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MR. ADAM's correspondence continued.

To the Printers of the Boston Patriot

SIRS,

WHEN I had received that authentic act of the sovereign authority o France, a copy of which is inserted in my last letter to you, communicated by their Secretary of State, thro' their Secretary of Legation and Charge des Affaires, and our minister at the Hague, fully complying with all my requisitions, upon mature deliberation I determined to nominate a minister to France. Some of the communications from France had been accompanied with intimations concerning the characters proper to be employed, which I thought exceptionable, and that they might be made a pretext for again rejecting a minister. I considered, moreover, that France was an undulating ocean in a violent storm; party had exterminated party, and constitution had succeeded constitution, as billow rolls and roars, froths and foams after billow in the Gulph Stream. I knew, that in the nature of things, an executive authority in five persons could not last long in France or any where else: and we were already informed that the Directory was divided into parties, three against two, and that the majority in the Legislative Assembly adhered to the two, and the minority to the three. A revolution then was to be expected, and the new government might not feel themselves bound by the assurances given by their predecessors. To avoid the possibility of these inconveniences, I provided as cautiously and effectually against them as I could, in my message to the Senate, which never has been published. If this message had been made public, with its contents, the public dispatch from France, I have confidence enough in the candor of the nation, to believe that it would have obviated many a silly and many a malicious criticism. It was in these words—

Gentlemen of the Senate,

I transmit to you a document which seems to be intended to be a compliance with a condition mentioned at the conclusion of my message to Congress, of the 21st of June last. Always disposed and ready to embrace every plausible appearance of probability of preserving or restoring tranquility, I nominated William Vans Murray, our minister resident at the Hague, to be minister plenipotentiary of the United States to the French Republic. If the Senate shall advise and consent to his appointment, effectual care shall be taken in his instructions, that he shall not go to France without direct and unequivocal assurances from the French government, signified by their minister of foreign relations, that he shall be received in character; shall enjoy the privileges attached to his character by the law of nations, and that a minister of equal rank, title and powers shall be appointed to treat with him, to discuss and conclude all controversies between the two republics by a new treaty.

JOHN ADAMS.

February 18, 1799.

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In this manner effectual provision was made against any and every possible insidious use of the insinuations concerning characters proper to be employed, and who would be likely to succeed. In this manner also, provision was made against the possible, and indeed highly probable and fully expected revolution in the French government. Mr. Murray was not to advance a step towards Paris from the Hague, until after he should have received from the French government, whatever it might be, a repetition of assurances, officially communicated, that he in person should be received.

When this message was received in the Senate, it was postponed, as the greatest part of executive business usually was, for consideration. A great clamor was raised among the members of the House of Representatives, and out of doors, and an abundance of squibs, scoffs and sarcasms in what were then called the federal newspapers, particularly Cobbett's Porcupine and John Ward Fenno's United States' Gazette. And by whom were these written? As I was informed by M'Donald, the Scottish British commissioner, for adjusting the claims of British creditors, and by William Smith, the British agent for claimants before that board of commissioners, of whom M'Donald was one. There were other writers besides these; but I will not condescend to name any others at present. It was given out that John Ward Fenno was the writer of the most important of them, and he was represented as a masterly writer, possessed of a most eloquent pen. *But the pen was not his.*

This was not all. Something much more serious to me soon took place. A committee of the Senate called upon me, whether appointed on record, or whether by private concert, I know not. I was distressed, because I thought the procedure unconstitutional. However, I was determined that not one disrespectful word should escape me concerning the Senate or any member of it, and to that resolution I carefully adhered; and in relating the conference with those honorable gentlemen, which shall appear in my next letter, the same decorum shall be observed

JOHN ADAMS.

Quincy, April 22, 1809.

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To the Printers of the Boston Patriot.

SIRS.

The gentlemen of the Senate informed me, that they came to confer with me on the subject of the nomination of Mr. Murray to France; that there was a considerable dissatisfaction with it, and they desired to know for what reasons I had preferred Mr. Murray to so many others abroad and at home. My answer to the gentlemen was, that I thought Mr. Murray a gentleman of talents, address and literature, as well as of great worth and honor, every way well qualified for the service, and fully adequate to all that I should require of him, which would be a strict compliance with his instructions, which I should take care to provide for him on all points, in terms that he could not misunderstand.—That my motives for nominating him in preference to others, were simply, because the invitation from the French government, had been transmitted through him, and because he was so near to Paris, that he might be there in three or four days, and because his appointment would cause a very trifling additional expence.

They then enquired why I had not nominated Mr. King? I answered that if Mr. King had been in Holland, I certainly should not have thought of any other character. But he was our ambassador in England, then at war with France, and it would be considered by France as an insult, to send them an ambassador, who, as soon as he had accomplished his business, was to return to England, and carry with him all the information he might have collected in Paris. That the French government would suspect me of a design to send them a spy for the court of St. James's. That I presumed Mr. King at that time would not be pleased to be removed from England to France, for perpetuity or permanence. Besides, that the difficulty of communication between England and France, would necessarily occasion an indefinite delay in procuring the necessary passports, and that much depended upon the promptitude and dispatch with which the negociation should be conducted.

