DOCUMENT No.1

To George Washington from Gouverneur Morris, 4 February 1792From Gouverneur MorrisLondon 4 feby 1792

Exerpt 1

"I wrote to you on the twenty seventh of December but there were many things which I did not write, and some of them I will now communicate. At the Close of the Session of the first national Assembly a Coalition was brought about between *the Jacobins* and the *quatre vingt neufs*. It is proper to explain these Terms. The Jacobins, so called from their Meeting at a Convent or Church of that Name, were then the *violent Party...* The Chiefs of the Jacobins were violent for two Reasons. First that the *quatre vingt neufs* would not join with them seriously and heartily, wherefore not being able to make Head alone, they were obliged to use the Populace, and therefore to sacrifice to the Populace. Secondly that the Objects of their Desire were much greater, than those of the other Party; -the jacobins did really at first Desire to establish a free Constitution, in the Expectation that sooner or later they should be at the Head of it... as the Constitution was clearly unable to support itself, they began to perceive that its Ruin might involve their own, and therefore they formed a Coalition..."

Exerpt 2

"It was this Coalition which prevented the King from accepting the Constitution in a manlyManner, pointing out its capital Faults, marking the probable Consequences calling on them to reconsider it and declaring that his Submission to their Decisions arose from his Beleif that it was the only Means to avoid the Horrors of civil war. They saw that this Conduct would

render them responsible and altho it was the most likely Means of obtaining a good Constitution at a future Day, and would have bound the King down to the Principles he should then advance, Yet they opposed because such good Constitution would be established not only without, but even

against them, & would of Course deprive them of those Objects which they were in Pursuit of The King contended strongly for that Kind of Acceptance which I have just mentioned, but he was borne down, being threatned with popular Commotions fatal to himself and his Family, and with that civil War which he most wished to avoid as the necessary Result of such fatal Commotions."

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DOCUMENT No.2

From Thomas Jefferson to George Hammond, 29 May 1792 To George Hammond

Exerpt 1

"Sir-It has been a work of time and trouble to collect from the different States, all the acts themselves, of which you had cited the titles, and to investigate the judiciary decisions which were classed with those acts, as infractions of the Treaty of Peace....I have shewn that Congress did recommend earnestly and bonâ fide: that the States refused or complied, in a greater or less degree, according to circumstances, but more of them and in a greater degree than was expected: and that Compensation by the British treasury, to British sufferers, was the alternative of her own choice, our negotiators having offered to do that if she would compensate such losses as we had sustained by acts unauthorized by the modern and modera principles of war."

Exerpt 2

"II. Before entering on the subject of Debts, it was necessary to review the British infractions, and refer them to their exact dates....I have observed that these infractions were highly injurious;..After fixing the date of the British infractions, I have shewn That as they preceded so they produced the acts on our part complained of as obstacles to the recovery of the Debts That, induced at length, by assurances from the British court, that they would concur in a fulfilment of the treaty 87 4. That, indeed, the requiring such a repeal, was only to take away pretext:...III. Proceeding to the article of Interest, I have observed that the decision whether it shall, or shall not be allowed during the war, rests by our Constitution with the Courts altogether: That, if these have generally decided against the allowance, the reasons of their decision appear so weighty, as to clear them from the charge of that palpable degree of wrong which may authorize national complaint, or give a right of refusing execution of the treaty, by way That, induced at length, by assurances from the British court, that they would concur in a fulfilment of the treaty 87 4. That, indeed, the requiring such a repeal, was only to take away pretext:...III. Proceeding to the article of Interest, I have observed that the decision whether it shall, or shall not be allowed during the war, rests by our Constitution with the Courts altogether: That, if these have generally decided against the allowance, the reasons of their decision appear so weighty, as to clear them from the charge of that palpable degree of wrong which may authorize national complaint, or give a right of refusing execution of the treaty, by way of reprisal."sustained by acts unauthorized by the modern and modera principles of war."

