

# The Connecticut Centinel.

"PATRONS AND FRIENDS—THE MEN OF STERLING WORTH,  
'TIS YOU WHO CALL OUR GRATEFUL FEELINGS FORTH;  
FIRMLY IN FEDERAL PATHS WE STILL WILL TREAD,  
NOR NEED THE WASPS THAT BUZZ AROUND OUR HEAD."

NORWICH, (CONNECTICUT)—PUBLISHED FOR LUCY TRUMBULL.—TUESDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1802.

## Paine's Epistles.

THE "galled jadge still winces"—The man who, in the same letter calls Mr. ADAMS the late President of the United States, a "BEAR," complains of the lacerations of the federal presses! READERS—Is not this gulping a whortleberry and swallowing a Mammoth?  
Bost. Cent.

THOMAS PAINE,  
TO THE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES.

### LETTER THE FOURTH.

AS Congress is on the point of meeting, the public papers will necessarily be occupied with the debates of the ensuing Session, and as in consequence of my long absence from America, my private affairs require my attendance (for it is necessary I do this, or I could not preserve, as I do, my Independence) I shall close my address to the public with this letter.

I congratulate them on the success of the late elections, and that with the additional confidence that while honest men are chosen and wise measures pursued neither the treason of apathy, masked under the name of federalism, of which I have spoken in my second letter, nor the intrigues of foreign emissaries, acting in concert with that mask, can prevail.

As to licentiousness of papers calling themselves federal, a name that opostasy has taken, it can hurt nobody but the party or the persons who support such papers. There is naturally a wholesome pride in the public mind that revolts at the open vulgarity. It feels it self dishonored by hearing it, as a chaste woman feels dishonored by hearing obscenity she cannot avoid. It can smile at wit, or be diverted with strokes of satirical humor, but it detests the blackguard. The same sense of propriety that governs in private companies govern in public life. If a man in company runs his wit upon another it may draw a smile from the persons present, but as soon as he turns a blackguard in his language the company gives him up, and it is the same in public life. The event of the late elections shows this to be true; for in proportion as those papers have become more and more vulgar and abusive, the elections have gone more against the party they support or that supports them. Their predecessors, Porcupine had wit. Those scribblers have none. But as soon as his blackguardism (for it is the proper name of it) outrun his wit, he was abandoned by every body but the English Minister that protected him.

The Spanish proverb says, "there never was a cover large enough to hide itself," and the proverb applies to the case of those papers and the shattered remnant of the faction that supports them. The falsehoods they fabricate, & the abuse they circulate, is a cover to hide something from being seen, but is not large enough to hide itself. It is a tub thrown out to the whale to prevent its attacking and sinking the vessel. They want to draw the attention of the public from thinking about or enquiring into, the measures of the late administration the reason why so much public money was raised and expended. And so far as a lie to day, and a new one to-morrow, will answer this purpose it answers theirs. It is nothing to them whether they be believed or not, for if the negative purpose be answered the main point is answered to them.

He that picks your pocket always tries to make you look another way. • Look, says he, at yon man together side the street,—what a nose he has got!—Lord yonder is a chimney on fire I'd ye see yon man going along in the salamander great coat! That is the very man that stole one of Jupiter's satellites and sold

it to a countryman for a gold watch, and it set his breeches on fire. Now the man that has his hand in your pocket does not care a farthing whether you believe what he says or not. All his aim is to prevent our looking at him; and this is the case with the remnant of the federal faction. The leaders of it have imposed upon the country, and they want to turn the attention of it from the subject.

In taking up any public matter I have never made it a consideration and never will, whether it be right or wrong. The right will always become the Popular if it has courage to shew itself, and the shortest way is always a straight line. I despise expedients; they are the gutter-hole of politics, and the sink where reputation dies. In the present case, as in every other, I cannot be accused of using any; and I have no doubt but thousands will hereafter be ready to say, as Governor Morris said to me, after, having abused me pretty handsomely in Congress, for the opposition I gave to the fraudulent demand of Silas Deane of two hundred thousand pounds sterling, Well! we were all duped and I among the rest.

