, and expense you have been at in the transaction of this tedious business; and I hope due attention will be paid to it. It will always give me pleasure to hear from you, and to manifest my esteem by every friendly attention and service that may be in my power. Be assured, therefore, of the consideration and regard with which I am, dear Sir, &c.

JOHN JAY.



FROM J. P. JONES TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Paris, August 9, 1786.

Sir,

As it now appears, by the reply I have just received from Mr. Adams, dated London the 17th of last month, which I had the honor to communicate to you, that his letter to the Baron de Waltersdorff, respecting my prizes delivered up to the English at Bergen in Norway, in the year 1779, by

the court of Denmark, has not been answered; and as the Baron de Waltersdorff is now gone to the West Indies, and Mr. Adams advises me in his letter, to apply to the Danish Minister at his court; it now becomes my duty to ask your advice and assistance in the steps that remain to be pursued, to obtain a compensation from the government of Denmark for those prizes.

And in order to give you the necessary information on this subject, I here subjoin some extracts from the papers left in my hands by Mr. Franklin, to wit:

No. 1. Extract of a letter from Monsieur Duchezaulx, Consul of France, to M. Caillard, *Chargé d'Affaires* du Roi à Copenhague, daté à Berghen en Norvege, le 14 Juillet, 1779.

“Les deux dites prises sont considérables; elles étoient armées en guerre et en marchandises, et les commandans pourvus de commissions aux Lettres de Marque; savoir *L'Union* de Londres, du port de 400 tonneaux armé de 22 canons de 6, et 4 livres de balle, plusieurs pierriers et autres armes; chargé de cables, cordage, et toile a voile, enfin tout ce qu'il faut en ce genre pour le grément de sept Batiments de guerre, avec plusieurs autres effets, destinés pour Quebec; et le *Betsey* de Liverpool, du port de 350 tonneaux armé de 20 canons de 6, et 2 de 9 livres de balle, 12 pierriers et autres armes, chargé de fleur de farine, bœuf, et lard salé, et autres provisions et marchandises destinés pour la Nouvelle York, et la Jamaïque. Les deux cargaisons peuvent être évaluées au moins un million de livres.”

No. 2. Extract from a letter written by the Consul of France, before mentioned, to Dr. Franklin, minister of America at the court of France, dated à Berghen le 26 Oct. 1779.

“Il m'est douloureux au de la de toute expression, d'avoir a vous informer aujourd'hui, que les deux prises la *Betsey* et l' *Union*, ont été ces jours ci restituées aux Anglais, en vertu d'une résolution emanée du Roi de Danemark: Résolution injuste et contraire au droit des gens.”

No. 3. Extract from the same letter.

“La valeur de ces deux prises que l'on vous enleve injustement, est au moins de 40,000*l* sterling, indépendamment des frais et l'argent déboursé par les banquiers M. M. Danekert et Krohn, dont je vous remettrai le compte.”

No. 4. Extract of a letter from all the American officers in Norway to Dr. Franklin, minister of America in France, dated Bergen, Jan. 4th, 1780.

“The Brigantine *Charming Polly*, which arrived 14 days after us, was likewise delivered up in the same manner.”

No. 5. Extract of a letter from the same officers to Dr. Franklin, dated at Bergen, April 11th, 1780.

“Our expenses while on board the ships, were paid by the English Consul; and those since, by the King of Denmark; which enables us to proceed without drawing bills upon France. We have also the protection of the Danish flag till our arrival in France.”

After my return here from L'Orient, you remember I was prevented, by circumstances, from pursuing the application to the Court of Denmark, in person. The bills I had received were not yet payable, and I thought it would be necessary for me to go to America in the spring, to deposite the prize-money received from this government, in the continental treasury; so that I was prevented from going to the Court of Denmark. And there being no Danish minister here, nor expected here during the winter,

you remember your having approved of my deputizing Dr. Bancroft to solicit the Court of Denmark, through the Danish minister in London; and that you was so obliging as to join me in requesting Mr. Adams to support that application.

But as experience has now shown that this method is slow and uncertain; and as the late order of the Board of Treasury respecting the prize-money I have recovered, makes my return to America, on that account, at present unnecessary; I presume the best thing I can do, will be to proceed to Copenhagen, and there make application to that court. If you approve of this, it would be useful for me to have a letter from the Count de Vergennes to the Baron de la Houze, minister of France at the Danish Court, directing him to support my reclamation. The interference of this government may be asked for with propriety, because the King had the gallantry, to support under the flag of America, the squadron I commanded in Europe.—It is also to be wished that I could carry letters with me from the Danish minister at this court, and it is therefore very unlucky that he is now absent at the waters. If you think fit to write to him, I can at the same time, obtain and forward a letter from his particular friend, the minister of the Duc de Wertemburg; which may have a good effect. I am persuaded that the Count de Vergennes, on my own application to him, would immediately give me a proper letter to the Baron de la Houze; but it will be more official to obtain it through your application, which I therefore request.

As I flatter myself that the Danish Court is still disposed to make a compensation, it is necessary for us now to determine on the lowest sum to be accepted. Doctor Frank-

lin, in his letter to me from Havre, says the result of his letter to a broker in London was, that those Quebec ships were worth 16 or 18 thousand pounds each. I have reason to believe that the two ships delivered up, with their cargoes and armament, were worth a greater sum. And besides, you will observe that the brigantine *Charming Polly* was also delivered up. I cannot judge of the value of this last prize; and perhaps it may be necessary for me to write to Bergen to obtain information.

I am, with great respect, yours, &c.

J. P. JONES.



FROM J. P. JONES TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Paris, August 14, 1786.

Dear Sir,

I send you herewith the rolls of the *Bon homme Richard* and *Alliance*, with copies of the other papers, in French, respecting the prize-money of the squadron I commanded. They are numbered from 1 to 23, and I have left them open for your inspection. I rely on the good effect of your observations which will accompany them, with the papers in your hands, to Congress, and have no doubt but that my conduct will in consequence be approved. The second set of papers are not yet finished, but will be ready in a few days, so as to be forwarded by the next good opportunity, with the second set of the papers, in English, now in your hands.

I have the honor, &c.

J. P. JONES.

FROM J. P. JONES TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Paris, August 21, 1786.

Sir,

I am much obliged by the letter you sent me from the Count de Vergennes to Baron de la Houze, with your own to the Baron de Blome. An indisposition, that has confined me close for three days, has prevented me from observing to you sooner, that Dr. Franklin, in the letter he wrote me from Havre, says, the offer made by the Baron de Waltersdorff was ten thousand pounds sterling. As you have misapprehended the amount of that offer, I take the liberty to return your letter to the Baron de Blome, praying you to alter the word five with your own hand. I should be glad to be favored with your opinion whether I ought to accept of any sum less than what was offered to Doctor Franklin? It is very improbable that a less sum will be offered by the Danish ministers; but supposing them less favorably disposed now than formerly, it is necessary for us to be determined beforehand.

I have the honor to be, &c.

J. P. JONES.

FROM THE COUNT DE VERGENNES TO BARON DE LA
HOUZE.

Versailles, August 15, 1786.

Sir,

Mr. Paul Jones, an officer in the sea-service of the United States of America, having some business and certain claims in Denmark, on account of prizes which he

took during the last war, proposes going, on these accounts, to Copenhagen. You will be pleased, Sir, to receive this officer favorably, to hear what he may wish to communicate on the subject of his claim, and to assist him with your counsels and good offices, in case he should want them, during his stay at your residence.

I have the honor of being, with perfect regard, &c.

DE VERGENNES.



FROM B. FRANKLIN TO J. P. JONES.

Havre, July 21, 1785.

Dear Sir,

The offer of which you desire I would give you the particulars, was made to me by M. le Baron de Waltersdorff, in behalf of his Majesty the King of Denmark, by whose ministers he said he was authorized to make it. It was to give us the sum of ten thousand pounds sterling, as a compensation for having delivered up the prizes to the English. I did not accept it, conceiving it much too small a sum, they having been valued to me at fifty thousand pounds. I wrote to Mr. Hodgson, an insurer in London, requesting he would procure information of the sums insured on these Canada ships. His answer was, that he could find no traces of such insurance, and he believed none was made, for that the Government, on whose account they were said to be loaded with military stores, never insured; but by the best judgment he could make he thought they might be worth about sixteen or eighteen thousand pounds each.

With great esteem, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

FROM J. P. JONES TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Paris, September 3, 1786.

Sir,

Since I had the honor of hearing from you last, my health has not permitted me to set out for Denmark. From the information I took at the Hotel of the Baron de Blome, I understood he was to arrive from the waters the 30th ult., so that I thought it better to wait till I could see him than to forward your letter. His servants arrived at the time that he was himself expected, and informed that the Baron had made a little jaunt to Geneva, and would be at Paris the 15th of this month. I now have the honor to send you the second copy of the rolls, &c., that you lately forwarded to the Board of Treasury. There is a sure opportunity for London to-morrow at two o'clock. If you have any letters to send, or if you think fit to forward the papers respecting the prize-money, I will give them in charge to the person who will safely deliver them in London.

I am, Sir, with great respect, &c.

J. P. JONES.



FROM J. P. JONES TO JOHN JAY.

New York, July 18, 1787.

Sir,

The application I made for a compensation for our prizes through the Danish Minister in London not having succeeded, it was determined between Mr. Jefferson and myself that the proper method to obtain satisfaction, was

for me to go in person to the Court of Copenhagen. It was necessary for me to see the Baron de Blome, before I could leave France on that business, and he then being absent on a tour in Switzerland did not return to Paris till the beginning of last winter. I left Paris in the spring and went as far as Bruxelles on my way to Copenhagen, where an unforeseen circumstance in my private affairs, rendered it indispensable for me to turn about and cross the ocean. My private business here being already finished, I shall, in a few days, re-embark for Europe, in order to proceed to the Court of Denmark. The enclosed documents, Nos. 4, 5, 6, and 7, with some other papers that I have the honor to submit to your perusal, will explain to you the nature and situation of our claim on the Danish Government; and as I am now here in person, I think it my duty to ask the special orders of Congress for my government, in the settlement I am to make. The French subjects who served on board the squadron that was put under my command by the generous ally of America, have a claim to share in whatever may be recovered by Denmark, and I presume it is the intention of Congress that the division should be made on the same principles with the settlement I made with the Court of France, that is, in proportion to the numbers of men and the weight of artillery. It is my intention to go by the way of Paris, in order to obtain a letter to the French Minister at Copenhagen, from the Count de Montmorin, as the one I obtained is from the Count de Vergennes. It would be highly flattering to me if I could carry with me a letter from Congress to his Most Christian Majesty, thanking him for the squadron he did us the honor to support under our flag. And on this oc-

casion, Sir, permit me, with becoming diffidence, to recall the attention of my sovereign to the letter of recommendation I brought with me from the Court of France, No. 1. It would be pleasing to me if that letter should be found to merit a place on the journals of Congress. I need not mention the answer that his Majesty has always made to letters, perhaps less interesting than this in question, which Congress has been pleased to grant in favor of his subjects. Permit me also to entreat that Congress will be pleased to read the letter I received from the Minister of Marine, when his Majesty deigned to confer on me a gold sword, emblematical of the happy alliance—an honor which his Majesty never conferred on any other foreign officer. I owed the high favor in which I stood at the Court of France, in a great degree, to the favorable testimony of my conduct that had been communicated by his Majesty's Ambassador, under whose eye I acted in the most critical situation in the Texel, as well as to the public opinion of Europe. And the letter No. 3, with which I was honored by the Prime Minister of France when I was about to return to America, is a clear proof that we might have drawn still greater advantages from the generous disposition of our ally, if our marine had not been lost while I was, by perplexing circumstances, detained in Europe, after I had given the Count de Maurepas my plan for forming a combined squadron of ten or twelve sail of frigates, supported by the *America*, with a detachment of French troops on board, the whole at the expense of his Majesty.

After my examination by the Board of Admiralty, a special committee of Congress, of which Mr. Mathews, of South Carolina, was chairman, was of opinion that I

had merited a gold medal, emblematical of the vote of thanks with which I was honored by Congress; but as only seven States were then represented, that matter was not taken up.

It is certain that I am much flattered by receiving a gold sword from the most illustrious monarch now living; but I had refused to accept his commission on two occasions before that time, when some firmness was necessary to resist the temptation. He was not my sovereign. I served the cause of freedom, and honors from my sovereign would be more pleasing. Since the year 1775, when I displayed the American flag for the first time with my own hands, I have been constantly devoted to the interests of this country. Foreigners, perhaps, have given me too much credit, and this, perhaps, has raised my ideas of my services above their real value; but my zeal can never be over-rated.

I should act inconsistently if I omitted to mention the dreadful situation of our unhappy fellow-citizens in slavery at Algiers. Their almost hopeless fate is a deep reflection on our national character in Europe. I beg leave to influence the humanity of Congress in their behalf, and to propose that some expedient may be adopted for their redemption. A fund might be raised for that purpose, by a duty of a shilling per month from seamen's wages throughout the continent, and I am persuaded that no difficulty would be made to that requisition.

I have the honor to be, &c.

J. P. JONES.

No. 1.

FROM M. DE SARTINE TO MR. HUNTINGTON, PRESIDENT
OF CONGRESS.

Versailles, May 30, 1780.

Commodore Paul Jones, after having shown to all Europe, and particularly to the enemies of France and the United States, the most unquestionable proofs of his valor and talents, is about returning to America, to give an account to Congress of the success of his military operations. I am convinced, Sir, that the reputation he has so justly acquired, will precede him, and that the recital of his actions alone will suffice to prove to his fellow-citizens, that his abilities are equal to his courage. But the King has thought proper to add his suffrage and attention to the public opinion. He has expressly charged me to inform you how perfectly he is satisfied with the services of the Commodore, persuaded that Congress will render him the same justice. He has offered, as a proof of his esteem, to present him with a sword, which cannot be placed in better hands; and likewise proposes to Congress to decorate this brave officer with the cross of military merit. His Majesty conceives that this particular distinction, by holding forth the same honors to the two nations, united by the same interets, will be looked upon as one tie more that connects them, and will support that emulation which is so precious to the common cause.

If, after having approved the conduct of the Commodore, it should be thought proper to give him the command of any new expedition to Europe, his Majesty will receive him again with pleasure, and presumes that Congress will oppose nothing that may be judged expedient

to secure the success of his enterprises. My personal esteem for him induces me to recommend him very particularly to you, Sir; and I dare flatter myself that the reception he will receive from Congress and you, will warrant the sentiments with which he has inspired me.

I have the honor of being, &c.

DE SARTINE.

No. 2.

FROM M. DE SARTINE TO J. P. JONES.

Versailles, June 28, 1780.

Sir,

The King has already testified his approbation of the zeal and valor which you have displayed in Europe, in support of the common cause between the United States and his Majesty, and he has also informed you of the distinguished proofs he is disposed to give you thereof.

Persuaded that the United States will give their consent that you should receive the cross of the institution of military merit, I send you, in the packet enclosed, addressed to M. de la Luzerne, the one designed for you. You will be pleased to deliver him this packet, and he will confer on you this distinction, by a Chevalier of the institution, agreeably to his Majesty's orders. But at any rate, that you should have a proof of the King's approbation and munificence, his Majesty has ordered a gold-headed sword to be made for you, which will be immediately delivered to you, and he has the greatest confidence in the use you will make of it for his glory and that of the United States.

I have the honor of being, &c.

DE SARTINE.

No. 3.

FROM M. MAUREPAS TO J. P. JONES.

Versailles, August 15, 1780.

Sir,

I have received with great pleasure, and read with attention, the letter you wrote me the 2d inst. from L'Orient. I have remarked therein, the continuation of your zeal for the common cause. I have examined, and communicated to M. de Sartine, the project annexed to your letter, and we have no manner of doubt of the good effect that would result, were it intrusted to you. But at present it could not be said what number of frigates might be employed, they being all actually armed on account of the King; and the plan of the approaching campaign is not yet sufficiently determined positively, to say how many frigates may be given to you. But this need not prevent, if you have the consent of Congress, the execution of the first part of your scheme, to come here, as you propose, with the Alliance and the other vessels which you may have, and with a sufficient American crew to arm the frigates which may join you. I will endeavor here to secure some for you, or to substitute privateers in their place. This is all I can inform you of for the present. The conduct you have observed, and the zeal you have shown for the service, must assure you of the readiness with which I shall always aid any enterprises in which you may be concerned. Be assured, Sir, of the desire I have of rendering you any service, and convincing you of the sentiments with which I am, &c.

MAUREPAS.

No. 4.

FROM J. P. JONES TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE
TREASURY.

Paris, August 13, 1786.

Gentlemen,

Mr. Jefferson does me the favor to transmit to you herewith the rolls of the Bon homme Richard and Alliance, with the other documents of my transactions with the Maréchal de Castries, and other officers of his department, in the settlement of the prize-money belonging to the squadron I had the honor to command in the revolution, under the flag of the United States, and at the expense of his Most Christian Majesty. The papers I wrote myself being in English, are copied with my own hand, and numbered from one to thirteen, and those in French I have certified and numbered from one to twenty-two, inclusively.

Before I undertook this business, Mr. Barclay had been charged with it by Congress two years and a half, without being able to make any progress in it, by my obedience to Dr. Franklin's order, the prizes got under the grapplings of M. le Ray de Chaumont, who having become a bankrupt before the end of the war, and being besides intrenched behind *un arrêt de Surséance*, had neither power nor inclination to render a satisfactory account to the captors. If Mr. Franklin, who knew the circumstances, would have acted in the business, there is no reason to doubt but that he could have brought it to a conclusion with less trouble and in less time than any other man. But from the official letter of that Minister Plenipotentiary to the Maréchal de Castries, dated Passy, 18th

December, 1783, announcing my mission from Congress, (which says, "the settlement of this affair has been long delayed, but I have no doubt but through your Excellency's favorable influence, which I earnestly request, it may now be speedily determined,") it seems as though he had no hope that the King would become responsible to the captors. Notwithstanding M. le Ray de Chaumont's pretention to the contrary, I was informed by the chiefs of the bureau of the funds of the marine, that he had rendered no account of 500,000 livres of the moneys he had drawn from thence for the use of my squadron. Under those circumstances, it was a capital point gained, when I prevailed on the Maréchal de Castries to take the papers out of the hands of M. le Ray de Chaumont, and make the King answerable to the captors, and what has been recovered may be looked on as rescued from destruction. The difference between the liquidation proposed by M. le Ray de Chaumont and that finally settled, is very considerable; and though I could not obtain an allowance in favor of the captors for the service of their prizes as prison-ships in the Texel, nor for the damage done to the *Serapis* at L'Orient previously to her sale, yet I have taken care of the honor of the American flag. The American captors pay nothing towards the support of the royal hospital of invalids; and his Majesty has generously renounced in favor of the captors the portion of the money arising from the merchant prizes, which, by the laws of the flag of America, he might have detained. The advantage of this last article is a balance for what I could not obtain in the first instance.

When I asked the authority of Congress to return to Europe to settle the prize-money, it was considered as a

business of six, or at the utmost eight months; but though my best endeavors, aided by my particular knowledge of circumstances, have been exerted, it has taken up a space of near three years. And the application to the Court of Denmark, which I have put in train since the 8th of October last, has not yet produced the wished for satisfaction. While Dr. Franklin remained at this Court, he did not think it advisable for me to push my reclamation on the Government of Denmark; he thought it more prudent to wait till a treaty of commerce should be begun between the United States and his Danish Majesty, which he daily expected.

On receiving the order drawn on me by the Board of Treasury for the prize-money I have recovered from this Court, Mr. Jefferson did not think himself sufficiently authorized to make any settlement with me that should be final; he desired me to say what I thought a reasonable allowance for my trouble, which he would represent to the Commissioners of the Treasury; but I could not think of lessening the dividend of the American captors by making any charge, either for my time or trouble. I lament that it has not yet been in my power to procure for them advantages as solid as the merit of their services, and I would not have undertaken this business from any views of private emolument that could have resulted from it to myself; even supposing I had recovered or should recover, a sum more considerable than the penalty of my bond, but I was anxious to force some ill-natured persons to acknowledge that if they did not tell a wilful falsehood, they were mistaken when they asserted that I had commanded a squadron of privateers; and the war being over, I made it my first care to show the brave instruments of

my success, that their rights are as dear to me as my own. I delivered to Mr. Jefferson, the 4th of last month, a state of my ordinary expenses since I came to Europe on this business, the amount of which is inserted in my account, and supported by my affidavit made before that Minister. This charge will unquestionably be allowed by Congress, and the other articles of the account are accompanied with their vouchers. I paid the balance to the order of Mr. Jefferson the 12th ultimo, and in consequence, I flatter myself that the Board of Treasury will consider my bond as cancelled, as far as regards my transactions with the Court of France. Should any part of the prize-money remain in the Treasury without being properly claimed, after a sufficient time shall have elapsed, I beg leave to submit to Congress whether I have not merited by my conduct since I returned to Europe, that such remainder should be disposed of in my favor.

Before I was honored with your letter of 11th May last, I was preparing to return to America to deposite the money recovered in the Continental Treasury; but my return on that account being now unnecessary, I am taking measures with Mr. Jefferson to go in person to the Court of Denmark, and I hope to be supported by a letter from the Count de Vergennes to the Minister of France, at Copenhagen.

I have the honor to be, &c.

PAUL JONES.

No. 6.

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THE BARON DE BLOME.

Paris, August 18, 1786.

Sir,

Doctor Franklin, during his residence at this Court, was induced by Congress to apply to the Court of Denmark for a compensation for certain vessels and cargoes taken from the English during the late war, by the American squadron under the command of Commodore Paul Jones, carried into a port of Denmark, and by order of the Court of Denmark, delivered to the English. Doctor Franklin made this application through the Baron de Walterstorff, at that time charged with other matters relative to the two countries of Denmark and the United States of America. Baron de Walterstorff, after having written to his Court, informed Doctor Franklin that he was authorized to offer a compensation of ten thousand guineas. This was declined, because it was thought that the value of the prizes was the true measure of compensation, and that that ought to be inquired into. Baron de Walterstorff left this Court sometime after, on a visit only, as he expected, to Copenhagen, and the matter was suffered to rest till his return. This was constantly expected, till you did me the honor of informing me that he had received another destination. It being now, therefore, necessary to renew our application, it is thought better that Commodore Paul Jones should repair in person to Copenhagen. The knowledge of the whole transaction will best enable him to represent it to that Court; and the world has had too many proofs of the justice and magnanimity of his Danish Majesty, to leave

a doubt that he will order full justice to be done to those brave men, who saw themselves deprived of the spoils won by their gallantry and at the hazard of their lives, and on whose behalf the justice and generosity of his Majesty is now reclaimed.

I am now, Sir, to ask the favor of you to communicate this application to your Court; to inform them that Commodore Paul Jones, who will present himself to them, is authorized to solicit and arrange this matter; and to ask your good offices with his Majesty and his Ministers, so that the representations of Mr. Jones may find their way to them; which, we are assured, is all that is necessary to obtain justice.

I have the honor to be, &c.

TH: JEFFERSON.



FROM J. P. JONES TO JOHN JAY.

New York, Oct. 3, 1787.

Sir,

As Congress have now referred back to you, for your report, the chief part of the letter I had the honor to address you the 18th of August last, I beg leave to observe, on the latter part of that letter, respecting the fund I wish to see established for the redemption of our fellow citizens at Algiers, that I had also in view, at the time, a national establishment, on the plan of the Greenwich Hospital in England, or *Hotel des Invalides* at Paris, which would be effected from the residue of the increasing fund I have proposed. I beg you, therefore, Sir, to take notice of this in your report.

I have the honor to be, &c.

PAUL JONES.

Report of Secretary Jay on the letter of Chevalier Jones, July 18, 1787.

Office for Foreign Affairs, }
October 6, 1787. }

The Secretary of the United States for the Department of Foreign Affairs, to whom was referred a letter of the 18th July last, from Chevalier Paul Jones, reports:

That several questions arise from this letter; and—

1st. What measures are proper to be taken relative to the prizes delivered up to the English by the Court of Denmark, during the late war?

Doctor Franklin, in his letter of the 21st July, 1785, mentions that the Court of Denmark had offered £10,000 sterling as a compensation for them, which he refused to accept, as they had been valued to him at £50,000.

As the conduct of Denmark in that instance was a violation of the laws of nations, nothing but the particular situation of the United States should, in his opinion, induce Congress either to demand or accept of less than full and adequate compensation; but as that degree of decision in the negotiation could not (if necessary) be supported by correspondent measures, another mode of proceeding will, he thinks, be expedient.

2d. To whom shall this negotiation be committed? To Mr. Jefferson solely, or to Chevalier Jones solely? If the latter, what character shall he sustain?

These questions involve the consideration of the men, as well as the measures to be adopted; and, therefore, for the reasons assigned in a former report, your Secretary thinks he should forbear reporting his opinion.

If Congress should prefer the first mode suggested,

then he thinks the following resolutions would be proper, viz.

Resolved, That the Minister of the United States at the Court of Versailles be, and he hereby is authorized and instructed to represent to his Danish Majesty, (either by repairing for that purpose to Copenhagen or otherwise, as his discretion and circumstances may direct,) that the United States continue to be very sensibly affected by the circumstance of his Majesty having caused a number of their prizes to be delivered to Great Britain during the late war; and the more so, as no part of their conduct had forfeited their claim to those rights of hospitality which civilized nations extend to each other; that not only a sense of the justice due to the individuals interested in those prizes, but also an earnest desire that no subject of discontent may check the cultivation and progress of that friendship, which they wish may subsist and increase between the two countries, prompt the United States to remind his Majesty of the transaction in question; and they flatter themselves, that his Majesty will concur with them in thinking that as restitution of the prizes is not practicable, it is reasonable and just that he should render, and that they should accept, a compensation equivalent to the value of them.

Resolved, That the said Minister be further authorized and instructed, finally to settle and conclude the demands of the United States against his Danish Majesty, on account of the prizes aforesaid, by such composition and on such terms as may be the best in his power to obtain.

As to the reception, disposition, and division of the money, whether more or less, your Secretary thinks they are matters appertaining to the Treasury Department,

and, therefore, doubts the propriety of his declaring his sentiments respecting them.

If Congress should prefer the second mode suggested, then it would be proper to correct the first of the above resolutions, by striking out the parenthesis in the first sentence of it, and also to pass a further resolution of the following tenor, viz.

