

# Hampshire Gazette.

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[No. 488.]

ADDRESS  
Of the House of Representatives in answer to the President's Speech.

To the PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES.

SIR,  
AS the Representatives of the people of the U. States, we cannot but participate in the strong feelings to every blessing which they enjoy, and gratefully join with you in profound gratitude to the Author of all Good for the numerous and extraordinary blessings which he has conferred on our favoured country.

A final and formal termination of the distressing war which has ravaged our North Western Frontier, will be an event which must afford a satisfaction proportioned to the anxiety with which it has long been sought; and in the adjustment of the terms, we perceive the true policy of making them satisfactory to the Indians as well as to the United States, as the best basis of a durable tranquility. The disposition of such of the southern tribes as had hitherto annoyed our frontier, is another proof of the wisdom of the measures which you have taken to limit that which you clouds should be known ever, it more especially by excesses on the part of our own citizens.

While our population is advancing with a celerity which exceeds the most sanguine calculations, while every part of the United States displays indications of rapid and various improvement, while we are in the enjoyment of protection and security, by mild and wholesome laws, administered by governments founded on the genuine principles of rational liberty, a secure foundation will be laid for accelerating, maturing and establishing the prosperity of our country, if by treaty and amicable negotiation, all those causes of eternal discord which heretofore menaced our tranquility, shall be extinguished on terms compatible with our national rights and honor, and with our constitution, and great commercial interests.

Among the various circumstances in our internal situation, none can be viewed with more satisfaction and exultation than that the late cause of disorder and insurrection, has been completely restored to the enjoyment of order and repose. Such a triumph of reason and of law, is worthy of the free government under which it happened, and was justly to be hoped, from the enlightened and patriotic spirit which prevades and actuates the people of the United States.

In contemplating that spectacle of national happiness which our country exhibits, in which you, Sir, have been pleased to make an interesting survey, permit us to acknowledge and declare the very great share which your zealous and faithful services have contributed to it, and to express the affectionate attachment which we feel for your character.

The several interesting subjects which you recommended to our consideration will receive every degree of attention which is due to them, and which we feel the obligation of temperance and mutual indulgence in all our discussions, we trust and pray that the result to the happiness and welfare of our country may correspond with the pure affection we bear to it.

### THE ANSWER:

MEMORIAL.  
SIR, AS you do from all parts of the United States, I receive great satisfaction from the concurrence of your testimony in the justice of the interesting testimony of our national happiness, which, as the result of my enquiries, I presented in your view. The sentiments we have mutually expressed of profound gratitude to the source of these numerous blessings—the author of all Good—pledges of our obligations to unite our sincere and zealous endeavours, at the instruments of Divine Providence to preserve and perpetuate them.

Accept, Gentlemen, my thanks for your declaration, that my agency you ascribe the enjoyment of a great share of these blessings. Such an acknowledgement is the happiness of my country, the acknowledgement thereof by my fellow citizens, and their affectionate attachment, will ever prove an abundant reward.

GEO: WASHINGTON.

### IMPORTANT DISCLOSURE.

The public have long waited with impatience for the detailed letters of the late French Minister, Mr. Faucher—Here it follows.

TRANSLATION of Mr. Faucher's Political Dispatch, No. 10.

Leption of Philadelphia. Foreign relations. Private correspondence of the Minister on Politics. No. 10.

Philadelphia, the 10th Bismaire, 3d year of the French Republic one and indivisible. (October 31st, 1794.)

Joseph Faucher, Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, near the United States.

To the Commissioner of Foreign Relations.

CITIZEN.