The gentlemen asked why I had not nominated our minister plenipotentiary at Berlin?—Neither the remarks with which they accompanied this question, nor the reasons which I gave them in answer, need to be detailed to the public.

I added, gentlemen I maturely considered all these things before I nominated Mr. Murray; and I considered another gentleman, whom you have not mentioned, Mr. Humphries, at Madrid; but the same objections of distance and delay account in his case as well as that of Mr. Adams. The gentlemen all agreed that there would have been no advantage in nominating him more than Mr. Murray.

The gentlemen then enquired why I had not nominated a commission of three or five in preference to a single gentleman. The answer was, that I had a long experience of ten years in this kind of business, and had often acted in commissions with various other gentlemen, and I had three times been commissioned alone. That I had found in general that business could be better done by one than by many, in much less time and with much less perplexity. That the business to be done by Mr. Murray, would be nothing more than obedience to his instructions, and that would be performed as well by one as by three. That the delay must be great in sending gentlemen from America, and the expence greatly augmented. That very much depended upon the celerity of the enterprize.

The gentlemen thought that a commission would be more satisfactory to the Senate and to the public. I said although this was not perfectly consonant to my own opinion, I could in such a case easily give up my own to the public, and if they advised it, I would send another message and nominate a commission of three; but Mr. Murray would be one, for after having brought his name before the public, I never would disgrace him by leaving him out. The gentlemen acquiesced, and one of them, whom I took to be their chairman, was pleased to say, "after this very enlightened explanation of the whole business, I am perfectly satisfied." The others appeared to acquiesce, and took their leave.—The next morning I sent another message, which shall appear in my next letter.

JOHN ADAMS.

Quincy, April 26, 1809.

WASHINGTON CITY.

MONDAY, MAY 15.

We took occasion, a short time since, to assign some of the reasons, which, in our opinion, recommended the proposed mission to Russia. These were altogether of a general nature, and were chiefly founded on the great and increasing importance of Russia, and her congeniality of character with the United States. Her importance has not been disputed; but her congeniality of character has. This has been absurdly denied, from the different structure of the governments of the two nations. But this argument, in proving too much proves nothing; for were correspondent governments or political principles required as preliminaries to diplomatic intercourse, it might be safely affirmed that there is not a nation on earth with whom we ought to be thus united. When, therefore, the term congeniality of character was used, the palpable meaning was that there existed between the U. States and Russia that common interest, which springs from the correspondent habits and pursuits of their citizens, and from the advantage which will mutually accrue to them from the establishment of the same maritime principles.

The indisputable fact is that in this respect the faculties of Russia are but imperfectly understood in this country; nor are the liberal views of the reigning emperor, and his unceasing exertions to enlighten his subjects and make them worthy of a milder administration so well known as they ought to be.

Among those tracts, which furnish us with the most comprehensive and authentic statements of the resources of the Russian empire and its astonishing progress in their developement, *Oddy's European Commerce* stands foremost. Unless something more interesting should offer, we shall lay before our readers copious extracts, which, if they should even fail in leading to the same results, will at least supply facts of no mean intrinsic interest.

EXTRACTS.

"The immense extent of country in Europe and Asia, now comprehended under the general name of the Russian empire, has only emerged from barbarian within these two centuries. Except in incursions and wars of depredation, the more ignorant portion of society has always been inferior in power to that which is the more enlighted.

"Since the modern methods of making war, this distinction, given by civilization and wealth, has become infinitely greater than ever and completed the superiority.

"When Russia is more improved and better cultivated, as it no doubt soon will be, the exports and imports from other nations will greatly increase; besides, the navigation of the Black sea, in a central situation, and surrounded by the finest and most fertile country in the world, if it was inhabited by a more wealthy and civilized race of men, would greatly tend to the increase of trade.

"Amongst other things that take place, as civilization is introduced, population increases with the means of existence. Countries that enjoy a fertile soil and fine climate attain ordinarily from one hundred and fifty, to two hundred inhabitants for every English square mile; but if Russia were only to attain to one third of the lowest degree, (or fifty,) which is not quite equal to Poland, the population would then amount to one hundred and twenty-five millions, which would afford a degree of commerce, and be attended with an increase of power that must greatly change both the mercantile and political interests of Europe.

"Within these two last centuries, this great change began, & during the reign of Peter the Great, one hundred years ago, its progress was accelerated. It ceased to increase so fast after the death of that monarch, till within these fifty years, under the late Empress; since which time, it has advanced in power and importance with great rapidity.

"As all over Europe the progress of advancement has been greatly accelerated, during the last thirty years of the eighteenth century, Russia has partaken of the general movement; but owing to its immense size, and its being far behind the others, it has changed still more rapidly than any other; for in 1762, when the empress Catharine mounted the throne, it was a second rate power; it is now not only in the first rank by land, but might soon be a second rate power at sea, if it knew its own resources.

"The great means with which nature has furnished Russia, together with the example of other nations that are in a more advanced state, added to the facility with which arts, inventions and improvements in general, are now disseminated, give its monarchs an ambition to make it that great empire for which it seemed by nature intended. The plans traced out by Peter the Great, lead naturally to the same end; so that, perhaps, there never was any country which, owing to a vast concurrence of circumstances, had so great an energy, both physical and moral, as we find combined in the Russian empire.