Resolved, That, as it would probably be inexpedient for Mr. Jefferson to leave France, he be, and he hereby is authorized, as soon as he shall think proper, to despatch the Chevalier Paul Jones to the Court of Denmark, with such powers and instructions relative to the above-mentioned negotiation, as in his judgment may be most conducive to the successful issue thereof; provided that the ultimate conclusion of the business be not made by the Chevalier Jones, without the previous approbation of Mr. Jefferson.

Resolved, That the Chevalier Jones, for his agency in the business aforesaid, be allowed ——— for all expenses and demands whatever, on that account.

If Congress should prefer committing the management of this affair solely to Chevalier Jones, then it will only be necessary to determine what character and compensation should be given him. The two first resolutions (*mutatis mutandis*) will serve for his instructions.

3d. Should any, and what, notice be now taken of the letter written to Congress by the Minister of the Marine of France, *by order of the King*, on the 30th day of May, 1780, in favor of Chevalier Jones?

Sovereigns being equals, and this letter being a deviation from that line of propriety which such equality seems to prescribe, the self-respect of Congress opposes their

gratifying the Chevalier's wish to enter it at large on their journals.

4th. Should a letter be written by Congress to his most Christian Majesty, expressing their thanks for the squadron he supported under their flag?

Such a letter would perhaps have been more seasonable at a more early period; but inasmuch as every friendly act merits thanks, and as the final settlement of the affairs of that squadron is satisfactory and recent, your Secretary perceives no material objections to a letter like the following, viz.

Great and beloved friend and ally,

The just and liberal principles on which the affairs of the squadron which was under the Chevalier Jones have lately been settled, not only meet with our approbation, but afford an occasion, which we embrace with earnestness, of presenting to your Majesty our thanks for the friendly attention manifested to us in that armament, and in the distinguished manner in which you were pleased to honor and reward the valor and conduct of our officer who commanded it.

Permit us to repeat to your Majesty our assurances that the various and very important benefits for which we are indebted to your friendship and magnanimity, will never cease to interest us in whatever may concern the happiness of your Majesty, your family, and people.

We pray, &c. Done, &c.

5th. Should the report of the committee of Congress, mentioned in the Chevalier's letter, be taken up and decided upon?

Although your Secretary thinks the Chevalier merits highly of the United States, yet, as the report in question remains before Congress, it is a subject on which, in his opinion, he ought to be silent.

6th. Is the mode proposed by the Chevalier for raising money for the relief of the American captives at Algiers, viz. by an impost on seamen's wages, eligible?

Congress having no power to ordain and establish such a regulation, your Secretary thinks that an investigation of its expediency would at present be premature.

All which is submitted to the wisdom of Congress.

JOHN JAY.



Extract from the Journals of Congress, Oct. 11th, 1787.

Congress took into consideration the report of a committee consisting of Mr. Smith, Mr. Dane, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Carrington, and Mr. Clarke, to whom had been committed a report of the Board of Treasury, and a letter of the 18th of July, from Captain John Paul Jones, together with a report of the committee of accounts for the Marine Department, relative to the division of the prize-money due to the officers and crews of the *Bon homme Richard* and *Alliance*, and the charges of Captain Jones for recovering the same.

Resolved, That the quotas assigned to the several ships which were under the command of Captain John Paul Jones in Europe, by direction of the Court of France, be confirmed and considered as valid, and that a distribution of the prize-money be made amongst the crews of the said ships, separately, agreeably to such quotas.

Resolved, That the money paid by Captain John Paul Jones into the hands of the honorable Thomas Jefferson, be distributed by the Board of Treasury, as soon as may be, among the captors, agreeably to the division made thereof, under the direction of the Court of France.



Extract from the Journals of Congress, Oct. 16th, 1787.

Resolved unanimously, That a medal of gold be struck and presented to the Chevalier John Paul Jones, in commemoration of the valor and brilliant services of that officer, in the command of a squadron of American and French ships, under the flag and commission of the United States, off the coast of Great Britain, in the late war; and that the honorable Mr. Jefferson, Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at the Court of Versailles, have the same executed, with the proper devices.

Resolved, That a letter be written to his most Christian Majesty, informing him that the United States in Congress assembled, have bestowed upon the Chevalier John Paul Jones this medal, as well in consideration of the distinguished marks of approbation which his Majesty has been pleased to confer upon that officer, as from a sense of his merit; and that, as it is his earnest desire to acquire greater knowledge in his profession, it would be acceptable to Congress that his Majesty would be pleased to permit him to embark with his fleets of evolution, convinced that he can no where else so well acquire that knowledge which may hereafter render him more extensively useful.

Ordered, That the Secretary for Foreign Affairs pre-

pare a letter for the above purpose, to be signed by the President; and that the Chevalier Jones be the bearer of the said letter.



Office for Foreign Affairs, }
October 16, 1787. }

In pursuance of an order of Congress of this date, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs prepared the following letter to his most Christian Majesty, viz.

Great and beloved friend,

We, the United States of America in Congress assembled, in consideration of the distinguished marks of approbation with which your Majesty has been pleased to honor the Chevalier Paul Jones, as well as from a sense of his merit, have unanimously directed a medal of gold to be struck and presented to him, in commemoration of his valor and brilliant services, while commanding a squadron of French and American vessels under our flag and commission, off the coast of Great Britain, in the late war.

As it is his earnest desire to acquire greater knowledge in his profession, we cannot forbear requesting the favor of your Majesty to permit him to embark with your fleets of evolution, where only it will probably be in his power to acquire that degree of knowledge which may hereafter render him more extensively useful.

Permit us to repeat to your Majesty our sincere assurances, that the various and important benefits for which we are indebted to your friendship, will never cease to interest us in whatever may concern the happiness of your Majesty, your family, and people.

We pray God to keep you, our great and beloved friend, under his holy protection.

Done at the city of New York, the sixteenth day of October, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of our sovereignty and independence the twelfth.



FROM J. P. JONES TO JOHN JAY.

New York, October 23, 1787.

Sir,

As I am now ready to return to Europe, I request you to restore to me the documents relative to the Denmark prize-money, which I submitted to your perusal, to explain to you the nature and situation of our claim on the Danish Government, the 18th of July last.

I have the honor to be, &c.

J. P. JONES.



Extract from the Journals of Congress, Oct. 25, 1787.

Resolved, That the Minister of the United States at the Court of Versailles be, and he hereby is authorized and instructed, to represent to his Danish Majesty, that the United States continue to be very sensibly affected by the circumstance of his Majesty having caused a number of their prizes to be delivered to Great Britain during the late war; and the more so, as no part of their conduct had forfeited their claim to those rights of hospitality which civilized nations extend to each other. That not only a sense of the justice due to the individuals in-

interested in those prizes, but also an earnest desire that no subject of discontent may check the cultivation and progress of that friendship which they wish may subsist and increase between the two countries, prompt the United States to remind his Majesty of the transaction in question; and they flatter themselves that his Majesty will concur with them in thinking, that, as restitution of the prizes is not practicable, it is reasonable and just that he should render, and that they should accept, a compensation equivalent to the value of them:

That the said Minister be authorized and instructed to settle and conclude the demand of the United States against his Danish Majesty, on account of the prizes aforesaid, by such composition, and on such terms, as may be the best in his power to obtain; and that he be directed to retain in his hands all the money so recovered till the further order of Congress:

That the said Minister be, and he is hereby authorized, in case he shall think it proper, to despatch the Chevalier John Paul Jones, or any other agent, to the Court of Denmark, with such powers and instructions relative to the abovementioned negotiation as, in his judgment, may be most conducive to the successful issue thereof: *Provided*, that the ultimate conclusion of the business be not made by the agent, without the previous approbation of the said Minister:

That the person employed shall, for his agency in the business aforesaid, be allowed five per cent. for all expenses and demands whatever, on that account.

Ordered, That the Board of Treasury transmit to the Minister of the United States at the Court of Versailles, all the necessary documents relative to the prizes delivered up by Denmark.

Extract from the Journals of Congress, Oct. 26, 1787.

Ordered, That the Secretary of Congress inform the Chevalier John Paul Jones that the business relative to the prizes taken during the late war, and sent to Denmark, is put under the management of the honorable Thomas Jefferson, Minister of the United States at the Court of Versailles; and that he furnish Mr. Jones with a copy of such part of the resolution as respects the appointment of an agent by Mr. Jefferson, relative to the said prizes.



FROM J. P. JONES TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Paris, December 12, 1787.

Sir,

I am just arrived here. I left New York the 11th of November, and have brought public despatches and a number of private letters for you. I would have waited on you immediately, instead of writing, but I have several *strong reasons* for desiring that no person should know of my being here till I have seen you, and been favored with your advice on the steps I ought to pursue. I have a letter from Congress for the King, and perhaps you will think it advisable not to present it at this moment. I shall not go out till I hear from, or see you. And, as the people in this hotel do not know my name, you will please to ask for the gentleman just arrived, and who is lodged in No. 1.

I am, with great esteem and respect, &c.

J. P. JONES.

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON TO J. P. JONES.

The United States of America in Congress assembled, having thought proper, by their resolve of the 25th of October, 1787, to authorize and instruct me finally to settle and conclude all demands of the United States against his Majesty the King of Denmark, on account of the prizes delivered to Great Britain during the late war, and to despatch yourself, or any other agent, to the Court of Denmark, with such powers and instructions relative thereto as I might think proper, provided the ultimate conclusion of the business be not made by the said agent without my previous approbation, I hereby authorize you to proceed to the Court of Denmark, for the purpose of making the necessary representations on the subject, and for conferring thereon with such persons as shall be appointed on that behalf by the said Court, and for agreeing provisionally on the arrangement to be taken, transmitting the same to me at Paris, for final approbation.

Given under my hand and seal, at Paris, this 24th day of January, in the year of our Lord 1788, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth.

TH: JEFFERSON.



FROM J. P. JONES TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Copenhagen, March 11, 1788.

Sir,

I have been so much indisposed since my arrival here, the 4th, from the fatigue and excessive cold I suffered on the

road, that I have been obliged to confine myself almost constantly to my chamber. I have kept my bed for several days; but I now feel myself better, and hope the danger is over. On my arrival, I paid my respects to the minister of France; he received me with great kindness. We went five days ago to the minister of foreign affairs; I was much flattered with my reception, and our conversation was long and very particular respecting America, and the new constitution, of which I presented a copy. He observed, that it had struck him as a very dangerous power to make the President commander-in-chief; in other respects it appeared to please him much, as leading to a near and sure treaty of commerce between America and Denmark. It was a day of public business, and I could not do more than present your letter. I shall follow the business closely. In a few days, when I am re-established in health, I am to be presented to the whole court, and to sup with the King. I shall after that be presented to all the corps diplomatic, and other persons of distinction here. I am infinitely indebted to the attentions I received from the minister of France. I made the inquiry you desired in Holland, and should then have written to you in consequence, had I not been assured by authority (M. Van Staphorst) which I could not doubt, that letters had been sent you on the subject, which could not fail of giving you satisfaction. M. Van Staphorst was very obliging.

At Hamburg I ordered the smoked beef you desired to be sent to you, to the care of the American agent at Havre de Grace. You have nothing to do but to receive it, paying what little charges may be on it.

My ill health and fatigue on the road, hindered me from preparing the extract of the engagement. When you see

Mr. Littlepage, I pray you to present my kind compliments. It is said here, that the Empress confides the command of her fleet, that will pass the Sound, to Admiral Greg; and that he means to call at an English port to take provisions, &c. The Hamburg papers, I am told, have announced the death of Dr. Franklin; I shall be extremely concerned if the account proves true; God forbid! The departure of the post obliges me to conclude I am, with a deep sense of your kind attachment,

Sir, yours, &c.

J. P. JONES.



FROM J. P. JONES TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Copenhagen, March 18, 1788.

Sir,

Yesterday his Excellency the Baron de la Houze, Minister Plenipotentiary of France at this court, did me the honor to present me publicly to his Majesty, the royal family, and chief personages at the royal palace here. I had a very polite and distinguished reception. The Queen Dowager conversed with me for some time, and said the most civil things. Her Majesty has a dignity of person and deportment which becomes her well, and which she has the secret to reconcile with great affability and ease. The Princess Royal is a charming person, and the graces are so much her own, that it is impossible to see and converse with her, without paying to her that homage which artless beauty and good nature will ever command. All the royal family spoke to me, except the King, who speaks to no person when presented. His Majesty salut-

ed we with great complaisance at first, and as often afterward as we met in the course of the evening. The Prince Royal is greatly beloved, and extremely affable: he asked me a number of pertinent questions respecting America. I had the honor to be invited to sup with his Majesty and the royal family. The company at table, consisting of seventy ladies and gentlemen, including the royal family, the ministers of state, foreign ambassadors, &c. was very brilliant. The death of Dr. Franklin seems to be generally believed. Every person I have spoken with at court laments the event, as a misfortune to human nature. I have had a second conference with the minister of foreign affairs, but nothing is yet done; I will press him to conclude. I am so continually feasted, and have so many visits to pay and receive, that I have scarcely a moment to call my own; and the departure of the post does not now afford me the time necessary to compare the whole of my last. I have received no letter whatever since I came here.

I am, with great esteem, &c.

J. P. JONES.



FROM J. P. JONES TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Copenhagen, March 20, 1788.

Sir,

I embrace the occasion of a young gentleman just arrived here express from St. Petersburg, and who sets out immediately express for Paris, to transmit you the foregoing copy of my last of the 18th. I have written to Norway, and expect a satisfactory answer. The minister of France

is surprised to have had no object from Versailles respecting me. I pray you, and so does he, to push that point immediately. The minister of foreign affairs will receive me on Saturday. Please to present my kind compliments to Mr. Littlepage. If there is any thing new from that quarter, you will no doubt communicate it.

I am, Sir, with great respect, &c.

J. P. JONES.



FROM J. P. JONES TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Copenhagen, March 25, 1788.

Sir,

I propose to send the present, under cover, to Messieurs Nicholas and Jacob Van Staphorst of Amsterdam; presuming you may be there by the time they will receive it. If you are not arrived, or fully expected to arrive there in a day or two, they will be requested to forward you my letter. My mission here is not yet at an end, but the minister has promised to determine soon, and I have wrote to claim that promise. Before you can receive this, Monsieur de Semolin will have informed you, that your proposal to him, and his application on that idea, have been well received. The matter is communicated to me here, in the most flattering expressions, by a letter I have received from his Excellency the Baron de Krudener. There seems, however, to remain some difficulty respecting the *letter* of Monsieur de Semolin's proposal, though it is accepted, *in substance*, with appearance of great satisfaction. I find myself under the necessity of setting out for St. Petersburg through Sweden, in few days, instead

of returning first, as was my wish and intention, to Paris. I hope in the mean time to receive a satisfactory answer, which I shall duly communicate to you. Your future letters for me, you will please to send under cover, to the minister of France at Petersburg, or rather deliver them to Monsieur de Semolin, to whom I tender my sincere and respectful thanks for his good offices, which I shall ever remember with pleasure and gratitude, and which I shall always be ambitious to merit. I esteem myself also much indebted to Mr. Littlepage, and hope I may one day convince him how sensible I am of his friendly behavior. I say nothing at present of your attachment, but my feelings do you justice.

I am, with great esteem and respect, &c.

PAUL JONES.



FROM J. P. JONES TO M. LE COMTE DE BERNSTORFF.

Copenhagen, March 24, 1788.

Sir,

From the act of Congress, (the act by which I am honored with a gold medal,) I had the honor to shew your Excellency the 21st of this month, as well as from the conversation that followed, you must be convinced that circumstances do not permit me to remain here; but that I am under a necessity, either to return to France, or proceed to Russia. As the minister of the United States, at Paris, gave me the perusal of the packet he wrote by me, and which I had the honor to present to you on my arrival here, it is needless to go into any detail on the object of my mission to this court, which Mr. Jefferson has par-

ticularly explained. The promise you have given me of a prompt and explicit decision from this court, on the act of Congress of the 25th of October last, inspires me with full confidence. I have been very particular in communicating to the United States, all the polite attentions with which I have been honored at this court; and they will learn with great pleasure the kind reception I had from you. I felicitate myself on being the instrument to settle the delicate national business in question, with a minister who conciliates the views of the wise statesman, with the noble sentiments and cultivated mind of the true philosopher and man of letters.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, &c.,

J. P. JONES.



FROM J. P. JONES TO M. LE COMTE DE BERNSTORFF.

Copenhagen, March 30, 1788.

Sir,

Your silence on the subject of my mission from the United States to this court, leaves me in the most painful suspense; the more so as I have made your Excellency acquainted with the promise I am under, to proceed as soon as possible to St. Petersburg. This being the ninth year since the three prizes reclaimed by the United States, were seized upon in the port of Bergen, in Norway, it is to be presumed, that this court has long since taken an ultimate resolution respecting the compensation demanded by Congress. Though I am extremely sensible of the favorable reception with which I have been distinguished at this court, and am particularly flattered by

the polite attentions with which you have honored me at every conference, yet I have remarked, with great concern, that you have never led the conversation to the object of my mission here. A man of your liberal sentiments will not, therefore, be surprised or offended at my plain dealing, when I repeat that I impatiently expect a prompt and categorical answer, in writing, from this court, to the act of Congress of the 25th of October last. Both my duty and circumstances of my situation, constrain me to make this demand, in the name of my sovereign the United States of America; but I beseech you to believe, that though I am extremely tenacious of the honor of the American flag, yet my personal interest in the decision I now ask, would never have induced me to present myself to this court. You are too just, Sir, to delay my business here; which would put me under the necessity to break the promise I have made to Her Imperial Majesty, conformable to your advice.

I am, with great respect, &c.

J. P. JONES.



FROM COUNT DE BERNSTORFF TO J. P. JONES.

Copenhagen, April 4, 1788.

Sir,

You have requested of me an answer to the letter you did me the honor to remit to me from Mr. Jefferson, Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, near his most Christian Majesty. I do it with so much more pleasure, as you have inspired me with as much interest as confidence, and this occasion appears to me

favorable to make known the sentiments of the King my master, on the objects to which we attach so much importance. Nothing can be further from the plans and the wishes of his Majesty, than to let fall a negotiation which has only been suspended in consequence of circumstances arising from the necessity of maturing a new situation, so as to enlighten himself on their reciprocal interests, and to avoid the inconvenience of a precipitate and imperfect arrangement. I am authorized, Sir, to give you, and through you to Mr. Jefferson, the word of the King, that his Majesty will renew the negotiation for a treaty of amity and commerce in the forms already agreed upon, at the instant that the new constitution (this admirable plan, so worthy of the wisdom of the most enlightened men) will have been adopted by the States, to which nothing more was wanted to assure to itself a perfect consideration. If it has not been possible, Sir, to discuss definitively with you, neither the principal object nor its accessaries, the idea of eluding the question, or of retarding the decision, had not the least part in it. I have already had the honor to express to you, in our conversations, that your want of plenipotentiary powers from Congress, was a natural and invincible obstacle. It would be, likewise, contrary to the established custom, to change the seat of negotiation, which has not been broken off, but only suspended, thereby to transfer it from Paris to Copenhagen.

I have only one more favor to ask of you, Sir, that you would be the interpreter of our sentiments in regard to the United States. It would be a source of gratification to me to think that what I have said to you on this subject, carries with it that conviction of the truth which it

merits. We desire to form with them connexions solid, useful, and essential; we wish to establish them on bases natural and immovable. The momentary clouds—the incertitudes which the misfortunes of the times brought with them, exist no longer. We should no longer-recollect it, but to feel in a more lively manner, the happiness of a more fortunate period; and show ourselves more eager to prove the dispositions most proper to effect a union, and to procure reciprocally the advantages which a sincere alliance can afford, and of which the two countries are susceptible. These are the sentiments which I can promise you, Sir, on our part, and we flatter ourselves to find them likewise in America; nothing then can retard the conclusion of an arrangement, which I am happy to see so far advanced.

Permit me to repeat to you, Sir, again, the assurances of the perfect and distinguished consideration with which I have the honor to be, &c.

BERNSTORFF.



FROM J. P. JONES TO M. LE COMTE DE BERNSTORFF.

Copenhagen, April 5, 1788.

Sir,

I pray your Excellency to inform me when I can have the honor to wait on you, to receive the letter you have been kind enough to promise to write me in answer to the Act of Congress of the 25th of October last. As you have told me that my want of plenipotentiary powers to terminate, *ultimately*, the business now on the carpet between this Court and the United States, has determined

you to authorize the Baron de Blome to negotiate and settle the same with Mr. Jefferson at Paris, and to conclude at the same time an advantageous treaty of commerce between Denmark and the United States; my business here will of course be at an end when I shall have received your letter, and paid you my thanks in person for the very polite attentions with which you have honored me.

I am, with great respect, &c.

J. P. JONES.



FROM J. P. JONES TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Copenhagen, April 8, 1788.

Sir,

By my letters to the Count de Bernstorff, and his Excellency's answer, you see that my business here is at an end. If I have not finally concluded the object of my mission, it is neither your fault nor mine: the powers I received are found insufficient, and you could not act otherwise than was prescribed in your instructions. Thus it frequently happens, that good opportunities are lost when the supreme power does not place a sufficient confidence in the distant operations of public officers, whether civil or military. I have, however, the melancholy satisfaction to reflect, that I have been received and treated here with a distinction far above the pretensions of my public mission; and I felicitate myself sincerely, on being, at my own expense, (and even at the peril of my life, for my sufferings, from the inclemency of the weather, and my want of proper means to guard against it on the journey, were inexpressible; and I believe, from what I yet

feel, will continue to affect my constitution) the instrument to renew the negotiation between this country and the United States; the more so, as the honor is now reserved for you to display your great abilities and integrity by the completion and improvement of what Dr. Franklin had wisely begun. I have done, then, what perhaps no other person would have undertaken under the same circumstances; and while I have the consolation to hope that the United States will derive solid advantages from my journey and efforts here, I rest perfectly satisfied, that the interests of the brave men I commanded will experience in your parental attention, and that the American flag can lose none of its lustre, but the contrary, while its honor is confided to you. America being a young nation with an increasing commerce, which will naturally produce a navy; I please myself with the hope, that in the treaty you are about to conclude with Denmark, you will find it easy and highly advantageous to include certain articles for admitting America into the armed neutrality. I persuade myself before-hand, that this would afford pleasure to the Empress of Russia, who is at the head of that noble and humane combination; and as I shall now set out immediately for St. Petersburg, I will mention the idea to her Imperial Majesty, and let you know her answer.

If Congress should think I deserve the promotion that was proposed when I was last in America, and should condescend to confer on me the grade of rear-admiral, from the day I took the *Serapis*, (23d of Sept. 1779,) I am persuaded it would be very agreeable to the Empress, who now deigns to offer me an equal rank in her service, although I never yet had the honor to draw my sword in

her cause, nor to do any other act that could directly merit her imperial benevolence. While I express, in the warm effusion of a grateful heart, the deep sense I feel of my eternal obligation to you, as the author of the honorable prospect that is now before me, I must rely on your friendship to justify to the United States the important step I now take, conformable to your advice. You know I had no idea of this new fortune when I found that you had put it in train, before my last return to Paris from America. I have not forsaken a country, that has had many disinterested and difficult proofs of my steady affection; and I can never renounce the glorious title of *a citizen of the United States*.

It is true I have not the express permission of the sovereignty to accept the offer of her Imperial Majesty, yet America is independent, is in perfect peace, has no public employment for my military talents. But why should I excuse a conduct which I should rather hope would meet with general approbation? In the latter part of the year 1782, Congress passed an act for my embarkation in the fleet of his most Christian Majesty; and when, a few months ago, I left America, to return to Europe I was made the bearer of a letter to his most Christian Majesty; requesting me to be permitted to embark in the fleets of evolution. Why did Congress pass those acts? To facilitate my improvement in the art of conducting fleets and military operations. I am, then, conforming myself to the views of Congress; but the *rôle* allotted me, is infinitely more high and difficult than Congress intended. Instead of receiving lessons from able masters, in the theory of war, I am called to immediate practice; where I must

command in chief, conduct the most difficult operations, be my own preceptor, and instruct others. Congress will allow me some merit in daring to encounter such multiplied difficulties. The mark I mentioned of the approbation of that honorable body, would be extremely flattering to me in the career I am now to pursue, and would stimulate all my ambition to acquire the necessary talents, to merit that and even greater favors, at a future day. I pray you, Sir, to explain the circumstances of my situation, and to be the interpreter of my sentiments to the United States in Congress. I ask for nothing; and beg leave to be understood only as having hinted, what is natural to conceive, that the mark of approbation I mentioned, could not fail to be infinitely serviceable to my views and success in the country where I am going.

The Prince Royal sent me a messenger, requesting me to come to his apartment. His Royal Highness said a great many civil things to me; told me the King thanked me for my attention and civil behaviour to the Danish flag, while I commanded in the European seas; and that his Majesty wished for occasions to testify to me his personal esteem, &c. I was alone with the Prince half an hour.

I am, with perfect esteem, &c.

J. P. JONES.



FROM MONSIEUR FRAMERY TO J. P. JONES.

Copenhagen, May 3, 1788.

Dear Commodore,

The packet which M. Dechezlaux, Consul of France at Bergen in Norway, as you informed me at your

departure, was about to forward you to Copenhagen, arrived on the 25th ult. to my address, accompanied by a letter from this Consul requesting me to transmit it to you. On the 29th I had the pleasure to expedite it, agreeably to your wishes, addressed to Mr. Jefferson, through the channel of the Department of Foreign Affairs, for greater safety. I have seized with eagerness this occasion to offer my services to that minister, in every thing that could interest or please him in this country, without saying more, leaving the rest to your disposal. The advance which I made on account of the expenses of the packet, which was very voluminous, amounting to 6rixd. 4m. 12s. or 30liv. 10s. Tour. I have requested of Mr. Jefferson to remit for my account to M. J. F. Frin, banker, rue de Carrousel, at Paris.

It is yet to be confirmed that you are at St. Petersburg. I will learn with increased gratification, your arrival in that capital, as reports are in circulation here that you have perished in a storm, in the Gulf of Finland, but as the relation of this pretended misfortune changes every day, I am still persuaded that it exists only in the mouths of evil disposed persons, who first forged and spread the account. My good wishes accompany you in every part of the world, animated by the remembrance of the friendship you expressed for me when at Copenhagen. The Baron de la Houze, to whom I mentioned that I was about to write to you, has charged me to renew to you the assurance of the sentiments of esteem and real attachment with which you have inspired him. He is so far from giving credence to the report which I have mentioned, that he awaits by the arrival of every courier, the letter which you promised to write him, as soon as you had reached your port of destination.