The enclosed which prudence prescribes to me to take, with respect to my colleagues, have still remained in the digesting of the dispatches signed by them, which treat of the insurrection of the western counties, and of the republican means

adopted by the government. I have allowed them to be confined to the giving of a faithful, but naked recital of events; the reflections therein contained scarcely exceed the conclusions easily deducible from the character assumed by the public prints. I have reserved myself to give you as far as I am able a key to the facts detailed in our reports. When it comes in question to explain, either by conjectures or by certain data, the secret views of a foreign government, it would be imprudent to run the risk of impositions, and to give one self up to men, whose known partiality for government, and timidity of passions and interests with its chiefs, might lead to confidences, the issue of which are incalculable. Besides the precious confessions of Mr. Randolph alone throw a satisfactory light upon every thing that comes to pass. These I have not yet communicated to my colleagues. The motives already mentioned lead to this reserve, and still less permit me to open myself to them at the present moment. I shall then endeavour, Citizen, to give you a clue to all the measures, of which the common dispatches give you an account, and to discover the true causes of the explosion, which is it is obviously resolved to repress with great means, although the state of things has no longer any thing alarming.

To confine the present crisis to the simple question of the excess, is to reduce it far below its true scale; it is indubitably connected with a general explosion for some time prepared in the public mind, but which its local and precipitate eruption will cause to military, or at least check for a long time;—in order to see the real cause, in order to calculate the effect, and the consequences, we must ascend to the origin of the parties existing in the state, and retrace their progress.

The present system of government has created malcontents. This is the lot of all new things. My predecessors have given information in detail upon the parts of the system which have particularly awakened clamours and produced enemies to the whole of it. The primitive divisions of opinions as to the political form of the state, and the limits of the sovereignty of the whole over each state individually (sovereign), had created the federalist and antifederalist. From a whimsical contrast between the name and the real opinion of the party, a central bitter note under took in Europe, the former aimed, and still aim, with all their power, to annihilate federalism, whilst the latter have always wished to preserve it. This contrast was created by the *Confederalists* or the *Constitutionalists*, who, being first in giving the denomination (a matter so important to a revolution) took for themselves that which was the most popular, although in reality it contradicted their ideas, and gave to their rivals one which would draw on them the attention of the people notwithstanding they really wished to preserve a system whose prejudices should cherish at least the memory and the name.

Moreover, these first divisions, of the nature of that to be destroyed by time, in proportion as the nation should have advanced in the experiment of a form of government which rendered it flourishing, might now have completely disappeared, if the system of finances which had its birth in the cradle of the constitution, had not renewed their vigour under various forms. The mode of organizing the national credit, the consolidating and funding of the public debt, the introduction of the political economy of the usage of states, which brought their citizens or was a system first only by accident, imperceptibly created a flourishing class who threaten to become the aristocratic order of the state. Several citizens, and among others those who had aided in establishing independence by their piques or their arms, concurred themselves aggrieved by those fiscal engagements. Hence an opposition which declared itself between the farming or agricultural interests, and that of the fiscal; federalism and antifederalism, which are founded on those new denominations, in proportion as the government and legislation: Hence in fine, the state divided into partisans and enemies of the treasury and of his theories. In this new classification of parties, the nature of things gave popularity to the latter, an innate infirmity; if I may use the expression, caught the ears of the people to revolt at the names alone of *treasurer* and *stockholder*; but the opposite party, in consequence of its ability, obstinately persisted in leaving to its adversaries the suspicious name of *antifederalist*, whilst in reality they were friends of the constitution, and enemies only of the excrencences which financing theories threatened to attach to it.

It is useless to stop longer to prove that the monarchical system was interwoven with those novel systems of finances, and that the friends of the latter favoured the attempts which were made in order to bring the constitution to its former, by insensible gradations. The writings of infirm men of this party prove it; their real opinions too avoid it and the journals of the feast are the depository of the first attempts.

Let us, therefore, free ourselves from the intermediate spaces in which the progress of the system is marked, since they can add nothing to the proof of its existence—Let us pass by its sympathy with our regenerating movements, while running in monarchical paths—Let us arrive at the situation in which our Republican revolution has placed things and parties.

The antifederalists disembarrass themselves of an insignificant denomination, and take that of patriots and of republicans. Their adversaries

become *aristocrats*, notwithstanding their efforts to preserve the advantageous illusion of ancient names; opinions clash, and reefs each other; the aristocratic attempts which formerly had appeared so insignificant, are recalled. The treasurer, who is looked upon as their first enemy, is attacked; his operations and plans are denounced to the public opinion; nay, in the feelings of 1795 and 1793, a solemn enquiry into his administration was obtained. This first victory was to produce another, and it was hoped that, fairly or innocently, the Treasurer would retire, no less by necessity in the one case, than from self love in the other. He, emboldened by the triumph which he obtained in the useless inquiry of his enemies, which both objects proved equally abortive, fed himself besides by the momentary reverse of republicanism in Europe, removes the mask and announces the approaching triumph of his principles.

