



Letters of John Marshall when Envoy to France, 1797, 1798

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DOCUMENTS

[Under this head it is proposed to print in each issue a few documents of historical importance, hitherto unprinted. It is intended that the documents shall be printed with verbal and literal exactness, and that exact statement be made of the present place of deposit of the document and, in the case of archives and libraries, of the volume and page or catalogue number by which the document is designated. Contributions of important documents, thus authenticated, will be welcomed.]

I. Letters of John Marshall when Envoy to France, 1797, 1798.

The following three letters were written by John Marshall to General Washington during the time when Marshall was in Europe upon the "X Y Z Mission." It has been thought that historical readers would be interested in observing the impression which the Europe of 1797 and 1798 made upon such a mind as that of Marshall. The text of these letters, derived first from the transcripts among the Sparks papers in the Library of Harvard University, has been carefully compared with that of the original letters among the Washington papers in the Library of the Department of State. For this kind service the thanks of the managing editor are presented to Mr. S. M. Hamilton of that library. In Washington's *Writings*, ed. Ford, XIII., 432-436, will be found, under date of December 4, 1797, a letter of General Washington's in reply to the first of the three following communications.

I.

THE HAGUE 15th Sept^r 1797

Dear Sir

The flattering evidences I have receiv'd of your favorable opinion, which have made on my mind an impression only to wear out with my being, added to a conviction that you must yet feel a deep interest in all that concerns a country to whose service you have devoted so large a portion of your life, induce me to offer you such occasional communications as, while in Europe I may be enabled to make, and induce a hope too that the offer will not be deemed an unacceptable or unwelcome intrusion.

Until our arrival in Holland we saw only British and neutral vessels. This added to the blockade of the Dutch fleet the Texel, of the French fleet in Brest and of the Spanish fleet in Cadiz manifests the entire dominion which one nation at present possesses over the seas. By the ships of war which met us we were three times visited and the conduct of those who came on board was such as would proceed from general orders to pursue a system calculated to conciliate America. Whether this be occasion'd

by a sense of justice and the obligations of good faith, or solely by the hope that the perfect contrast which it exhibits to the conduct of France may excite keener sensations at that conduct, its effects on our commerce are the same.

The situation of Holland is truly interesting. Tho the face of the country still exhibits a degree of wealth and population perhaps unequalled in any other part of Europe, its decline is visible. The great city of Amsterdam is in a state of blockade. More than two thirds of its shipping ly unemployed in port. Other seaports suffer tho not in so great a degree. In the meantime the requisitions made upon them are enormous. They have just completed the payment of 100,000,000 of florins (equal to 40,000,000 of dollars) stipulated by treaty, they have sunk, on the first entrance of the French a very considerable sum in assignats: they made large contributions in specifics: and they pay feed and cloath an army estimated, as I am informed, at near three times its real number. It is suppos'd that France has by various means drawn from Holland about 60,000,000 of dollars. This has been paid, in addition to the national expenditures, by a population of less than 2000,000. Nor, shou'd the war continue, can the contributions of Holland stop here. The increasing exigencies of France must inevitably increase her demands on those within her reach.—Not even peace can place Holland in her former situation. Antwerp will draw from Amsterdam a large portion of that commerce which is the great source of its wealth; for Antwerp possesses, in the existing state of things, advantages which not even weight of capital can entirely surmount. The political divisions of this country and its uncertainty concerning its future destiny must also have their operation. Independent of the grand division between those for and against the Stadtholder: between those who favor an indivisible and those who favor a federal republic, there is much contrariety of opinion concerning the essential principles of that indivisible consolidated republic which the influence of France imposes on the nation. A constitution which I have not read, but which is stated to me to have contain'd all the great fundamentals of a representative government, and which has been prepar'd with infinite labor, and has experienc'd an uncommon length of discussion was rejected in the primary assemblies by a majority of nearly five to one of those who voted. The objections do not accompany the decision, but they are said to be to the duration of the constitution which was to remain five years unaltered, to the division of the legislature into two chambers, and to its power of definitive legislation. The substitute wish'd for, by its opponents, is a legislature with a single branch having power only to initiate laws which are to derive their force from the sanction of the primary assemblies. I do not know how they would organize their executive, nor is it material how they would organize it. A constitution with such a legislature would live too short a time to make it worth the while to examine the structure of its other parts. It is remarkable that the very men who have rejected the form of government propos'd to them have reelected a great majority of the persons who pre-

