

# THE NEWBERN GAZETTE

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In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.—WASHINGTON

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## INSTRUCTIONS

OF

C. M. TALLEYRAND.

### To General Andreossi;

LATE FRENCH AMBASSADOR TO GREAT BRITAIN.

At your first interview with the British minister, you have to declare, in the name of the First Consul, his great esteem for them all, but particularly for Mr. Addington, and Lord Hawkebury; and that it is the sincere wish of France, to continue in peace with England.—You hope they will not listen to the clamours and complaints of the personal enemies of the First Consul, and the implacable and hereditary enemies of France; you may insinuate, that their own honor, and interest, and the welfare of England, is nearly connected with such conduct; because the Pitts, the Windhams, the Grenvilles, the Bourbons, and their friends the Chouans, and the emigrants, are as much their enemies, and the enemies of the peace, as the enemies of the present government; and care little if war ruin England, that it only displace the present ministers, and give some trouble to the First Consul. On all occasions, hold this same language, and try to penetrate into the impression it makes upon Mr. Addington, and Lord Hawkebury, individually, if they believe its truth, or doubt its sincerity, and if ambition and interest blind, or patriotism make their judgments, actions and advices.

At your first audience of his Britannic Majesty, present him with the highest respect and admiration of the First Consul for all his royal and personal virtues, to which alone, and to his present able and wise ministers, France and Europe ascribe the general peace with which the world is blessed, and which is the intent of the First Consul invariably to preserve. At every other audience, until otherwise instructed, you are to touch with as much delicacy as possible on the merits of his present ministers, and his own great judgment in choosing such just, meritorious, and patriotic counsellors.

To his royal highness the Prince of Wales, you are to insinuate that the First Consul has always admired his generous and noble mind, and that it has been a source of the greatest regret to him, during the late contest, not to be able sooner to express his respectful admiration, and to gain the good opinion of such a great prince; pay particular attention to the prince's answers and conversation; and if he throws out any hints, that he knows what the First Consul had said about him in a conversation with some of his friends who visited France last summer; but by your conduct you are to appear perfectly ignorant on this subject. Try to find out who are the Prince's friends and favorites; if those persons, whose names you already know, continue to advise and govern him, or if they have been succeeded by others, and who these are. If you can insinuate yourself into the confidence of any one who you are certain possesses the entire confidence of the Prince, you may let him understand, as from yourself, that you suffer to see his (the Prince's) retired situation; and that although you had no permission so to do, yet you would take upon yourself from the known sentiments of the First Consul, if approved by the Prince, to ask any sum of money his royal highness should fix upon, as a loan, to be repaid when the Prince succeeds to the throne. This transaction is of the most delicate and secret nature, and must be kept entirely from the knowledge of the king, his family, and the ministers; and you cannot be too careful not to commit (compromise) yourself or your character. Should the Prince accept of the offer, and you of course receive private audiences, impress strongly upon the Prince's mind the necessity for secrecy; when the question is about the sum he should want, you should observe, that to avoid suspicion, which may be followed by discovery, and be hurtful to the Prince's public opinion, you think a cer-

tain annual sum (any sum under one million) would be the best and most convenient arrangement.

When this point is settled, and that you have received the first remittance for the Prince, and of course are offered his bond, you are to refuse it, saying the first Consul trusts entirely to the honor of the prince, but you have at the same time to declare, that it would give the First Consul the highest satisfaction, if, in a letter from the prince's hands, he was assured that His Royal Highness would by degrees cease all future acquaintance and connection with the Bourbons; and at his accession to the throne not permit them, or the emigrants, to reside any longer in his dominions. Be attentive to what the Prince says, and if he is sincere in what he says; after your report, you shall receive further instructions how to act.—If the prince or his friends decline your offer, endeavor to find out the reason; and if he has not a previous engagement with the Bourbons, and if he entertains any prejudice or hatred against the First Consul. In her present disgrace avoid great attention to, or notice of, the Princess of Wales, because it may hurt her, and offend the Prince; as you know, that next summer a French lady, who knew the princess at Brunswick, intends to renew her acquaintance, and to inspire her with a good opinion of the First Consul, and then you shall receive directions how to assist her. Inform yourself, however, if her daughter, the young princess, shews any genius and abilities; in what manner she is educated; if her governess and the persons educating and attending her have talents; to what party they belong, and if they are known to like or hate France. If, by some discreet attentions, you can gain their good opinion, do not neglect it. If they are to be gained over to our interest only by money, make your report, and you shall receive orders how to conduct yourself.

