

UNITED STATES.

NEW YORK, November 8.

Revolution in France.

[CONTINUED.]

I have said in the preceding paper, that in France there is no standard of political right and wrong—patriot and traitor are indefinite terms, which mean any thing that the populace can be made to believe.

The reason of this is, there is no fixed form of government in France, the constitution has been suspended by an act of the convention, and France is now subject to what they call a Revolutionary Government; that is, an arbitrary government, a variable government changing pro re nata and taking any form that may suit existing circumstances.

On the dissolution of monarchy, the National Convention should have either formed a temporary government, with some fixed principles, to conduct them thro' the revolution to the establishment of peace; as the Poles very wisely did; or they should have followed the Romans [whom they affect to imitate in other things of little consequence] and appointed a dictator for a time to be limited to one or two years, or to the duration of the war, or to the expulsion of the combined powers from their territories.

The Revolution was a glorious thing—and must ultimately prove a blessing to all Europe. But the government of France is essentially wrong, and it must continue to produce every species of internal confusion and disorder.

The fault is not in the men; it is in the government. I will venture to declare that ninety nine of all the men who have perished on the scaffold in that extensive country, entered into the revolution originally with spirit, zeal and sincerity; who had honest views, and were never corrupted with gold.

Nor were the leaders of parties bad men, tyrants, traitors and conspirators against the nation. Most of them were pursuing what they deemed the best measures for the public good.

Philadelphians, November 13. Latest Interesting Intelligence, from Papers brought by the Sanson.

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

Most of the fallen Revolutionists in France have been victims, not to what our laws would make treason or crimes; not to any corruption of their hearts, but to faction. There being no law to check control and silence the violent parties in the convention, and it being impossible to carry measures into effect with two or more factions, almost equal existing in the convention at the same time; it was necessary, after such factions had arisen, to take violent steps, and one party to sacrifice the other.

Thus in our Congress, the principles of opposition are as fixed, and almost as violent as ever they were in the convention of France; and one party has command of what is called the populace; that is, a body of men; many of the respectable good citizens in private life; and many of them a class of transient people, tipplers and unprincipled men, who are found and easily collected for riotous purposes, in all large towns.

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

Mr. Pitt, in reply to Mr. Sheridan in the house of Commons last July, said explicitly that the object of the war was the 'extermination of Jacobinism,' the combined powers certainly might have saved themselves all this trouble and expence; for Jacobinism or club government is rapidly curing itself in France, and if it cannot cure itself foreign nations can never cure it.

The Revolution was a glorious thing—and must ultimately prove a blessing to all Europe. But the government of France is essentially wrong, and it must continue to produce every species of internal confusion and disorder.

The fault is not in the men; it is in the government. I will venture to declare that ninety nine of all the men who have perished on the scaffold in that extensive country, entered into the revolution originally with spirit, zeal and sincerity; who had honest views, and were never corrupted with gold.

PHILADELPHIA, NOVEMBER 13.

LATEST Interesting Intelligence, from Papers brought by the Sanson.

NATIONAL CONVENTION.

11th Fructidor—Aug. 28. Tallien.—“What is the revolutionary government? I do not understand by the revolutionary government the prolongation of a system of insurrection, but a government which can make itself dreadful to its enemies, at the time it is beloved by the people, must call to the remembrance of this assembly the scenes of horror of which France was the theatre under the tyranny of Robespierre; they were the offspring of a system of terror, a system which must at last be replaced by

justice. I propose that the Convention should decree.

1st. That it has resolved to maintain the revolutionary government.

2d. That the meeting of the primary assemblies is necessarily destructive of this government, and that all good citizens ought to distrust those who desire their convocation.

3d. That the system of terror is tyrannical.

4th. That the prosecution of authors for publishing their opinions is tyrannical.

5th. That the system of terror should be proscribed, and the same who formerly moved at terror should be the order of day. They speak of justice—We too wish for justice; but justice is nothing more than the mode of judging of action; and shall we put an end to those measures of general precaution to which France owes its success, and even its existence?

6th. That the French Republic not free itself of those dangerous men who have drunk in with their birth, principles the most hostile to equality; I move that Tallien's speech be printed, that the errors which it contains may be refuted; but I move the adjournment of the decree which he proposed.

7th. I oppose both the printing and the adjournment. The speech of Tallien would have obtained every suffrage, had he the courage to make it six months ago. We are now far removed from the tyranny of Robespierre, and the whole convention, in overthrowing that tyrant, had no intention of substituting another. All of us who are here are the friends of liberty, and our only desire is to proceed in confirming it.

8th. (The members here all arose up) as actuated with one impulse, and manifested amidst the loudest applause of the tribunes, that such was its unalterable determination.)

Without doubt the speech of Tallien proceeds from a good intention, but it reflects no honor on his legacy. Why, when we have buried so many in the grave of the triumvir, should we wish to recall such melancholly remembrances? It is the only means of re-kindling factions; and we are far from approving any such odious plan. Tallien requires from us definitions; they exist in the law, which you have proclaimed. All the world well knows that the revolutionary government does not tend to the converting of France into a grave; but that it is only a more rapid movement towards our ultimate object.

9th. When our battalions are advancing against the enemy, should a soldier wander from his ranks, and retard the general march, he is punished. We are all in the presence of the enemy, and all those who shall desire to retard the operations of government ought to incur the vengeance of the laws.

10th. They tell you of a new tyranny; by what means could it have established itself? Have you not divided authority among the different committees? It is no longer the same hand that at the same time governs the finances, and actuates the civil and military powers: every committee moves in its prescribed circle, and the convention alone exercises the revolutionary government, I therefore move the order of the day, both on the question of printing, and on that of the adjournment.