pared it and who will probably make from it no essential departure. Those elected are now assembled in convention at this place, but we know not in what manner they are proceeding. It is also worthy of notice that more than two thirds of those entitled to suffrage including perhaps more than four fifths of the property of the nation, and who wish'd, as I am told, the adoption of the constitution withheld their votes on this very interesting question. Many were restrained by an unwillingness to take the oath required before a vote cou'd be receiv'd; Many, disgusted with the present state of things, have come to the unwise determination of revenging themselves on those whom they charge with having occasion'd it by taking no part whatever in the politics of their country, and many seem to be indifferent to every consideration not immediately connected with their particular employments.

The political opinions which have produc'd the rejection of the constitution, and which, as it wou'd seem, can only be entertain'd by intemperate and ill inform'd minds, unaccustom'd to a union of the theory and practice of liberty, must be associated with a general system which if brought into action will produce the same excesses here which have been so justly deplor'd in France. The same materials exist tho not in so great a degree. They have their clubs, they have a numerous poor and they have enormous wealth in the hands of a minority of the nation. On my remarking this to a very rich and intelligent merchant of Amsterdam and observing that if one class of men withdrew itself from public duties and offices it would immediately be succeeded by another which wou'd acquire a degree of power and influence that might be exercis'd to the destruction of those who had retir'd from society, he replied that the remark was just, but that they relied on France for a protection from those evils which she had herself experienced. That france wou'd continue to require great supplies from Holland and knew its situation too well to permit it to become the prey of anarchy. That Holland was an artificial country acquir'd by persevering industry and which cou'd only be preserved by wealth and order. That confusion and anarchy wou'd banish a large portion of that wealth, wou'd dry up its sources and wou'd entirely disable them from giving France that pecuniary aid she so much needed. That under this impression very many who, tho friends to the revolution, saw with infinite mortification french troops garrison the towns of Holland, wou'd now see their departure with equal regret. Thus they willingly relinquish national independence for individual safety. What a lesson to those who wou'd admit foreign influence into the United States!

You have observ'd the storm which has been long gathering in Paris. The thunderbolt has at length been launch'd at the heads of the leading members of the legislature, and has, it is greatly to be fear'd, involv'd in one common ruin with them, the constitution and liberties of their country.

The inclos'd papers will furnish some idea of a transaction which may be very interesting to America as well as to France. Complete and

impartial details concerning it will not easily be obtain'd, as the press is no longer free. The journalists who had ventur'd to censure the proceedings of a majority of the directory are seiz'd, and against about forty of them a sentence of transportation is pronounced. The press is plac'd under the superintendance of a police appointed by and dependent on the executive. It is suppos'd that all private letters have been seiz'd for inspection.

From some Paris papers it appears, that on the first alarm several members of the legislature attempted to assemble in their proper halls which they found clos'd and guarded by an arm'd force. Sixty or seventy assembled at another place and began to remonstrate against the violence offer'd against their body but fear soon dispersed them. To destroy the possibility of a rallying point the municipal administrations of Paris and the central administration of the Seine were immediately suspended and forbidden by an arrêté of the directoire, to assembly themselves together. Many of the administrators of the departments through France elected by the people, had been previously removed and their places filled by persons chosen by the directory. Moreau who commanded the army of the Sambre and the Meuse by which he was deservedly belov'd and who was consider'd as attach'd to the fallen party was, as is reported, invited from his army to Paris under the pretext of a personal consultation. We have not heard of his arrival or of his fate. The command of his army during his absence did not, we learn, devolve on the oldest officer but was given to Gen' Hoche who also commands the army of the in [*mutilated*] Carnot is at one time said to have been kill'd in defending himself from some soldiers who pursued and attempted to take him, at another time he is said to have effected his escape. The fragment of the legislature convok'd by the directory at L' Odeon and L'ecole de santé, hasten'd to repeal the law for organizing the national guards, and authoriz'd the directory to introduce into Paris as many troops as shoud be judged necessary. The same day the liberty of the press was abolish'd by a line, property taken away by another and personal security destroy'd by a sentence of transportation against men unheard and untried. All this is stiled the triumph of liberty and of the constitution.