With respect to the other branches of the royal family, you have to follow the examples, customs & etiquette of other ambassadors, but when you speak with the Duke of York, remember to throw out delicate compliments on his military abilities, from which France has suffered so much; and to the Duke of Clarence, express the obligations of France to him for not employing his great naval talents during the late war.

Endeavour to be as popular as possible; never refuse an invitation from the chief of the city, or of the wealthy citizens; imitate as much as possible their manners of society, and their custom of conversation; as at their feasts and assemblies where you are invited, some members of the government will possibly be present. As a Frenchman, you may without giving offence, mix water with your wine, whilst they drink theirs undiluted; and thus often, perhaps, you may discover their secrets without exposing yours.

It is not necessary to remind you to be polite and condescending at the balls and routs of the English nobility, but not to as to forget your rank, and that of the nation you represent; your own judgment will tell you when it will be necessary to be prouder than the proudest, and to resent with indignation or contempt, offences or neglect.—Never forget or forgive the presence of a Bourbon, of any noble emigrant, or one decorated with the profane orders; should you meet with Pitt, Windham, Grenville, or any known enemies of the First Consul, be civil, but formal and distant; and at any future invitation to the same place, refuse your presence; on the contrary, those of Mr. Fox's party, who have opposed the late war, and whose liberal opinions and attachment to the cause of the revolution are known, you cannot be affable enough, and endeavour, by distinctions, invitations and amenities, to prove to them that the First Consul knows, remembers, and is grateful for their past conduct and behaviour.

As in most societies, you will probably meet with military men of the army and navy, if they do not shun yours, court their acquaintance and conversation, and report your opinion of their principles, talents and abilities; lay it

down as an invariable rule to address yourself to the passions and not the reason of those men, particularly if they are overheated with drinking; and you may depend upon it you will pick up some, to us unknown and useful truths and discoveries. If they are dissatisfied or disaffected, endeavor to find if ambition, avarice or patriotism, is the cause of their disaffection or complaint; and should they be men of parts, rank and distinction, give, with nonchalance, as a consolation, an indirect condemnation of their government, these things happen, and men are neglected, who in republics would probably be at the head of the state; and instead of suffering from princes, would command emperors and kings. Your own discretion will tell you, when such complaints are to be heard; such conversation to be suffered, and when such hints are to be thrown out; but at all times observe that you speak not in your official capacity, but as an individual and a military man, who interests yourself in the honor and content of all military men. Should any such conversation with firm and distinguished characters, be followed with any overtures or intrigues, make your report, and expect orders before you engage yourself any further.

With the chief of the demagogues or democrats associate seldom in public, but in private keep up the spirit of discontentment, of faction, and of hope; with inferior members of parties decline all both public and private society and connection; leave it to your inferior agents. As to pensions to individuals, or money to factious societies, make always your report, before you give your promise, and gain time to enquire into the characters of the persons, and what probable service may be derived from their societies; L. X. is, however, the first in person to transact those things; leave them, therefore, to himself you should expose yourself, and avoid, as much as possible, such intrigues or intrigues, except when some decisive blow is to be struck.

Should you by chance, meet in company with known republicans and reformers, take care to hint, that they are not to judge of the future conduct of the first consul in favour of liberty, from that which necessity forces him to adopt at present; that you are confident, should Providence preserve his life, and Europe once enjoy the tranquillity it has lost, by the late revolutionary convulsions, he will restore to Frenchmen, a greater portion of liberty than the Romans enjoyed in the time of the Gracchi; and that posterity shall not have to reproach him with permitting any other government to exist in Europe, but that of an universal republic.