Affairs are here nearly in the same situation as you left them, only that the Prince Charles of Hesse Cassel, arrived in this capital a few days since, on account of the voyage which the Prince Royal of Denmark is about to make this summer to Norway, where the prince Charles will precede him by a few weeks, in order to receive him; the voyage is fixed for the 17th of the next month. Every thing appears very peaceable and tranquil in this country, even to the armament of 12 ships of the line and 8 frigates, which the King of Sweden has ordered to Carlsrone, since the Danish government confines itself, at least for the present, to 4 ships of the line and 2 or 3 frigates; but as we are not ignorant of the state of the finances of Gustavus III., it is asked, what power it is that furnishes him the necessary means of fitting out a squadron of such considerable force? If it is England, or rather the Porte? What is the intention of this monarch, as the armament is by far too large for mere naval parade, and then, too small for any enterprise whatever? In fine, it is not known where his Swedish Majesty will procure, in a season already so far advanced, a sufficient number of sailors to man his ships. These are, Sir, the reflections which are made in Denmark, while you are gathering new laurels under the auspices of the immortal Catharine. I shall certainly not be the less happy to applaud your glorious successes; and the satisfaction I shall feel in seeing them public will equal the sincere devotion and profound respect with which I have the honor to be, &c.

FRAMERY,

Secretary of Legation of His

Most Christian Majesty.

P. S. The Count de Bernstorff informed the Baron de la Houze, in his last conference, that he was about to

send Plenipotentiary powers to the Baron de Blome, Minister plenipotentiary to our Court, to treat definitively with Mr. Jefferson, on the affair which was in agitation during your residence in Copenhagen.



FROM J. P. JONES TO THE MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE.

On board the Imperial ship Wolodimer, at anchor in the }
Liman, before Oczacoff, June 26 1788. }

My dear General, and dear Friend,

The kind letter you did me the honor to write me, the 20th of April, was delivered to me at St. Elizabeth, on my way here from St. Petersburg. It was very flattering for me to receive such a letter from a man whom I so much love and respect as I do, and have long done, the Marquis de la Fayette. You will yourself do justice to my sensibility for all your good offices and good intentions, so I need only say, I shall always be ambitious to merit the flattering compliment with which you honor me by subscribing yourself my "sincere friend."

I must tell you that Mr. Elliot, (the same who filched Dr. Lee's papers at Berlin,) was furious when he found my business at Copenhagen, and that I was received with great distinction at court, and in all the best societies in Denmark. Every time I was invited to sup with the King, Elliot made an apology; he shut himself up for more than a month, and then left town. This occasioned much laughter; and as he had shunned society from the time of my arrival, people said he had gone off in a fright! I hope Mr. Jefferson is satisfied with the train in which I left the Danish business. It would have been impossible for me to have pushed it any farther, as I had not full powers to conclude it finally.

I went through Sweden to St. Petersburg. The advanced season did not permit my return to Paris; the distance would have been too long through Germany; and Elliot had influenced the English to put difficulties in the way of my passage by the Baltic. I found the Gulf of Bothnia barred with ice, and after making several fruitless attempts to cross it in a small open boat, (about 30 feet long,) I compelled the Swedish peasants to steer as I directed them, for the Gulf of Finland; after about four or five hundred miles of navigation, I landed at Reval, and having paid the peasants to their satisfaction, I gave them a good pilot, with some provision, to reconduct them to their home. My voyage was looked upon as a kind of miracle, being what never had been attempted before, unless in large vessels.

The Empress received me with a distinction the most flattering that perhaps any stranger can boast of. On entering into the Russian service, her Majesty conferred on me immediately the grade of Rear-Admiral. I was detained against my will a fortnight, and continually feasted at court and in the first society. This was a cruel grief to the English, and I own that their vexation, which I believe was general in and about St. Petersburg, gave me no pain.

I presented the Empress with a copy of the new American constitution. Her Majesty spoke to me often about the United States, and is persuaded that *the American revolution cannot fail to bring about others, and to influence every other government*. I mentioned the armed neutrality, so honorably patronised by her Majesty, and I am persuaded that no difficulty will be made about admitting the United States into that illustrious association,

so soon as America shall have built some ships of war. I spoke of it to the Danish minister of foreign affairs, who seemed pleased with the idea.

The United States have some commerce with Russia, which we perhaps may be able to increase. I should think whale oil, dried fish, spermaceti, and rice, may be articles to suit the Russian market. If the Mediterranean was not shut to the American flag, many articles might be supplied to the Russian fleet, now destined for the Archipelago. I certainly wish to be useful to a country I have so long served. I love the people and their cause, and shall always rejoice when I can be useful to promote their happiness.

I am glad that the new constitution will be, as you tell me, adopted by more than nine States. I hope, however, they will alter some parts of it; and particularly that they will divest the President of all military rank and command; for though General Washington might be safely trusted with such tempting power as the chief command of the fleet and army, yet, depend on it, in some other hands it could not fail to upset the liberties of America. The President should be only the first civil magistrate; let him command the military *with the pen*; but deprive him of the power to draw his sword and lead them, under some plausible pretext, or under any circumstances whatever, to cut the throats of a part of his fellow-citizens, and to make him the tyrant of the rest. These are not my apprehensions alone, for I have mentioned them to many men of sense and learning since I saw you, and I have found them all of the same sentiment.

What are you about, my dear General? Are you so absorbed in politics as to be insensible to glory? That is

impossible; quit then your divine Calypso; come here, and pay your court once more to Bellona, who, you are sure, will receive you as her favorite. You would be charmed with the Prince de Potemkin. He is a most amiable man, and none can be more noble minded.

For the Empress, fame has never yet done her justice. I am sure no stranger who has not known that illustrious character, ever conceived how much her Majesty is made to reign over a great empire, to make the people happy, and to attach grateful and susceptible minds.

Is not the present a happy moment for France to declare for Russia? Would it not be a means to retrieve her dignity, and to re-establish the affairs of Holland? What would England find to oppose to such an alliance? Denmark is with Russia, and Sweden ought surely to be with France. An alliance with Russia might be very advantageous, and can never be dangerous to France. In these circumstances, the isles of Candia and Cyprus appear among the objects which ought to attract her attention. Perhaps they might be obtained and the affairs of Holland re-established without the expense of a war, for it is a question if England and Russia would venture to make opposition. One sure advantage would result to France, I mean the breaking of her destructive treaty of commerce with England. Since the time of the assembly of Notables, I have always thought that the ministry ought to have seen the expediency of a war with England, to break the treaty of commerce, and prevent the ruin of French manufactories; to obtain loans from Holland, and to render that Republic for ever dependent on French protection; and, above all, to unite the nation, and pre-

vent the broils that have since ensued, by exciting a brave, patriotic people, to support their national dignity.

My motives are pure, and I am influenced only by the affection I feel for the two countries you love. Your known patriotism assures me that if you can make my ideas useful, you will not fail to do it.

My kind respects await Madame La Marquise, and I hope her interesting family is well. It would afford me great happiness to see or hear from you, and if you cannot favor us with a visit, I beg the favor of any news that may be interesting.

I am, my dear General, yours, &c.

J. P. JONES.



FROM J. P. JONES TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

On board the Wolodimer, before Oczacoff, }
September 9, 1788. }

Sir,

Some of my friends in America did me the honor to ask for my bust. I enclose the names of eight gentlemen, to each of whom I promised to send one. You will oblige me much by desiring Mr. Houdon to have them prepared, and packed up, two and two: and if Mr. Short, to whom I present my respects, will take the trouble to forward them by good opportunities, via Havre de Grace, writing at the same time, a few words to each of the gentlemen, I shall esteem it a particular favor.

Before I left Copenhagen I wrote to Mr. Amoureux, merchant at L'Orient, to dispose of some articles of mine in his hands, and remit you the amount. I hope he has

done it, and that his remittance may be sufficient to pay Mr. Houdon, and the expense of striking the medal with which I am honored by the United States. But lest this should not turn out as I expect, I have directed Dr. Bancroft to pay any draft of yours on him for my account, as far as four or five thousand livres. I shall want four gold medals as soon as the dies are finished. I must present one to the United States, another to the King of France, and I cannot do less than offer one to the Empress. As you will keep the dies for me, it is my intention to have some more gold medals struck; therefore I beg you, in the mean time, not to permit the striking of a single silver or copper medal.

I pray you to present me in the most respectful terms to Monsieur de Simolin. However my situation in Russia may terminate, I shall ever esteem myself under great obligation to him. I pray you to present my affectionate respects to the Count d'Estaing, and tell him I am infinitely flattered by the obliging things he has had the goodness to say of me in my absence. I admire him for his magnanimity, and it vexes me every time I reflect how little his bravery and patriotism have been rewarded by government. He is the only officer who served through the last war without promotion or honors. It is his honor, to be beloved by his nation and to have deserved it.

I send enclosed an extract of my Journal on my expedition from France to Holland in the year 1779, for the information of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres. I trust at the same time more to your judgment than to theirs. There is a medalist who executed three medals for me in wax. One of them is the battle between

the Bon homme Richard and the Serapis. The position of the two ships is not much amiss; but the accessory figures are much too near the principal objects; and he has placed them to windward, instead of being, as they really were, to leeward, of the Bon homme Richard and Serapis. I do not at this moment recollect the medalist's name; but he lives on the 3d or 4th stage, at a marble-cutter's, almost opposite, but a little higher than your former house, Cul-de-sac Rue Taitebout, and may be easily found. It would be of use to see the medal he has made, although it is by no means to be copied. I owe him a small sum, perhaps 200 livres. I wish to know how much, that I may take an arrangement for paying. I have not comprehended, in the extract of my journal, the extreme difficulties I met with in Holland, nor my departure from the Texel in the Alliance, when I was forced out by the Vice Admiral Rhynst, in the face of the enemy's fleet. The critical situation I was in in Holland needs no explanation, and I shall not say how much the honor of the American flag depended on my conduct, or how much it affected all the belligerent powers. I shall only say it was a principal cause of the resentment of England against Holland, and of the war that ensued. It is for you and the academy to determine, whether that part of my services ought to be the subject of one side of the medal.

Before Oczacoff, Sept. 26, 1788.

Mr. Littlepage has postponed his departure. I expected him to remain with me till the end of the campaign, but he now sets out so suddenly, that I cannot send by him the extract of my journal in 1779. I will send it in a

week or two to my friend the Count de Segur at St. Petersburg, and he will forward it to you with his ministerial despatches. Your letters with which you honor me may also be forwarded to him. I persuade myself that Count de Montmorin will do it with pleasure. I trouble you with the enclosed letters;

And am, with perfect esteem, &c.

J. P. JONES.

List of gentlemen to whom busts are to be sent.

General St. Clair, and Mr. Ross, of Philadelphia.—Mr. John Jay, General Irvine, Mr. Secretary Thomson, and Colonel Wadsworth, of New York.—Mr. J. Madison, and Colonel Carrington, of Virginia.

Admiral Paul Jones presents his respectful compliments to Mr. Short, and begs the favor of him to forward the eight busts mentioned in the above list by the most direct opportunities, from Havre de Grace to America. Mr. Jefferson has been written to on this subject; and Mr. Houdon, who prepares the busts, will also have them carefully packed up in four boxes. The Admiral prays Mr. Short to be so obliging as to write a line or two to each of the gentlemen for whom the busts are destined.



FROM J. P. JONES TO HIS HIGHNESS THE PRINCE MARSHAL.

Wolodimer, off Oczacoff, June²⁰, 1788.

My Lord,

I could not have been more flattered than by the letter which it has pleased your Highness to write to me the

19th inst. to mark your satisfaction for the victory gained over the enemy, and to do me the *particular honor of offering me your thanks*. This is a recompense grateful to a heart entirely devoted to you, and nothing can give me more pleasure than to find new opportunities to prove my devotion to the interests of Russia.

My intention was to have attacked the Turkish fleet at the same instant I perceived the action commence between the fleet of Sevastopol and that of the Turks, outside of Kimbourn. I would have done it also, if Kimbourn had been attacked, and our position and our circumstances rendered it indispensable that we should remain firm in case of an attack. *We were to conquer or to die*, and my resolution was taken. But it is fortunate for us that we did not advance, for it was the intention of the Turks to attack and board us; and if we had been only three versts farther, the attempt would have been made on the 16th, (before the vessel of the Captain Pacha run aground, in advancing before the wind with all his forces to attack us). God only knows what would have been the result. The Turks had a very large force, and we have been informed by our prisoners that they were resolved to destroy us, even by burning themselves, (in setting fire to their own vessels after having grappled with ours.)* It is certain we should have lost considerably, and it is at least to be presumed that our vessels would have been

* Before their departure from Constantinople, they swore, by the beard of the Sultan, to execute this horrible plan; and if Providence had not caused its failure, from two circumstances which no man could foresee, Cherson, being without a garrison, would have fallen into their power the next day, with all the provisions and military stores, as well for the army as for the navy.

rendered unfit for service; so that, I repeat, Providence has highly favored us.

Your Highness can now look upon the capture of Oczacoff as certain as the most superior means and arrangements can render military operations. We learn by our prisoners that there are eight thousand troops in that place, who are but badly disciplined. There remains only with Hassan Pacha, four vessels of his fleet, to wit: one small frigate, one schooner, one sloop of war, and one chebec aground; but the flotilla is still with him. I would not have been surprised to have been attacked in the night; they are greatly enraged, and in consequence will commit some desperate acts. Each day some of their men are hung up to the yard arm.

I have the honor to be, with the most perfect attachment, &c.

J. P. JONES.



FROM J. P. JONES TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

On board the Wolodimer, before Oczacoff, }
September 9, 1788. }

Dear Sir,

Since I wrote you last from Copenhagen, the 8th of April, I have been very much hurried; but my greatest difficulty has not been want of time, but want of a private opportunity to write to you. Mr. Littlepage is now on the point of leaving the army of the Prince Maréchal de Potemkin, and talks of being at Paris in the month of October; I avail myself, therefore, of the opportunity he offers, to send you enclosed a copy of my last letter from Copenhagen, with a copy of the official letter I received

from the Count de Bernstorff, and a copy of the letter I have just received, on the subject of my public business there, from Monsieur Framery, Secretary to the Legation of France at the Court of Denmark, informing me he had received and forwarded to you the answer I expected from the Consul of France, at Bergen, in Norway. This last must necessarily make you acquainted with all you wanted to know respecting our claim on the Court of Denmark.

The within letter to the Marquis de la Fayette, was intended for you as well as him, and I send you the copy because I am not sure if he received the original. The American constitution, I suppose is adopted; but I am still afraid of the danger that may result from intrusting the President with such tempting power as military rank and command must give him! I can in no situation, however remote I am, be easy, while the liberties of America seem to me to be in danger.

I leave to Mr. Littlepage to inform you particularly of the military events that have taken place here this campaign. I can take no delight in telling over tales of blood. God knows there has been too much of it spilt! Scenes of horror have been acted under my eyes, in which, however, I have the happiness to say, I had no part.

I pray you to inform me, if you possibly can, what is become of Mrs. T——. I am astonished to have heard nothing from her since I left Paris. I had written to her frequently, before I left Copenhagen. If you cannot hear of, and see her, you will oblige me much by writing a note to Monsieur Dubois, Commissaire du Regiment des Gardes Francaises vis a vis la Rue de Vivienne, Rue neuve des petits Champs, desiring to speak with

him. He will wait on you immediately. You must know, that besides my own purse, which was very considerable, I was good-natured, or if you please, foolish enough to borrow for her, four thousand four hundred livres. Now, Mr. Dubois knows that transaction, and as she received the money entire from me for the reimbursement, I wish to know if she has acquitted the debt. When that affair is cleared up, I shall be better able to judge of the rest.

I am, with perfect esteem, &c.

J. P. JONES.



October 18, 1788.

Order to the Vice Admiral.

According to the desire of her Imperial Majesty, your place of service is fixed in the Northern seas; and as this squadron, and the flotilla, are placed by me under the orders of the Vice Admiral and the Chevalier de Nordvinoff, your Excellency will in consequence proceed on the said voyage; principally, as the squadron in the Liman, on account of the season being so far advanced, cannot be united with that of Sevastopol.

PRINCE POTESKIN TAURICIEN.



FROM HIS HIGHNESS THE PRINCE MARSHAL TO HER IMPERIAL HIGHNESS OF ALL THE RUSSIAS.

At the Camp before Oczacoff, }
November 11, 1788. }

Madam,

In placing before the august throne of your Imperial Majesty, his Excellency the Vice Admiral Paul Jones,

I take, with submission, the liberty to certify the ardor and zeal which he has always shown for the service of your Imperial Majesty; endeavoring to render himself worthy of the august favor of your Imperial Majesty.

The most faithful subject of your Imperial Majesty,

PRINCE POTEMKIN,

Tawritcheskoy.



FROM J. P. JONES TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

St. Petersburg, January 26, 1789.

My dear Sir,

Having wrote you fully respecting the Denmark business by Mr. Littlepage, with the papers necessary to finish it, I now have the honor to transmit you the extract of my journal that you wish to communicate to the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-lettres, on the subject of the medal with which I am honored by Congress. I have only at present to inform you that I returned here from the Black Sea a short time ago, by the special desire of her Imperial Majesty; but I know not yet my future destination. I congratulate you on the establishment of the new American constitution. Among other good effects, a marine force will naturally result from it. If there is still a disposition to send a force against the Algerines, would it not be a good thing to conclude a treaty with this country, and make the war a common cause in the Mediterranean. The Turks and Algerines are together, and acted in conjunction against us before Oczacoff. A treaty might now be concluded, permitting her Imperial Majesty to enlist seamen in America, and assuring to

America, after the peace, a free navigation to and from the Black Sea. If you approve of this idea in general, various other things will necessarily be ingrafted in the treaty, and I flatter myself I may obtain the command of the force destined to act in conjunction with that of the United States.

I beg to hear from you as soon as possible, and I hope to be favored with your sentiments, as I have already had some conversation with this Government on the subject. Please to mention the situation of your arrangement with the Court of Denmark.

Present my best respects to the Marquis and to Mr. Short. I congratulate you all on the happy acquisition of liberty in France. His present Majesty has established a more glorious title than any of his predecessors, and posterity will bless his memory.

I avail myself of an express that is just setting out from the office of Foreign Affairs, so that I have not time even to copy this.

I am, dear Sir, yours, &c.

J. P. JONES.



FROM J. P. JONES TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

St. Petersburg, January 31, 1789.

My dear Sir,

I had the honor to write you a line the 26th from this place, where I am arrived a short time ago from the Black Sea. I send enclosed an extract of the journal of my campaign in 1779, as you desired; and I now enclose an extract of the letter I wrote you by Mr. Littlepage. I

have heard nothing from him since he left me. I know only that he arrived at Warsaw, but am quite uncertain about his return, as he proposed, to Paris. I can only inform you that I returned here by the special desire of the Empress, but I know not as yet, how or where I am to be employed for the next campaign. I mentioned in my last, as my opinion, that if the new Government of America determines to chastise the Algerines, I think it now a favorable moment to conclude a treaty with Russia. The Turks and Algerines were combined against us on the Black Sea. The United States could grant leave for Russia to enlist American seamen; and making a common cause with Russia in the Mediterranean, America might, at the peace, obtain a free navigation to and from the Black Sea. If such a treaty were to take place, I believe I could obtain the command of the combined force; at least no objection would be made to it here. Such a connexion might lead to various mutual advantages in the commerce between the two nations. I beg to hear from you and to know the situation of our claim on the Court of Denmark, for the only objection made by the Count Bernstorff is now removed, by the establishment of the new American constitution.

I am, with perfect esteem, &c.

J. P. JONES.



*Secret note addressed to the Minister at St. Petersburg,
by the Vice Admiral.*

June 6, 1789.

The great object of a Russian fleet in the Mediterranean, is to endeavor to cut off the communication between

Egypt and the coast of Syria with Constantinople, from whence they procure their corn, rice, coffee, &c. This operation will oblige them to withdraw a very considerable part of their fleet from the Black Sea. To encompass this end, I ask a *carte-blanche*, and only, exclusive of small boats, five large vessels, like the East-Indiamen which are purchased in London after they have made three voyages, and which carry from 40 to 50 guns. They are strong vessels and good sailers. They may be sent from London to Naples under the English flag, under pretext of being engaged in mercantile enterprises. No person can have any thing to say against it. The crews of these vessels being arrived in Italy, would engage in the service of Russia. For the rest we would easily find good sailors at Malta and at Naples.

I would employ two small French vessels between Malta and Naples trading to Smyrna to procure continual news from Constantinople, and of the force and position of the Turkish fleet. There are some very important blows to be made, but in order to succeed we must not speak of this matter beforehand.

We are informed that the want of provisions at Constantinople has occasioned a rebellion, discouraged the people, and caused a great desertion of the troops. It is the policy of the Vizier to render himself popular by providing sufficiently for them.

I have the honor to be, &c.

J. P. JONES.

TO THE MINISTER OF STATE AT ST. PETERSBURG.

St. Petersburg, June 24, 1789.

The detachment of vessels of which your Excellency has spoken to me, cannot but be very advantageous to the operations which I had projected: however, I regard the means mentioned in the private note which I addressed to you, as a thing most useful, and which will not cost so much in proportion. I would wish, since circumstances will permit of it, to unite the means, and then I think we will have reason to be content with the advantages which will be the result.

I mentioned to your Excellency that I am the *only officer* who has made the campaign of Liman without being *promoted*; but I beg you to believe that I did not enter into the service of Russia to create difficulties, and since the Empress has granted me her esteem and confidence, I desire nothing else, except occasions to prove my attachment by new services.

I have the honor to be, &c.

J. P. JONES.



FROM COUNT DE SEGUR TO COUNT MONTMORIN.

St. Petersburg, July 21, 1789.

Monsieur,

The enemies of the Vice Admiral Paul Jones having caused to be circulated reports entirely destitute of foundation concerning the voyage which this general officer is about to undertake, I would wish the enclosed article, the authenticity of which I guaranty, should be inserted in the

Gazette of France, and in the other public papers which are submitted to the inspection of your department. This article will undeceive those who have believed the calumny, and will prove to the friends and to the compatriots of the Vice Admiral, that he has sustained the reputation acquired by his bravery and his talents during the last war; that the Empress desires to retain him in her service, and that if he absents himself at this moment, it is with his own free will, and for particular reasons, which cannot leave any stain on his honor.

The glorious marks of the satisfaction and bounty of the King towards Mr. Paul Jones; his attachment to France, which he has served so usefully in the common cause; his rights as a subject; and as an Admiral of the United States; the protection of the Ministers of the King; and my personal friendship for this distinguished officer, with whom I made a campaign in America, are so many reasons which appear to me to justify the interest which I took in all that concerned him during his stay in Russia.

I have the honor to be, &c.

COUNT DE SEGUR.

Article to be inserted in the public prints, and particularly in the Gazette of France.

St. Petersburg, July 21, 1789.

The Vice Admiral Paul Jones being on the point of returning to France, where private affairs require his presence, had the honor to take leave of the Empress the 7th of this month, and to be admitted to kiss the hand of

her Imperial Majesty. This general officer, so celebrated by his brilliant actions during the course of the American war, was called in 1787 to the service of her Imperial Majesty, who confided to him the command of her vessels of war stationed in the Liman, during the campaign of 1788. As a mark of favor for his conduct during this campaign, the Empress has decorated him with the insignia of the order of St. Ann, and her Imperial Majesty, satisfied with his services, only grants him permission to absent himself for a limited time, and still preserves for him his emoluments and his rank.

COUNT DE SEGUR.



FROM THE BARON DE LA HOUZE TO J. P. JONES.

Copenhagen, February 9, 1790.

Sir,

It is but a few days since I received, with the letter with which you have honored me of the 29th of December, the copies of that of the Count de Segur, which you have been pleased to communicate to me, and which were accompanied by the article inserted on your account in the Gazette of France, and which I had read. This article, which has been repeated in many foreign gazettes, has entirely destroyed all the venomous effects which calumny had employed to tarnish the distinguished reputation which you have acquired by your talents and your valor. In consequence, public opinion still continues to render you justice, and the most noble revenge you can take on your enemies is to gather fresh laurels. The celebrated Athenian general Themistocles has said, that he

did not envy the situation of one, who was not envied. As to the affair, concerning which you speak to me, and in which you have been witness to my zeal, as well for your compatriots as for my own, it remains still at the same point where you left it on your departure for St. Petersburg, the 15th April, 1788. A note in answer which the Count de Bernstorff addressed to you on the 4th, keeps always in view the affair which you negotiated with him, but for the conclusion of which you were not clothed with the necessary plenipotentiary powers. You know, however, that according to the note of the Count de Bernstorff, Paris ought to have been the seat of the negotiation between the Baron de Blome, Envoy Extraordinary of his Danish Majesty, and Mr. Jefferson, Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of North America near the King. You inform me that Mr. Jefferson is at present in America, where he has been appointed Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. No person then, can better instruct than him, his successor at Paris, to take up the thread of this negotiation with the Baron de Blome. I spoke, three days since, to the Count de Bernstorff, who perseveres according to what he told me, in all that he mentioned to you in his note of the 4th of April, 1788; but this minister observed to me that the circumstances of the actual crisis of Europe did not permit him to follow, at this time, the negotiation which it appeared to him best to keep back until the return of a calm.

When I shall have the pleasure to see M. Broseronde, our Consul at Elsineur, I shall take care to renew to him the assurance of your remembrance, to which he will most certainly be sensible, as likewise is M. Framery, Secre-

tary of my Legation, who begs you to accept his compliments and his thanks.

You will set out, in all probability, about the commencement of the fine season, to return to Russia. I wish that your voyage may procure me, as you have given me reason to expect, the satisfaction to express personally, to you, the distinguished sentiments of attachment and consideration with which I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient, &c.

LE BARON DE LA HOUZE.



FROM J. P. JONES TO HIS HIGHNESS THE PRINCE MARSHAL.

Paris, July 24, 1790.

My Lord,

I do not think it becomes me to let pass the occasion of the return of your aid-de-camp, to congratulate you on the brilliant success of your operations since I had the honor to serve under your orders; and to express to you, in all the sincerity of my heart, the regret I feel in not being fortunate enough to contribute thereto.