Were the late administration, to be called upon to give reasons for the expense it put the country to, it can give none. The danger of invasion was a bubble that sprang as a cover to raise taxes and armies to be employed for some other purpose. But if the people of America believed it true, the cheerfulness with which they supported those taxes, is an evidence of their patriotism, and if they supposed me their enemy, though in that supposition they did me injustice, it was not injustice in them. He that acts as he believes, though he may act wrong, is not conscious of wrong.

But though there was no danger, no thanks are due to the late administration for it. They sought to blow up a flame between the two countries; and so intent were they upon this; that they went out of their way to accomplish it. In a letter which the secretary of state, Timothy Pickering, wrote to Mr. Skipwith, the American consul at Paris, he broke off from the official subject of his letter to thank God in very exulting language, that the Russians had cut the French army in pieces. Mr. Skipwith, after shewing me the letter, very prudently concealed it.

It was the injudicious and wicked acrimony of this letter, and some other like conduct of the then secretary of state, that occasioned me in a letter to a friend in the government, to say, that if there was any official business to be done in France, till a regular minister should be appointed, it could not be trusted with a more proper person than Mr. Skipwith. He is, said I, an honest man, and will do business, and that with good manners to the government he is commissioned to act with, a faculty which that Bear Timothy Pickering wanted, and which the Bear of that Bear, John Adams, never possessed.

In another letter to the same friend in 1797, and which was put, unsealed under a cover to Col. Burr, I expressed a satisfaction that Mr. Jefferson since he was not president, had accepted the vice presidency, for, said I, "John Adams has such a talent for blundering & offending, it will be necessary to keep an eye over him." He has now sufficiently proved that though I have not the spirit of prophecy I have the gift of judging right; and all the world knows, for it cannot help knowing, that to judge rightly, and to write clearly, and that upon all sorts of subjects; to be able to command thought, and as it were, to play with it at pleasure, & be always master of one's temper in writing, is the faculty only of a serene mind, and the attribute of happy and philosophical temperance. The scribblers who know me not, and who, fill their papers with paragraphs about me, besides their want of talents, dripp too

many slings and drams in a morning to have any chance with me. But poor fellows! they must do something for the little pittance they get from their employers. This is my apology for them.

My anxiety to get back to America was great for several years. It is the country of my heart, and literary birth. It was the American revolution that made me an author, and forced into action the mind that had been dormant, and had no wish for public life; nor has it now. By the accounts I received, she appeared to me to be going wrong, and that some meditated treason against her liberties lurked at the bottom of her government. I heard that my friends were oppressed, and I longed to take my standing among them; and if other "times to tug men's souls" were to arrive that I might bear my share. But my efforts to return were ineffectual.

As soon as Mr. Munroe had made a good standing with the French government, for the conduct of his predecessor had made his reception as minister difficult, he wanted to send dispatches, to his own government, by a person to whom he could also confide a verbal communication; and he fixed his choice upon me. He then applied to the committee of public safety for a passport; and as an application to them for that purpose would have made my going publicly known, I was obliged to sustain the disappointment and Mr. Munroe to lose the opportunity.

When that gentleman left France to return to America, I was to have come with him. It was fortunate I did not. The vessel he sailed in was visited by a British frigate that searched every part of it, and down to the hold for Thomas Paine. I then went, the same year to embark at Harve. But several British frigates were cruising in sight of the port who knew I was there, and I had to return again to Paris. Seeing myself thus cut off from every opportunity of returning that was in my power to command, I wrote, to Mr. Jefferson, that if the fate of the presidency should put him in the chair of the presidency, & he should have occasion to send a frigate to France, he would give me the opportunity of returning by it, which he did. But I declined coming by the Maryland, the vessel that was offered me, and waited for the frigate that to bring the new minister, Mr. Chancellor Livingston, to France; but that frigate was ordered round to the Mediterranean; and as, at that time, the war was over, and the British cruisers, called in, I then agreed to come with commodore Barney in a vessel he had engaged. It was again fortunate I did not, for the vessel sunk at sea, and the people were preserved in the boat.