In the mean time the popular societies are formed; political ideas concentrate themselves; the patriotic party unite and more closely connect themselves; they gain a formidable majority in the legislature; the abatement of commerce, the decay of navigation, and the sodacity of England, strengthen it. A concert of declarations and censures against the government arises; at which the latter is even itself astonished.

Such was the situation of things towards the close of the last and at the beginning of the present year. Let us pass over the discontents which were most generally expressed in these critical moments. They have been sent to you at different periods, and in detail. In every quarter we attributed the incapacity of the government towards Great Britain, the defenceless state of the country against possible invasions, the coldness towards the French Republic; the system of finance is attacked, which threatens sterning the debt under pretext of making it the guaranty of public happiness; the complication of that system which withholds from general inspection all its operations—the alarming power of the influence it procures to a man whose principles are regarded as dangerous;—the preponderance which that man acquires from day to day in public measures, and in a word the immoral and impolitic modes of taxation, which he has introduced as experiments, and afterwards refers to premenstrations.

In touching this last point we attain the principal object of the western people and the ostensible motive of their movements. Republicans by principle, independent by character and situation, they could not but accede with enthusiasm to the criticisms which we have sketched. But the excite above all affects them. Their lands are fertile, watered with the finest rivers in the world; but the abundant fruits of their labour run the risk of perishing for the want of means of exchanging them, as those more happy cultivators do for which which desire indicates to all men who have known only the enjoyment which Europe affords them. They therefore consent the excess of their produce into liquors imperfectly fabricated, which badly supply the place of those they might procure by exchange. The excise is created and strikes at this soothing transformation; their complaints are answered by the only pretext, that they are otherwise inaccessible to every species of impost. But why, in contempt of treaties, are they left to hear the yoke of the feeble Spaniard, as to the Mississippi for upwards of twelve years? Since when has an agricultural people submitted to the unjust capricious law of a people engrossed in the precious metals? Might we not suppose that Madrid and Philadelphia mutually assisted in prolonging the slavery of the river; that the proprietors of a barren coast are left the Mississippi, once opened, and its numerous branches brought into activity, their fields might become fertile, and in a word that commerce dreads having rivals in those interior parts as soon as their inhabitants shall cease to be subjects? This last supposition is not too well founded; an influential member of the Senate, Mr. Izard, one day in conversation undesignedly announced it to me.

I shall be more brief in my observations on the means excised by the system for the sale of lands. It is concerted to be unjust that the vast and fertile regions should be sold by provinces in capitalists, who thus enrich themselves, and retail with immense profits, to the husbandmen, possessors which they have never seen. If there were not a latent design to arrest the rapid settlement of those lands and to prolong their infant state, why not open in the west land offices, where every body without distinction, should be admitted to purchase by a small or large quantity? Why reserve to yourself or distribute to favourites to a clan of stragglers, of courtiers, that which belongs to the State, and which should be sold to the greatest possible profit of all its members?

Such therefore were the parts of the public grievance, upon which the western people manifested. Now, as the common dispatches inform you, these complaints were systematizing by the conversations of influential men who retired into those wild counties, and who from principle, or by a series of particular heart-burnings, animated discontents already too near to ebullience. At last the local explosion is effected. The western people calculated on being supported by some distinguished characters in the east, and even imagined they had in the bosom of the government some abettors, who might share in their grievances or their principles.

From what I have detailed above, those men might indeed be supposed to be numerous. The sessions of 1793 and 1794 had given importance

to the republican party, and solidity to its accusations. The propositions of Mr. Madison, or his project of a navigation act, of which Mr. Jefferson was originally the author, surpassed the British interest, saw an integral part of the financing system. Mr. Taylor, a republican member of the Senate, published, towards the end of the session, three pamphlets, in which this act is explored to its origin and developed in its progress and consequences with force and method, in the last he asserts that the decrepit state of affairs resulting from that system, could not but prefer, under a rising government, either a revolution or a civil war.