After the campaign of Liman, when I had leave, according the special desire of her Imperial Majesty, to return to the department of the Northern seas, your Highness did me the favor to grant me a letter of recommendation to the Empress, and to tell me in these words, "Rely upon my attachment. I am disposed to grant you the most solid proofs of my friendship, for the present and for the future." Do you recollect them? This discourse was too flattering for me to forget it, and I hope you will permit me to remind you of it. Circumstances,

and the high rank of my enemies, have deprived me of the benefits which I had dared to hope from the esteem which you had expressed for me, and which I had endeavored to merit by my services. You know the disagreeable situation in which I was placed, but if, as I dared to believe, I have preserved your good opinion, I may still hope to see it followed by advantages, which it will be my glory to owe to you. M. de Simolin can testify to you that my attachment to Russia, and to the great Princess who is its sovereign, has always been constant and durable. I attended to my duties, and not to my fortune. I have been wrong, and I avow it with a frankness which carries with it its own excuse. 1. That I did not request of you a *carte-blanche*, and the absolute command of all the forces of the Liman. 2. To have written to your Highness under feelings highly excited, on the 14-25th October, 1788. These are my faults. If my enemies have wished to impute others to me, I swear, before God, that they are a calumny. It only rests with me, my lord, to unmask the villany of my enemies, by publishing my journal of the operations of the campaign of Liman, with the proofs clear as the day, and which I have in my hands. It only rests with me to prove that I directed, under your orders, all the useful operations against the Captain Pacha; that it was I who beat him on the 7th June; that it was I, and the brave men I commanded, who conquered him on the 17th of June, and who chased into the sands two of his largest galleys, before our flotilla was ready to fire a single shot, and during the time a very considerable part of the force of the enemy remained at anchor immediately in the rear of my squadron; that it was I who gave to General Suwarrow,

(he had the nobleness to declare it at court, before me, to the most respectable witnesses,) the first project to establish the battery and breastworks on the Isthmus of Kinbourn, and which was of such great utility on the night of the 17-18th June; that it was I, in person, who towed, with my sloops and other vessels, the batteries which were the nearest to the place the 1st July, and who took the Turkish galleys by boarding, very much in advance of our line, whilst some gentlemen who have been too highly rewarded in consequence of it, were content to remain in the rear of the stragglers of our line, if I may be allowed to use the expression, sheltered from danger. You have seen yourself, my lord, that I never valued my person, on any occasion, where I had the good fortune to act under your eye. The whole of Europe acknowledges my veracity, and grants me some military talents, which it would give me pleasure to employ in the service of Russia, under your orders. The time will arrive, my lord, when you will know the exact truth of what I have told you. Time is a sovereign master. It will teach you to appreciate the man, who, loaded with your benefits, departed from the Court of Russia with a memorial prepared by other hands and the enemies of your glory, and of which memorial he made no use, because your brilliant success at the taking of Ocza-coff, which he learned on his arrival in White Russia, gave the lie to all the horrors which have been brought forward to enrage the Empress against you. You know it was the echo of another intriguer at the Court of Vienna. In fine, time will teach you, my lord, that I am neither a mountebank nor a swindler, but a man, true and loyal. I rely upon the attachment and friendship which

you promised me: I rely on it, because I feel myself worthy of it: I reclaim your promise, because you are just, and I know you are a lover of truth.

I commanded, and was the only responsible person in the campaign of Liman, the others being only of inferior rank, or simple volunteers. I am, however, the only one who has not been promoted or rewarded. I am extremely thankful for the order of St. Ann, which you procured for me, according to your letter of thanks *for my conduct in the affair of the 7th June*, which was not decisive. The 17th June, I gained over the Captain Pacha a complete victory, which saved Cherson and Kinbourn, the terror of which caused the enemy to lose nine vessels of war, in their precipitate flight on the following night, under the cannon of the battery and breast-work which I had caused to be erected on the Isthmus of Kinbourn. On this occasion I had the honor again to receive a *letter of thanks*; but my enemies and my rivals have found means to abuse your confidence, since they have been exclusively rewarded. They merited rather to have been punished for having burnt nine armed prizes, with their crews, which were absolutely in our power, having previously ran aground under our guns.

I have been informed that, according to the institution of the order of St. George, I have the right to claim its decoration in the second class, for the victory of the 17th June; but I rely upon your justice and generosity.

I regret that a secret project which I addressed to the Count du Besborodska, the 6th of June of the last year, has not been adopted. I communicated this project to the Baron de Beihler, who has promised me to speak to you of it.

I was detained in St. Petersburg until the end of August, in order to hinder me, as I have heard, from proceeding into the service of Sweden. My poor enemies, how I pity them! But for this circumstance my intention was to have presented myself at your headquarters, in the hope to be of some utility; and the Baron de Beihler, in departing from St. Petersburg in order to join you, promised me to assure you of my devotion for the service of your department, and that I held myself ready to return to you the instant I was called. My conduct has not since changed, although I hold in my hand a parole for two years, and I regard 18 months of this parole, in a time of war, more as a punishment than as a favor.

I hope that your Highness will succeed in concluding peace this year with the Turks; but in a contrary case, if it should please you to recall me to take command of the fleet in the ensuing campaign, I would ask permission to bring with me the French officer, concerning whom I spoke to you, with one or two others, who are good tacticians, and who have some knowledge of war. On my return here, I received a gold medal, granted me by the *unanimous* voice of Congress, at a moment I received a parole from this honorable body. The United States have decreed me this honor, in order to perpetuate the remembrance of the services which I rendered to America, eight years previous, and have ordered a copy to be presented to all the sovereigns* and all the academies of Europe, with the exception of Great Britain. There is reason to believe that your Highness will be numbered among the Sovereigns of Europe, in consequence of the treaty of peace which you are about to conclude with

the Turks; but, in any case, if a copy of my medal will be acceptable to you, as a mark of my attachment to your person, it will do me an honor to offer it to you.

I have the honor to be, &c.

J. P. JONES.



FROM J. P. JONES TO HER IMPERIAL MAJESTY.

Paris, March 8, 1791.

Madam,

If I could imagine that the letter which I had the honor to write to your Majesty from Warsaw, Sept. 25th—6th Oct. 1789, had come to hand, it would be without doubt indiscreet in me to beg you to cast your eyes on the documents enclosed, which *accuse no person*, and the only intent of which is to let you see that in the important campaign of Liman, the part which I played was not either that of a *Zero* or of a *Harlequin* which required “to be made a colonel at the *tail* of his regiment.” I have in my hands the means to prove incontestably that I directed all the useful operations against the Captain Pacha. The task which was given me at this critical conjuncture was very difficult. I was obliged to sacrifice my own opinion, and risk my military reputation, for the benefit of your Empire. But I hope you will be satisfied with the manner in which I conducted myself, and also of my subsequent arrangements, of which I am persuaded you have not been acquainted until this moment. The gracious counsel which your Majesty has often done me the honor to repeat to me before my departure for the Black Sea, and in the letter which you have deigned to

write to me afterward, has since been the rule of my conduct; and the faithful attachment with which you had inspired me for your person, was the only reason which hindered me from requesting my dismissal when I wrote to you from Warsaw, for I confess that I was extremely afflicted and even offended at having received a parole for two years in time of war. A parole which it has never entered into my mind to wish for, and still less to ask, and of which I have not profited to go to America, or even to Denmark, where I had important business; for I had always hoped to have been usefully employed in your service before the expiration of this parole, which has done me so much injury; and although, in public, I would not have failed to have spoken to you at the last audience which you granted me, but I unfortunately was led to believe the repeated promises made me, that I should have a private audience, in order to lay before you my military projects, and to speak of them in detail.

I hope that the brilliant success with which Providence has blessed your arms, will enable you to grant peace to your enemies without shedding more of human blood, but in a contrary case your Majesty can be well instructed from my project, No. 12, of the last year.

As I have my enemies, and as the term of my parole is about to expire, I await the orders of your Majesty, and should be flattered, if it is your pleasure, to come and render you an account in person. Mr. ———, who has the goodness to charge himself with this packet, which I have addressed to him, sealed with my arms, will also undertake to forward me your orders. I therefore pray you to withdraw me as soon as possible from the cruel uncertainty in which I am placed. Should you deign,

Madam, to inform me that you are pleased with the services which I have had the happiness to render you, I will console myself for the misfortunes which I have suffered, as I drew my sword for you from personal attachment for you and ambition, but not for interest. My fortune, as you know, is not very considerable, but as I am philosopher enough to confine myself to my means, I shall always be rich.

I have the honor to be, Madam, yours, &c.

J. P. JONES.



FROM J. P. JONES TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Paris, March 20, 1791.

Dear Sir,

On my return from Russia to Amsterdam in December, 1789, I wrote to several gentlemen in America, particularly to the *Vice President* and to Mr. Secretary Thomson, enclosing some evidences of the treatment I met with in Russia. I wrote at the same time to the *President*, enclosing a letter from the Count de Segur. Messrs. Staphorsts and Hubbard undertook to forward my packets by a ship then ready to sail for Philadelphia, called the *Pennsylvania Packet*, John Earl master; but though that ship arrived safe, I have not, to this hour, received a single line in answer.

I need not express to you the pleasure I received from your acceptance of the honorable and high station of Secretary of State for domestic and foreign affairs. I felicitate our country on having wisely confided her interests to such worthy and able hands; but it gives me pain that

so inadequate a provision has been made for doing the honors incumbent on a first minister of a nation of such resources as America, and I wish that matter may soon be changed to your satisfaction.

As it has been, and still is, my first wish and my highest ambition to show myself worthy of the flattering marks of esteem with which I have been honored by my country, I think it my duty to lay before you, both as my particular friend and as a public minister, the papers I now enclose relative to my connexion with Russia, viz: three pieces, dated at St. Petersburg, and signed by the Count de Segur; a letter from me, dated at Paris, last summer, and sent to the Prince de Potemkin; and a letter from me to the Empress, dated a few days ago, enclosing eleven pieces, as numbered in the margin. I have selected those testimonials from a great variety of, perhaps still stronger, proofs in my hands. But though the Baron de Grimm has undertaken to transmit to her Imperial Majesty's own hands my last packet, I shall not be surprised if I should find myself constrained to withdraw from the Russian service, and to publish my journal of the campaign I commanded; in that case, I hope to prove to the world, that *my operations* not only saved Cherson and Crimea, but decided the fate of the war.

Chevalier Littlepage, now here on his way from Spain to the north, has promised me a letter to you on my subject, which, I presume, will show you the meanness and absurdity of the intrigues that were practised for my persecution at St. Petersburg. I did not myself comprehend all the blackness of that business before he came here and related to me the information he received from a gentleman of high rank in the diplomatic, with whom

he travelled in company from Madrid to Paris. That gentleman had long resided in a public character at the Court of St. Petersburg, and was there all the time of the pitiful complot against me, which was conducted by a little-great man behind the curtain. The unequalled reception with which I had at first been honored by the Empress, had been extremely mortifying and painful to the English at St. Petersburg; and the courtier just mentioned, (finding that politics had taken a turn far more alarming than he had expected at the beginning of the war,) wishing to sooth the Court of London into a pacific humor, found no first step so expedient as that of sacrificing me! But instead of producing the effect he wished, this base conduct, on which he pretended to ground a conciliation, rather widened the political breach, and made him despised by the English Minister, by the English Cabinet, and by the gentleman who related the secret to the Chevalier Littlepage.

I have the honor to enclose copies of my three last official letters to the Count de Bernstorff, with that Minister's answer, dated before I left Copenhagen; and a letter I received last year in Holland, from the Baron de la Houze, Minister of France at Copenhagen. These may be useful in taking your ultimate determination on the Danish business. But I must further inform you, that a few days after my arrival from Denmark at St. Petersburg, I received from the Danish Minister at that Court, a letter under the seal of the Count de Bernstorff, which having opened, I found to be a patent from the King of Denmark, in the following terms: "Having reason to wish to give proofs of our good will to the Chevalier Paul Jones, Commodore in the navy of the United

States of America, and desiring, moreover, to prove our esteem on account of the just regard which he has borne towards the Danish flag while he commanded in the northern seas, we secure to him, from the present date, during his life, annually, the sum of fifteen hundred crowns, currency of Denmark, to be paid in Copenhagen, without any deduction whatever." The day before I left the Court of Copenhagen, the Prince Royal had desired to speak with me in his apartment. His Royal Highness was extremely polite, and after saying many civil things, he said he hoped I was satisfied with the attentions that had been shown to me since my arrival, and that the King would wish to give me some mark of his esteem. "I have never had the honor of rendering any service to his Majesty." "It matters not; a man like you should be an exception to ordinary rules; you have shown yourself delicate, none could be more so, with respect to our flag; every body loves you here." I took leave without further explanation. I have felt myself in an embarrassing situation on account of the King's patent, and I have, as yet, made no use of it, although three years are nearly elapsed since I received it. I wished to consult you, but when I understood that you would not return to Europe, I consulted Mr. Short and Mr. G. Morris, who both gave me as their opinion, that I might, with propriety, accept the advantage offered. I have in consequence determined to draw for the sum due; and I think you will not disapprove of this step, as it can by no means weaken the claim of the United States, *but rather the contrary*.

You will observe that the Empress of Russia has decorated me with the great order of St. Ann, and as I have appeared with that order ever since, I must beg the

favor of you to obtain and transmit to me, as soon as possible, the proper authority of the United States for my retaining that honor. You are sensible that I did not accept the offer of her Imperial Majesty with a view to detach myself from the service of America, but that I have done my utmost to fulfil the intention of Congress in sending me last to Europe, "to acquire that degree of knowledge which may hereafter render me more extensively useful." I have, in some measure, by my experience and observation, effected the object of my pursuit; though I confess I have still much to learn, and I wish to embrace the first occasion to embark in the French fleet of evolution.

I have not yet, since my return here, appeared at this Court, but the Marquis de la Fayette will shortly conduct me to the King, when I shall present my journal of the American war, with the letter of which I am bearer from the United States. I reserve for my return to America, to produce to the United States a full and unquestionable evidence, signed by the Grand Pensionary, that *my conduct* in 1779, drew the United Netherlands into the war. This is saying enough to a man of your information, for it would be superfluous to enumerate the advantages that thence resulted to America, particularly the great event which took place under your own eyes, and which could not have happened if Holland had remained a neutral power.

I am much obliged to you for the trouble you took in forwarding, before you left Europe, the busts I had promised to different gentlemen in America. Having lately received a letter from Mr. Burton, a former member of Congress, with whom I had the honor of being acquaint-

ed at New York, requesting my bust, *in behalf of the State of North Carolina*, I have ordered Mr. Houdon to prepare and forward it by the first ship from Havre de Grace for Philadelphia; and as that bust will be decorated with the order of St. Ann, on the American uniform, this is one reason for my wishing to be authorized by the United States to wear that order. Mr. Burton desires me to forward the bust to the care of Col. Ashe; but as that gentleman may perhaps have left Congress before the bust arrives, I shall take the liberty to address it to you, requesting you to deliver it to the North Carolina delegates, who will be so good as to forward it to the Governor of that State.

I continue to be sensibly affected by the situation of my poor countrymen at Algiers: the more so, as I learn indirectly from the pirate, now here, who took the greatest part of them, that if they are not very soon redeemed, they will be treated with no more lenity than is shown to other slaves. He told this to Chevalier Littlepage, who repeated it to me.

I have the honor to be, &c.

J. P. JONES.

P. S.—My address is under cover to Monsieur Grand.



A statement of Mr. Van Berckel, Grand Pensionary of Amsterdam, and of Mr. Dumas, Agent of the United States in Holland.

Commodore John Paul Jones, commanding a light squadron, equipped at the expense of his most Christian Majesty, under the flag and commission of the United

States of America, sailed from France, August the 14th, 1779; about the same time that the grand combined fleets of France and Spain, of 66 vessels of the line, under the command of his excellency the Count d'Orvilliers appeared in the channel between France and England. As they expected that a French army, under the protection of this fleet, would make a descent upon the southern coast of England, the Commodore having a *carte-blanche*, believed it to be his duty to make a strong diversion in order to facilitate the enterprise. To this effect he alarmed and insulted the coast and ports of the enemy, from Cape Clear, along the western coast of Ireland, by the north of Scotland, to Hull, the east of England. In the course of this service, as difficult as important, he made many armed captures, and destroyed a number of merchant vessels belonging to the enemy. The great object of the Commodore was to intercept the British fleet returning from the Baltic, and consequently to deprive the enemy of the means of equipping their vessels of war. There is every reason to believe that he would have completely effected this object, if he had not been abandoned on the coast of Ireland by a considerable part of his forces, and if his frigate, the *Bon homme Richard*, had been in the least assisted in the memorable combat with the *Serapis*, a two-decker, and against the frigate the *Countess of Scarborough*. But after the Commodore had fought these two vessels during one hour, the distance of pistol-shot, whilst the rest of his forces sheltered themselves from any damage, notwithstanding the advantage of the wind, the American frigate the *Alliance* traitorously fired three broadsides of grape-shot into the *Bon homme Richard*. During the whole affair the *Alliance* took care

not to expose herself to receive a single shot, nor to have a single man killed or wounded on board. The *Bon homme Richard* was, during three hours, lashed to the *Serapis*, and after the battle, which lasted four hours, sunk, riddled as a vessel had never been before. The battle taking place at one league from Scarborough, it was not possible, under the circumstances above mentioned, to hinder the entrance into that port of the enemy's convoy, which arrived in safety.

The Commodore entered the Texel with the remainder of his squadron, and his two last prizes, the 3d of October, 1779. The one-half of the crews, as well of the *Bon homme Richard* as of the *Serapis*, having been killed or wounded, the Commodore addressed himself to their High Mightinesses for permission to establish a hospital at the Helder, in order to cure his wounded. But the magistracy of the place being opposed, their High Mightinesses assigned for this purpose the fort of the Texel; and as the Commodore had the permission to garrison the fort by a detachment of his soldiers, he granted a commission of commandant of the place, for as long a time as was necessary, to one of his officers. The combined fleet having entered Brest, the English, filled with the terror of an invasion, with which they perceived themselves menaced, let loose all their animosity against the Commodore. The English Ambassador at the Hague, by his repeated memorials to the States General, did not cease to reclaim peremptorily the restitution of the vessel of war and the frigate taken by the Commodore, and to demand likewise that the *Scotch pirate, Paul Jones*, should be delivered up to the King, his master. This step of the Ambassador not succeeding, he did all

in his power with the magistrates and private citizens of Amsterdam to cause them to lay hands upon the person of the Commodore, and to deliver him up to him—but in vain—no person had the baseness or the courage to undertake his desire in this respect.

The English despatched many light squadrons to intercept the Commodore. Two of these squadrons cruised continually in sight of the Texel, and off the Ulie, whilst the others were stationed in such a manner as to cause the belief that it would be impossible for him to escape. The object of the Court of France in causing the Commodore to enter the Texel, was, that he might escort from thence to Brest a numerous fleet, loaded with materials for the arsenal of that port; but his situation rendered this service impracticable; above all, as the Minister had not taken care to keep the matter secret. The situation of the Commodore engaged the attention of all Europe, and profoundly affected the politics of the belligerent powers. But this situation became infinitely more critical, when the Prince of Orange deprived Mr. Riemersma of the command of the Dutch fleet, consisting of thirteen men-of-war, and sent the Vice Admiral Rhyust to succeed him, and to expel the Commodore from the Texel in sight of the British squadrons. This engaged the Court of Versailles to send to the ambassador of France at the Hague, a commission from his most Christian Majesty for the Commodore, which authorized him to hoist the French flag, but to this the Commodore would not consent. On his arrival he had declared himself an officer of the United States of America, he was not authorized by Congress to accept the offered commission. In fine he conceived it would be dishonorable and disadvantageous as

well for himself as for America to change his flag, especially under existing circumstances. With the exception of the frigate *Alliance*, the remainder of the squadron under the command of the Commodore, belonged to his most Christian Majesty, and the French ambassador had, in consequence, the right to dispose of them. The American minister at Paris, addressed an order to the Commodore to deliver all his prisoners to the French ambassador; and, to obey this order, the Commodore was obliged to deliver also the *Serapis* and *Countess of Scarborough*, because the other vessels could not contain the great number of his prisoners. The Commodore continued to carry the American flag on board the *Alliance*, and as soon as the wind permitted, the Vice Admiral having rendered his stay in the Texel as disagreeable as possible, obliged him to set sail in this frigate. The Commodore had the address and the good fortune to escape the vigilance of the enemy, and the English, enraged at this, and also because the States General had granted an escort for the fleet which carried out the naval stores from the Texel to Brest, declared, a short time afterward, war against the United low countries. They made use of the stay and the conduct of the Commodore at the Texel, for the first article of their declaration.

The facts above stated are of public notoriety throughout all Europe, and my motive in giving this testimony to America in favor of the Commodore, proceeds from the desire to render justice to his zeal and good conduct, for the honor and interest of the United States, in the affairs which have come immediately under my own cognizance. At the Hague, March 10th, 1784.

E. P. VAN BERCKEL.

I, the undersigned, knowing not only the exact truth of all which is above stated, but having been officially present, during nearly three months, on board the American squadron, in the road of the Texel, attest to it with pleasure, this 11th of March, 1784, at the Hague.

C. W. F. DUMAS,
Agent of the United States of America.



FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON TO J. P. JONES.

Philadelphia, June 1, 1792.

Sir,

The President of the United States having thought proper to appoint you commissioner for treating with the Dey and Government of Algiers, on the subjects of peace and ransom of our captives, I have the honor to enclose you the commissions, of which Mr. Thomas Pinckney, now on his way to London as our Minister Plenipotentiary there, will be the bearer. Supposing that there exists a disposition to thwart our negotiations with the Algerines, and that this would be very practicable, we have thought it advisable that the knowledge of this appointment should rest with the President, Mr. Pinckney, and myself; for which reason, you will perceive that the commissions are all in my own hand writing. For the same reason, entire secrecy is recommended to you, and that you so cover from the public your departure and destination, as that they may not be conjectured or noticed; and at the same time, that you set out after as short delay as your affairs will possibly permit.

In order to enable you to enter on this business with

full information, it will be necessary to give you a history of what has passed.

On the 25th of July, 1785, the schooner *Maria*, Captain Stevens, belonging to a Mr. Foster, of Boston, was taken off Cape St. Vincents, by an Algerine cruiser; and five days afterwards, the ship *Dauphin*, Captain O'Brian, belonging to Messrs. Irvins, of Philadelphia, was taken by another, about fifty leagues westward of Lisbon. These vessels, with their cargoes and crews, twenty-one persons in number, were carried into Algiers. Mr. John Lamb, appointed agent for treating of peace between the United States and the Government of Algiers, was ready to set out from France on that business, when Mr. Adams and myself heard of these two captures. The ransom of prisoners being a case not existing when our powers were prepared, no provision had been made for it. We thought, however, we ought to endeavor to ransom our countrymen, without waiting for orders; but at the same time, that acting without authority, we should keep within the lowest price which had been given by any other nation. We therefore gave a supplementary instruction to Mr. Lamb to ransom our captives, if it could be done for two hundred dollars a man, as we knew that three hundred French captives had been just ransomed by the Mathurins, at a price very little above this sum. He proceeded to Algiers; but his mission proved fruitless. He wrote us word from thence, that the Dey asked fifty-nine thousand four hundred and ninety-six dollars for the twenty-one captives, and that it was not probable he would abate much from that price. But he never intimated an idea of agreeing to give it. As he has never settled the accounts of his mission, no further information

has been received. It has been said that he entered into a positive stipulation with the Dey, to pay for the prisoners the price above mentioned, or something near it; and that he came away with an assurance to return with the money. We cannot believe the fact true: and if it were, we disavow it totally, as far beyond his powers. We have never disavowed it formally, because it has never come to our knowledge with any degree of certainty.

In February, 1787, I wrote to Congress to ask leave to employ the Mathurins of France in ransoming our captives; and on the 19th of September, I received their orders to do so, and to call for the money from our bankers at Amsterdam, as soon as it could be furnished. It was long before they could furnish the money, and as soon as they notified that they could, the business was put into train by the General of the Mathurins, not with the appearance of acting for the United States, or with their knowledge, but merely on the usual ground of charity. This expedient was rendered abortive by the revolution of France, the derangement of ecclesiastical orders there, and the revocation of church property, before any proposition, perhaps, had been made in form by the Mathurins to the Dey of Algiers. I have some reason to believe that Eustace, while in Spain, endeavored to engage the Court of Spain to employ their Mathurins in this same business; but whether they actually moved in it or not, I have never learned.

We have also been told, that a Mr. Simpson, of Gibraltar, by the direction of the Messrs. Bulkeleys, of Lisbon, contracted for the ransom of our prisoners (then reduced by death and ransom to fourteen) at thirty-four thousand seven hundred and ninety-two dollars. By

whose orders they did it we could never learn. I have suspected it was some association in London, which, finding the prices far above their conception, did not go through with their purpose, which probably had been merely a philanthropic one. Be this as it may, it was without our authority or knowledge.

Again, Mr. Cathalan, our consul at Marseilles, without any instruction from the Government, and actuated merely, as we presume, by a willingness to do something agreeable, set on foot another negotiation for their redemption; which ended in nothing.

These several volunteer interferences, though undertaken with good intentions, ran directly counter to our plan; which was, to avoid the appearance of any purpose on our part ever to ransom our captives, and by that semblance of neglect, to reduce the demands of the Algerines to such a price, as might make it hereafter less their interest to pursue our citizens than any others. On the contrary, they have supposed all these propositions directly or indirectly came from us; they inferred from thence the greatest anxiety on our part, where we had been endeavoring to make them suppose there was none; kept up their demands for our captives at the highest prices ever paid by any nation; and thus these charitable, though unauthorized interpositions, have had the double effect of lengthening the chains they were meant to break, and making us at last set a much higher rate of ransom for our citizens, present and future, than we probably should have obtained, if we had been left alone to do our own work in our own way. Thus stands this business, then, at present. A formal bargain, as I am informed, being registered in the books of the former Dey, on the part of the Bulkeleyes,

of Lisbon, which they suppose to be obligatory on us, but which is to be utterly disavowed, as having never been authorized by us, nor its source even known to us.

In 1790, this subject was laid before Congress fully, and at the late session, moneys have been provided, and authority given to proceed to the ransom of our captive citizens at Algiers, provided it shall not exceed a given sum, and provided also, a peace shall be previously negotiated within certain limits of expense. And in consequence of these proceedings, your mission has been decided on by the President.

Since, then, no *ransom* is to take place without a *peace*, you will, of course, take up first the negotiation of peace; or, if you find it better that peace and ransom should be treated of together, you will take care that no agreement for the latter be concluded, unless the former be established before or in the same instant.