To give a satisfactory statement of the origin and progress of the contest between the executive and legislative departments woud require more time than could be devoted to the subject, did I even possess the requisite information, and to you, Sir, it woud be unnecessary because I have no doubt of your having receiv'd it through other channels. I shall briefly observe that the controversy has embrac'd a variety of interesting subjects. Since the election of the new third, there were found in both branches of the legislature a majority in favor of moderate measures, and, apparently, wishing sincerely for peace. They have manifested a disposition which threaten'd a condemnation of the conduct of the directory towards America, a scrutiny into the transactions of Italy, particularly those respecting Venice and Genoa, an inquiry into the dis-

position of public money and such a regular arrangement of the finances as would prevent in future those dilapidations which are suspected to have grown out of their disorder.

They have sought too by their laws to ameliorate the situation of those whom terror had driven out of France, and of those priests who had committed no offense. Carnot and Barthélemy two of the directory were with the legislature.

The cry of a conspiracy to reestablish royalism was immediately rais'd against them. An envoy was despatched to the army of Italy to sound its disposition. It was represented that the legislature was hostile to the armies, that it withheld their pay and subsistence, that by its opposition to the directory it encourag'd Austria and Britain to reject the terms of peace which were offer'd by France, and which but for that opposition would have been accepted, and finally that it had engag'd in a conspiracy for the destruction of the constitution and the republic and for the restoration of royalty. At a feast given to the armies of Italy to commemorate their fellow soldiers who had fallen in that country the generals address'd to them their complaints, plainly spoke of marching to Paris to support the directory against the Council and receiv'd from them addresses manifesting the willingness of the soldiers to follow them. The armies also addressed the directory and each other, and addresses were despatched to different departments. The directory answered them by the strongest criminations of the legislature. Similar proceedings were had in the army of the interior commanded by Gen' Hoche. Detachments were mov'd within the limits prohibited by the constitution, some of which declared they were marching to Paris to bring the legislature to reason. Alarmed by those movements the council of five hundred call'd on the directory for an account of them. The movement of the troops within the constitutional circle was attributed to accident and the discontents of the army to the faults committed by the legislature who were plainly criminated as conspirators against the army and the republic. This message was taken up by Tronçon in the council of ancients and by Thibideau in the council of five hundred. I hope you have seen their speeches. They are able, and seem to me to have entirely exculpated the legislature. In the meantime the directory employ'd itself in the removal of the administrators of many of the departments and cantons and replacing those whom the people had elected by others in whom it could confide, and in the removal generally of such officers both civil and military as could be trusted to make room for others on whom it could rely. The legislature on its part, pass'd several laws to enforce the constitutional restrictions on the armies and endeavor'd to organize the national guards. On this latter subject especially Pichegru great and virtuous I believe in the cabinet as in the field, was indefatigable. We understand that the day before the law for their organization would have been carried into execution the decisive blow was struck.

To support the general charge of a conspiracy in favor of royalty I know of no particular facts alleg'd against the arrested members except

Pichegru and two or three others. An abridgment of the paper constituting the whole charge against Pichegru will be found in the inclos'd supplement. I have seen the paper at full length. The story at large is still more improbable than its abridgment because Pichegru is made in the first moment of conversation to unbosom himself entirely to a perfect stranger who had only told him that he came from the Prince of Condé and could not exhibit a single line or testimonial of any sort to prove that he had ever seen the Prince or that he was not a spy employ'd by some of the enemies of the General.

This story is repelled by Pichegrus character which has never been defil'd. Great as were the means he possess'd of personal aggrandizement he returned clean handed from the army without adding a shilling to his private fortune. It is repel'd by his resigning the supreme command, by his numerous victories subsequent to the alleg'd treason, by its own extreme absurdity and by the fear which his accusers show of bringing him to trial according to the constitution even before a tribunal they can influence and overawe, or of even permitting him to be heard before that prostrate body which is still term'd the legislature and which in defiance of the constitution has pronounc'd judgment on him. Yet this improbable and unsupported tale seems to be received as an establish'd truth by those who, the day before his fall bow'd to him as an idol. I am mortified as a man to learn that even his old army which conquered under him, which ador'd him, which partook of his fame and had heretofore not join'd their brethren in accusing the legislature, now unite in bestowing on him the heaviest execrations and do not hesitate to pronounce him a traitor of the deepest dye.