In the company of aristocrats you are to hold a different language; speak of the dangers of innovation, the horrors of revolutions, and the necessity of ceasing to be any longer the dupes of speculative philosophers and revolutionary sceptics;—that the privileged orders are as necessary and indispensable in the present civilized state of mankind as equality is absurd, dangerous and impossible; and that such are the real sentiments of the first consul, his whole conduct since in power has proved.

England is the only country in the world where a diplomatic character of talents and judgment has so many and repeated opportunities to injure, to intrigue, to embroil, and at the same time to complain of wrongs and insults, & even when he is himself the offender, to speak as the offended; a paragraph in a newspaper, a word in a debate, or a toast at a club which he may have paid for or provoked, will furnish him easily with complaints every week, if not every day.

As the English ministers will probably shew some jealousy of our aggrandizement and our endeavors to exclude England from its former connections with the continent—should they make you any representations, on this or other subjects, meet their representations with complaints of the non-execution of the treaty of Amiens; of their tyrannies in the East-Indies;—of the libels in the newspapers—of the injuries and calumnies of their writers against the first

consul; and the protection offered to the Bourbons, and other French rebels.—Should, however, some unforeseen demand be made, or explanation insisted on, gain time—by referring to the decision of the first consul, and await his orders.

If any complaints are made about the seizure of British ships, or confiscation of British property in France;—say always that France is the proper place to arrange those matters; as England is for the arrangement of the claims of French citizens there.

Never give a direct answer to any proposals made, or to any sudden complaints or offers. The want of instructions, and the necessity to consult your government, are always acceptable and accepted excuses for delays, in political transactions; make use of them even if your mind is made upon the subject in question, for fear of committing yourself or blundering. Few political transactions are of a nature not admitting delays, and no delays can in the present state of Europe ever hurt any political transactions;—but a negotiator or minister, let his presence of mind be ever so great, and his abilities ever so tried; by giving a decisive, and not a temporizing answer, may by one moment's forgetfulness, do his cause and his country more harm than services of years could repair.

Endeavour if possible, to get an account of the real state of the East-India Company's finances;—and an exact list of all the native and European forces in the English pay in the East-Indies;—of what force they are, of what religion and language, and to what divisions they belong. Until our colonies there are in our power and the forces intended to be sent there have arrived, avoid all discussions concerning the usurpations of England, the complaints of the native princes, or any thing that can give reason to suspect our future plans. On this subject, until further orders, observe the utmost silence of the TREATY OF AMIENS.

Spare no pains to obtain every information possible of the weak or vulnerable parts in India; where the greatest discontent reigns; where the English are most hated, and the French most liked.

Amuse the ministers with the details of our misfortunes in the western atmosphere, so as to divert their attention from what we intend to do in the East. Be unceasing in your endeavors to persuade them that, without their assistance in ships and money, we are unable to conquer the rebels at St. Domingo; observe that it is the common cause of France and England to prevent a republic or rather an anarchical government in the West Indies, which, sooner or later, must extend to Jamaica, and the other British colonies, and cause their ruin or separation from the mother country. Should these arguments fail to determine England to afford us any assistance, and that you think the offer will be accepted, you may propose, that England should keep St. Eustatia as a security, until what it at present may advance, shall be repaid; and should the advances of England exceed 120 millions, any other Dutch colonies in the West-Indies (Surinam excepted) may be added as further security. Be careful, however, not to make those offers, without a certain prospect of success; and after all other means have been tried in vain.

Inquire how the public spirit is in Canada, if the inhabitants are yet attached to France; and if assisted by arms, ammunition, and money, whether there would be any prospect at a future war, that they should rise and throw off the English yoke; should any person of consequence and of sense from that country call upon you, say that his countrymen who emigrate to Louisiana shall be received with the same protection and privileges as French citizens; and that it was one of the motives of the first consul in getting back that settlement, to afford an asylum there to his oppressed and injured countrymen at Canada.

With the Spanish, Prussian, and Dutch ministers, you are to live upon the most friendly and intimate terms, do not however, lose sight of their