As to the conditions, it is understood that no peace can be made with that Government, but for a larger sum of money to be paid at once for the whole time of its duration, or for a smaller one to be annually paid. The former plan we entirely refuse, and adopt the latter. We have also understood that peace might be bought cheaper with naval stores than with money: but we will not furnish them naval stores, because we think it not right to furnish them means which we know they will employ to do wrong, and because there might be no economy in it as to ourselves, in the end, as it would increase the expense of that coercion which we may in future be obliged to practise towards them. The only question, then, is, what sum of *money* will we agree to pay them *annually*, for peace? By a letter from Captain O'Brian, a copy of which you

will receive herewith, we have his opinion that a peace could be purchased with *money*, for sixty thousand pounds sterling, or with *naval stores*, for one hundred thousand dollars. An annual payment, equivalent to the first, would be three thousand pounds sterling, or thirteen thousand five hundred dollars, the interest of the sum in gross. If we could obtain it for as small a sum as the second, in *money*, the annual payment equivalent to it would be five thousand dollars. In another part of the same letter, Captain O'Brian says, "if maritime stores and two light cruisers be given, and a tribute paid in maritime stores every two years, amounting to twelve thousand dollars in America," a peace can be had. The gift of stores and cruisers here supposed, converted into an annual equivalent, may be stated at nine thousand dollars, and adding to it half the biennial sum, would make fifteen thousand dollars to be annually paid. You will, of course, use your best endeavors to get it at the lowest sum practicable; whereupon I shall only say, that we should be pleased with ten thousand dollars, contented with fifteen thousand, think twenty thousand a very hard bargain, yet go as far as twenty-five thousand, if it be impossible to get it for less; but not a copper further, this being fixed by law as the utmost limit. These are meant as annual sums. If you can put off the first annual payment to the end of the first year, you may employ any sum not exceeding that, in presents, to be paid down; but if the first payment is to be made in hand, that and the presents cannot by law exceed twenty-five thousand dollars.

And here we meet a difficulty, arising from the small degree of information we have respecting the Barbary States. Tunis is said to be tributary to Algiers. But

whether the effect of this be, that peace being made with Algiers, is of course with the Tunisians, without separate treaty, or separate price, is what we know not. If it be possible to have it placed on this footing, so much the better. In any event, it will be necessary to stipulate with Algiers, that her influence be interposed as strongly as possible with Tunis, whenever we shall proceed to treat with the latter; which cannot be till information of the event of your negotiation, and another session of Congress.

As to the articles, and the form of the treaty in general, our treaty with Morocco was so well digested that I enclose you a copy of that, to be the model with Algiers, as nearly as can be obtained, only inserting the clause with respect to Tunis.

The ransom of the captives is next to be considered. They are now thirteen in number, to wit: Richard O'Brian and Isaac Stevens, captains; Andrew Montgomery and Alexander Forsyth, mates; Jacob Tessianier, a French passenger; William Patterson, Philip Sloan, Peleg Lorin, James Hull, James Cathcart, George Smith, John Gregory, James Hermit, seamen. It has been a fixed principle with Congress, to establish the rate of ransom of American captives, with the Barbary States, at as low a point as possible, that it may not be the interest of those States to go in quest of our citizens in preference to those of other countries. Had it not been for the danger it would have brought on the residue of our seamen, by exciting the cupidity of those rovers against them, our citizens now in Algiers would have been long ago redeemed, without regard to price. The mere money for this particular redemption, neither has been, nor is, an

object with any body here. It is from the same regard to the safety to our seamen at large, that they have now restrained us from any ransom unaccompanied with peace. This being secured, we are led to consent to terms of ransom, to which, otherwise, our government would never have consented; that is to say, to the terms stated by Captain O'Brian, in the following passage of the same letter: "By giving the Minister of the Marine (the present Dey's favorite) the sum of one thousand sequins, I would stake my life that we would be ransomed for thirteen thousand sequins, and all expenses included." Extravagant as this sum is, we will, under the security of peace in future, go so far; not doubting, at the same time, that you will obtain it as much lower as possible, and not indeed without a hope that a lower ransom will be practicable, from the assurances given us in other letters from Captain O'Brian, that prices are likely to be abated by the present Dey, and particularly with us, towards whom he has been represented as well disposed. You will consider this sum, therefore, say twenty-seven thousand dollars, as your ultimate limit, including ransom, duties, and gratifications of every kind.

As soon as the ransom is completed, you will be pleased to have the captives well clothed and sent home, at the expense of the United States, with as much economy as will consist with their reasonable comfort. It is thought best that Mr. Pinckney, our Minister at London, should be the confidential channel of communication between us. He is enabled to answer your drafts for money, within the limits before expressed; and as this will be by re-drawing on Amsterdam, you must settle with him the number of days *after sight*, at which your bills shall be

payable in London, so as to give him time, in the mean while, to draw the money from Amsterdam.

We shall be anxious to know as soon and as often as possible, your prospects in these negotiations. You will receive, herewith, a cipher, which will enable you to make them with safety. London and Lisbon (where Colonel Humphreys will forward my letters) will be the safest and best ports of communication. I also enclose two separate commissions, for the objects of peace and ransom. To these is added a commission to you as Consul for the United States, at Algiers, on the possibility that it might be useful for you to remain there till the ratification of the treaties shall be returned from hence; though you are not to delay, until their return, the sending the captives home, nor the necessary payments of money, within the limits before prescribed. Should you be willing to remain there, even after the completion of the business, as Consul for the United States, you will be free to do so, giving me notice, that no other nomination may be made. These commissions, being issued during the recess of the Senate, are in force, by the constitution, only till the next session of the Senate. But their renewal then is so much a matter of course and of necessity, that you may consider that as certain, and proceed without interruption. I have not mentioned this in the commissions, because it is in all cases surplusage, and because it might be difficult of explanation to those to whom you are addressed.

The allowance for all your expenses and time (exclusive of the ransom, price of peace, duties, presents, maintenance and transportation of the captives) is at the rate of two thousand dollars a year, to commence from the day on which you shall set out for Algiers, from what-

ever place you may take your departure. The particular objects of peace and ransom once out of the way, the two thousand dollars annually are to go in satisfaction of time, services, and expenses of every kind, whether you act as consul or commissioner.

As the duration of this peace cannot be counted on with certainty, and we look forward to the necessity of coercion by cruises on their coast, to be kept up during the whole of their cruising season, you will be pleased to inform yourself, as minutely as possible, of every circumstance which may influence or guide us in undertaking or conducting such an operation, making your communications by safe opportunities.

I must recommend to your particular notice Captain O'Brian, one of the captives, from whom we have received a great deal of useful information. The zeal which he has displayed under the trying circumstances of his present situation, has been very distinguished. You will find him intimately acquainted with the manner in which, and characters with whom business is to be done there, and perhaps he may be a useful instrument to you, especially in the outset of your undertaking, which will require the utmost caution and the best information. He will be able to give you the characters of the European consuls there, though you will, probably, not think it prudent to repose confidence in any of them.

Should you be able successfully to accomplish the objects of your mission in time to convey notice of it to us as early as possible during the next session of Congress, which meets in the beginning of November and rises the 4th of March, it would have a very pleasing effect.

I am, with great esteem, Sir, &c.

TH: JEFFERSON.



LETTERS
FROM INDIVIDUALS
ON PUBLIC AFFAIRS,
AND
REPORTS OF SECRETARY JOHN JAY.

FROM SAMUEL SHAW TO JOHN JAY.

New York, May 19, 1785.

Sir,

The first vessel that has been fitted out by the inhabitants of the United States of America, for essaying a commerce with those of the Empire of China, being, by the favor of Heaven, safe returned to this port, it becomes my duty to communicate to you, for the information of the fathers of the country, an account of the reception their subjects have met with, and the respect with which their flag has been treated in that distant region; especially as some circumstances have occurred which had a tendency to attract the attention of the Chinese towards a people of whom they have hitherto had but very confused ideas; and which served in a peculiar manner, to place the Americans in a more conspicuous point of view than has commonly attended the introduction of other nations into that ancient and extensive empire.

The ship employed on this occasion is about three hundred and sixty tons burthen, built in America, and equipped with forty-three persons, under the command of John

Green, Esquire. The subscriber had the honor of being appointed agent for their commerce, by the gentlemen at whose risk this first experiment has been undertaken.

On the 22d February, 1784, the ship sailed from New York, and arrived the 21st Mârch at St. Jago, the principal of the Cape de Verd Islands. Having paid our respects to the Portuguese Vice Roy, and, with his permission, taken such refreshments as were necessary, we left those islands on the 27th, and pursued our voyage. After a pleasant passage, in which nothing extraordinary occurred, we came to anchor in the Straits of Sunda, on the 18th of July. It was no small addition to our happiness on this occasion, to meet there two ships belonging to our good allies the French. The Commodore, Monsieur Dordelin, and his officers, welcomed us in the most affectionate manner; and as his own ship was immediately bound to Canton, gave us an invitation to go in company with him. This friendly offer we most cheerfully accepted, and the Commodore furnished us with his signals by day and night, and added such instructions for our passage through the Chinese seas, as would have been exceedingly beneficial had any unfortunate accident occasioned our separation. Happily, we pursued our route together. On our arrival at the island of Macao, the French Consul for China, Monsieur Vieillard, with some other gentlemen of his nation, came on board to congratulate and welcome us to that part of the world, and kindly undertook the introduction of the Americans to the Portuguese Governor. The little time that we were there was entirely taken up by the good offices of the Consul, the gentlemen of his nation, and those of the Swedes and Imperialists, who still remained at Macao. The other

Europeans had repaired to Canton. Three days afterwards, we finished our outward-bound voyage. Previous to coming to anchor, we saluted the shipping on the river with thirteen guns, which were answered by the several Commodores of the European nations, each of whom sent an officer to compliment us on our arrival. These visits were returned by the Captain and Supercargoes, in the afternoon, who were again saluted by the respective ships, as they finished their visit. When the French sent their officers to congratulate us, they added to the obligations we were already under to them, by furnishing men, boats, and anchors, to assist us in coming to safe and convenient moorings. Nor did their good offices stop here; they furnished us with part of their own banksall and insisted further, that until we were settled, we should take up our quarters with them at Canton.

The day of our arrival at Canton, August 30th, and the two following days, we were visited by the Chinese merchants, and the chiefs and gentlemen of the several European establishments, and treated by them in all respects, as a free and independent nation. As such, during our stay, we were universally considered. The Chinese themselves were very indulgent towards us, though our being the first American ship that had ever visited China, it was some time before they could fully comprehend the distinction between Englishmen and us. They styled us the *new people*; and when by the map we conveyed to them an idea of the extent of our country, with its present and increasing population, they were highly pleased at the prospect of so considerable a market for the productions of theirs.

The situation of the Europeans at Canton is so well

known, as to render a detail unnecessary. The good understanding commonly subsisting between them and the Chinese, was, in some degree, interrupted by two occurrences, of which, as they were extraordinary in themselves, and led to a more full investigation of the American character by both parties, than might otherwise have taken place, I will, with your permission, give a particular account.

The police at Canton is at all times extremely strict, and the Europeans there are circumscribed within very narrow limits. The latter had observed with concern, some circumstances which they deemed an encroachment upon their rights. On this consideration, they determined to apply for redress to the Hoppo, who is the head officer of the customs, the next time he should visit the shipping. Deputies accordingly attended from every nation, and I was desired to represent ours. We met the Hoppo on board an English ship, and the causes of complaint were soon after removed.

The other occurrence of which I beg leave to take notice, gave rise to what was commonly called the Canton war, which threatened to be productive of very serious consequences. On the 25th November, an English ship, in saluting some company that had dined on board, killed a Chinese and wounded two others, in the Mandarin's boat along side. It is a maxim of the Chinese law, that blood must answer for blood; in pursuance of which, they demanded the unfortunate gunner. To give up this poor man was to consign him to certain death. Humanity pleaded powerfully against the measure. After repeated conferences between the English and the Chinese, the latter declared themselves satisfied, and the affair was

supposed to be entirely settled. Notwithstanding this, on the morning after the last conference, (the 27th,) the supercargo of the ship was seized while attending his business, thrown into a sedan chair, hurried into the city, and committed to prison. Such an outrage on personal liberty spread a general alarm; and the Europeans unanimously agreed to send for their boats, with armed men from the shipping, for the security of themselves and property, until the matter should be brought to a conclusion. The boats accordingly came, and ours among the number; one of which was fired on and a man wounded. All trade was stopped, and the Chinese men-of-war drawn up opposite the factories. The Europeans demanded the restoration of Mr. Smith, which the Chinese refused, until the gunner should be given up. In the mean while, the troops of the Province were collecting in the neighborhood of Canton; the Chinese servants were ordered by the magistrates to leave the factories; the gates of the suburbs were shut; all intercourse was at an end; the naval force was increased; many troops were embarked in boats, ready for landing; and every thing wore the appearance of war. To what extremities matters might have been carried, had not a negotiation taken place, no one can say. The Chinese asked a conference with all the nations, except the English. A deputation, in which I was included, for America, met the *Fuen*, who is the head magistrate of Canton, with the principal officers of the Province. After setting forth, by an interpreter, the power of the Emperor, and his own determination to support the laws, he demanded that the gunner should be given up within three days; declaring that he should have an impartial examination before their tribunal, and if it appeared that the

affair was accidental, he should be released unhurt. In the mean time he gave permission for the trade, excepting that of the English, to go on as usual; and dismissed us with a present of two pieces of silk to each, as a mark of his friendly disposition. The other nations, one after another, sent away their boats, under protection of a Chinese flag, and pursued their business as before. The English were obliged to submit: the gunner was given up; Mr. Smith was released; and the English, after being forced to ask pardon of the magistracy of Canton, in the presence of the other nations, had their commerce restored. On this occasion, I am happy that we were the last who sent off our boat, which was not disgraced with a Chinese flag; nor did she go until the English themselves thanked us for our concurrence with them, and advised to the sending her away. After peace was restored, the Chief and four English gentlemen visited the several nations, among whom we were included, and thanked them for their assistance during the troubles. The gunner remained with the Chinese—his fate undetermined.

Notwithstanding the treatment we received from all parties was perfectly civil and respectful, yet, it was with peculiar satisfaction that we experienced, on every occasion, from our good allies, the French, the most flattering and substantial proofs of their friendship. "If," said they, "we have, in any instance, been serviceable to you, we are happy; and we desire nothing more ardently than further opportunities to convince you of our affection." The harmony maintained between them and us was particularly noticed by the English, who more than once observed, that it was matter of astonishment to them, that the descendants of Britons would so soon

divest themselves of prejudices, which they had thought to be not only hereditary, but inherent in our nature.

We left Canton the 27th December, and on our return refreshed at the Cape of Good Hope, where we found a most friendly reception. After remaining there five days, we sailed for America, and arrived in this port on the 11th instant.

To every lover of his country, as well as to those more immediately concerned in commerce, it must be a pleasing reflection that a communication is thus happily opened between us and the eastern extreme of the globe; and it adds very sensibly to the pleasure of this reflection, that the voyage has been performed in so short a space of time, and attended with the loss of only one man. To Captain Green and his officers every commendation is due, for their unwearied and successful endeavors in bringing it to this most fortunate issue, which fully justifies the confidence reposed in them by the gentlemen concerned in the enterprise.

Permit me, Sir, to accompany this letter with the two pieces of silk, presented to me by the Fuen of Canton, as a mark of his good disposition towards the American nation. In that view, I consider myself as peculiarly honored in being charged with this testimony of the friendship of the Chinese for a people who may, in a few years, prosecute a commerce with the subjects of that empire, under advantages equal, if not superior, to those enjoyed by any other nation whatever.

I have the honor to be, &c.

SAMUEL SHAW.

FROM JOHN JAY TO SAMUEL SHAW.

Office for Foreign Affairs, }
May 30, 1785. }

Sir,

I have received your favor of the 19th instant, and regret the circumstance which deprived me of the pleasure of receiving those interesting details from you in person. Your letter, and the pieces of silk which accompanied it, have been transmitted to Congress, and you shall be immediately informed of the result of their deliberations on the subject.

I have the honor to be, &c.

JOHN JAY.



FROM CHARLES THOMSON TO JOHN JAY.

Office of Secretary of Congress, }
June 16, 1785. }

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you that the United States in Congress assembled, have, upon reconsideration, been pleased to discharge me of their order for printing Mr. Shaw's letter, and have referred to you so much only of the report on his letter as respects the "informing Mr. Shaw that Congress feel a peculiar satisfaction in the successful issue of this first effort of the citizens of America to establish a direct trade with China, which does so much honor to its undertakers and conductors."

I therefore enclose Mr. Shaw's letter, and return to you the two pieces of silk which accompanied it.

With great respect, I am, &c.

CHARLES THOMSON.

FROM JOHN JAY TO SAMUEL SHAW.

Office for Foreign Affairs, }
June 23, 1785. }

Sir,

Having communicated to Congress the letter you wrote to me on the 19th ultimo, respecting your voyage with Captain Green, in the ship *Empress of China*, to Canton, I have now the pleasure of informing you, by their order, "that Congress feel a peculiar satisfaction in the successful issue of this first effort of the citizens of America to establish a direct trade with China, which does so much honor to its undertakers and conductors."

I have the honor to be, &c.

JOHN JAY.

P. S. The pieces of silk which accompanied your letter, having been returned to this office, will be delivered to you by the bearer.



FROM JOHN JAY TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Office for Foreign Affairs, }
September 1, 1785. }

Sir,

On reading over the letter of Mr. Shaw, in which he gives an account of his voyage in the ship *Empress of China* to Canton, I observe some paragraphs which, in my opinion, merit the further attention of Congress. They are the following:

"We came to an anchor in the Straits of Sunda on the 18th July. It was no small addition to our happiness on this occasion, to meet there two ships belonging to our

good allies the French. The Commodore, Monsieur D'Ordelin, and his officers, welcomed us in the most affectionate manner; and as his own ship was immediately bound to Canton, gave us an invitation to go in company with him. This friendly offer we most cheerfully accepted, and the Commodore furnished us with his signals by day and night, and added such instructions for our passage through the Chinese seas as would have been exceedingly beneficial, had any unfortunate accident occasioned our separation."

"On our arrival at the Island of Macao, the French Consul for China, Monsieur Vieillard, with some other gentlemen of his nation, came on board to congratulate and welcome us to that part of the world, and kindly undertook the introduction of the Americans to the Portuguese Governor."

"Three days afterwards we finished our outward-bound voyage." "When the French sent their officers to congratulate us, they added to the obligations we were already under to them, by furnishing men, boats, and anchors, to assist us in coming to safe and convenient moorings; nor did their good offices stop here—they furnished us with part of their own bank-sail; and insisted further, that until we were settled, we should take up our quarters with them at Canton." "Notwithstanding the treatment we received from all parties was perfectly civil and respectful, yet, it was with peculiar satisfaction that we experienced, on every occasion, from our good allies, the French, the most flattering and substantial proofs of their friendship. 'If,' said they, 'we have in any instance been serviceable to you, we are happy; and we desire nothing more ardently than further opportunities to convince you of our affection.'"

As the purpose for which that letter was committed, did not probably extend to these paragraphs, I take the liberty of suggesting whether it would not be proper to send a copy of that letter to Mr. Jefferson, and instruct him to express to the French Minister, the sense which Congress entertain of the friendly offices and civilities shown by the French officers in question to that American ship; to request the favor of him to signify the same to them; and to assure his most Christian Majesty that the people of the United States will, on their part, be happy in opportunities of acknowledging these pleasing acts of kindness, and of cultivating and continuing the same spirit of mutual friendship which has hitherto so happily subsisted between the two nations.

I have the honor to be, &c.

JOHN JAY.



FROM JOHN JAY TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

New York, January 20, 1786.

Sir,

As the attention of American merchants begins to turn to the China and India trade, and several of their vessels will probably be employed in it in the course of this year, I take the liberty of submitting to the consideration of Congress, the propriety of appointing a Consul and Vice Consul General for Canton, and other parts in Asia. Such officers would have a degree of weight and respect which private adventurers cannot readily acquire, and which would enable them to render essential services to their countrymen, on various occasions. More credit

would be given by strangers to men who bring such evidence of their merit, than to others whose characters cannot be so soon and so certainly known; and their commission would give them more ready access to, and greater influence with, Princes, Governors, and Magistrates, than private merchants can in general expect.

I have the honor to be, &c.

JOHN JAY.



FROM JOHN JAY TO SAMUEL SHAW.

New York, January 30, 1786.

Sir,

I have the honor of transmitting to you herewith enclosed, a commission constituting you Consul of the United States at Canton, in China. You have my best wishes, that you may derive advantages from this office equal to the honor and propriety with which I am persuaded it will be exercised. Although neither salary nor perquisites are annexed to it, yet so distinguished a mark of the confidence and esteem of the United States, will naturally give you a degree of weight and respectability which the highest personal merit cannot very soon obtain for a stranger in a foreign country.

It will not be necessary for me to dwell on the advantages your country may derive from the information you may acquire. Permit me, however, to request the favor of your correspondence, and that you will transmit to me, by proper conveyances, whatever intelligence and observations you may think conducive to the public good. The mercantile and other regulations at Canton respect-

ing foreigners; the number and size of foreign vessels, and of what nations, which annually enter there; their cargoes, and what articles of merchandise answer best; are matters which merit attention. It might also be useful to know whether foreigners do, or can, carry on a circuitous trade in that part of the world, either on their own account, or by being carriers for others, whether Asiatic or European. Accurate information on all these points, will probably require time to collect; and as accurate information only can be useful, I cannot flatter myself with receiving ample details from you very soon after your arrival, unless on such of these subjects as may not require much time to investigate.

I shall not omit writing to you by every opportunity, and will do myself the pleasure of sending you such information respecting our country, as, though perhaps not very essential to you either as a Consul or a merchant, cannot fail of being interesting to an American citizen early and strongly attached to his country.

With sincere esteem, and the best wishes for your health and prosperity, I am, &c.

JOHN JAY.



FROM SAMUEL SHAW TO JOHN JAY.

New York, January 30, 1786.

Sir,

Will you allow me to beg the favor of you to convey to the honorable the Congress my most humble and grateful acknowledgments for the honor they have been pleased to confer upon me, in their appointment of me to

be their Consul for Canton in China, and to assure them, that nothing on my part shall be wanting to discharge faithfully the trust reposed in me, and to render the appointment as much as possible a public benefit.

May I, Sir, be permitted to observe, that while the United States have judged proper to make this appointment, there appears to be no provision against any casualties, which are always possible, and in so long a voyage as that which I am about to undertake, may by no means be improbable. This consideration, joined to that of the loss of time which would attend a new appointment, should any casualty prevent me from reaching that distant country, induces me to submit to your consideration, and to that of the honorable Congress, the propriety of appointing a Vice Consul, who, in case of the death or absence of the Consul, should be invested also with his powers. Perhaps such appointment may also be judged proper, from the probability that my inquiries in the commercial line, which I trust would not be uninteresting to our country, might lead me to go from Canton to visit the European establishments, and other settlements, on the coast of India; in which case the powers of Consul to devolve on the Vice Consul, who should remain at and in the neighborhood of Canton. Should this idea meet your concurrence, I would request the indulgence of mentioning Mr. Thomas Randall, as a gentleman properly qualified for the appointment. He is a native of the country, whose commission he has had the honor of supporting with reputation, during a trying period of the late war. He has been in China with me, and is now about to return there again.

As Wednesday next is the day appointed for the

sailing of our ship, I flatter myself you will see the necessity of an application being made to Congress as early as possible, and that you will, with your usual goodness, excuse the trouble I cause you in this business.

Be pleased, Sir, to accept my sincerest thanks for the obliging manner in which you have afforded me your good offices; and believe me to be, with most respectful attachment, &c.

SAMUEL SHAW.



FROM JOHN JAY TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Office for Foreign Affairs, }
February 2, 1786. }

Sir,

I am requested by Mr. Randall, to present to Congress his thanks, for the honor they have conferred on him by appointing him their Vice Consul at Canton, and to assure them that he will endeavor, with the utmost fidelity, to discharge the trust they have been pleased to repose in him.

With great respect, &c.

JOHN JAY.



Office for Foreign Affairs, }
August 5, 1786. }

The Secretary of the United States for the Department of Foreign Affairs, to whom was referred a letter of the 20th June last, to his Excellency the President of Congress, from John O'Donnell, reports:

That this letter, in his opinion, contains many judicious

remarks on our Asiatic trade, and the expediency of forming treaties with some of the powers in those countries. But that, however advantageous the terms on which Mr. O'Donnell offers to negotiate such treaties may be, it would not be consistent with the dignity of the United States to accept them.

Your Secretary sees no objection to granting the usual sea-letters or passport for the vessel in which Mr. O'Donnell proposes to sail from Baltimore; but he nevertheless thinks that some fixed regulations on that subject should be established; for, in his opinion, every application for such passports should be accompanied with proof that the vessel is American built, and that she is owned and to be navigated by Americans, either wholly or in part, as Congress may be pleased to direct.

As to the blank passports requested by Mr. O'Donnell, your Secretary doubts the propriety of granting them to any private gentleman, especially as we have a Consul at Canton, to whom, if thought expedient, they might be transmitted, with proper instructions. It is highly probable that many wealthy individuals in Asia would gladly embrace opportunities of coming with their effects to this country, and it may be good policy to afford such opportunities, but then your Secretary thinks it should be done by means perfectly unexceptionable, and not by the Sovereign of this country giving false evidence of American property, protection and dominion to vessels, officers and crews, entirely foreign to the United States.

As Mr. O'Donnell expressed in his letter an intention of coming to New York in a few days, to give any further explanations and lights on these subjects that might be thought necessary, your Secretary postponed making

this report, in expectation of previously seeing him; but not having yet heard of his arrival, your Secretary fears a further delay might be ascribed to inattention.

All which is submitted to the wisdom of Congress.

JOHN JAY.



FROM JOHN O'DONNELL TO THE PRESIDENT AND THE
MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.

Baltimore, June 20, 1786.

May it please your Excellency, &c.

I pray leave to place before your Excellency and the honorable the members of Congress, the following observations on our newly begun commerce, as an independent empire, to the remote countries of Asia, and I trust the importance of the subject, and the general utility and benefits which are likely to arise from it, will plead an apology for my intrusion on your other weighty and important avocations.

As a wise and enlightened legislation, your Excellency, &c., will be always emulous, no doubt, to give every encouragement and assistance, compatible with the true interest and welfare of this country, to universal commerce. To promote this essential and desirable purpose, too much support cannot be given to the merchants of experience, abilities, and enterprise, of these States, in their prosecution of the trade direct from this continent to the several sources of such manufactures and produce as we ourselves use and consume, in vessels built with our own materials, by our own workmen, and navigated by American seamen.