Whether this conspiracy be real or not the wounds inflicted on the constitution by the three directors seem to me to be mortal. In opposition to the express regulations of the constitution the armies have deliberated, the result of their deliberations addressed to the directory has been favorably receiv'd, and the legislature since the revolution has super-added its thanks. Troops have been march'd within those limits which by the constitution they are forbidden to enter but on the request of the legislature.

The directory is forbidden to arrest a member of the legislature unless in the very commission of a criminal act and then he can only be tried by the high court, on which occasion forms calculated to protect his person from violence or the prejudice of the moment are carefully prescribed. Yet it has seiz'd by a military force about fifty leading members not taken in a criminal act and has not pursued a single step mark'd out by the constitution.

The councils can inflict no penalty on their own members other than reprimand, arrest for eight and imprisonment for three days. Yet they have banished to such place as the directory shall choose a large portion of their body without the poor formality of hearing a defence.

The legislature shall not exercise any judiciary power or pass any retrospective law. Yet it has pronounc'd this heavy judgment on others as

well as its own members and has taken from individuals property which the law had vested in them.

The members of the directory are personally secur'd by the same rules with those of the legislature. Yet three directors have deprived two of their places, the legislature has thus banished (them) without a hearing and has proceeded to fill up the alledg'd vacancies. Merlin late minister of justice and François de Neufchatel have been elected.

The constitution forbids the house of any man to be enter'd in the night. The orders of the constituted authorities can only be executed in the day. Yet many of the members were seized in their beds.

Indeed Sir the constitution has been violated in so many instances that it woud require a pamphlet to detail them. The detail woud be unnecessary for the great principle seems to be introduc'd that the government is to be administer'd according to the will of the armies and not according to the will of the nation.

Necessity, the never to be worn out apology for violence, is alledg'd—but could that necessity go further than to secure the persons of the conspirators? Did it extend to the banishment of the printers to the slavery of the press? If such a necessity did exist it was created by the disposition of the people at large, and it is a truth which requires no demonstration that if a republican form of government cannot be administered by the general will, it cannot be administered against that will by an army.

After all the result may not be what is apprehended. France possesses such enormous power, such a vast population that she may possibly spare another million and preserve or reacquire her liberty. Or, the form of the Government being preserv'd, the independence of the legislature may be gradually recover'd.

With their form of Government or revolutions we have certainly no right to intermeddle, but my regrets at the present state of things are increased by an apprehension that the rights of our country will not be deemed so sacred under the existing system, as they would have been had the legislature preserved its legitimate authority.

Gen^l Pinckney (with whom I cannot but be very much pleas'd) [and I] have waited impatiently for M^r Gerry and shall wait until Monday the 18th inst. On that day we set out for Paris.

The negotiations with Austria and Britain are still pending and are of very uncertain issue.

This letter has extended itself to an unexpected length. I have fatigued you, Sir and will only add that I remain

with sincere and respectful attachment

Your Obed^t Serv^t

J MARSHALL.

I just now learn that fifteen hundred persons have been arrested at Lyons. That resistance is made at Avignon and that Massina is marching to quell it.

II.

PARIS October 24th, 1797

Dear Sir

I did myself the honor of addressing to you from the Hague by Cap^t Izzard, a very long letter which I hope you have receiv'd. The offer therein made of occasionally communicating to you my observations on the great and interesting events of Europe was not even entitled to the small value which in my own mind I had bestow'd upon it. Causes which I am persuaded you have anticipated, forbid me to allow myself that free range of thought and expression which could alone apologize for the intrusive character my letters bear. Having however offer'd what I cannot furnish, I go on to substitute something else perhaps not worth receiving.