Had half the number of evils, befallen me, that the number dangers amount to, through which I have been preserved, they are those who would ascribe it to the wrath of Heaven; why then do they not ascribe my preservation to the protecting favour of Heaven? Even in my worldly concerns I have been blessed. The little property I left in America, and which I cared nothing about, not even to receive the rent of it, has been increasing in the value of its capital more than eight hundred dollars every year for the fourteen years and more that I have been absent from it. I am now, in my circumstances, independent, and my economy makes me rich. As to my health it is perfectly good, and I leave the world to judge of the stature of my mind. I am, in every instance, a living contradiction to the mortified federalists.

In my publications I follow the rule I began with in Common Sense, that is to consult with nobody, nor let anybody see what I write till it appears publicly. Were I to do it otherwise, the case would be, that between the timidity of some, who are so afraid of doing wrong, they never do right, the puny judgement of others, and despicable craft of prefer-

ring expedient to right, as if the world was a world of babies in leading strings, I should get forward with nothing. My path is a right line, as straight and clear to me as a ray of light. The boldness (if they have it to be) with which I speak on my subject is a compliment to the readers. It is like saying to him, I treat you as a man and not as a child. With respect to any worldly object as it is impossible to discover any in me, therefore what I do, and my manner of doing it, ought to be ascribed to a good motive.

In a great affair, where the happiness of man is at stake, I love to work for nothing; and so fully am I under the influence of this principle that I should lose the spirit, the pleasure, and the pride of it, were I conscious that I looked for reward; and with this declaration I take my leave for the present.

THOMAS PAINE,  
Federal City, Lovell's  
Hotel, Dec. 3, 1802.

From the TRENTON FEDERALIST.

### PAINE & JEFFERSON.

THE arrival of Thomas Paine in the United States is now ascertained beyond all doubt. The many reports which have for more than a year past, been in circulation respecting the coming of this man to America, are now confirmed; and the advocates of Mr. Jefferson, who have labored with so much zeal to invalidate the account of his having invited Mr. Paine to this country, now change their ground and justify the measure, by publications tending to do away the general abhorrence which his character and conduct for some time past has justly excited in the FEELINGS of a CHRISTIAN PEOPLE. They have taken a ground to effect this object, on which they might successfully espouse and vindicate the character of the greatest villain that ever existed.

Instead of now denying that Mr. Jefferson had invited Paine to this country, our ears are almost stunned with the eulogiums, which are rung from the democratic presses on the character of his man: The services which as a writer he rendered the American Revolution, are recalled to our minds, and their effects represented to be equal to those of the victories of Washington. The marks of attention which he received from various public bodies, are again republished in the newspapers; and in particular is the complimentary letter of Gen. Washington adduced at this day to prove that he is now worthy of that singular spark of attention, paid him by the President of the United States.

I am not disposed to undervalue the writings of Mr. Paine. If they are deserving of the high encomiums passed upon them, let them be paid. Whether Mr. Paine was actuated really by patriotic motives in writing his "Common Sense," and "Crisis," has been questioned by many. It has been asserted with much confidence, that these productions of his pen were contracted and paid for by a company of gentlemen of the city of Philadelphia, and that his labors were well rewarded whenever his work was done: But however this may be, I feel disposed to allow him all the merit his revolutionary performances are entitled to in the public estimation. It is to his more recent conduct that the attention of the public should be drawn. It is what HE IS—not what HE WAS, that we are now to consider.

Mr. Paine now stands before the world the avowed author of "The Age of Reason," a publication replete with sentiments of the most decided hostility to the Christian Religion. This work is but too well known to need a particular description. Its contents, indeed are too blasphemous to meet the public eye. As a writer Paine possesses the peculiar talent

of rendering himself understood and interesting to the weakest capacity, and of representing in a ridiculous point of light whatever opinion, taste or sentiment, he undertakes to combat. With the general mass of mankind his writings are calculated to have the greatest effect—and truly lamentable is it, that instead of being made the means of doing good among his fellow-men, they have been converted to the destructive purposes of severing the ties which bind them to their God and their duty—of wresting from the "good distress," the seeming only solace of life—of striking from his view that hope and that light, which cheered his dreary path thro' the dark valley of the shadow of death!—He calls Christ "an impostor," the Apostles "quibblers and mountebanks," the Bible "a book of riddles," and the New-Testament, "the reverse of truth."

