

THOMAS PAINE,

To the Citizens of the United States.

LETTER THE FIRST.

After an absence of almost fifteen years I am again returned to the country in whose dangers I bore my share, and to whose greatness I contributed my part.

When I failed for Europe in the spring of 1787, it was my intention to return to America the next year, and enjoy in retirement the esteem of my friends and the repose I was entitled to. I had stood out the storm of one revolution, and had no wish to embark in another. But other scenes and other circumstances than those of contemplated ease were allotted to me. The French revolution was beginning to germinate when I arrived in France. The principles of it were good, they were copied from America, and the men who conducted it were honest. But the fury of faction soon extinguished the one, and sent the other to the scaffold. Of those who began that revolution, I am almost the only survivor, and that through a thousand dangers. I owe this not to the prayers of priests, nor the piety of hypocrites, but to the continued protection of Providence.

But while I beheld with pleasure the dawn of liberty rising in Europe, I saw, with regret the lustre of it fading in America. In less than two years from the time of my departure, some distant symptoms painfully suggested the idea that the principles of the revolution were expiring on the soil that produced them. I received at that time a letter from a female literary correspondent, and in my answer to her, I expressed my fears on that head, in the following penive-folliology.

"You touch me on a very tender point when you say that my friends on your side the water, cannot be reconciled to the idea of my abandoning America, even for my native England. They are right, I had rather see my horse button eating the grass of Borden-town or Morifania than see all the pomp and show of Europe.

"A thousand years hence, for I must judge a few thoughts, perhaps in less, America, may be what Europe now is. The innocence of her character, that won the hearts of all nations in her favor, may found like a romance, and her inimitable virtue as if it had never been. The ruins of that liberty, for which thousands bled, may just furnish materials for a village tale, or extort a sigh from rustic sensibility; whilst the fashionable of that day enveloped in dissipation shall deride the principles, and deny the fact.

"When we contemplate the fall of empires and the extinction of the nations of the ancient world, we see but little more to excite our regret, than the mouldering ruins of pompous palaces, magnificent monuments, lofty pyramids and walls and towers of the most costly workmanship; but when the empire of America shall fall the subject for contemplative sorrow will be infinitely greater than crumbling brass or marble can inspire. It will not then be said, here stood a temple of vast antiquity, here rose a Babel of invisible height, or there a palace of sumptuous extravagance; but, here! a painful thought! the noblest work of human wisdom—the grandest scene of human glory, the fair cause of freedom ROSE and PELL. Read this, and then ask if I forget America."

I now know from the information I obtain upon the spot, that the impressions that then distressed me, for I was proud of America, were but two well founded.—She was turning her back on her own glory, and making hasty strides in the retrograde path of oblivion. But a spark from the altar of SEVENTY SIX unextinguished and unextinguishable through that long night of error, is again lighting up in every part of the union, the genuine flame of rational liberty.

As the French revolution advanced, it fixed the attention of the world, and drew from the pensioned pen of Edmond Burke, a furious attack. This brought me once more on the public theatre of politics, and occasioned the pamphlet RIGHTS OF MAN. It had the greatest run of any work ever published in the English language. The number of copies circulated in England, Scotland, and Ireland, besides translations into foreign languages, were between four and five hundred thousand. The principles of that work were the same as those in COMMON SENSE, and the effects would have been the same in England as that had been in America, could the vote of the nation have been quietly taken, or had equal opportunities of consulting or acting existed. The only difference between the two works, was, that the one was adapted to the local circumstances of England, and the other to those of America. As to myself, I acted in both cases alike; I relinquished to the people of England, as I had done to those of America, all profits from the work. My reward existed in the ambition to do good, and in the independent happiness of my own mind.

But a faction acting in disguise was rising in America, that had lost sight of first principles. They were beginning to contemplate government as a profitable monopoly, and the people as hereditary property. It is therefore no wonder that the Rights of Man was attacked by that faction; and its author continually abused. But let them go on, give them rope enough and they will put an end to their own insignificance. There is too much common sense and independence in America to be long the dupe of any faction, foreign or domestic.