You have heard it said in the United States that the agriculture of France has in the course of the present war been considerably improv'd. On this subject I am persuaded there has been no exaggeration. In that part of the country through which I have pass'd the evidences of plenty abound. The whole earth appears to be in cultivation and the harvests of the present year appear to be as productive as the fields which yield them are extensive. I am inform'd that every part of the country exhibits the same aspect. If this be a fact, there will probably remain, notwithstanding the demands of the armies, a surplus of provisions. Manufactures have declined in the same ratio that the cultivation of the soil has increas'd. War has been made upon the great manufacturing towns and they are in a considerable degree destroy'd. With manufactures France does not supply herself fully from her internal resources. Those of Britain flow in upon her notwithstanding the most severe prohibitory laws. The port of Rotterdam is purposely left open by the English and their goods are imported by the Dutch under Prussian and other neutral colors. They are smuggled in great quantities into France. Peace then will find this nation entirely competent to the full supply of her colonies with provisions and needing manufactures to be imported for her own consumption. This state of things will probably change; but it is unquestionably the state of things which will exist at, and for some time after, the termination of the present war. France can take from America tobacco and raw cotton, she can supply us with wines, brandies and silks.

The papers which I transmitted to you contain'd the evidence on which were founded the transactions of the 18th fructidor or 4th of September. Since then a letter has been published bearing the signature of Gen^l Moreau and produced as an unequivocal testimonial of the treason alledg'd to have existed. You will have seen the letter and have made upon it your own comments, but you will be astonish'd to hear that perhaps a majority of the people do not believe that Moreau ever wrote it.

The existing political state of France is connected with certain internal and powerfully operating causes by which it has been and will

continued to be greatly influenc'd. Not the least of these is the tenure by which property is held.

In the course of the revolution it is believ'd that more than half of the land of France has become national. Of this a very considerable proportion has been sold at a low rate. It is true that much of this property formerly belong'd to the church, but it is also true that much of it belong'd to those who have fallen under the Guillotine or have been termed emigrants. Among the emigrants are many whose attachment to their country has never been shaken; and what is remarkable, among them are many who were never out of France. The law upon this subject is worthy of attention. Any two persons no matter what their reputation, may, to some authority, I believed the municipality of the district, write and subscribe against any person whatever a charge, that such person is an emigrant, on receipt of which the person so charged is without further investigation inscribed on the list of emigrants. If the person so inscribed be afterwards apprehended while his name remains on the list; the trial, as I understand, is, not of the fact of emigration, but of the identity of the person, and if this identity be established, he is instantly fusilleered. This law is either rigidly executed or permitted to be relax'd, as the occasion or the temper of the times may direct.

During intervals of humanity some disposition has been manifested to permit the return of those who have never offended, who have been banished by a terror which the government itself has reprobated, and to permit in cases of arrestation, an investigation of the fact of emigration as well as of the identity of the person accused.

There is too a great deal of property which has been sold as national but which in truth was never so, and which may be reclaimed by the original proprietors.

In this state of things the acquirers of national property are of course extremely suspicious. They form a vast proportion of the population of France. They are not only important in consequence of their numbers, but in consequence of their vigor, their activity and that unity of interest which produces a unity of effort among them. The armies too have been promis'd a milliard. This promise rests upon the national property for its performance. The effect of these circumstances cannot escape your observation. Classes of citizens are to be disfranchis'd against the next elections.

Our ministers have not yet, nor do they seem to think it certain that that they will be, receiv'd. Indeed they make arrangements which denote an expectation of returning to America immediately. The captures of our vessels seem to be only limited by the ability to capture. That ability is increasing, as the government has let out to hardy adventurers the national frigates. Among those who plunder us, who are most active in this infamous business, and most loud in vociferating criminations equally absurd and untrue, are some unprincipled apostates who were born in America. These sea rovers by a variety of means seem to have acquir'd great influence in the government. This influence will be ex-

erted to prevent an accommodation between the United States and France and to prevent any regulations which may intercept the passage of the spoils they have made on our commerce, to their pockets. The government I believe is but too well dispos'd to promote their views. At present it seems to me to be radically hostile to our country. I could wish to form a contrary opinion, but to do so I must shut my eyes on every object which presents itself to them, and fabricate in my own mind non existing things, to be substituted for realities, and to form the basis of my creed. Might I be permitted to hazard an opinion it would be that the Atlantic only can save us, and that no consideration will be sufficiently powerful to check the extremities to which the temper of this government will carry it, but an apprehension that we may be thrown into the arms of Britain.