The bill was preparing; the government, which had foreseen it, reproduced under various forms, the demand of a disposable force, which might put it in a respectable state of defence. Defeated in this measure, who can several it may not have hastened the local eruption in order to make an advantageous diversion, and to lay the more general storm which it saw gathering? am I not astonished in forming this conjecture from the conversation which the Secretary of state had with me and Le Blanc, alone, on account of which you have in my dispatch, No. 7 but how we expect that this new plan will be executed? By altering and severe measures, authorized by a law which was not solicited till the close of the session. This law gave to the one already existing for collecting the excise a coercive force which hitherto it had not possessed, and a demand of which was not before ventured to be made. By the passage of this new law all the refractory citizens of the old one, were caused to be pursued with a double rigor; a great number of writs were issued; I doubtless the natural consequences from a conduct to decide and to harsh were expected; and before those were manifested the means of repression had been prepared; this was undoubtedly what Mr. Randolph meant in telling you that under pretext of giving energy to the government it was intended to introduce absolute power and to mislead the President in point which would conduct him to unpopularity.

Whether the explosion has been provoked by the government; or over its birth to accident, it is certain that a combination of some hundred of men, who have not been found in arms, and the very pacific union of the republicans in Braddock's field, a union which has not been revived, were not symptoms which could justify the raising of so great a force as 15,000 men. Besides the principles, uttered in the declaration, perhaps made public, rather announced audent minds to be calmed than anarchy to be subdued. But in order to obtain something on the public opinion prepossessed against the demands contemplated to be made, it was necessary to magnify the danger, to disgrace the views of those people, to attribute to them the design of uniting themselves with England, to alarm the citizens for the fate of the constitution, whilst in reality the revolution threatened only the ministers. This step succeeded; an army is raised; this military part of the suppression is doubtless Mr. Hamilton's, the pacific part and the sending of commissioners are due to the influence of Mr. Randolph over the mind of the President, whom I delight always to believe, and whom I do believe, truly virtuous, and the friend of his fellow citizens and principles.

In the mean-time, although there was a certainty of having an army yet it was necessary to assure themselves of co operators among the men whose patriotic reputation might influence their party, and whose local warmth or want of energy in the existing conjunctures might compromise the success of the plans. Of all the governors whose duty it was to appear at the head of the requisitions, the governor of Pennsylvania alone enjoyed the name of Republican; his opinion of the Secretary of the Treasury and of his system were known to be unfavourable. The Secretary of this state suffered great influence in the Popular Society of Philadelphia, which in its turn influenced those of other States? of course he merited attention. It appears therefore that these men with others unknown to me, all having without doubt Randolph at their head, were balancing to decide on their party. Two or three days before the proclamation was published, and of course before the cabinet had resolved on its measures, Mr. Randolph came to see me with an air of great eagerness, and made to me the overture of which I have given you an account in my No. 6. Thus with some thousands of dollars the Republic could have decided on civil war or on peace! Thus the confidences of the pretended patriots of America have certainly their price? It is very true that the certainty of these conclusions, painful to be drawn, will forever exist in our archives! What will be the age of this government, if it is thus early decimated? Such, citizen, is the evident consequence of the system of finances conceived by Mr. Hamilton. He has made of a whole nation a stock-jobbing, speculating, selfish people. Rich or alone here fix our consideration; and so no one likes to be deprived, they are necessarily forgotten. Nevertheless this depravity has not yet embraced the mass of the people; the selfishness of this precious system has as yet but slightly touched them. Still there are patriots of whom I delight to entertain an idea worthy of that imposing title. Consol Monroe, he is of this number; he had applied me of the men whom the current of events had dragged along as bodies devoid of weight.

Disponible.  
+ This law was mentioned in the comment upon the laws of the last session included in No. 9 of the correspondence of the minister.  
T. J. F.