The objects that would naturally be derived from such

encouragement are many and advantageous. The timber from our immense forests would quickly assume a new and animated appearance on the watery element. Our carpenters and the other handicrafts necessary to put in motion so complex a machine as that of a ship, now almost inactive and getting out of use, would soon get employment, and they, as well as our seamen, would multiply and become numerous. To complete these beneficial purposes, every shackle and impediment which wise policy, studying the real interest of her own citizens, can forge or invent, ought to be opposed to circuitous trade, or the importation of the manufactures or produce of foreign countries in any other than her own bottoms, and direct from the very places where the articles wanted are procured.

The several nations of Europe who have for more than centuries traded to Asia, fully experience the necessity of not only confining this valuable commerce to their own ships and subjects, but of also, under penalty of total confiscation, prohibiting the importation of a single article of Asiatic manufacture or produce, in any other than their own vessels.

The merchant of America who adventures his fortune and credit in this distant trade, though in general he can afford to undersell those who send the produce of India from Europe, yet he cannot carry it on with any degree of certainty or confidence, if, whenever the markets should be glutted in Europe, this country becomes, in consequence, overstocked with inundations from thence. Such a cause for apprehension constantly hanging on his mind, will damp his ardor, and destroy that speculative and enterprising spirit which it is so essential to cherish.

The United States will, by and by, when, in consequence of wise and prudent regulations their commerce to the East increases and becomes extensive, not only supply their own citizens with the valuable and rich productions and manufactures of Asia at a moderate, fair price, which before they had through the hands of monopolizing and avaricious European companies, too often on excessive terms; but will have it in their power to establish, in different parts of the continent, well-furnished warehouses for the supply of our neighbors in the West Indies, and the Spaniards to the Southward, who have hitherto, with difficulty procured them at immoderate premiums.

Exclusive of these many advantages to be derived from importation, a few will not, in time, arise from the articles of this country which we now have, and can shortly supply for exportation. Our copper, though now in the mine, our iron, cannon, shot, ginseng, and naval stores, would, in Asia, furnish ample funds for the provision of pepper and other spices, medicines, saltpetre, cotton cloths, calicoes, muslins, teas, nankeens, china, &c. and when there is opened so profitable a market for our own productions, human industry will have a sufficient and necessary incitement to bring them to as much perfection as possible.

As in no one of the United States there can be a consumption for the cargo of a large ship, the duties, in my humble opinion, ought in justice to be refunded in the case of exportation; otherwise, the importer would lay under the load of a double tax, which the trade will not, on any account, afford. If this subject strikes your Excellency, &c. in a similar light, a recommendation from

the honorable the Congress to those States which do not allow a drawback, would have every wished-for success. In Charleston, South Carolina, could be established a central and convenient magazine for the supply of the West India Islands and Spaniards with India goods, which would no doubt introduce a concourse of foreign merchants and specie into the country. But if the duties on reshipping such goods are not refunded, the idea and those apparent benefits are at an end.

There are several sovereign Princes in Asia who have very valuable productions suitable for this country, who, as yet, do not know us as an independent empire. In the event of any of these powers being engaged in a war with the English, which is not unfrequently the case, any ship from this continent arriving at such a time in their ports, would doubtlessly be involved in the same fate with the English, unless an explanation takes place previously between these States and each of them, and a commercial treaty is entered into. The principal independent powers in Asia, are Tippoo Saib, the son and successor of the famous Hyder Ally; and the Marattas, on the coast of Malabar; the King of Acheea, on the Island of Sumatra; and the King of Ternati, on the coast of Malay. They know or study little of politics or geography beyond their own meridian, and as very shortly our intercourse and trade with them must become general, no time should be lost in making the necessary explanations and commercial stipulations with these Princes. Between the citizens of these States, speaking the same language with the English, with a similarity of manners, it would be difficult to make the necessary discrimination without such previous eclarcissement.

Having resided for more than sixteen years in the several parts of Asia in a mercantile line, and understanding the language and customs of those people, I shall, with no little degree of satisfaction, for the advantage of this country, to which I have from principle attached myself, undertake this business without any charge or expense to Government, if they will please to place a confidence in me, and invest me with the usual powers for this purpose. It has though, ever been an invariable custom in the East, to interchange presents on such occasions; and if the honorable the Congress would not wish to provide such, I will with pleasure furnish them myself, and I trust you will give me the liberty of retaining any return which may be made.

The powers of Europe who trade to Asia, experience very general and great benefits by establishing factories in the territories of those Princes, where their agents remain, and have thereby a sufficient time for the sale of the one, and the provision of another cargo for the following season. I shall, therefore, have it in my power to procure the like liberty and indulgence for the citizens of these States, who may, most probably, by and by, find the use and necessity of keeping factors at these places, with their property and persons under a stipulated guarantee.

I propose leaving Baltimore very shortly in a new ship, built in the State of Maryland, called the Chesapeake, of about three hundred tons, carrying twelve brass nine-pounders and twenty-five men, and I take the liberty to solicit the usual commission for her; and should your Excellency and the honorable the Congress think with me

that the entering into such treaties as I have presumed to recommend, may be hereafter productive of salutary and useful consequences, and give me the necessary credentials, I beg leave to request the commission of a Captain of the navy in your service, which answers the rank of Colonel on shore, and would be suitable for the proposed business.

As I am convinced there are many gentlemen who have made large fortunes in India, and only want the opportunity of coming to this continent under the sanction and protection of the American flag, I use the freedom of suggesting to your Excellency and the honorable the members of Congress, the propriety and utility of furnishing me with two or three blank passports, which may afterwards be filled up with the names of the ship and Captain; and I humbly offer it as my opinion, that such ships and cargoes, coming here direct from Asia, under the flag of the United States, loaded with the property of persons intending to reside and become citizens of this country, ought, in every respect, to enjoy the same privileges and immunities and the like exemptions from extra duties, tonnage, &c. as the vessels leaving this for Asia; on their return. Too much encouragement cannot be held out to persons of property and adventure to come and settle amongst us; and such indulgence would be very flattering, and its operation, no doubt, successful. I shall readily enter into the most ample securities for a due and proper use being made, not only of my own commission and powers, but also of these sea-letters, if your Excellency and the honorable the Congress consider it advisable to grant them.

I propose visiting New York in a few days, and shall

be ready to give any further explanations and lights on these subjects you may think necessary.

I have the honor to be, &c.

JOHN O'DONNELL.



FROM SAMUEL SHAW TO JOHN JAY.

Canton, in China, December 31, 1786.

Sir,

I have the honor to avail myself of this opportunity, which the return of our ship to America affords me, for communicating to you such information respecting the commerce carried on with China by the other nations of the world, as my situation and circumstances, after a second voyage to this country, have enabled me to obtain. It will not I presume be expected that this communication shall be altogether perfect; but as the nature of the commerce here is exceedingly uniform, and not liable to many alterations, a competent knowledge of it can never fail to be the result of a moderate share of attention and application. I shall therefore only say, that I have every reason to believe the following accounts, as far as they extend, are authentic; and I shall consider myself happy if they should be in the least satisfactory on the several points recommended to my attention, in the letter of instructions with which you have been pleased to honor me.

The commerce of the Europeans with China appears to be as simple perhaps as any in the known world. The Danes, Spaniards, Imperialists, Swedes, French, English, and Dutch, have regular establishments at Canton, and

trade by companies. The Portuguese, although they are in possession of Macao, do not, in the manner of the other nations, keep a public establishment, but carry on their trade by agents sent from Europe, who also return in the ships. As the business of unloading and loading their ships is, by particular indulgence, transacted at Macao, a considerable saving thence accrues on the duties which the other nations are obliged to pay.

The English ships bring out from Europe lead and large quantities of cloth; which latter the company are obliged by their charter to export annually to China, for the encouragement of their home woollen manufacture. The remainder of their cargoes is made up with supplies for the company's establishments in India, and such European commodities as will answer the various markets on the coasts. After having disposed of these, they take on board cotton, with which, their lead and cloth, they proceed to China. The English derive considerable advantage from the permission granted to private ships, owned by their subjects in India, to trade with China. These vessels, besides the cotton, sandal wood, putchosh root, ebony, opium, sharks' fins, and birds' nests, they bring from the coasts, drive on a smuggling trade with the Dutch settlements in and about Malacca, and with the natives, whom they supply with opium, clothing, fire-arms, &c., in return for which they receive pepper, block-tin, and spices. The proceeds of these, with the silver and other articles they bring from India, are about one-third carried back in such merchandise as will suit the India markets, and the remainder, either in cash or transfers on the Chinese merchants, is paid into the company's treasury, for which they receive bills on the company in England, at

the exchange of five shillings and sixpence sterling for a dollar, payable twelve months after sight. This fund has for a number of years rendered it unnecessary for the company to export from Europe any specie for carrying on their commerce with the Chinese.

With respect, however, to this advantage, derived by the English from their subjects in India, as well as from their credit with the Chinese, it must be observed that both have been pushed as far as they would bear. Last year their ships depended greatly on the latter of these resources for their homeward cargoes, and the company have sent from England, the present year, upwards of 3,000,000 of dollars in specie alone.

Besides the trade to China, these country ships (so called, because they are not suffered to pass westward of the Cape of Good Hope) sometimes make very good voyages to Batavia, the capital of the Dutch settlements in India. They carry there all kinds of cotton piece goods, a variety of silk manufactures, and large quantities of saltpetre. In return, those that come to Canton, take pepper and block-tin; and such as go back to the coast, generally carry sugar, which pays a handsome freight.

The Dutch, by their resources from their settlements on Java, Sumatra, Malacca, and their other possessions in India, are enabled to manage their trade with China underequal, if not superior, advantages to any other people.

The other companies depend principally upon their lead and silver brought from Europe; though sometimes the English captains from the coast of India furnish them with the latter in return for bills. This exchange is forbidden by the English company, and any person detected in it forfeits his privilege, and may be sent prisoner

to England. However, this penalty, as it is seldom if ever inflicted, is but little regarded. British subjects in India, who wish to remit their property to Europe, will find means of doing it through other channels than that of the company's treasury. They get a penny, and sometimes twopence, more on a dollar, and bills payable at a shorter sight.

There being no French company at the conclusion of the late war, several essays have been made for conducting the trade of that nation with China. In the year 1783, the King made an expedition on his own account with four ships. In 1784, he lent three large ships to a company of merchants, who were obliged to sell a certain number of shares to such individuals as chose to become adventurers; and the last year there was only one ship. The result of these experiments very probably induced the forming a new company; and the present year they employ eight ships, six for India and two for China; one of which last having been late in the season off the Cape of Good Hope, has gone to the Mauritius. Their China ships depend chiefly for their return cargoes on the specie they bring from Europe. Their India ships carry out stores and merchandise to the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon, and to their settlements on the Indian peninsula, whence they return to France with pepper, coffee, drugs, saltpetre, and piece goods, such as muslins, calicoes, chintses, and the other various manufactures of that quarter, as well in silk as in cotton. A Consul of France, part of their former establishment, is still retained here. He has a house and table found him by the King, with a salary of six thousand livres per annum. Should any disputes arise among the subjects of France, his decision in a court of chancery,

where he presides, is final, unless an appeal be made to the King and council.

The commerce of the Imperialists is closed. The German dominions are not well situated for prosecuting it. The company have had no ship here since 1783, and are one hundred and fifty thousand dollars in arrears to the Chinese, for the cargoes then supplied. Their agent, Mr. Reid, returns this season to Europe.

The establishments of the Swedes and Danes have hitherto been supported principally by the smuggling trade they carried on in the channel, and upon the coast of Britain; but as the British parliament have taken off the duties on teas imported in their own ships, it is expected this policy will very considerably prevent the advantages that were reaped by those nations, and not a little injure that branch of their commerce. The general opinion seems to be, that the trade of both these nations with China, must, therefore, be on the decline.

The Spaniards, after conducting their trade in private ships, have formed a company at Manilla, whose fund is said to be eight millions of dollars. They have now two ships here, which return to Manilla, where the cargoes are disposed of. Part is retained for the market there; such parts as will suit their settlements in America, are sent by the way of Acapulco; and the residue to Europe, in other ships. This nation must depend principally on its silver.

The Portuguese scarcely retain the shadow of their former consequence. A few ships, owned by individuals at Macao and their remaining settlements in India, are kept in the country trade, which is managed by them in much the same manner as by the English. Their trade

to Europe, as has been observed, is also conducted by private persons; and so little do they now derive from their possessions in India, that they are obliged to depend, in a great measure, on a credit from the Chinese for their homeward cargoes. Scarcely one of their ships bring from Europe sufficient funds; and were it not for this credit, and the aids they receive from such European company servants in India, as are desirous of sending home their property, not subject to the scrutiny of their masters, the commerce of this nation with China would undoubtedly fail.

Besides the Europeans, the Armenians and Moors drive a considerable trade with China in pearls and other merchandise, which they freight in Portuguese and English bottoms, from the Red sea, the Persian gulf, and the Peninsula of India.

Since the year 1783, some small vessels have been fitted out by private persons in India and at Macao, for the fur trade at Kamtschatka and the northwest coast of America. Their success has answered the expectation of the adventurers, and not a little reduced the price of furs brought here from Europe.

Such are the outlines of the commerce carried on by the Europeans with China. The national establishments are on a liberal footing. The supercargoes are provided with elegant factories, and every accommodation they can wish. All expenses are paid, and a commission allowed them for transacting the business, which is divided among them according to seniority. In the English factory, a young gentleman (whose father, perhaps, or other near relation, is one of the company) comes out at fourteen or fifteen years of age, as a writer, with all expenses

paid, and one hundred pounds sterling per annum. At the expiration of five years, he commences supercargo, when his salary ceases, and he is included for part of the commission. What may be the amount of this, depends on the number of ships. The present year twenty-five have already arrived, and five more are expected.* The proportion to the chief and second, who share alike, will, it is supposed, be from twelve to fifteen thousand pounds sterling each.

The English captains in the company's service, and all the officers, are allowed the privilege of private trade; on which account, as soon as their ships are moored at Whampoa,† the captains take each his own factory at Canton. Their adventures consist chiefly of clock-work of all kinds, (of which the Chinese are extremely fond,) cutlery ware, glass, furs, some silver, and ginseng, besides articles from the coast of India. The captain's privilege in the ship is about sixty tons measurement; this he commonly fills up with fine teas, cassia silks, porcelain, &c. which, on his entering the English channel, are disposed of to smugglers, between whom and the custom-house officers there is always a clear understanding. The ships are built and equipped by private merchants, who charter them to the company at a certain tonnage. They are generally from eight hundred to a thousand tons burthen, and no ship is suffered to perform more than four voyages. A captain must have great interest to get one of these ships, or pay from five to seven thousand pounds for the command. In this case, he may sell again; and if he

* Four of them have since arrived. January 14, 1787.

† Fourteen miles below Canton.

should die during the voyage, the privilege is filled up for the benefit of his heirs or assigns. This arrangement extends to the subordinate officers. The country captains also take factories at Canton, and, for privilege, make the best bargain they can with their employers.

Other nations, instead of privilege to their officers for private trade, allow a certain gratuity to each, according to his rank. Every captain has an apartment in the factory, and a place at the company's table, where there is also a plate for any other officer who may come to Canton.

No Europeans are suffered to remain at Canton throughout the year. After their ships are gone, and they have settled their accounts with the Chinese, they repair to Macao, where they continue till the arrival of their ships the next season, when they return to Canton.

As soon as a ship, whether public or private, arrives at Whampoa, a fiador, or security, must be engaged before she can discharge any part of the cargo. This person is one of the principal merchants, and generally him with whom the trade is made, though it does not hinder from dealing with others. He is answerable to the custom-house for payment of the Emperor's customs of entrance, which average between four and five thousand dollars a ship. Besides this tax, there are duties on every other article, whether of import or export; but with these there is no trouble, it being understood in all bargains with the Chinese, whether buying or selling, that they pay them.

The trade on the part of the Chinese is conducted by a set of merchants, who style themselves the cohoang, a word expressing our idea of a trading company. This cohoang consists of ten or twelve merchants, who have

the exclusive privilege of the European and country trade, for which they pay a considerable sum to Government; and no other dealers, if we except the petty shop keepers, who are also licensed by Government, can be concerned in it but by their permission. The cohoang assemble as often as it is necessary; communicate the information they have obtained respecting the commodities at market; agree on the prices at which they will purchase; and fix those of their own goods in return. When it happens that a ship has got but a small cargo, an individual of the cohoang is unwilling to be its fiador, as perhaps his profits will not pay the duties. In this case a person is nominated in the cohoang, and the vessel's business done on their joint account. There is generally no material variation from the prices fixed by the cohoang.

Each ship and factory must also have a comprador. This is a person who furnishes provisions and other necessaries, for which he contracts at certain prices. There is much imposition in this article; and if the ship is small, the comprador, besides being paid for all supplies, will have a *douceur* of a hundred or a hundred and fifty taels.* This must be submitted to, as the Government derive a stated revenue for every ship, of whatever size, which the comprador has permission to supply.

All the company ships, on coming to Whampoa, have each a banksal on shore for the reception of their water-casks, spars, sails, and all the lumber of the ship, besides apartments for the sick. The French have theirs separate from the other Europeans, on an island,

* One hundred dollars are equal to seventy-two taels.

thence called French Island. The others are on the main, on the opposite side, and confined to the ground they occupy; for the remainder being rice-fields and constantly watered, renders it impossible to go beyond the limits of the banksal: whereas French Island is a delightful situation, and the resort of the gentlemen of all nations, who go off and on at pleasure. Excepting those of the French and the Americans, no common sailors are allowed to go there. For the exclusive privilege of this island, every French ship adds an hundred taels extra to the hoppo's* present. The banksal is a large building, framed with bamboo reeds, and covered with mats and straw. They are erected by the Chinese, who pull them down immediately on their being left, in order that they may have the advantage of setting up new ones. The expense for a banksal is about two hundred dollars.

Besides a fiador and comprador, each ship must also have a linguist, which costs about a hundred and twenty taels. This person is absolutely necessary, as he is employed in transacting all business with the custom-house, which is in the city, where no European can be admitted—provides boats for loading and unloading, and is always at call.

When the hoppo goes to measure the shipping at Whampoa, which he does whenever there are three or four that have not been visited, he is attended by the cohoang. On these occasions the captains produce their clock-work, and other curiosities, of which the hoppo lays by such as he likes, and the fiador for the ship is obliged to send them to him. Sometime after the hoppo demands

* The hoppo is the chief officer of the customs.

the price, for he will not receive them as a present, when the merchant who understands matters perfectly, tells him about one-twentieth part, or less, of their value, and takes the money.

As soon as the ship is measured, the fiador takes out a permit for unloading, and the linguist provides two boats to receive the goods, which are hoisted out of the ship in presence of two mandarines, who live in their boat alongside. When the goods arrive at Canton, one of the principal mandarines, with his assistants, attends to weigh, measure, and take an account of every thing, after which liberty is granted to sell. Such articles as the fiador or the cohoang do not want, may be disposed of to any other purchaser, from whom the linguist collects the duty and settles with the fiador. When the return cargo is to be sent on board, the mandarines attend as before, examine, and take an account of every thing. Each package must have the seller's mark upon it, in order that the linguist may know where to apply for the duties. No fees are paid to those officers, either by the buyer or seller, their salaries being fixed by the Emperor. The expense of unloading is paid by the Europeans, and the Chinese deliver the return cargo alongside the ship, free of all duties and charges whatever. All merchandise must be unloaded and loaded by Chinese boats.

In the customs of Canton, as in other parts of the world, instances of knavery sometimes occur. The duty on silks may be compromised with the mandarine, who will accept a present of about one-half for letting them go free. In these cases, the ship's boat, carrying the flag of its nation, attends at the time and place appointed, takes in the goods, and receives the mandarine's permit,

which passes her without further examination. All boats are searched in coming to, and going from Canton, and must have a permit; besides which they must, unless carrying the national flag, be stopped and examined at three different houses on the river.

The factories at Canton, occupying less than a quarter of a mile in front, are situated on the bank of the river. The key is enclosed by a railed fence, which has stairs and a gate opening from the water to each factory, where all merchandise is received and sent away. The limits of the Europeans are extremely confined; there being, besides the key, only a few streets in the suburbs, occupied by the trading people, which they are allowed to frequent. Europeans, after a dozen years' residence, have not seen more than what the first month presented to view. They are sometimes invited to dine with the Chinese merchants, who have houses and gardens on the opposite side of the river; but even then no new information is obtained. Every thing of a domestic concern is strictly concealed; and though their wives, mistresses, and daughters, are commonly there, never one of them is visible.

The Europeans at Canton do not associate together so freely as might be expected; the gentlemen of the respective factories keeping much by themselves, and, excepting in a few instances, observing a very ceremonious and reserved behaviour. At the Danish factory, there is every Sunday evening a concert of music, performed by gentlemen of the several nations, where every body attends that it pleases. This is the only occasion where there appears to be any thing like a general intercourse. On the whole, the situation of the Europeans is not

enviable; and, considering the length of time they reside in this country, the restrictions to which they must submit, the great distance they are from their connexions, the want of society, and of almost every amusement, it must be allowed that they dearly earn their money.

Much has been said respecting the knavery of the Chinese, particularly those of the trading class; but there is no general rule without an exception. The small dealers are, many of them, indisputably rogues, and require to be very narrowly watched. But the merchants of the cohoang are a set of as respectable men as are commonly found in other parts of the world. They are intelligent, exact accountants, punctual to their engagements; and, though not worse for being well looked after, value themselves much upon maintaining a fair character. The concurrent testimony of all the Europeans justifies this remark.

The ships employed in this trade are, on an average, seven hundred tons each; some as many as fourteen, but none less than five; and for the last three years the numbers have considerably varied. In 1783, exclusive of the country ships returning to India, there sailed from Canton and Macao, forty-five ships for Europe, sixteen whereof were English. In 1784, there were eleven English, four French, including one chartered at the Mauritius, five Dutch, three Danes, and four Portuguese, which sailed for Europe; eight English and one Danish country ships that returned to the coast, and one American. The Swedish ships lost their season that year. In 1785, there were eighteen English, four Dutch, one French, four Spanish, three Danish, four Swedish, one English American under Imperial colors, sailed for Europe

and America, and ten English country ships that returned to the coast. And the present season the list is as follows: twenty-nine English, five Dutch, one French, two Spanish, two Danish, one Swedish, five American for Europe and America, twenty-three English country ships that return to the coast, and five Portuguese from Macao to Europe.

Having been thus particular respecting the manner in which other nations conduct their commerce with China, it will not, I trust, be improper to make a few observations on the nature of our own.

The inhabitants of America must have tea; the consumption of which will necessarily increase with the increasing population of our country. And while the nations of Europe are for the most part obliged to purchase this commodity with their ready money, it must be pleasing to an American to know that his country can have it on more easy terms, and that the otherwise useless produce of its mountains and forests will, in a considerable degree, supply him with this elegant luxury. The advantages peculiar to America in this instance are striking, and the manner in which her commerce has commenced and is now going on with this country, has not a little alarmed the Europeans. They have seen the first year a single ship, one-fifth part of whose funds did not consist of ready money, procure a cargo of the same articles, and on equally good terms as those of their own ships, purchased, as has been observed, for the most part with specie. They have seen this ship again here on her second voyage, and four others in addition. They see these ships depending, and that too with sufficient reason, upon the productions of their own country to supply them

with the merchandise of this; and though a very small proportion of their funds consisted in specie, they see them all returning with full and valuable cargoes. Such are the advantages which America derives from her ginseng.

With respect to the demand in this country for the ginseng of America, which might, perhaps, be rendered as beneficial to her citizens as her mines of silver and gold have been to the rest of mankind, the world has been much mistaken. Until the American flag appeared in this quarter, it had been generally supposed that forty or fifty peculs* were equal to the annual consumption; but experience has proved the contrary. Upwards of four hundred and forty peculs were brought here by the first American ship, in 1784, which did not equal the quantity brought from Europe the same season; the greatest part of which must have been previously sent there by citizens of the United States. The present year more than eighteen hundred peculs have been sold, one-half of which came in the American vessels. Notwithstanding the increased quantity since 1784, the sales have not been materially affected by it, and it is probable there will be always a sufficient demand for the article to make it equally valuable.

On a consideration of the subject of ginseng, the inquiry seems naturally to arise, whether it cannot be rendered more beneficial to the country which produces it, than it is at present. How far the culture of this commodity is practicable, in what manner it may be best promoted, and whether it would be for the interest of America to pre-

* A pecul is 133 1-3 pounds English.

vent the exportation of it in any but American bottoms directly to this country, may be objects not unworthy of national attention.

Besides the advantages which America may derive from her ginseng, in the commerce direct with China, others would also accrue by making the voyage circuitous, which could be performed without loss of time. The ship in which I have made my second voyage to China, stopped at Batavia, the capital of the Dutch establishments in India. We were well received there, and allowed to trade on the same terms as other nations. Iron and naval stores, the produce of our country, found a ready sale; and besides these, we disposed of articles, which, though not immediately productions of our own, had been received from other countries in exchange for them. A profit may be sometimes made on merchandise carried from Batavia to Canton. No doubt similar advantages might result to the Americans, in circuitous voyages to China, by the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, and through the Straits of Malacca.

On the whole, it must be a most satisfactory consideration to every American, when he finds that his country can carry on its commerce with China under advantages, if not in many respects superior, yet in all cases equal with those possessed by any other people.

I have thus, Sir, used my best endeavors to communicate to you every information I have been able to obtain, of the means by which the other nations of the world carry on their commerce with China. Should these remarks be found in any degree interesting to my country, it will afford me the most heartfelt satisfaction. The matter of this communication I believe may be relied on;

but for the manner in which it is made, I must request that indulgence which I have been so happy as to experience on a former occasion.

I must not omit mentioning that the death of Mr. Sears, our late worthy friend and partner, renders it necessary that Mr. Randall should return to America, in order to attend to our private concerns. This step, I hope, will not be disagreeable to you. He will be able to give any further information respecting the foregoing particulars that may be necessary. I shall in the mean time go to Bengal, and return here the ensuing season. If in this tour any new information should be obtained, I will do myself the pleasure of transmitting it to you.

I have the honor to be, &c.

SAMUEL SHAW.



FROM SAMUEL SHAW TO JOHN JAY.

Canton, in China, December 21, 1787.

Sir,

Having, in the letter which I did myself the honor of addressing to you towards the close of the last season, mentioned the several matters which came within my observation, relative to the commerce which the Europeans carry on with this part of the world, I have only to remark generally on this subject, that a detail of it at present, such is its uniformity, would be to involve merely a repetition of the greater part of what was then written. I shall therefore confine myself rather to the quantity, if I may be allowed the expression, than to the manner of the commerce for the current year.

