

naturally occur to you & wh. will doubtless be held in view in the measures of the ensuing Session.

You have seen by my past communications that *the affair of the Missisipi was lost or rather taken from this government by the mission of Pinkney—that before he past here the French minister was instructed to secure it in the treaty with Spain & which has been since confirmed to me by the Minister himself. But as P. passed thro here without mentioning the subject and which he could not do without shewing the treaty above mentioned it was concluded their interference would²⁸ be deemed impertinent & so givin up to his care. The friendship shewn in the other instance proves it would have been in this if asked. Indeed the manner in which this Algerine business is conducted is calculated to take the aid of France without giving her the credit of it—for altho' we pursue her plan in everything and our agent goes hence with her passport and under her patronage and I am authorised to declare and have declared in my communications that without her aid we have no prospect of success within our (resources, yet our agent Mr Hichburn takes his commission from our)²⁹ minister at Portugal³⁰ (now here) and to whom at Portugal he will render an account of his mission if it succeeds to be ratified conditionally by that minister there subject to the approbation of the president and Senate. Thus it will appear as if the whole proceeded from him at Portugal and France will appear to have had as little to do with it, even by circumstances as if it had proceeded from the moon. This however is a piece with all our other European transactions: we strive to filch the aid of this government in all cases where we can without letting the world know it deceiving the latter by pompous missions which appear to rest on ourselves alone. The above fact however if it succeeds with respect to Algiers ought to be made known in America. You will agree with me that to ask a favour under existing circumstances and without being able to explain the contents of a certain treaty is not a very dignified system of policy.*

What course will be taken with respect to *England* under existing circumstances it is difficult to foresee. I have long since made it known that in case the treaty was disapproved it woud. be easy to secure the aid of this government in support of our demands upon England. Nay I am convinced that if our deportment was such in regard to England as to inspire confidence in France she woud. make no peace which did not go hand in hand with a proved³¹ ground for our claims and injuries. The negociation however should be in the hands of a person in whom this government can confide and be conducted where the French negociation was conducted either here or at Basle. Suitable measures too shod. be taken at home by laying hold of their property vessels &c and by taking the posts if not invading Canada. This woud. be acting like a nation

tionary debts owed by U.S. citizens, which a commission established by the treaty determined to have been delayed by "lawful Impediments since the Peace" (ibid., 2:249-50).

24. The French victory at Fleurus on 26 June 1794 had forced the allies to evacuate the Austrian Netherlands.

25. Monroe was probably referring to the difficulties of the Royal Navy in maintaining a blockade at Toulon in 1794 and to the engagements off Brest between Admirals Richard Lord Howe and Louis Thomas Villaret-Joyeuse on 26 and 29 May and 1 June 1794 (Lefebvre, *French Revolution*, 2:19-20).

26. Monroe miscoded, and JM decoded, "nom."

27. See Monroe to JM, ca. 23 July 1795, and n. 6.

28. Monroe miscoded, and JM decoded, "contest."

29. In the duplicate Monroe's clerk skipped a line, omitting the words and numbers for the coded words in angle brackets; thus, JM did not decode this line.

30. Benjamin Hichborn (1746-1817), a prominent Boston lawyer and ardent Republican, had been in France since 1794. He was involved in business ventures with James Swan and had negotiated sales for the Commission des Subsistances of France. He declined the mission to Algiers, and Monroe appointed Joel Barlow in his stead. U.S. minister to Portugal David Humphreys, however, had also authorized Joseph Donaldson to negotiate with Algiers. Without any assistance from France, Donaldson concluded a treaty with the dey, Hasan Pasha, on 5 Sept. 1795 (Paul Goodman, *The Democratic-Republicans of Massachusetts: Politics in a Young Republic* [Cambridge, Mass., 1964], p. 107; Monroe to Timothy Pickering, 4 Oct. 1795, Hamilton, *Writings of Monroe*, 2:370-75; Ray W. Irwin, *The Diplomatic Relations of the United States with the Barbary Powers, 1776-1816* [Chapel Hill, N.C., 1931], pp. 70-73).

31. Monroe miscoded, and JM decoded, "pro cap."

32. The Treaty of Basel was concluded between France and Hesse-Cassel on 28 Aug. 1795 (de Clercq, *Recueil des traités de la France*, 1:264-66).

33. In the duplicate Monroe added a postscript: "The articles of furniture requested are ready & will leave this for Havre in a few days. I will have them insured if possible. I shall send an invoice in dolrs. so that you will know what duty to pay. Remember me to Mr. Beckley, Majr. Bulter [*sic*], our senators[,] Giles & all friends."

From John Beckley

DEAR SIR,

PHILADELPHIA, 10th: September 1795.

I have purposely delayed answering your favor of the 10th: Ulto.¹ until now, because of some political events here of a nature the most extraordinary, and in which you, as well as others, stand particularly involved and named;² they stand connected with the causes of Mr: Randolphs resignation, and will be fully explained to you by Mr: Nicholas. To that Gentleman I must also refer you for all other news foreign & domestic, and he will hand you a packet containing Smiths pamphlet in favor of the treaty³ and three numbers of Cary's remembrancer.⁴ I have been and am still much occupied in a removal from my late residence to