Exerpt 3

"To vindicate them, I have stated shortly some of the reasons which support their opinion: That Interest during the war, was not expressly given by the Treaty: §. 57. I have now, Sir, gone through the several acts and proceedings enumerated in your Appendix, as infractions of the Treaty, omitting, I believe, not a single one, as may be seen by a Table hereto subjoined, wherein every one of them, as marked and numbered in your Appendix, is referred to the Section of this Letter in which it is brought into view; and the result has been, as you have seen 1. That there was no absolute stipulation to restore antecedent confiscations, and that none subsequent took place: That the recovery of the Debts was obstructed validly91 in none of our States, invalidly92001y in a few, and that not till long after the infractions committed on the other side: and That the decisions of courts and Juries against the claims of Interest,.. No 'lawful impediment has been

opposed to the prosecution of the just rights of your Citizens.' And if any instances of unlawful impediment have existed in any of the inferior tribunals, they would, like other unlawful proceedings, have been overruled on appeal to the higher Courts."

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DOCUMENT No.3

To George Washington from Gouverneur Morris, 23 October 1792From Gouverneur MorrisParis 23 October 1792

Exerpt 1

"Poor lafayette. Your Letter for him must remain with me yet some Time...It is therefore kept secret while he stands accus'd of Designs in Conjunction with the dethroned Monarch to enslave his Country. The Fact respecting this Correspondence is communicated to me by a Person to whom it was related confidentially by one of the Parties who examind it...You will have seen that the King is accus'd of high Crimes and Misdemeanors, but I verily beleive that he wish'd sincerely for this Nation the Enjoyment of the utmost Degree of Liberty which thier Situation and Circumstances will permit. He wish'd for a good Constitution, but unfortunately he had not the Means to obtain it, or if he had he was thwarted by those about him. What may be his Fate God only knows, but History informs us that the Passage of dethroned Monarchs is short from the Prison to the grave.

Exerpt 2

"I discover three capital Errors in the Conduct of the Duke of Brunswic. First his Proclamation arrogated Rights which on no Construction could belong to him or his Employers, and containd Threats which no Circumstances could warrant, and which in no supposeable Success could be executed....the Conduct observd towards Monsieurde la fayette and his Companions was a severe Comment on the Cruelty of the Text: thus in the same Moment he wounded the Pride, insulted the Feelings, and alarmd the Fears of all France....The second Error was not to dash at Paris the Instant he receivd the News of the Affair of the tenth...The third great Error was that after waiting so long He came forward at all this Season. By menacing the Frontiers with great and encreasing Force vast Numbers of the Militia would have been drawn to the utmost Verge of the french Territory..."

Exerpt 3

"The Appearances are so vague and Contradictory that I cannot pretend to tell you whether the Alliance will or will not be preservd for the next Campaign...France has a strong Ally in the Feelings of those Nations who are subject to Arbitrary Power; but for that very Reason she has a mortal Enemy in every Prince. —The Characters of Nations must be taken into Consideration in all political questions, and that of France has ever been an enthusiastic Inconstancy....Thus you will perceive Sir that Nothing can be predicated with tolerable Certainty respecting the Affairs of this Country either internal or external in the present moment."

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DOCUMENT No.5

To John Adams from Samuel Allyne Otis, 17 April 1793Philada.April 17th 1793

Exerpt

"I suppose by this time sober hill is in great glory, at least if your spring has been forward in any measure as ours has. And when we compare our peaceful Towns & happy villages with the garrisons & wasted fields of Europe we ought to bless God who has divided us by 1000 leagues of water. But the question occurs will this distance from that great awful & distressed Theatre of human misery & carnage prevent our embroiling ourselves in their quarrels? I think it will. I think there is a spirit of neutrality predominant as well in our government as our people...The people of the US are generally shockd at the murder of Lewis 16th. I really supposed you would turn out not a true prophet, when you predicted that Egaulite <, Start deletion, will, End,> would be so bloody. Is thy servant a dog that he should do this great wickedness? Yes.—He's a d—P— But I want words to express my abhorrence of such a set of miscreants—And a day is coming when the solemn question will sound like thunder in their ears "Had Zimri peace who slew his master?[, Start insertion,", End,] Yes "there is some chosen curse red with uncommon wrath," ready to fall on this wicked nation. But I gladly turn my eyes from so deplorable a prospect and Felicitate you upon the peaceful & flourish state of our own Country...Sam. A. Otis"

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DOCUMENT No.6

From George Washington to the Cabinet, 18 April 1793To the CabinetPhiladelphia April 18th 1793.