Since the year 1784, the trade here has been constantly tending to the disadvantage of the Europeans. The imports, collectively taken, hardly defray the first costs, and the exports have increased in a ratio beyond all possible conjecture. By an average, at the most moderate computation, the price of every sort of tea, bohea only excepted, is advanced more than forty per cent.; nor is it yet at the highest. Such is the demand for this article that the Chinese hardly know *how much* to ask for it; and should the rage of purchasing continue only another year, it is not improbable that it may double its price. I shall, for your information, annex a list of the shipping at Whampoa; and though the number for the English does not exceed that of the last year, yet, from the size of the ships, the quantity of tonnage is greatly increased. In the opinion of judicious observers, the English seem to be aiming, not only at a monopoly of the tea trade for Europe, but appear to have in view the exclusive commerce of this division of the globe. The new plan of Government for Bengal and its dependencies; their late establishments, both to the eastward and westward; the prohibition to their subjects in India against selling their ships to foreigners; and, in short, their whole conduct, strongly favor the suspicion. This object, and to be sure it is no trifling one, is now considered as the great idol of the English nation; and in consequence of it, the current of popular opinion carries rapidly along every measure which the company think fit to adopt. How far our republican friends, the Dutch, whom it most nearly concerns, will suffer any attempts of this kind, a few years must determine. The settlement of the English at Pulo Pinang, which enables them to command the

whole of the navigation from the peninsula of India, that of Malayo, and of the island of Sumatra, has not a little alarmed them; and the settlement at Botany Bay, on the southeast coast of New Holland, has increased their apprehensions. I say nothing of the opposition the English might expect from the Swedes and Danes, who certainly find their advantage in this commerce; or from the French, invariably their enemies. Perhaps a commercial confederation of these nations for their mutual benefit, not unlike the armed neutrality during the late war, may be adopted, as the best means of checking and defeating such exorbitant pretensions.

With respect to our own commerce this way, yet in its infancy, I shall only observe, that inconsiderable as it has hitherto been, and is this year especially, it is viewed with no small degree of jealousy by our late mother country. Gentlemen in all parts of the world, of whatever nation they may be, can esteem and sometimes love one another; but Englishmen and Americans, merely as such, in any place as at Canton, where the former have the ascendancy, can barely treat each other with civility. It is to national prejudices only, not yet done away, that I have reference, for I have found among them men who are an honor to their species. No national civilities on their part have been offered us at Canton, either last year or the present; but at Macao, in the interval, there was a full tender of them made me, with a general invitation to their table. These, however, I thought proper to decline, without assigning a reason, as circumstances rendered any explanation unnecessary. In my own particular, I have no cause of complaint. The usual compliment of a visit has been mutually paid and returned, and we frequently

meet at other tables, and also at the Danish concert. They have themselves a public weekly concert, but for the reasons mentioned I never attend it. After saying thus much concerning the English, I should be guilty of the highest ingratitude were I to omit testifying on this occasion my entire satisfaction in the reception and treatment I have met from the chiefs and gentlemen of the other nations, not only at Canton, but during a residence of six months at Macao. It has been, and continues to be, in all respects proper, and in many instances really friendly.

Though little can ever be known of China, by persons restricted to such narrow limits as are the foreigners who trade here, yet we see enough to give us very unfavorable ideas of its Government. The laws may be good, but its police is extremely defective. It would shock your humanity were I to give a sketch of the misery which is here daily exhibited; and what excites the indignation of every foreigner is, that the number of these wretched objects not being considerable, it is evidently in the power of the magistracy amply to provide for them. This is not the only instance which contradicts the generally received idea of the excellence of the Chinese Government. At present there are great disturbances in many parts of the Empire; and the insurrections in the island of Formosa and the adjacent country, threaten consequences of a serious nature. The war in that quarter has raged upwards of a twelvemonth, and its issue is yet doubtful. The oppressions exercised by Government, have reduced the inhabitants of those parts to a state of desperation, which has had the most pernicious effects on the agriculture and commerce, not only of that but of the neighboring Provinces.

From this painful view of the effects of despotism, I turn with pleasure to the contemplation of that happiness which an American enjoys, under the Government of equal laws and a mild administration. Surely, if we avail ourselves of the experience of other nations, and make a proper use of the advantages with which Heaven hath blessed us, we cannot fail, in due time, of becoming a great and happy people.

In addition to the observations in my former letter, respecting the article of ginseng, I shall only observe that the sales of it this season, confirm me in the opinion of the great advantages which our country may derive from it. The annexed list will show the quantity brought here; and the price for the best has been from one hundred and thirty to two hundred dollars the pecul, (133½ lbs. English,) at which it now stands, though probably it will rise twenty or thirty dollars before the departure of the last ships.

It was my intention, after despatching our ship last season, to have gone to Bengal, but the vessel in which I had engaged my passage lost so much time at Macao that her destination was changed for Manilla, and I was reduced to the necessity of remaining behind. I am now making a second attempt—have engaged my passage, and expect to sail the first week in January. On my return here in August next, I hope to meet Mr. Randall from America, by whom I flatter myself I shall have the honor of receiving your commands. The commercial engagements I have made in behalf of Mr. Randall and myself, will involve the necessity for me, if not for us both, to return at the close of the ensuing season to America. I therefore take the liberty of begging you will be pleased

to communicate this circumstance to Congress; and I humbly hope that honorable body will not be offended that I take this step without their permission previously obtained. The loss of time which the waiting for such permission must involve, would be prejudicial to us in the extreme; and this, with the consideration that the office of Consul at Canton, is rather honorary to the person vested with it, than essential to the commerce of our country, I presume to flatter myself will be admitted as my excuse.

Be pleased, Sir, to do me the honor to accept my acknowledgments for the favors I have received from you, and to believe me, most respectfully, with the highest esteem and regard, &c.

SAMUEL SHAW.

List of ships, &c. arrived at Whampoa in 1787, to 21st December.

		Ginseng.	
		Peculs.	Catties.
English,	28	500	38
Dutch,	5	25	5
Swedes,	2	19	51
Danes,	2	9	48
French,	3	115	99
Prussian,	1	3	69
Tuscan,	1		
American,	1	52	18
To pass the Cape of Good Hope	43	726	28
Country ships not allowed to			
pass the Cape,	31		
Loading at Macao for Lisbon,	4	Portuguese.	
		78	

FROM SAMUEL SHAW TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Canton, in China, December 7, 1790.

Sir,

The commerce of a nation being one of the principal objects of the attention of its rulers, I hope it will not be deemed inconsistent with the duties of the office with which you have been pleased to honor me, that I submit to your consideration some particulars relative to the trade of the citizens of the United States with those of the United Netherlands at Batavia, the capital of their establishments in India.

Having sailed from Boston the latter end of March last, in an entire new ship, built, navigated, and owned by citizens of America, I arrived at Batavia, the first port of my destination, on the 30th of August following, when, to my no small astonishment, I was informed by the head officer of the customs, that all commerce with the Americans was prohibited by orders from Holland, and that we should be allowed to take only the necessary refreshments for our passage to Canton, my second port of destination. Notwithstanding the information from the Shabander, I thought it my duty to exercise the right of petitioning to the Governor General and the Council, for permission to trade, as had been heretofore the custom, and accordingly, I was the next morning presented to his Excellency, at his levee, and in two hours after, delivered to him my petition, at the Council board, where I received for answer that the prayer of it could not be granted.

After informing myself, from the Shabander, of the reasons on which the prohibition of the Americans to

trade at Batavia was grounded, I thought it incumbent on me, as Consul for the United States, to make a representation to the Governor and Council, on a matter which I conceived so nearly to concern the welfare of our country. On communicating to the Shabander this my determination, he assented to the propriety of it, and observed that though the prohibition was in the highest degree injurious both to the Americans and to the inhabitants of Batavia, yet if the former did not complain to the supreme authority, when they had an opportunity, it would ill become that respectable body to take any notice of the matter to the administration in Holland. Accordingly, on Saturday, the 4th of September, I drew up a memorial to the Governor and Council, and enclosed it in a letter to the Shabander, requesting him to take the earliest opportunity of having it presented. On seeing that gentleman afterwards, he answered me that the memorials should be presented on the ensuing Tuesday, and that it would be favorably received, it being the wish, not only of the inhabitants, but of the Government also, that the commerce at Batavia should be as free for the Americans as it was for any other nation.

To the foregoing particulars I take the liberty of adding copies of the letter and declaration above mentioned, and of begging that you will believe me to be, with the most respectful attachment, Sir, your very obedient humble servant,

SAMUEL SHAW.

FROM SAMUEL SHAW TO NICHOLAS ENGLEHARD.

Batavia, September 4, 1790.

Sir,

On my arrival at Batavia the 30th ult. in the American ship Massachusetts, of eight hundred and twenty tons,

from Boston, in her way to Canton in China, I did myself the honor of waiting on you with a report of my cargo, and requested to be indulged with the privileges hitherto accorded to the citizens of America trading to this quarter of the globe. I have to beg your acceptance of my acknowledgments for your politeness in presenting me to the Governor General and the Council, to request their permission to dispose of such articles as I had provided for this market, conforming myself to the usual laws and customs which I had experienced in my former voyage here in 1786. Judge then, Sir, of my surprise, on being answered, that all commerce with the Americans was absolutely prohibited. My acquaintance with and respect for the law of nations teach me that, in such circumstances, implicit obedience is a virtue; and I shall accordingly, on the morrow, proceed in my voyage, declaring, as owner of said ship and her cargo, that no article of the same has been, or will be, sold during our stay; and that nothing has been purchased here, except water, vegetables, and other refreshments, for our passage to Canton.

At the same time that I make this declaration, permit me, Sir, to observe to you, that I have reason to believe this prohibition is laid upon my countrymen on account of evil reports which have been propagated to their prejudice by persons unfriendly to both countries; and I have, therefore, as Consul for my nation, taken the liberty of making a representation to the Government here upon the subject, which I herewith enclose, and request you will take the earliest opportunity of having it presented. As a public officer and a good citizen, I feel for the honor of my country; as a merchant, the prohibition is exceedingly

detrimental to my interest. These motives, I hope, will plead my excuse for troubling you on the present occasion; and I pray you to believe me, with much esteem and a grateful sense of your friendly attention, your most obedient servant,

SAMUEL SHAW.

The undersigned, Consul at Canton, in China, for the United States of America, has the honor to make the following declaration to the Governor General and the Council of Batavia:

That he was at Batavia in the month of July, 1786, with a ship from New York called the Hope, whereof he was supercargo and part owner. That he left Batavia for Canton after remaining there twenty days; during which time he did not, in any instance, by himself or any one for him, violate the laws of trade, by a clandestine exportation of pepper, coffee, or spices, or in any manner act contrary to the orders and laws of the Government, as signified to him by the then Shabander, Mr. Le Cle.

That after having resided at Canton as Consul for his nation, during the remainder of the year 1786, the whole of 1787 and 1788, he, in the month of January, 1789, took passage for America, where he arrived in July following.

That as for other ships belonging to citizens of his nation, which have been at Batavia and China since the aforesaid year of 1786, he believes the same line of conduct has been observed by their respective captains and

owners. It may not be improper to observe, that coffee from the Isles of France and Bourbon, pepper from the coast of Malabar and other places in India, and spices from Batavia, may be purchased by Americans from English country ships at Canton, as well as from the Chinese, upon such terms as will afford them reasonable profit in their own country; and he has just grounds to suppose that the small quantities which from time to time have been carried thither, were procured in that way.

The undersigned is sorry to remark, that in consequence of reports to the prejudice of his countrymen, they have not only been prohibited all commerce here, but have been considered in a very unfavorable point of view by the Government at Batavia, and classed with smugglers, who, instead of conforming themselves to the established customs of civilized nations in matters of commerce, do not hesitate to pursue any measures, however dishonorable, to promote their own advantage. And he feels most sensibly for the honor of his country, as well as for himself and his fellow-citizens, who, conscious of not violating any laws of this Government, have come, or may yet come, to Batavia, not knowing that, from such evil reports, the administration here have been induced to prohibit all commerce with them. That in his own particular case, he had provided, in America, sundry articles not contraband, to a large amount, expressly for the market of Batavia, which, to his great injury, he is not allowed to dispose of; but, contrary to his expectation, is obliged to proceed with them to Canton, where they are not wanted.

It becomes in a peculiar manner the duty of the undersigned, as Consul for his nation, to use every means in his

power to vindicate it from the unjust aspersions under which it suffers, and he flatters himself that a little time will suffice entirely to remove them; in which event he confides in the justice of the administration in Holland, and in that of Batavia, that his countrymen will then be admitted to the full enjoyment of all privileges allowed to any other nation, more especially as the connexion at present happily subsisting between their republic and the United States of America has, in his humble opinion, the equitable principle of reciprocal good for its immediate object.

With these sentiments, and those of the most perfect respect and good will towards the illustrious republic of Holland and its establishments throughout the globe, the undersigned has the honor to put his name to this representation, made at Batavia, the 4th day of September, 1790.

SAMUEL SHAW.



FROM SEARS AND SMITH TO JOHN JAY.

New York, February 23, 1785.

Sir,

We enclose you a representation of Mr. Richard Soderstrom's conduct to us, upon the subject of which I. Sears has conversed with you. There is no doubt Mr. Soderstrom has obtained Governor Hancock's declaration of his consulship, with a view of screening himself from the suit we ordered against him; and as we are informed the mode of his being declared a Consul is irregular, and that he cannot thereby be entitled to the privileges of a

Consul, we beg you will take such measures as in your good judgment may appear most eligible to obtain us redress.

We are, with the highest esteem, &c.

SEARS & SMITH.

*A representation of Richard Soderstrom's conduct with
Sears & Smith, viz.*

In January, 1784, at Boston, Richard Soderstrom informed Mr. Smith he had received advice that he was appointed Consul for Sweden, and sometime after informed him that he had his commission sent him. Sometime in January, 1784, Mr. Richard Soderstrom requested Mr. Smith, at Boston, to endorse bills of exchange, in the name of the house of Sears & Smith, to a considerable amount, on his brother, Carl Soderstrom, of Gottenburg, in Sweden, to carry some business he was engaged in into execution. Mr. Sears, residing in New York at that time, occasioned Mr. Smith to write him on the subject, before he could endorse all the bills Mr. Soderstrom requested; and after some letters passed between them, it was agreed to endorse the bills Mr. Soderstrom requested them, which they did, to the amount of fourteen thousand pounds sterling; the largest part of which were sold in this city. Mr. Richard Soderstrom, in the course of about six months, drew on his brother, Carl Soderstrom, to the amount of upwards of twenty-two thousand pounds sterling, exclusive of what Sears & Smith endorsed. Mr. Thomas Russell, of Boston, endorsed about four thousand pounds sterling, and Messrs. Clement Biddle & Co.

near five thousand pounds sterling. The bills were drawn at 60 and 90 days, and four five, and six months' sight; the greatest part of them at six months' sight. Mr. Soderstrom did, to the knowledge of Sears & Smith, make shipments in tobacco and rice, which all arrived safe in Europe, in time to take up every bill drawn by Richard Soderstrom: valuing the rice at the lowest market price that article sold at last year in Europe, and the tobacco at the price it was sold, the nett proceeds of both, by Mr. Richard Soderstrom's own account, amounted to thirty-five thousand pounds sterling. This remittance was wholly made by Richard Soderstrom, to his brother, Carl Soderstrom, in Gottenburg, who received it in time to take up the bills drawn on him. Notwithstanding the large funds he has received from his brother, he has, after accepting every bill, suffered them to be protested. The greatest part have already been returned to Sears & Smith, of their endorsing, under protest, which they have taken up to a much larger amount than Richard Soderstrom has put funds into their hands to discharge. In the month of January, 1785, Sears & Smith sent to their attorney in Boston, bills to the amount of £1725 sterling, which they ordered to be secured by attaching Mr. Richard Soderstrom's body: he, by some means or other, was informed on Saturday evening, 22d of January, that the sheriff had been after him; and on Sunday following, he waited on Sears & Smith's attorney, and promised to give himself up to the sheriff on Monday afternoon, the 24th January, 1785; and on the same day, in the forepart, he got himself declared by Governor Hancock, and the Council of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Consul of Sweden for this State.

FROM JOHN JAY TO CHARLES THOMSON.

Office for Foreign Affairs, }
March 1, 1785. }

Dear Sir,

Be pleased to inform me whether it has not hitherto been the practice, and considered as made necessary by the confederation, for foreign Consuls to make known their appointments to, and obtain the approbation of Congress, previous to their assuming that character in any of the States. If that be the case, be pleased further to inform me, whether Mr. Richard Soderstrom is known to Congress as Consul of Sweden, in the State of Massachusetts.

With great esteem and regard, I am, &c.

JOHN JAY.



FROM CHARLES THOMSON TO JOHN JAY.

Office of Secretary of Congress, }
March 2, 1785. }

Dear Sir,

I have received your favor of the 1st, and, in answer thereto, beg leave to observe, that by the 26th article of the treaty with Sweden and the 29th article of the treaty with France, "the two contracting parties grant, mutually, the liberty of having each in the ports of the other, Consuls, Vice Consuls, Agents, and Commissaries, whose functions shall be regulated by a particular agreement." No agreement has yet been entered into for this purpose, with either of those courts. But it has always been thought necessary for foreign Consuls to make known their ap-

pointments to Congress, who thereupon order the commissions to be registered, and an act of recognition to be sent to the States, who are called upon to furnish the said Consuls respectively, with an exequatur, or notification of their quality (See 7th September, 1781.) Till this is done, it has not been usual for any State to acknowledge any Consul from a foreign power. On the 3d of December last, Mr. Charles Hellstedt produced a commission from his Swedish Majesty, dated the 22d September, 1783, appointing him Consul. This commission is registered, and acts of recognition have been sent to the States. But I do not find that Mr. Richard Soderstrom is known to Congress as Consul of Sweden for any of the States in the Union.

With great esteem and regard, I am, &c.

CHARLES THOMSON.



Office for Foreign Affairs, }
March 2, 1785. }

The Secretary of the United States, for the Department of Foreign Affairs, has the honor of transmitting to Congress a letter to him of the 23d February, 1785, from Sears and Smith of the city of New York, merchants, together with a representation of Richard Soderstrom's conduct towards them, and a printed proclamation of the Governor of Massachusetts, dated the 13th February, 1785, declaring that the said Richard Soderstrom was duly commissioned by the King of Sweden to be Consul of that nation at Boston, and that the privileges, pre-eminence, and authority, legally

belonging to the character and quality of Consul, were due to him within the jurisdiction of that Commonwealth:

On these papers your Secretary reports, as his opinion, that every foreign Consul ought, before he can be entitled to assume that character in any of the United States, to present his commission to Congress, and enter on the execution of it under their own order and protection. That, as all political connexion and intercourse between the United States and foreign nations, can of right be only managed and regulated by and under the Federal Government, and as the said Richard Soderstrom is unknown to Congress, the proclamation of the Governor of Massachusetts in question, was premature.

It appears to your Secretary expedient that a letter be immediately written to the Governor of Massachusetts, informing him of what has hitherto been, and ought to be, the practice in such cases, remonstrating against his deviation from it, and insisting that the powers delegated to Congress, by the people of the United States, be not exercised by any other than the Federal Government.

It also appears to your Secretary expedient that a letter be written by your Secretary to the Minister of Sweden, stating the disrespectful and unprecedented manner in which the said Richard Soderstrom, has endeavored to enter on the execution of his commission, and requesting that he may be forthwith dismissed with such marks of his Majesty's displeasure as may discountenance the like liberties in future.

All which is humbly submitted to the wisdom of Congress.

JOHN JAY.

FROM R. KING TO JOHN JAY.

New York, April 8, 1785.

Sir,

I do myself the honor to enclose for your examination, sundry papers relative to the Consular appointment of Mr. R. Soderstrom. If they throw any additional light upon the subject, my purpose is answered.

I have the honor to be, &c.

R. KING.

FROM RICHARD SODERSTROM TO OLIVER SMITH AND
B. HICHBORN.

Boston, March 19, 1785.

Gentlemen,

As I find some representations, by Messrs. Sears and Smith, or some other persons, have been made to Congress, very much to my disadvantage, in which I am charged with having availed myself of the privilege of my office as Consul to avoid giving bail to a suit instituted against me by said Sears and Smith, notwithstanding my previous engagement to appear and give security to respond to said suit in a court of law, I have to request your answer to the following question: Did I ever avail myself of the privilege of my office to avoid giving you security upon an action of Sears and Smith against me; or did I ever refuse my person, on that or any other account whatever, from the arrest of the officer? But, did I not, on the contrary, before any demand was made upon me by you or the sheriff, voluntarily offer to meet you at any

time and place you appointed; and did I not meet you accordingly, and give you all the security you were entitled by law to demand of me as a private person, without any mention of a reference to my Consular privileges?

I remain, with regard, &c.

RICHARD SODERSTROM.



FROM MESSRS. HICHBORN AND SMITH TO RICHARD SODERSTROM.

Sir,

In answer to your question, as stated above, we are very ready to declare that you never did avail yourself of the privileges of your office to avoid giving security upon an action instituted by Sears and Smith against you; nor did you ever refuse your person, on that or any other account whatever, (to our knowledge,) from the arrest of the officer, but, on the contrary, you voluntarily surrendered yourself up, upon the first information of the action of Sears and Smith against you, upon the protested bills of exchange, and gave the same security to respond to the suit as by law might be required of any private gentleman, without any mention of, or respect to, your consular privileges. The mistake, therefore, from which the representation to Congress originated, must have arisen from the accidental delay of your appearance on the morning of the day in which the process was served upon you: letters having been that morning despatched by the post from Mr. Smith, some hours before we saw you, informing Messrs. Sears and Smith that the business was not then accomplished, and that he had not then seen Mr.

Soderstrom, though you afterwards, on the same day, between one and two o'clock, did appear and gave us the security before mentioned.

We are, with esteem, &c.

BENJ'N HICHBORN,
OLIVER SMITH.



FROM WILLIAM TUDOR TO R. KING.

Boston, March 22, 1785.

Dear Sir,

Our friend Soderstrom, from a concurrence of ill-starred circumstances, has suffered infinite vexation, from the misapprehension of Messrs. Sears and Smith that Soderstrom took the first opportunity, on the arrival of their demand against him, to procure himself a public character here, in order that he might bid them defiance. They made, it seems, a representation to Congress that operated most injuriously against him; and if the report of the Minister for Foreign Affairs should be adopted, would be his ruin in Sweden. I enclose you a short state of this business, which I hastily drew for brother Lowell's information, and which is strictly true. Although, *entre nous*, Mr. Soderstrom had no more to do with getting his commission received by our then first Magistrate than you had, excepting that he went along with me to the Governor's. All the conversation on the subject was between his Excellency and me; and if there is any blame in this matter, it ought to fall on the proper subjects, that is, firstly on your humble servant, and secondly on the late Governor and his Council.

Mr. Soderstrom is universally considered here as a

character of the most honorable, amiable, and manly cast, and who would scorn an advantage that would, in the most distant degree, reflect on his honor or justice. I am, therefore, to beg you will make such use of this and the other letters that you may receive on this subject, as shall best conduce to serve the interest, and prevent an injury to the reputation of this respectable and good man.

I am, &c.

WILLIAM TUDOR.

With this, you will have a letter written to brother Hichborn and Mr. O. Smith, with their answer. Those gentlemen are attorneys to Messrs. Sears and Smith, and what they say must have weight. Pray use it, either with Congress or Mr. Jay, as may be most useful.

Mr. Soderstrom, in November, took a journey to Trenton, purposely to present his commission to Congress. They had adjourned until December, and he returned to Boston.

The beginning of December (as his diploma appointed him particularly for Boston) he waited on Governor Hancock, with his credentials, but his Excellency was then so exceedingly ill as to be unable to attend to any business, and begged Mr. Soderstrom to call as soon as the Governor should be able to transact public business. For six succeeding weeks Mr. Hancock continued so ill as not to be seen on any business. On the twenty-fourth of January Mr. Soderstrom again waited on the Governor, who, at this time, although still confined to his chamber, was able to attend on business, and left with him his commission of Consul, for his advice and direction; and the next information he obtained, was seeing it announced in the public papers.

Before he had lodged his commission as above, he had waited on Mr. Hichborn, to satisfy him that he scorned to advantage of his public character, and gave bail, by one of the most respectable merchants in Boston, to respond on an action which Mr. Hichborn the Saturday before had instituted against him at the instance of Messrs. Sears and Smith; and so far from securing himself by his Consulship from any demand, he considers it as an additional reason why any creditor he may have should at all times obtain security. He never has, nor does he ever wish to desire any advantage from his office, even if the laws of this country (which they do not,) held it out to him, against any man whatever, to whom he is indebted a shilling. And any insinuations to the contrary are totally groundless, and to the highest degree injurious and cruel.

Unacquainted with the different powers of the National and State Assemblies, he supposed that the delivering his credentials to the Supreme Executive authority of one of the principal States in the Confederation was, at least, not doing wrong; and if he was erroneous in his mode of making known his commission, surely he, a foreigner, cannot be blamed for not having more knowledge of the federal authority than the Governor and Council of Massachusetts.



FROM J. LOWELL TO JOHN JAY.

Boston, March 18, 1785.

Dear Sir,

Having been favored with a sight of your report on the representation of Messrs. Sears and Smith, and the recognition of Mr. Soderstrom as Consul, by Governor Han-

cock. I take a liberty, which I am sure you will excuse, of informing you of some facts respecting the matter, which I conceive will essentially alter your sentiments respecting it. Mr. Soderstrom is a remarkably modest, unassuming man; from several years' acquaintance with him, he appears to me to merit the character he sustains, of being very honest and well disposed. I think Messrs. Sears and Smith will say the same of him. They have very greatly mistaken his conduct as to the affair to which they allude as being transacted at Boston. Mr. Soderstrom, on the Monday morning to which they refer, did appear, had a writ served on him, and Thomas Russell, Esq. of this place, became his bail, and is doubtless sufficient. I should start, myself, at an idea that every, or any, Consul could screen himself from his just debts. You may also rely on it, that neither Governor Hancock nor Mr. Soderstrom had an intention of counteracting the views of Congress, or interfering with their authority. I have enclosed to Mr. King a state of the matter, drawn up by Mr. Tudor, who was counsel to Mr. Soderstrom, and who was privy to the whole transaction; and also Mr. Soderstrom's state of his own money affairs; by which it will appear that his situation is not so bad as his and my friends S. and S. suppose. I have no doubt Mr. Russell will extricate him from his embarrassments entirely, which have arisen from the strange conduct of his friends in Sweden; for he has remitted to them more than sufficient to have answered all his drafts. I should be exceedingly grieved to have so good a man destroyed by his ignorance of the proper steps, or by his own or the Governor's inadvertency; which is, I hope, the strongest light in which this matter will be viewed, as it respects either of them.