"The revenues are at present but small, in comparison to the population,* and according to the extent still less; but they are increasing, and the value of money is greater there than in most other countries, so that, merely by a numerical comparison, the proportion is not fairly ascertained. The revenues of Russia, if estimated at ten millions sterling, will, in that country, go as far in military services and the main expences of government as thirty millions would in England

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"Russia contains near the seventh part of the continent, and almost a twenty-sixth part of the whole globe. The extent from west to east, viz. from 39 1 4 to 287 1 4 degrees of longitude, contains 168 degrees; and if the islands of the Eastern ocean be included, it will then contain 185.

"This great empire is divided into three divisions; from the 57th degree towards the north pole forms the northern division; between the 57th and the 50th degree of latitude forms the middle division; and the southern division begins at the 50th degree of latitude, and extends to the southern boundary of the Russian dominions.

"The northern division abounds with all sorts of fish, some cattle, wild animals, and some of the metals, and much wood, though the latter diminishes in size, as it approaches the north.

"The middle division is not only preferable, from its being a more temperate climate, but because it furnishes the greatest part of the produce for the export of Russia, as well as for its manufactures. In this division grow the hemp and flax, as well as different sorts of grain; the cattle are here generally fatter; tallow, hides, and glue are produced here in greater quantities than in the northern parts: iron, copper, silver, and gold, and by far the finest fir timber come from hence.

"The south division is more productive in cattle than the middle division, but not equally so in other articles, though from its climate it may be made to produce fruits, wines, and most of the luxuries of life."

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"The external communications of Russia, by water, are by the White, the Baltic, and the Black sea, and the Pacific Ocean. The Caspian sea, the great lakes of Ladoga, Onega, Peipus, Ilmen, and Baikal, give rise to and facilitate the great internal commerce.

"The principal rivers of Russia in Europe, which fall into those seas, or are connected with those lakes, either naturally, or by canals, shall be briefly stated, to shew the great interior communications, tending also to facilitate the *external* commerce.

"*Rivers which fall into the North or White Seas.*

"The principal river that falls into the North or White sea is the Dwina, which receives this name on being joined by the Yuga and Sukhona, both which take their rise in the government of Wologda. The Yuga becomes navigable at the Pristan of Nekolsk; in spring, barks laden with corn, go down it into the Dwina; but in summer, this river is only navigable for boats. The Sukhona takes its rise from the lake of Kubenski, in the government of Wologda. On the Dwina stands Archangel, by which the ancient commerce of Russia was carried on, and it is now the same, for centuries back—the principal river for the inland and foreign trade from the White sea.

"The Onega takes its rise on the north side of the lake Beloji, which falls into the lake of Boshe. On passing through this lake, the Onega bears the name of Wid or Swid; and then only receives the name of Onega on having passed through the lake Latche.

"*Rivers which fall into the Baltic sea.*

"The Kymmene, only remarkable as a frontier river, divides Russia & Sweden, and falls into the Gulph of Finland, near Frederickstadt: taking its rise in Finland; the navigation of it is very tedious, though short.

"The Neva runs out of the Ladoga lake, and falls into the Gulph of Finland, below Petersburgh, and is of the greatest consequence to Russia, both for the inland and foreign trade. The waters that run from the mountains of Findland and Waldai, gather into the Onega and Ilmen lakes; these lakes discharge themselves into the Lagoda lake; which last has no other discharge than the Neva, which divides itself into several branches at its mouth, runing through the city of Petersburg.

"The Narova falls into the Gulph of Findland, about nine miles below the city of Narva, deriving its source from the Peipus lake.

"The Pernau, which falls into the bay of Riga, by the town of Pernau, takes in its course the rivulets of Fellin and Fennern; and only becomes navigable thirty-five versts from its source.

"The Duna, which has its source in the government of Twer, not far from that of the Wolga and Dnieper, falls into the bay of Riga, by the city of that name. This very useful river takes its rise in the neighborhood of the lake Seliger, in a bog, and is encreased by many other rivers falling into it; namely, the Toropa, so called from the town of Toropetz; the Mjeha, the Kasplja, the Lutchossa, the Ulla, which rises out of the lake Beloje; the Drissa is only navigable when the waters are high, like the Ewst and the Oger. There are some water-falls in the Duna; one produced by a chalk cliff, not far above Riga, goes straight across the river; the navigation of it is the most dangerous when the water is low.

Rivers which fall into the Black Sea.

"The Dnieper takes its rise in the government of Smolenski, not far from whence the Wolga and Duna have their source, and passes south

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*From the 18th of Feb. 1803, to the 18th of Feb. 1804, there were married in the empire, 302,467 couples. Died 791,979 persons. Born 1,279,321, which last number, multiplied by 30, gives 38,379,630 for the population of Russia. In such accounts as these, nothing can be exaggerated, but much may have been forgotten, and something must have been omitted; so that 40,000,000 will be a fair estimate of people in that great empire.