The Letter of Paine to Gen. Washington is loaded with abusive epithets to that great man. He accuses him of having conspired with Robespierre in bringing about his imprisonment in the dungeon of Paris—of hypocrisy in the cause of Freedom—of want of talents, courage and integrity. It abounds with the grossest misrepresentations, and has justly awakened the indignant feelings of Americans.

As a man, Paine is not a character to be respected. He is intemperate, immoral and wanting in honesty, gratitude and fidelity.

Yet this is the character we are called upon by the democratic prints to venerate and admire; and those who refuse the "homage of their respects," are stigmatised with the epithet of " Tories!" We are told of his writings in the revolution, and reminded of the marks of public attention he then experienced. Taking the fame ground the character of Arnold could be equally vindicated, and if it suited their purpose, we should hear those very men who now advocate the cause of Paine, calling our attention to the services of this chieftain. We should be told of the incredible hardships he underwent in traversing the Northern wilderness, when at the head of the hardy freemen of New-England, he marched to the siege of Quebec—of his gallant conduct in the attack on that fortress—his bravery on the lakes—the wounds and glory he acquired at Saratoga and at Danbury, and of high praise which Congress manifested of his military conduct, by a public resolve: But of what avail are these now to the name of Arnold?

Paine has equally forfeited his claim to that reputation which he once acquired. He betrayed the secrets of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, of which he was appointed Secretary by Congress, and was dismissed with disgrace. In our late disputes with France he joined the enemies of our country, and fully proved he had no place in his affections. Unfortunately for him, his advocates have bro't forward a letter of the late Gen. Washington, which they stupidly tho't would plead in his favor; but which must inevitably fix, if nothing else had occurred, the seal of everlasting disgrace on the man. In this letter we behold displayed the characteristics of a despotism seeking distress, to alleviate its wants and offering the hospitality of his table to a hungry wretch, in a file of benignity and kindness, that needs only to be seen to be admired!—But what return has Paine made for this special act of kindness? He has loaded its author with reproach, traduced his character, and sported in the imagined ruin of his reputation, with all the savage joy of a malicious Infidel!

When Mr. Jefferson was called to the Presidential chair, he knew, he was elected the Chief Magistrate of a nation of PROFESSING CHRISTIANS. A decent respect to the opinions of his fellow-citizens ought to have prevented him from taking any step that might give umbrage or offence to their religious feelings. Doubtless, as a free private citizen, Mr. Jefferson has a right to the exercise of his own sentiments on religion, or no religion and to fraternize with Thomas Paine, Mazzei, and other infidel philophers. But should

his official station be profited, to the propagation of infidel principles—Should he as President of the United States, have been instrumental in bringing into this country the Author of the Age of Reason!—Religion forbids it—morality forbids it—And if these were of no weight, yet found policy and a due regard to the feelings of Christian America, and the good opinion of mankind in general, ought to have prevailed. But these considerations seem to have had no effect; and one of the FIRST ACTS of his administration, was an invitation to our shores, of the Reviler of our Washington, and the obscene Blasphemer of our Holy Religion!—

Let those who approve, justify, and applaud such conduct, look well to it.—They must oneday answer for themselves. I mistake if such a transaction will long be approved of by the People of America.—To some fatal issue such measures must eventually lead—either they will destroy their author, or exterminate the happiness of the people who are the subjects of their pernicious effects.—Righteousness swalloweth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people.

### A LOOKER ON.

From the COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER.