Exerpt

The posture of affairs in Europe, particularly between France and Great Britain, places the United States in a delicate situation; and Requires much consideration of the measures which will be proper for them to observe in the War betwn those Powers. With a view to forming a general plan of conduct for the Executive, I have stated and enclosed sundry questions to be considered preparatory to a meeting at my house to morrow; where I shall expect to see you at 9 'oclock, & to receive the result of your reflections thereon.

Question I. Shall a proclamation issue for the purpose of preventing interferences of the Citizens of the United States in the War between France & Great Britain &ca? Shall it contain a declaration of Neutrality or not? What shall it contain?

Quest. IV Are the United States obliged by good faith to consider the Treaties heretofore made with France as applying to the present Situation of the parties. May they either renounce them, or hold them suspended 'till the Government of France shall be established.

Questn V If they have the right is it expedient to do either—and which?Questn VI If they have an option—would it be a breach of Neutrality to consider theTreaties still in operation?

VIII Does the War in which France is engaged appear to be offensive or defensive on her part? or of a mixed & equivocal character?

XIII Is it necessary or advisable to call together the two Houses of Congress with a view to the present posture of European Affairs?4 If it is, what should be the particular objects of such a call?

DOCUMENT No.7

To Thomas Jefferson from Gouverneur Morris, 19 April 1793From Gouverneur MorrisParis 19 April 1793

Exerpt 1

"There seems to be more of Treason in this Country than was imagind, and every Day increases Suspicions which whether well or ill founded has always the Effect of distracting the public Councils. Most People wonder at the Delay of the Prince de Cobourg, but besides the Necessity of collecting his Magazines Artillery &ca., which is a very heavy Affair, I have Reason to beleive that he waits untill some other Schemes are ready for Execution, and therefore it may be yet four or five Days before he commences the Siege of Valenciennes...It is said here (and those who say so to me tell me that they speak on good Authority) that the Powers allied against France begin already to be disunited. That they will disagree (if very successful) there can be little Doubt, because they are actuated by different Interests and Motives, but I think that at present those who assert the Disunion rather speak from Induction than from Information. Custine has retired you see to Weissembourg, and there he has a bad Position. The Enemy will probably attempt to cut off his Retreat before they attack him in Front. As yet we do not learn that the Austrians have cross'd the Rhine in upper Alsace, and that will be perhaps a Preliminary to the Operations against him."

Exerpt 1

"...Here they hang People for giving an Opinion in favor of Royalty (that is they cut off their Heads) but yet I am told that such Opinion is openly avow ed and supported in the Streets. I am told that there is a Majority even of the Convention who think a King necessary, but as they see the Loss of their own Lives in Connection with the ReEstablishment of the Throne, it is not to be suppos'd that they would tell such Thoughts; and therefore the Information may well be suspected...The Storm thickens all round us, "...Here they hang People for giving an Opinion in favor of Royalty (that is they cut off their Heads) but yet I am told that such Opinion is openly avow ed and supported in the Streets. I am told that there is a Majority even of the Convention who think a King necessary, but as they see the Loss of their own Lives in Connection with the ReEstablishment of the Throne, it is not to be suppos'd that they would tell such Thoughts; and therefore the Information may well be suspected...The Storm thickens all round us, but as yet one cannot certainly determine how it will burst. The Attempts made to excite Disturbances in Paris have hitherto prov'd ineffectual, but that Stroke seems to be reserv'd for the Moment when the Deputies now on Commission in the Departments shall return. It is possible, meerly possible, that all may go off smoothly, but the Chances are greatly the other Way. I am my dear Sir with Esteem & Respect your obedient Servant Gouv. Morris

P.S. I should have mention'd that I am told there is a Plan in Operation here to detach Great Britain from the Confederation and make a seperate Peace with her but I am perswaded that the Attempt in itself vain must fail from the Parties said to be employ'd if from no other Cause."