11th. Many members, however, insisted on Tallien's speech being printed; it was at length decreed. The order of the day was then proposed on the plan itself.

12th. Guyonnet opposed it. Coupoleon de Fontenay.—“What is that Tallien proposes to you, but to assert that you will maintain the revolutionary government? A declaration that is useless since you have already most solemnly functioned it. Another part of the proposition is relative to the liberty of the press; this question is already referred to your committees. I therefore support the order of the day.

13th. Treillard, in the name of the committee of public safety, announced, that he that morning received, through the medium of the Telegraph, the news of the recapture of Valenciennes. [Loud applause resounded through every part of the hall.] The committee had not yet received the details; he had no doubt, however, but that they would soon arrive by a courier.

CAPITULATION OF SLUYS.

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

Art. I. The garrison shall march out in 4 hours after the signing of the capitulation, with all the honours of war; with their camp equipage and baggage, and shall take the route they please to the United Provinces. The French General shall furnish the necessary conveyance for the removal of the sick.

Art. II. The sick who remain, shall be maintained and cured at the expence of the state; they shall afterwards be furnished with the necessary passports for the purpose of rejoining their regiments. Commissaries shall be appointed to regulate this article.

Art. III. The artillery, magazines, and arsenals shall be surrendered, after the necessary delay, by commissaries appointed on each side.

Art. IV. The inhabitants shall not be molested on account of their private opinions, or of the conduct which they have adopted.

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

Art. VI. The clerks of the magazines, the sutlers and servants who are not soldiers, shall be permitted to retire to their own country. Passports shall be granted to them. The military servants shall remain with their masters.

Art. VII. The commissaries on each side shall settle the number of carriages necessary for the removal of the sick and the effects of the garrison.

Art. VIII. The same commissaries shall also settle the number of surgeons necessary to be left with the sick who remain at Sluys, and of those who are to accompany the garrison.

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

Art. X. The officers who are convalescent shall keep their horses—the general shall also retain with him such officer as he may select.

Art. XI. The officers who are convalescent shall keep their horses—the general shall also retain with him such officer as he may select.

Art. XII. The officers who are convalescent shall keep their horses—the general shall also retain with him such officer as he may select.

SEPARATE ARTICLE.

The emigrants will not be permitted to capitulate.

I accept the propositions made to me.

Sluys, August 29. (Signed) Major Gen. VAN DER DOIN.

Head-quarters at Ardenburgh, 8 Fructidor, 2d year of the Republic.

MOREAU, Gen. of the division. CAPITULATION OF VALENCIENNES.

IN THE NAME OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

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

Art. II. The garrison shall give their parole not to serve against the French army, till the said garrison shall be exchanged with equality of numbers, and equality of rank.

Art. III. As soon as the present capitulation be signed, the troops of the Republic shall take possession of the Mons and Tournay gates, at each of which shall be posted a battalion of grenadiers.

Art. IV. All the effects belonging to the emperor or the garrison, such as artillery, ammunition and provisions, magazines of all kinds, money, papers, memoirs, plans, instructions relative to the fortifications and mines, shall be faithfully delivered and explained to the troops of the Republic, without the least reserve.

Art. V. To that end an officer of engineers, one of artillery, a war commissary, and a staff-officer shall be chosen, to whom the above mentioned articles shall be faithfully delivered.

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

Art. VII. All the emigrants and deserters shall be delivered up to the troops of the Republic.

Art. VIII. The garrison of Valenciennes shall be victualled until their arrival at their respective advanced posts.

Art. IX. Till the moment of the departure of the garrison, no one, whether military or burgler, shall be allowed to go out of the fortrefs, excepting the officers employed in making the inventories of the articles contained in the fortrefs.

Art. X. The sick and wounded of the different corps in the garrison shall be treat-

ed and attended with the known humanity of the French nation, and as soon as they shall be cured, they shall be conducted to the advanced posts of the armies to which they belong, they conforming themselves to the articles of capitulation, and waggons shall be furnished for such as can immediately follow their corps.

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

ADDITIONAL ARTICLES.

I. The magistrates having been obliged to accept the posts with which they have been invested since the old magistrates left the city, and having always conducted themselves well as to what concerned the public welfare, shall be in no wise molested, no more than the peaceable inhabitants, and they shall be left to the enjoyment of their properties.

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

II. The inhabitants, who for some months have abandoned the town thro' fear, shall be at liberty to return within the term of six months, and in the mean time their goods, furniture, and effects, shall remain under the safe-guard of the law, and their friends, house-keepers or servants, who shall have the guard of them.

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

III. The guarantee of the quiet possession to every one of their property, moveable and immovable effects.

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

The general commanding the army of the French republic expects that general Van Cammeller shall employ his endeavours to obtain a speedy payment of the said debts.

Lastly, That the garrison shall march out of the fortrefs on Saturday the 30th of August, between eight and nine in the morning.

WOURICHEM, Sept. 13.

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

HAGUE, Sept. 6.

Our horizon seems to clear up a little. Breda is not besieged, and the French have informed the Duke of York of the repeal of the decree by which no quarter was to be given to the English and Hanoverians.

Sept. 14.

The head-quarters of the troops of the States have been removed from Raamsdonk to Gorinchem. By private letters we learn, that the head-quarters of the French, which were at Oosterhout, have been removed thence towards the vicinity of Bois-le-duc.

BOIS LE DUC, Sept. 8.

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

The strength of the French army in the Low countries is said to be as follows:—15,000 men near Breda, 15,000 near Bois-le-Duc, 30,000 under Gen. Pichegru near Nimeguen, 70,000 under General Jourdan near Maastricht. The French expect moreover a reinforcement of 50,000 men.

MANHEIM, Sept. 5.

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

Several corps had reached the vicinity of this city; at the same time that