But, in the midst of the freedom we enjoy, the licentiousness of the papers called federal, (and I know not why they are called so, for they are in their principles anti-federal and despotic,) is a dishonor to the character of the country, and an injury to its reputation and importance abroad.—They represent the whole people of America as destitute of public principle and private manners. As to any injury they can do at home to those whom they abuse, or service they can render to those who employ them, it is to be set down to the account of noisy nothingness. It is on themselves the disgrace recoils, for the reflection easily presents itself to every thinking mind, that those who abuse liberty when they possess it

would abuse power could they obtain it; and therefore they may as well take as a general motto for all such papers, WE AND OUR PATRONS, ARE NOT TO BE TRUSTED WITH POWER.

There is in America, more than in any other country, a large body of people who attend quietly to their farms, or follow their several occupations, who pay no regard to the clamours of anonymous scribblers, who think for themselves, and judge of government, not by the fury of newspaper writers, but by the prudent frugality of its measures, and the encouragement it gives to the improvement and prosperity of the country, and who acting on their own judgment never come forward in an election but on some important occasion.

When this body moves, all the little babbings of scribbling and witle's curs pass for nothing. To say to this independent description of men, you must turn out such or such persons at the next election, for they have taken off a great many taxes and lessened the expenses of government, they have dismissed my job, or my brother, or myself, from a lucrative office, in which there was nothing to do; is to shew the cloven foot of faction, and preach the language of ill-disguised mortification. In every part of the union, this faction is in the agonies of death, and in proportion as its fate approaches, gnashes its teeth and struggles. My arrival has struck it as with an hydrophobia, it like the sight of water to canine madness.

As this letter is intended to announce my arrival to my friends; and to my enemies, if I have any, for I ought to have none, in America, and as introductory to others that will occasionally follow; I shall close it by detailing the line of conduct I shall pursue.

I have no occasion to ask, and do not intend to accept any place or office in the government. There is none it could give me, that would be any ways equal to the profits I could make as an author, for I have an established fame in the literary world could I reconcile it to my principles to make money by my politics or religion, I must be in every thing what I have ever been a disinterested volunteer; my proper sphere of action is on the common floor of citizenship, and to honest men I give my hand and my heart freely.

I have some manuscript works to publish, of which I shall give proper notice, and some mechanical affairs to bring forward, that will employ all my leisure time. I shall continue these letters as I see occasion, and as to the low party, prints that chuse to abuse me, they are welcome, I shall not descend to answer them. I have been too much used to such common stuff to take any notice of it. The government of England honored me with a thousand martyrdoms, by burning me in effigy in every town in that country, and their hirelings in America may do the same.

THOMAS PAINE.

City of Washington.

FROM THE CENTINEL.

WHEN it was first asserted that Mr. JEFFERSON had invited PAINE to America, the assertion, though proven, was pronounced a federal lie; and when it was hinted, that he would be employed as an assistant to the "FARMER," in defending the administration, it was declared that Mr. JEFFERSON needed not the aid of such a fellow. But TIME has developed the truth. The citizens of the United States this day see the purpose for which he was invited amongst them; and the promptitude with which he has entered on his task.

DEMOCRATIC MODESTY.

The pronoun I occurs in PAINE'S epistle No. 1, no less than forty times. It may not be unamusing to illustrate a few of his passages: As thus:—

"After an absence of almost fifteen years I am again returned to the country, in whose Dangers I bore MY share, and to whose greatness I contributed MY part."

"When I failed for Europe in the spring of 1787, it was MY intention to return to America the next year, and enjoy in retirement the esteem of MY friends! and the repose I was entitled to!"

"I have no occasion to ask, and do not intend, to accept any place or office in the government. There is none it could give ME that would be any ways equal to the profits I could make as an author; FOR I HAVE AN ESTABLISHED FAME IN THE LITERARY WORLD!!!"

"Darby, did you ever see a whale? Huh, neighbors, huh, let Darby tell the tale. The above are fine samples of the whole epistle. If our readers are not already disgusted with such gross food, we will continue them.

PAINE'S PIETY.

