

STATE GAZETTE OF NORTH-CAROLINA.

EDENTON: PRINTED BY HENRY WILLS, JOINT PRINTER TO THE STATE WITH A. HODGE.

VOL. XI.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 21, 1796.

NUMB. 523.

FROM THE NEW-YORK MINERVA.

ABSTRACT of MR. RANDOLPH'S VINDICATION.

(Continued from our last.)

MR. FAUCHET'S CERTIFICATE.

MR. Randolph requests me to examine a dispatch, No. 10, addressed to the Comptroller of exterior relations; which has been transmitted to the President of the United States. I believe that I am bound to no explanation upon my communication to my government; when they are obtained by dark means of which I am ignorant; are communicated upon without doubt and mutilated according to the passions of those who use means to public and to generous. But Lowe to Mr. Randolph full and entire justice. I will render it to him with pleasure. Every thing which could be interpreted to his advantage will not leave; I hope, after the explanation which I shall give, my doubt upon the mind even of those who have transmitted the letter to the President. The means which I shall employ will be very simple. This will be to cite the dispatches to which I refer in my No. 10. Some preliminary reflections are necessary to explain them.

On my arrival on this continent the President gave me the most positive assurance, that he was the friend of the French cause. Mr. Randolph often repeated to me the same assurance. It was impossible for me not to give faith to it, (in spite of some public events relative to France which gave me some inquietude) especially when the Secretary of State constantly took pains to convince me of the sentiments of good will of his government for my Republic. It was doubtless to confirm me in this opinion that he communicated to me, without authority as I suppose, the part of Mr. Jay's instructions which should derogate from the engagements of the United States with France. My error, which was dear to me, was prolonged only by the continual efforts of Mr. Randolph to calm my fears both upon the treaty with England and upon the effect which it might produce on France. He was therefore far from wishing to me any act, any intention of government by virtue of any enrolment received by him, or for the expectation or hope of any recompence promised, or with any other view than to maintain a good harmony between France and the United States. As to the communications which he has made to me at different times, they were only of opinions, the greater part of which, I have heard circulated as opinions. I also recollect that on one occasion, at least which turned upon public measures, he observed to me that he could not enter into details upon some of them, because by doing so he should violate the duties of his office. From whence I have concluded and believe that he never communicated to me what his duty would reprove. I will observe here that none of his conversations with me concluded without his giving me the idea, that the President was a man of integrity; and a sincere friend to France. This explains in part what I mean by the terms "precious confessions." I proceed to other details relative thereto. I could allude only to explanations on his part upon matters which had caused to me some inquietude: And I have never insinuated, nor could I insinuate in that letter, that I suspected on his part even the most distant corruption. These explanations had equally for their object my different conversations upon Western affairs, as may be seen in the sequel of this declaration.

When I speak in this same paragraph in these words, "Besides the precious confessions of Mr. Randolph alone cast upon all which appears a satisfactory light," I have still in view only the explanations of which I have spoken above; and I must confess that very often I have taken for confessions what he might have to communicate to me by virtue of his secret authority. And many things which in the first instance I had considered as confessions, were the subject of public conversations. I

will say more. I will say, that I have had more than suspicion that certain confidences which have been made to me, were only to found my private opinion and the intentions of the French Republic; and I must appeal to the testimony of him, who this day claims mine. He must know if I ever endeavoured to meddle in the interior affairs of America, or even to influence by any means whatsoever, the sentiments of men whose talents had called them to the head of affairs.

All that is read from these words, "I proceed then, &c." to these "The first preparation, &c." is to be considered only as my own reflections arising from private information or from any communications of Mr. Randolph.

I have spoken of a conversation which Citizen Le Blanc and myself had with Mr. Randolph, and which I had communicated in my No. 3. It is easy to see that I consider the excursions which I draw from it, as pure and simple conjectures, as I express myself. This is an extract from that dispatch which I declare to be true. When I relate conversations of Mr. Randolph, I can easily suppose that as he spoke sometimes in English, most commonly in French, and I spoke always French, we might not have understood one another perfectly. And when I have not quoted Mr. Randolph expressly in the whole course of any observations, it is not under his authority that I speak.

As my dispatch No. 3, treats of different subjects at the same time, I shall extract from it only what concerns him, with the help of my own memory and in consequence of his questions.