The negotiations with the Emperor are said not to have been absolutely broken off. Yesterday it was said that peace with him was certain. Several couriers have arriv'd lately from Buonaparte and the national debt rose yesterday from seven to ten livres in the hundred. Whether this is founded on a real expectation of peace with Austria or is the mere work of stockjobbers is not for me to decide. We are told that Mantua is no longer the obstacle to peace, that it is surrendered by the Emperor and that the contest now is for Istria and Dalmatia.

OCTOBER 27th.

The definitive peace is made with the Emperor. You will have seen the conditions. Venice has experienced the fate of Poland. England is threatened with an invasion.

III.

PARIS March 8th 1798

Dear Sir

Before this reaches you it will be known universally in America, that scarcely a hope remains of accommodating on principles consistent with justice, or even with the independence of our country, the differences subsisting between France and the United States. Our ministers are not yet, and it is known to all that they will not be, recogniz'd without a previous stipulation on their part, that they will accede to the demands of France. It is as well known that those demands are for money—to be used in the prosecution of the present war. It was, some little time past expected, that, convinc'd of the impracticability of effecting the objects of their mission, our ministers were about to demand their passports and to return to the United States:—but this determination if ever made is, I am persuaded, suspended if not entirely relinquish'd. The report has been that so soon as it shall be known that they will not add a loan to the mass of American property already in the hands of this government, they will be order'd out of France and a nominal as well as actual war will be commenc'd against the United States. My opinion

has always been that this depends on the state of the war with England. To that object the public attention is very much turn'd, and it is perhaps justly believed that on its issue is staked the independence of Europe and America. The preparations for an invasion are immense. A numerous and veteran army lines the coast, and it is said confidently that if the landing of 50,000 men can be effected, no force in England will be able to resist them. The often repeated tale that the war is made not against the people but the government, maintains, in spite of experience some portion of its credit, and it is believ'd here that a formidable and organiz'd party exists in Britain ready, so soon as a landing shall be effected, to rise and demand a reform. It is supposed that England revolutioniz'd under the protection of a french army will be precisely in the situation of the batavian and Cisalpine Republics and that its wealth, its commerce, and its fleets will be at the disposition of this government. In the meantime this expedition is not without its hazards. An army which arriving safe woud sink England may itself be encountered and sunk in the channel. The effect of such a disaster on a nation already tir'd of the war and groaning under the pressure of an enormous taxation, which might discern in it the seeds of another coalition, and which perhaps may not be universally attach'd to existing arrangements, might be extremely serious to those who hold the reins of government.

It is therefore believed by many who do not want inteligence that these formidable military preparations cover and favor secret negotiations for peace. It is rumord (but this is mere rumor) that propositions have been made to England to cede to her the possessions of Portugal in America, in consideration of her restoring the conquests she has made on France Spain and Holland and of her consent that Portugal in Europe shall be annexed to the spanish monarchy. This report is derived from no source in any degree to be relied on, and is supported by no circumstance rendering it in any degree probable other than the existing disposition for partitioning and disposing of empires. I am however persuaded that some secret negotiation with England is now on the tapis. I know almost certainly that a person high in the confidence of this government, who is frequently employed in unofficial negotiations has passed over into that island. We can only conjecture his objects.

You probably know that the affairs of Rastadt are substantially decided. The Emperor and the King of Prussia have declard themselves in favor of ceding to France the whole territory on the left of the rhine on the principle of compensation in the interior of Germany. This would seem to me to take from England the hope of once more arming Austria and Prussia in her favor, for certainly had those powers contemplated such an event they woud not have effected the pacification of the empire. This circumstance will probably influence the secret negotiations with England. It will probably too very much influence the affairs of Swisserland. The determination of France to revolutionize the helvetic body has been long known. In the pais de vaud belonging to the Canton of Berne this revolution has commenced and is completely ef-