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DOCUMENT No.8

Cabinet Meeting. Opinion on a Proclamation of Neutrality and on Receiving the French Minister, [19 April 1793]

Exerpt 1

"At a meeting of the heads of departments & the Attorney general at the President's Apr. 19. 1793. by special summons to consider of several questions previously communicated to them in writing by the President.1

Qu. I. Shall a Proclamation issue &c.? (see the questions) agreed by all that a Proclamation shall issue, forbidding our citizens to take part in any hostilities on the seas with or against any of the belligerant powers, and warning them against carrying to any such powers any of those articles deemed contraband according to the modern usage of nations, and enjoining them from all acts and proceedings inconsistent with the duties of a friendly nation towards those at war.2

Qu. II. Shall a Minister from the Republic of France be received? agreed unanimously that he shall be received.

Qu. III If received, shall it be absolutely &c. [The Attorney general & Secretary of state are of opinion he shoud be received absolutely & without qualifications. The Secretaries of the Treasury & War?]3 This & the subsequent questions are postponed to another day.4"

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DOCUMENT No.10

To George Washington from Gouverneur Morris, 18 October 1793From Gouverneur MorrisParis 18 October 1793

Exerpt 1

"You will see by the Official Correspondence that your orders are complied with, and that your Intentions are fulfilled. I Permit me on this occasion to remark that had the People of America been well inform'd of the State of Things on this Side of the Atlantic, no one would have dar'd to adopt the Conduct which Mr Genest has pursued. In reading the few Gazettes which have reach'd me I am surprizd to see so little sound Intelligence....You will observe that one of the ordinary Measures of Government is to send out Commissioners with unlimited Authority. They are invested with Power to remove Officers chosen by the People and put others in their Place. This Power as well as that of imprisoning on Suspicion is liberally exercis'd...The Queen was executed the Day before Yesterday. Insulted during her Trial and reviled in her last moments she behav'd with Dignity throughout. This Execution will I think give to future Hostilities a deeper Dye and unite more intimately the allied Powers. It will silence the Opposition of those who would not listen to the Dismembrement of this Country, and therefore it may be concluded that the Blow by which she died was directed from a Distance. But whatever may be the Lot of France in remote Futurity, and putting aside the military Events, it seems evident that she must soon be governd by a single Despot. Whether she will pass to that Point thro the Medium of a Triumvirate or other smaller Body of Men seems as yet undetermind. I think it most probable that she will. A great and awful Crisis seems to be near at Hand. A Blow is I am told meditated which will shroud in Grief and Horror a guilty Land. Already the Prisons are surcharg'd with Persons who consider themselves as Victims. Nature recoils: and I yet Hope that these Ideas are circulated only to inspire. Fear. I am my dear Sir very truly yours Gouvr Morris"

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DOCUMENT No.11

Neutrality Proclamation, 22 April 1793

Exerpt 1

"Whereas it appears that a state of war exists between Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, Great-Britain, and the United Netherlands, of the one part, and France on the other, and the duty and interest of the United States require, that they should with sincerity and good faith adopt and pursue a conduct friendly and impartial toward the belligerent powers: I have therefore thought fit by these presents to declare the disposition of the United States to observe the conduct aforesaid towards those powers respectively; and to exhort and warn the citizens of the United States carefully to avoid all acts and proceedings whatsover, which may in any manner tend to contravene such disposition.And I do hereby also make known that whosoever of the citizens of the United States shall render himself liable to punishment or forfeiture under the law of nations, by committing, aiding or abetting hostilities against any of the said powers, or by carrying to any of them those articles, which are deemed contraband by the modern usage of nations, will not receive the protection of the United States,..."

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