The conversation which I cite took place in April, 1794. We were speaking of some political divisions which manifested themselves in different parts of the United States, and of which the public papers gave sufficient proofs. He appeared to me to be deeply afflicted at the idea of a violent conflict between the parties. He hoped to prevent it by the influence which he hoped to acquire with the President, who he said generally consulted him, and to whom he told truths which probably others concealed from him. I had heard mentioned, and I frequently mentioned to him myself the suspicions which were spread abroad, of the artifices of some influential men in the government, who were desirous of seeing the French cause ruined, and of uniting America more closely with Great-Britain than with France. He replied to me upon this. The President is the mortal enemy of England, for the outrages which she heaps upon the United States, and the injustice and perfidy which she shows in her conduct towards them; and the declared friend of France, I can affirm it upon my honour. He may, like other men who do not mix generally with the world, be circumvented by stratagem, prepared to surprize his judgement; and without doubt if he suffers himself to be taken in by any manœuvres, his popularity would be affected by it. He desires to give the government stability; others, under the pretext of giving energy to it, would surround the chief of the executive with more power than the Constitution delegates to him. But in spite of all the efforts, and notwithstanding the cause of France and the true spirit of the American people are painted to him under false colours, he escapes at this moment from the snares which are laid for him, and nothing will be able to prevent him from conducting himself towards Great Britain with the firmness, which the repeated outrages of this power demand. This, Mr. Faucher, is every thing, which I am at liberty to say to you. I will always treat with you with every frankness, which comports with my duty. As to myself, I would quit the post, which he has confided to me, if I could persuade myself, that he could accede to any act, which would affect the rights of the people. The bill, of which you speak, gives, it is true, to the Executive, some powers which if they should be abused, may wound liberty. I am sincerely affected by it. But I see with pleasure, that my reflections on the dreadful crisis, which would form such an abuse, have produced a deep impression on the mind of the

President, who is a man of honour. Let us unite, Mr. Faucher, let us unite our efforts in drawing close the bonds of the two nations. The friends of liberty are for an intimate union with France. The partisans of slavery prefer an alliance with England.

I now come to the explanation of my dispatch, No. 6. A little time after my arrival in America, I had requested Mr. Randolph to recommend to me the most proper persons with whom he was acquainted in the different states, to be employed in the purchase of flour. This request naturally led him to believe that there were persons employed in it, as there really were. We had frequent conversations upon the insurrection, and in all of them he manifested an unequivocal indignation against the fomenters of it, and a deep affliction at the dangers of a civil war. I had learned, as my dispatch, No. 10, shews, that the English were suspected of fomenting and supporting these manœuvres. I communicated my suspicions to Mr. Randolph. I had already communicated to him a Congress, which at that time was holden at New York. I had communicated to him fears, that this Congress would have for its object some manœuvres against the Republic of France, and to render unpopular some virtuous men who were at the head of affairs; to destroy the confidence which existed, on one hand, between General Clinton and his fellow-citizens, and on the other, that which united the President to Mr. Randolph. He said to me, that I ought to make efforts to obtain the proofs of this fact, and he added to me, that if I did so, the President would not hesitate to declare himself against all the manœuvres which might be directed against the French Republic. Things remained in this situation. About the month of July or August, in the last year, he came to see me at my country house. It was in the afternoon. He was to go that evening to Germantown. We had a private conversation about twenty minutes. His countenance bespoke distress. He said to me, that he was afraid that a civil war would soon ravage America. I enquired of him what new information was procured. He said that he began to believe that in fact the English were really fomenting the insurrection, and that he did not doubt that Mr. Hammond and his Congress would push some measures with respect to the insurrection, with an intention of giving embarrassment to the United States. He demanded of me, if, as my Republic was itself interested in these manœuvres, I could not by the means of some correspondents procure some information of what was passing. I answered him, that I believed I could. He replied on this, that having formed many connections by the means of flour contracts, three or four persons among the different contractors might, by talents, energy, and some influence, procure the necessary information, and save America from a civil war, by proving that England interfered in the troubles of the West. I do not recollect, that he gave to me at that time any details upon the manner, in which this discovery would produce this last effect. But I perfectly recollect to have heard it said by some person or other, that the insurgents would be abandoned by the greatest number of those whom they believed to be on their side; and that the militia would march with cheerfulness, if it were proved, that the English were at the bottom of those manœuvres. I think therefore, that this was probably the manner, in which he conceived that things would be settled; and that he thought, that the insurrection would cease from the want of support. At the moment of his mounting his horse, he observed to me, that the men whom I might be able to employ, might perhaps be debtors of English merchants; that in this case they might perhaps be exposed, on the slightest movement which they should make in this important affair, to see themselves harrassed by process and even arrested by the pursuits of their creditors. He asked me if the payments of sums which were due to them by virtue of the existing contracts, would not be sufficiently early to render these individuals, independent of British persecution,