### BARE ELBOWS.

And what of bare elbows? Nothing except they are very convenient for a jog, and very cool and airy for winter! As to their look—why it is not more disgusting to expose an elbow, than a knee—and who, to be in the fashion, would not expose a bare knee! O, it is charming to see a huge bare elbow, as rough and sealy as the tail of an Alligator, presenting a sharp angle at every corner of the house!—Hush, hush, man; why the English and French ladies, go with naked elbows! and who in America has the effrontery to call their taste, in question—or the courage not to follow them? Why if it was the fashion to go with bare feet, it would be monstrous to wear shoes and stockings.—And bare necks too—how charming! 'Ayé, the nape when presented to view, upon a huge pair of brawny shoulders! Nature indeed made the hair to cover the recess of the neck, to hide the nape and a long spindle, and give the upper part of the body an air of symmetry; but nature it seems mistook her business—her works are to be amended by fashion. Besides, why may not a lady lay bare her neck, shoulders and elbows, as well as a gentleman convert his hair into a crownset. Formerly, tangled hair was the mark of a savage, or a clown—but now, what so genteel and ornamental as a head of hair, frizzled and tangled, till it looks like a frightened owl. Lord, Sir, must not one be in the fashion? O, ayé, to be sure. Yes, ayé, in the fashion, though it make you as ugly as the devil. Though it may be somewhat inconvenient—as the fashions of France and England cannot arrive and be adopted in a week—and tho' it may be perfectly genteel in Europe to go naked in summer, yet it is very inconvenient, and somewhat dangerous in America, to be quite so genteel in winter: Witness the long register of Consumptions in the weekly bills of mortality!!

But Americans—poor devils—What business have the Americans to any opinions, or customs, or language, or science, or arts, or manufactures, which are not regulated by Europeans. What business have we to conduct our own public prints, regulate political opinions, manage our revenues, make books, create a navy. Nay, what right have we to adopt our modes of dress to our climate? We are children—mere babes in leading strings! It is our business to think and act as we are bid—and it is a wonderful consolation, to see our citizens so humbly submissive; It must make the bondage light indeed, to have a heart to kiss the chains.—And what a precedent have we! A Chief Magistrate sending to Europe for a man, or rather a monster; a scoffer at Christianity—to help us preserve our rights and liberties!!! We may say, as Tiberius did, to a servile Senate—O homines ad servitutem paratos! O men fitted to be slaves!

Let us not laugh at the ladies for their nakedness—A more hideous picture presents itself.—The National Character of America is out at the Elbow!!!

## WASHINGTON, December 15. THIS DAY

At 12 o'clock, the following MESSAGE was delivered to each House by Mr. Lewis, Secretary to the President.

### MESSAGE.

To the SENATE and HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES of the UNITED STATES.

WHEN we assemble together, fellow citizens, to consider the state of our beloved country, our just attentions are first drawn to those pleasing circumstances which mark the goodness of that being from whose favor they flow, and the large measure of thankfulness we owe for his bounty. Another year has come around, and finds us still blessed with peace and friendship abroad, law, order, and religion at home, good affection and harmony with our Indian neighbors, our burthens lighted; yet our income sufficient for the public wants, & the produce of the year great beyond example. These, fellow-citizens, are the circumstances under which we meet; and we remark with special satisfaction those which, under the smiles of providence, result from the skill, industry and order, of our citizens, managing their own affairs in their own way, and for their own use, unembarrassed by too much regulation, unoppressed, by fiscal exactions.

On the restoration of peace in Europe that portion of the carrying trade, which had fallen to our share during the war, was abridged by the returning competition of the belligerent powers. This was to be expected and was just. But, in addition, we find, in some parts of Europe, monopolizing discriminations, which, in the form of duties, tend effectually to prohibit the carrying thither our own produce in our own vessels. From existing amities and a spirit of justice, it is hoped that friendly discussion will produce a fair and adequate reciprocity. But should false calculations of interest defeat our hope, it rests with the legislature to decide whether they will meet inequalities abroad with countervailing inequalities at home, or provide for the evil in any other way.

It is with satisfaction I lay before you an act of the British parliament anticipating this subject, so far as to authorize a mutual abolition of the duties and countervailing duties, permitted under the treaty of 1794. It shews on their part a spirit of justice and friendly accommodation, which it is our duty and our interest to cultivate with all nations. Whether this would produce a due equality in the navigation between the two countries, is a subject for your consideration.

Another circumstance which claims attention, as directly affecting the very source of our navigation, is the defect or the evasion of the law providing for the return of seamen, and particularly of those belonging to vessels sold abroad. Numbers of them discharged in foreign ports, have been thrown on the hands of our Consuls, who, to rescue them from the dangers into which their distresses might plunge them, and save them to their country, have found it necessary, in some cases, to return them at the public charge.