fectured under the protection and guidance of a french army for which that little country has already paid about 800,000 livres Swiss. France has insisted on extending the revolution throughout Swisserland. The existing governments in some of the cantons and especially in Bern declare their willingness to reorganize their constitution on the base of an equality of rights and a free representation, but they protest against foreign interposition and against a revolutionary intermediate government. In support of this resolution they have collected all their force and most of the cantons which have already changed their form of government have furnished their contingents. The mass of the people in Bern are firmly united and seem to join the government in saying that they will to the last man bury themselves under the ruins of their country rather than submit to the intermeddling of foreigners in the formation of their constitutions. Such is the present truly interesting state of Swisserland. A powerful military force is advancing upon them and at the same time it is said that the negotiations are to be opened. The terms offered however are supposed to be such as if accepted will place that country in the same situation as if conquered. A revolutionary government is insisted on.

The Swiss have observed an exact neutrality throughout the late war on the continent and have even since the peace sought to preserve the forbearance of France by concessions not perfectly compatible with the rights of an independent nation.

On the side of Italy it is believed that materials are preparing to revolutionize Sardinia and Naples.

Some jealousies exist with respect to Spain. Augereau has been ordered some time since to Perpignan a position from which he may with advantage overawe that monarchy, invade Portugal or preserve order in the south during the ensuing elections. It is the common opinion that should the elections in any respect disappoint the wishes of the directory it will be on the side of Jacobinism. The existing government appears to me to need only money to enable it to effect all its objects. A numerous brave and well disciplined army seems to be devoted to it. The most military and the most powerful nation on earth is entirely at its disposal. Spain Italy and Holland with the Hanseatic towns obey its mandates. Yet there is a difficulty in procuring funds to work this vast machine. Credit being annihilated the actual impositions of the year must equal the disbursements. The consequence is that notwithstanding the enormous contributions made by foreign nations France is overwhelmed with taxes. The proprietor complains that his estate yields him nothing. Real property pays in taxes nearly a third of its produce and is greatly reduced in its price. The patriotic gifts for the invasion of England to which men have been stimulated by all possible means have not exceeded by the highest calculation 100,000 livres. This is the amount stated by a person who charges the officers of the treasury with peculation. The treasury admits 65,000 livres. It is supposed that recourse will be had to a forced loan and that the neighbors of the republic will be required to

contribute still further to its wants. A very heavy beginning has been made with Rome.

March 10th.

The papers announce that the troops of France and Switzerland have had some severe encounters in which those of the latter have been worsted and the French have entered Fribourg and Soluere. Report (which as yet wants confirmation and indeed is disbelieved) also says that Berne has submitted.

2. *Letters of Richard Cobden to Charles Sumner, 1862-1865.*

For the following letters the REVIEW is indebted to Hon. Edward L. Pierce, the biographer of Sumner. Extracts from some of them have been printed in Morley's *Life of Cobden*. Of the preceding letters of Cobden to Sumner, during the earliest period of the Civil War, sufficient extracts will be found either in Morley's *Cobden* or in Mr. Rhodes' *History of the United States*, Vol. III.

I.

Private.

LONDON, 11 July, 1862.

My dear Sumner

It is a long time since I wrote to you. Indeed to confess the truth it a painful task for me to keep up my correspondence with my American friends. But I have not been a less anxious observer of the events which have passed on your side. I shall now best serve the interests of humanity by telling you frankly the state and progress of opinion here. There is an all but unanimous belief that you *cannot* subject the South to the Union. Even they who are your partisans and advocates cannot see their way to any such issue. It is necessary that you should understand that this opinion is so widely and honestly entertained, because it is the key to the expression of views which might otherwise not be quite intelligible. Among some of the governing class in Europe the wish is father to this thought. But it is not so with the mass of the people. Nor is it so with our own government entirely. I *know* that Gladstone would restore your Union to-morrow if he could, and yet he has steadily maintained from the first that unless there was a strong Union sentiment it is impossible that the South can be subdued. *Now* the belief is all but universal that there is no Union feeling in the South and this is founded latterly upon the fact that no cotton comes from New Orleans. It is said that if the instincts of gain, with cotton at double its usual price, do not induce the people to sell, it is a proof beyond dispute that the political resentment is overwhelming and unconquerable.

I have precisely the same views with regard to a European intervention that I had last winter when I wrote you. The action of the govern-