I am exceedingly pleased to find Congress so well accommodated as they are in your city, and that so much harmony prevails within the walls, and with the citizens of that State.

Permit me, Sir, to wish you all happiness in the execution of your important trust, and to congratulate my countrymen on an appointment so universally agreeable to them.

I am, with esteem, &c.

J. LOWELL.



FROM JOHN JAY TO J. LOWELL.

Office for Foreign Affairs, }
May 10, 1785. }

Dear Sir,

I have been favored with your obliging letter of the 18th March, and should sooner have thanked you for it, had not a variety of matters concurred in constraining me to postpone that pleasure till now.

My endeavors, I assure you, shall not be wanting to put the affair of Mr. Soderstrom in such a train as that it may be terminated to the satisfaction both of that gentleman and of his creditors. The report on his case was entirely dictated by public considerations; for, considering the feeble state of our Federal Government, it appeared to me highly expedient that its tone should not only be prevented from becoming more relaxed, but that it should be invigorated in every manner and degree which our union and general interests might require, and a due regard to our constitutions and equal rights permit.

It is my first wish to see the United States assume and merit the character of one great nation, whose territory is divided into different States merely for more convenient government, and the more easy and prompt administration of justice; just as our several States are divided into counties and townships for the like purposes. Until this be done, the chain which holds us together, will be too feeble to bear much opposition or exertion, and we shall be daily mortified by seeing the links of it giving way, and calling for repair, one after another.

Accept my sincere acknowledgments for the very obliging terms in which you mention my appointment to the office I now hold, and be assured of the esteem and regard with which I am,

Dear Sir, yours, &c.

JOHN JAY.



FROM JOHN JAY TO THE GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Office for Foreign Affairs, }
May 27, 1785. }

Sir,

I have the honor of transmitting to your Excellency, herewith enclosed, an act of Congress of the 25th instant, recognising Richard Soderstrom as Consul of the Swedish nation at Boston, in the State of Massachusetts, and calling upon that State to furnish Mr. Soderstrom with their exequatur or notification of his quality, &c.

I have the honor to be, &c.

JOHN JAY.

Extract from the Journals of Congress, May 25, 1785.

“On motion of the Delegates of Massachusetts,

Resolved, That the commission of Richard Soderstrom, as Consul of the Swedish nation, at Boston, in the State of Massachusetts, be registered in the office of the Secretary of Congress, and that thereupon an act of recognition in due form be immediately issued to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in order that they may furnish the said Richard Soderstrom with their exequatur or notification of his quality, that the same may be made known and published.”



*Report of Secretary Jay, on reference of a letter from
Richard Soderstrom, Consul, &c.*

Office for Foreign Affairs, }
October 6, 1785. }

The Secretary of the United States for the Department of Foreign Affairs, to whom was referred a letter from Richard Soderstrom, Consul of Sweden, of 8th September, to his Excellency the President of Congress, praying for copies of certain papers, reports:

That, in his opinion, whenever complaints against any person are made to Congress, of such a nature as to render it proper for them to do any act which may affect the party complained of, then, and in such cases, justice in general, requires that the parties should be informed of those complaints, and admitted to defend themselves: But that where such complaints are either nugatory or irregular as to Congress, or are merely in the nature of

intelligence, it would very seldom be advisable to publish them; because,

1. Although it may not be right to encourage complaints or intelligence respecting the conduct of public officers, or others, yet it would not be prudent to discourage the offering of either, which would be the case if they were to be published.

2. The precedent of giving copies of such papers, in one instance, would lead to frequent and troublesome application in others.

3. Because the publication of such matters would create and furnish fuel for animosities between individuals.

The representations in question, arose from an apprehension that the admission of Mr. Soderstrom to the rights of a Consul might operate against the legal recovery of the debts due from him to the complainants, and for which they had brought their actions: but, as he has been admitted, and consequently the complainants have failed in that object, your Secretary cannot perceive any good reason for giving Mr. Soderstrom copies of those papers.

Thus far, your Secretary has treated this complaint as if it had been made directly to Congress, either by petition, memorial, or letter, to his Excellency the President: but the fact is, that this complaint or representation was made to your Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and by him communicated to Congress.

As this is, in a particular manner, an office of secrecy and confidence, and is generally so considered, he thinks that line should not be deviated from, except on extraordinary occasions and for cogent reasons. The matter in question, indeed, may not be of a secret nature, but he

thinks it better to keep many unimportant things secret, than, by observing too little reserve, destroy or impair that opinion which encourages information and free communications.

All which is submitted to the wisdom of Congress.

JOHN JAY.



FROM JOHN JAY TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Office for Foreign Affairs, }
October 8, 1785. }

Sir,

I have the honor of transmitting to your Excellency, herewith enclosed, a letter of the 27th ult. which I have received from Mr. Soderstrom, the Consul of Sweden. The facts stated in it are interesting, and, in my opinion, it would be proper to send copies of it to the different States, with a recommendation of Congress to them, to treat the merchants and vessels of Sweden in the same liberal manner in which that kingdom treats ours.

I have the honor to be, &c.

JOHN JAY.



FROM RICHARD SODERSTROM TO JOHN JAY.

New York, September 27, 1785.

Sir,

I beg leave, through you, to communicate to Congress that, in a late instruction from the Royal Board of Commerce of Sweden to me, as Consul of the Swedish nation at Boston, and for the northern States, I am

directed to assure Congress of the sincere friendship which his Swedish Majesty entertains for the United States, and of his disposition to comply with, and fulfil, in every particular, the treaty of amity and commerce subsisting between the two nations.

As a proof of his Majesty's friendly disposition, I beg leave to remark, that vessels belonging to the citizens of the United States have been, and continue to be, admitted into the ports of Sweden upon the same conditions as those of the Swedish nation; that no higher or other duties are imposed upon the importation or exportation of goods by American vessels, than those imposed upon like importations and exportations in the ships of the country: the vessels of the United States being, in every respect, treated as Swedish vessels, a privilege not granted to any other foreign nation.

As the basis of the treaty between his Majesty and the United States is declared to be the mutual interest of the two countries, it numbers with the duties of my appointment to regard this principle of mutual benefit, and, by every proper measure, to attempt its preservation. Under these impressions, I must solicit the attention of Congress to certain commercial laws lately passed in New Hampshire and Massachusetts, restraining the commerce of foreigners to particular ports in those States, and imposing double duties upon goods imported in foreign bottoms, and heavy tonnage duties upon all foreign vessels.

The laws of New York likewise establish a difference between the duties paid by the citizens and foreigners unfavorable to the latter.

How far these regulations will interrupt the commerce of the two nations is uncertain, but this is clear; the Swedish and American merchant in future, must enterprise

upon unequal terms. The latter enjoys in Sweden, all the advantages of the former, while the Swedish merchant, in certain countries of the United States, is subject to heavy impositions from which the American merchant is free.

As the commerce of the two countries has been formed advantageous to both, it must give uneasiness to each, that the good correspondence between them should be interrupted.

If, upon examination, the laws referred to shall be found injurious to that principle of reciprocity which runs through the treaty between Sweden and the United States, I am persuaded Congress will take measures to rectify the inconvenience.

With the highest consideration and respect, I have the honor to be, &c.

RICHARD SODERSTROM.



Report of Secretary Jay, relative to the Consul of Sweden.

Office for Foreign Affairs, }
October 20, 1785. }

The Secretary of the United States for the Department of Foreign Affairs, to whom was referred his letter of the 8th instant, to his Excellency the President, enclosing one from the Consul of Sweden, reports:

That, in his opinion, copies of the Consul's letter should be sent to the different States, with a resolution of the following tenor:

Whereas his Swedish Majesty has been pleased to place the American merchants trading to the ports of his kingdom exactly on the same footing as Swedish merchants, so that American ships and merchandise which there

arrive and are imported, are chargeable only with the same duties and imposts as if they belonged to the merchants of the country. And whereas it is both proper and expedient that such marks of liberality and good will towards the United States should meet with adequate returns on their part; therefore,

Resolved, That it be and is hereby recommended to the Legislatures of the United States to provide by laws for that purpose to be enacted, that the ships and merchants of Sweden, trading here, be put exactly on the same footing with the ships and merchants of the United States, so long as the ships and merchants of the United States trading to Sweden shall there continue on the same footing with the ships and merchants of that nation.

Your Secretary thinks it would also be proper to give a copy of the foregoing resolution to the Swedish Consul, that by transmitting it to his Court, his Swedish Majesty may be induced to postpone making any alterations in his commercial system respecting America; which it is probable he might otherwise be led to do on finding that his merchants did not enjoy reciprocal privileges in this country.

All which is submitted to the wisdom of Congress.

JOHN JAY.



Report of Secretary Jay, respecting the number of Consuls to be appointed, &c.

Office for Foreign Affairs, }
September 19, 1785. }

The Secretary of the United States for the Department of Foreign Affairs, in obedience to the order of Con-

gress respecting the number of Consuls necessary to be appointed, and for what foreign ports, reports:

That, in his opinion, it would be expedient to have Consuls in Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, the Austrian and United Netherlands, Britain, Ireland, France, Portugal, Spain, the Canaries, Madeira, and certain ports in the Mediterranean.

That a Consul General, to reside at Amsterdam, should be appointed for Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, and the Netherlands.

That another should be appointed for Britain and Ireland, to reside at London.

That another will continue necessary for France, to reside at Paris.

That another should be appointed for Spain and the Canaries, to reside at Madrid.

That another should be appointed for Portugal and Madeira, &c., to reside at Lisbon, and that the Mediterranean ports should, for the present, be included in his consulate.

Your Secretary is further of opinion, that each of the said Consuls General should be directed to nominate such and so many Consuls for ports within his District, as he may from time to time think necessary and proper, specifying the extent and limits of each consulate. That, thereupon commissions be issued by Congress to such or so many of the persons, so to be by him nominated, as Congress may judge expedient, or to others whom Congress may prefer.

That it should be in the power of the Consul General, to suspend for good cause any Consul within his District, to report the same to Congress, and to appoint another to

supply his place, until their pleasure shall be made known to him on the subject.

Your Secretary thinks that when peace with the piratical States is established, and the American trade in the Mediterranean shall become more extensive than it now is, it will be proper to appoint at least one Consul General for the Mediterranean, but that for the present it should be annexed to Portugal, because the communication between those ports and Lisbon is more easy and expeditious than with Madrid.

The same remark will also apply to the northern powers and Germany.

As appeals should lay from Consuls to the Consul General, the latter should be independent and unconcerned in trade, and consequently receive an adequate salary; and although it would be better that Consuls should be maintained and restrained in like manner, yet, as the expense would be enormous, it will be necessary to permit them to trade and receive no salaries.

Five Consuls General appear to your Secretary to be indispensable, and as the amount of their salaries cannot well be less than £5000 sterling a year, he takes the liberty of submitting to the consideration of Congress, whether it would not be advisable to invest their resident Ministers with consular powers, and maintain Consuls General in such States only where they may be thought indispensable, but to which the United States may not judge it necessary to send a Minister.

He also thinks that it would be useful to consider and determine whether Consuls General and Consuls should be permitted to receive any fees.

If these ideas should meet with the approbation of

Congress, the difficulty of ascertaining the number of ports to which Consuls ought to be sent will be removed. As that difficulty arises from the necessity of previous and accurate information respecting the extent and degree of our trade to those different ports, it will not be easy to avoid mistakes on that subject. But if that matter is referred to the Consul General of a certain district, he cannot be much embarrassed in deciding whether a Consul be necessary at this or that port within it. Indeed, it appears probable to your Secretary that, in the course of a few years, Consuls will be necessary at ports to which there would be no use in sending any at present.

There are certainly some ports at which there should now be Consuls, and they may easily be enumerated.

If, therefore, the plan above proposed should not be thought advisable, your Secretary, on this report's being referred back to him, will immediately proceed to enumerate them.

All which is referred to the wisdom of Congress.

JOHN JAY.



Report of Secretary Jay, on reference of his report of the 19th ult. respecting Consuls.

Office for Foreign Affairs, }
October 13, 1785. }

The Secretary of the United States for the Department of Foreign Affairs, to whom was referred back his report of the 19th ult. respecting Consuls, accompanied with a motion of the same date, reports:

That, agreeable to what he conceives to be the design of this re-reference, he has endeavored to contract

the plan contained in that report, and to adapt it more immediately to our present circumstances.

Viewing the subject in that point of light, he is of opinion that it would be expedient to vest the Minister of the United States at the Court of Madrid with the powers of a Consul General for Spain and her adjacent islands, viz: the Canaries, and those in the Mediterranean; and that the *Chargé d'Affaires* there be authorized to exercise those powers for the present.

That Consuls should be appointed to reside at Bilboa, Cadiz, Malaga, Alicant, and Barcelona; that their jurisdictions be so extended and ascertained, as that every port in the kingdom be comprehended within one or other of the five consulates. That a Consul be also appointed for the Canaries, to reside at *Teneriffe*.

That it would be expedient to send a resident to Portugal; to give him an adequate salary, which your Secretary thinks would be about one thousand pounds sterling a year; and to vest him with the powers of a Consul General for that kingdom, and for the Madeiras.

That one Consul should be appointed for Portugal, to reside at *Lisbon*; and one for the Madeiras, to reside at *Madeira*.

That until all questions relative to the convention with France, now under the consideration of Congress, shall be settled, it would be expedient to postpone all other measures respecting Consuls for that kingdom.

That it would be expedient to vest the Minister of the United States at the Hague, with the powers of a Consul General; and that one Consul for the United Netherlands be appointed, to reside at *Amsterdam*.

That it would be expedient to vest the Minister of the

United States at the Court of London, with the powers of a Consul General for Great Britain and her adjacent islands. But as the government of that country is administered according to fixed laws, which, as well as their language and customs, are well known to the people of America, your Secretary thinks there can be but little use for Consuls in any of their ports; at least before we have a treaty of commerce with them. But lest he should be mistaken in this opinion, and that Consuls would now be useful, he is inclined to think it would be sufficient to place them at *London* and *Bristol* in England, and at *Dublin* and *Cork* in Ireland.

As to Scotland, he cannot judge whether any should be sent there; or if any, to what ports in preference to others: the far greater part of the American trade to Scotland being carried on in British vessels.

Whether the present commerce of the United States with the northern powers, with Germany, and the easterly shores and the islands of the Mediterranean, calls for Consuls immediately, your Secretary cannot determine with certainty. He rather thinks they may at present be dispensed with. He ought, however, to observe, that we have a treaty of commerce with Sweden, that they have a Consul here, and that from his accounts, our trade is remarkably favored there.

Your Secretary, for the reasons stated in his report, is of opinion that the beforementioned Consuls should have no salaries, but should be permitted to trade. As to fees, he can readily suppose that in *certain cases* it would be proper to provide for and ascertain them; but as he doubts the present power of Congress to charge either vessels or persons with the payment of them, he thinks it would be

prudent in all cases to prohibit the Consuls from demanding or receiving any fees or perquisites.

Your Secretary, from regard to that subordination which ought to be observed in every department, thinks that the Consuls General should have power to suspend, for good cause, any Consul within their respective jurisdictions, and to appoint another to fill his place until the pleasure of Congress be known, to whom the Consul General should immediately give notice of such suspension, and of his reasons for it.

Your Secretary is further of opinion, that the Consuls General should be so strictly restrained from commerce, as that, on due proof made of their being either directly or indirectly concerned in it, they should be dismissed from the service of Congress.

All which is submitted to the wisdom of Congress.

JOHN JAY.



Report of Secretary Jay, respecting fees to be paid to Consuls, &c.

Office for Foreign Affairs, }
October 31, 1785. }

The Secretary of the United States for the Department of Foreign Affairs, in obedience to the order of Congress directing him to report the fees to be paid to Consuls, their respective jurisdictions and duties, and the customs of nations respecting salaries, fees, and perquisites allowed to Consuls, reports:

That Consuls are received by foreign nations, either in pursuance of stipulations in treaties subsisting between

the nations sending and receiving them, or in pursuance of the general custom observed by commercial states.

That the duties of Consuls, are to attend to the rights and privileges claimed by their nation, either in virtue of treaties or the laws and usage of nations, and, particularly, of that nation to which they are sent. And further to do and perform such things as their sovereign may enjoin, and the laws of the country to which they are sent, permit.

That their jurisdiction, as to extent, always depends on their commission, and, as to its objects, relates chiefly to the determination of such controversies and contests as may there happen between the merchants and traders of their nation.

That the English, in some cases, allow their Consuls duties on goods loaded and unloaded, and in others, duties on shipping; that the Spaniards do the same; that the French pay salaries to their Consuls, raised for the most parts out of similar imposts; that the Dutch, in some instances, allow neither salary nor duties.

That for want of proper books, your Secretary finds it difficult to collect, immediately, full and satisfactory information on these points.

That it is not more easy for him to decide the other question referred to him, viz. What fees ought to be paid to Consuls?

He thinks that neither salaries nor fees should be allowed to Consuls established in ports whose trade with America is so extensive and lucrative as to afford them the means of acquiring a decent living. And that in ports not so circumstanced, but at which it may be expedient to have Consuls, it would be better to allow them a

small stipend, than permit them to take fees for their own use.

That it is customary for the English to provide a fund at various ports for the relief of ship-wrecked seamen, and captives, by imposing either a small tonnage on their vessels frequenting, or their cargoes delivered at those ports. That this example appears to your Secretary worthy of imitation, and that the surplus of these funds, which may remain after providing for such charitable purposes, might be applied towards stipends for such Consuls whose situation may render them proper.

That one obstacle opposes these arrangements, viz. the want of power in Congress to impose such duties or authorize the taking of such fees. But this is an obstacle which must greatly embarrass and render imperfect almost every commercial system and regulation that can be devised for putting the trade of the United States on an advantageous and respectable footing.

All which is submitted to the wisdom of Congress.

JOHN JAY.



Office for Foreign Affairs, }
March 29, 1787. }

The Secretary of the United States for the Department of Foreign Affairs, to whom was referred a letter of the 10th March, 1787, from the honorable Uriah Forrest, Esq., to his Excellency, the President of Congress, reports:

That this letter is in these words, viz.

“ Sir,

“ I intend to embark for Europe in a few weeks. Our

house in London, which, until lately, was under my own immediate management, is now in the direction of one of my partners, who went for the purpose; yet I shall find it convenient, during my absence abroad, (which will be for a considerable time,) to reside chiefly in England. Whilst in that country, I have, in a variety of instances, seen, and, indeed, sometimes felt, the necessity of a Commercial Agent or Consul. If I should so far possess the confidence of Congress, as to obtain the appointment of Consul General to that kingdom, I should feel myself much gratified.

“ I have the honor to be, &c.

“ URIAH FORREST.”

On the 13th October, 1785, your Secretary made a report on the subject of Consuls, in which was this paragraph, viz:

“ That it would be expedient to vest the Minister of the United States, at the Court of London, with the powers of a Consul General for Britain, and her adjacent Islands, but, as the Government of that country is administered according to fixed laws, which, as well as their language and customs are well known to the people of America, your Secretary thinks there can be but little use for Consuls in any of their ports, at least before we have a treaty of commerce with them. But lest he should be mistaken in this opinion, and that Consuls would *now* be useful, he is inclined to think it would be sufficient to place them at *London* and *Bristol*, in England, and at *Dublin* and *Cork*, in Ireland; as to Scotland, he cannot judge whether any should be sent there, or, if any, to what ports in preference to others, the far greater part of

the American trade to Scotland being carried on in British vessels."

In another report on the same subject, made 19th September, 1785, was this paragraph, viz:

"As appeals should lay from Consuls to the Consul General, the latter should be independent and *unconcerned in trade*, and consequently receive an adequate salary; and although it would be better that Consuls should be maintained and restrained in like manner, yet, as the expense would be enormous, it will be necessary to permit them to trade and receive no salaries."

On attentively considering these two paragraphs, he finds that he cannot report any thing in the present case, but what they already comprise, except that he has never had reason to entertain the least doubt of the merit of the gentleman in question.

All which is submitted to the wisdom of Congress.

JOHN JAY.



Office for Foreign Affairs. }
September 26, 1787. }

The Secretary of the United States, for the Department of Foreign Affairs, to whom was referred a petition of Messrs. Val. and Pat. French and Nephew.

That this petition states, that the petitioners had arrested Thomas Barclay, Esq., the American Consul General in France, and agent for negotiating the treaty lately concluded with Morocco, for the recovery of a debt due from him to them; and that the parliament of Guienne from

respect to his official character had released him. The petitioners pray, in substance, that the law may have free course against him.

A late letter from Mr. Jefferson, now before Congress, mentions that the obstacle in question had been removed, by the interference of the French Minister, and in the opinion of your Secretary very properly, for in his judgment Mr. Barclay at least, after his return from Morocco, had no official character to which the laws of nations annex such a privilege.

It is not necessary therefore that any particular order on the subject of this petition be now made, but in the opinion of your Secretary it would not be improper to take this opportunity of obviating the necessity of similar applications in future, by some general resolution like the following viz:

On a report from the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, to whom was referred a petition from Messrs. French and Nephew.

Resolved, That the Consuls of the United States, in foreign parts, as well as the Consuls of foreign nations residing in the United States, may be prosecuted like citizens, and subjects; for their proper debts, in the manner prescribed by the laws of the land where they reside.

Your Secretary will be much mistaken if the United States do not always experience more inconveniences from the residence of foreign Consuls here, than they will ever experience advantages from the residence of American Consuls abroad. These foreign gentlemen already embarrass our commerce, and that, as well as a variety of other circumstances and considerations, should,

in his opinion, render it the policy of America to allow them only that degree of official weight and pre-eminence which may be strictly due to them by the laws of nations.

All which is submitted to the wisdom of Congress.

JOHN JAY.



*To the honorable the Representatives of the United States
of North America, in Congress assembled.*

The petition of Messrs. Val. & Pat. French & Nephew,
respectfully sheweth—

That your petitioners did, in the year 1783, entrust the house of Barclay, Moylan, & Co., merchants in L'Orient, with merchandise to the amount of £67,206 5s. 11d. on the promise of being paid within six months; that this time of payment not only elapsed, but two years besides passed by, without bringing any thing but promises from the parties owing to your petitioners. In the interim, Mr. Moylan, acting partner of the house died, and Mr. Barclay, Consul General of the United States of America, and principal of the house of Barclay, Moylan, & Co. after a clear conviction of the justness of your petitioners demand, accepted bills for the amount of the debt, at different dates; these dates have long since expired, and the bills returned to your petitioners protested for non-payment, to their great detriment and disadvantage.

The patience of your petitioners, though by so many disappointments severely tried, was not wholly exhausted; they again depended on Mr. Barclay's promises, and were again deceived, they began now to be alarmed for the security of a sum too large to trifle with. Mr. Bar-

clay arrives in Bourdeaux, and they press him for this security; they even offer him his own time, provided they can be secured in the payment at the period specified. Mr. Barclay would give them no other security than the promises they had so often been deceived by. Injured as your petitioners were, by such conduct, and in despair of obtaining their debt by a patience that he abused, and mildness of conduct that he laughed at, they had no other resource but in the laws of the country they live in; but their principles, their uniform friendship to the American, and their respect for the honorable Congress, prevented them a long time from employing those laws against one of its officers, and threw your petitioners into a state of inexpressible perplexity and distress. On one hand; the entire loss of so considerable a sum as £67,206 5s. 11d. threatened them, and on the other, their reverence for Congress withheld them from pursuing the only means they had left for recovering it—it was not till after repeated applications to Mr. Barclay, and many painful struggles with themselves, that he was on the 15th instant arrested, in the hope of forcing him (as he had the power) to give security for the sum due them, nor would he even then have been arrested, if he had taken the pains to prove that he acted yet in the character of envoy. In order to give the honorable Congress an idea of the excruciating reluctance with which this step was taken, it is necessary to observe, that in the beginning of the late war, your petitioners were among the agents who furnished America with arms and ammunition; that in the most equivocal situation of your affairs, they were invariably and usefully friends to the Americans; their house was a home to them; their purses and their hearts were open to

them; and they flatter themselves that in most of the States of America, there are individuals yet grateful for the friendship they experienced. Add to these circumstances that the trade of your petitioners is chiefly in America, whose consignments form the most profitable branch of their business; and the honorable Congress will be clearly convinced that self-interest only would have prevented them from arresting Mr. Barclay, if there had been the most distant probability of obtaining their just demands by any other means. Doubly hard and mortifying is it, that means acceded to with so much pain, should prove so unsuccessful. The parliament of Guienne, considering Mr. Barclay only in his character of Envoy to the Emperor of Morocco, and holding such characters sacred, have, in virtue of the law of nations, released him from imprisonment by an *arrêt* of the 19th May last, which (together with the necessary proofs of the justness of the debt) accompany this petition. The regular channel of justice being thus stopped up by the public character Mr. Barclay appears in, your petitioners find themselves destitute of every hope or resource but in the justice of Congress. One partner is dead; another is not to be found; and the one that appears, is an Envoy and a Consul General. Shall then, the public officers of Congress be privileged to sport with the property of the friends to America? Shall the sacred character of Envoy and Consul General be sullied by the blot of dishonesty? Shall the negotiator of an extensive, a rising, and an independent people, be permitted to tear from the industrious the produce of their labors, and be protected in the unworthy career? Your petitioners hope better things. They fly to the honorable Congress for

relief and redress. For where should the injured fly for succour, if not to the masters of those who injure them? Your petitioners, therefore, with a perfect reliance on the justice of those they apply to, humbly pray for the interference of Congress between them and Thomas Barclay, Esq. that the said Barclay, unprotected by his public office, may be obliged to answer to the demand they have against him, in the character that he contracted the debt in, viz: that of a merchant; that the laws that judge between man and man may be open to them; and that the equal and independent justice that is the basis of national honor and the security of private property, may be administered in the case before the honorable Congress, to the end that they may obtain the just and legal demands they have on the said Thomas Barclay, Esq.; and your petitioners shall ever pray for the happiness and prosperity of your Government, and for the eternal freedom and union of your States.

V. & P. FRENCH & NEPHEW.