The cession of the Spanish province of Louisiana to France, which took place in the course of the late war, will, if carried into effect, make a change in the aspect of our foreign relations, which will doubtless have just weight in any deliberations of the legislature connected with that subject.

There was reason not long since, to apprehend that the warfare in which we were engaged with Tripoli, might be taken up by some other of the Barbary powers. A reinforcement therefore was immediately ordered to the vessels already there. Subsequent information however has removed these apprehensions for the present. To secure our commerce in that sea, we have supposed it best to watch strictly the harbour of Tripoli. Still, however, the shallowness of their coast, and the want of smaller vessels on our part, has permitted some cruisers to escape unobserved; and to one of those an American vessel unfortunately fell a prey. The captain, one American seaman, and two others of colour, remain prisoners with them; unless exchanged under an agreement formerly made with the Basha, to whom, on the faith of that, some of his captive subjects had been restored.

The Convention with the State of Georgia has been ratified by their legislature and a repurchase from the Creeks has been consequently made, of a part of the Talassee country. In this purchase has been also comprehended a part of, and within the fork of Oconee and Ockmulgee rivers. The particulars of the contract will be laid before Congress so soon as they shall be in a state for communication.

In order to remove every ground of difference possible with our Indian neighbours, I have proceeded in the work of settling with them, and marking the boundaries between us. That with the Choctaw nation is fixed in one part, and will be through the whole within a short time. The country to which their title had been extinguished before the revolution is sufficient to receive a very respectable population, which Congress will probably see the expediency of encouraging, so soon as the limits shall be declared. We are to view this position as an Outpost of the United States, surrounded by strong neighbours, and distant from its support. And how far that monopoly, which prevents population, should here be guarded against, and actual habitation made a condition of the continuance of title, will be for your consideration. A prompt settlement too of all existing rights and claims within this territory, presents itself as a preliminary operation.

In that part of the Indiana territory which includes Vincennes, the lines settled with the neighbouring tribes fix the extinction of their title at a breadth of twenty-four leagues from East to West, and about the same length parallel with and including the Wabash. They have also ceded a tract of four miles square, including the Salt-Springs near the mouth of that river.

In the department of finance it is much pleasure I inform you that the receipts of external duties, for the last twelve months, have exceeded those of any former year, and that the ratio of increase has been also greater than usual. This has enabled us to answer all the regular exigencies of government, to pay from the Treasury, within one year, upwards of eight millions of dollars—principle and interest, of the public debt, exclusive of upwards of one million paid by the sale of bank stock, and making in the whole a reduction of nearly five millions and an half of principal, and to have now in the treasury four millions and an half of dollars, which are in a course of application to the further discharge of debt, and current demands. Experience too, so far, authorizes us to believe, if no extraordinary event supervenes, and the expenses which will be actually incurred shall not be greater than were contemplated by Congress at their last session, that we shall not be disappointed in the expectations then formed. But nevertheless, as the effect of peace on the amount of duties is not yet fully ascertained, it is the more necessary to practise every useful economy, and to incur no expense, which may be avoided without prejudice.

The collection of the internal taxes having been completed in some of the states, the officers employed in it are of course out of commission. In others they will be so shortly. But in a few, where the arrangements for the direct tax had been retarded, it will still be some time before the system is closed. It has not yet been thought necessary to employ the agent authorised by an act of the last session, for transacting business in Europe relative to debts and loans. Nor have we used the power, confided by the same act, of prolonging the foreign debt by loans, and of redeeming instead thereof, an equal sum of the Domestic Debt. Should however the difficulties of remittance on so large a scale, render it necessary at any time, the power shall be executed, and the money thus unemployed abroad shall, in conformity with that law, be faithfully applied here in an equivalent extinction of Domestic Debt. When effects so salutary result from the plans you have already sanctioned, when merely by avoided false objects of expense, we are able, without a direct tax, without internal taxes, and without borrowing, to make large and effectual payments towards the discharge of our public debt, and the emancipation of our posterity from that mortal canker, it is