PAINE, in his epistle, says, he owes his preservation through the French Revolution, not to the prayers of priests, nor the piety of hypocrites, but to the continued protection of Providence. Such is the hypocritical recognition of a Providence, by the Man, who in his "Age of Reason," speaking of the mysterious incarnation of our blessed Saviour, as thus prophesied of by Isaiah, "Behold! a virgin shall conceive and bear a son," thus impiously comments upon it:—

"It certainly was not a difficult thing in any time of the world to find a girl with child, or to make her so; and perhaps Isaiah knew of one before-hand; for I do not suppose that the prophets of that day were any more to be trusted than the Priests of this."

Again, this demon of impiety, who thus speaks of the protection of Providence, in the same book says:—

"The fable of JESUS CHRIST, taking it as it is told, is blasphemously obscene. It gives an account of a young woman engaged to be married, and while under this engagement, she is, to speak plain language, debauched by a ghost."

After perusing this horrid impiety, what are we to think of Men, who profess to be

Christians, and partakers at the Lord's Supper, and yet can publicly countenance a Man capable of thus sneering at the birth of the meek and lowly JESUS; thus destroying the foundation of their faith; and their hope of salvation: Or what shall we say of those Clergymen who can mention in their addresses to the Throne of Grace the officer capable of inviting to this country such a blasphemer of him who was born of the blessed Virgin!

CHILICOTHE, N. W. TERRITORY.

On Monday, 1st November, the convention assembled for forming a constitution and government of this SEVENTEENTH STATE, agreeable to act passed at last session of congress. The following members appeared and took their seats during the first three days.

COUNTY OF ADAMS.—Joseph Darlington, Thomas Kirker, Israel Donaldson. HAMILTON.—Francis Dunlavy, John Paul, Jeremiah Morrow, John Wilton, Charles W. Byrd, William Goforth, John Smith, John Reilly, John W. Browne, and John Kitchell.

ROSS.—Edward Tiffin, Nathaniel Maffie, Thomas Worthington, Michael Baldwin, Jacob Grubb. JEFFERSON.—Rudolph Baer, John Milligan, George Humphreys, Bezaleel Walls, Nathan Updegraff.

TRUMBULL.—Samuel Huntington. CLERMONT.—Philip Garth, James Sargent.

BELMONT.—James Caldwell, Elijah Wood. WASHINGTON.—Rufus Putnam, Ephraim Cutler, John McIntire, Benjamin Ives Gilman.

FAIRFIELD.—Emanuel Carpenter, Henry Abrams. The hon. Edward Tiffin was duly elected president, by ballot.

There is no doubt but the representative to congress, and the two senators of the United States; from this new state, will all be republican.

BOSTON, November 23.

ST. DOMINGO.

Capt. Appleton, from Cape Francois, who sailed from thence Oct. 16, mentions, that the affairs of the French in St. Domingo were in the most forlorn situation. Port-de-Paix had been burnt, and many whites massacred. The same fate was impending over Aux-Cayes. Oct. 15, near the Cape, a severe action took place between the blacks and the French. The former were victorious and took a fort. The evening previous to the engagement a negro general and 1500 black soldiers deserted from Le Clerc. The defection of Christophe was expected to follow. A number of Americans, who served, some voluntary, others by compulsion, were killed and wounded in this battle. The negroes were considered as 15000 strong; Le Clerc's army was reduced to about 4000. The General, who was without the Cape, doubting his ability to protect the city, ordered the sick and wounded to be removed, and gave permission for the women and children to depart. The valuable effects were removing on board the fleet. Business was suspended. The acting American Consul, Mr. Dodge, had embarked in a vessel for Portsmouth. American vessels were embargoed, and ordered off the bar. These measures indicated an expectation of being obliged to abandon the place.—Capt. A. adds, that a few hours before he sailed he was told by the proprietor of the American Coffee-house, that it was reported Le Clerc had agreed with the black Commander in Chief that the French troops should leave the island in three days—and that an armistice had of course taken place.

NEW-YORK, November 22.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in New-Orleans, to his friend in this place, dated Sept. 11, 1802.

"Yesterday it was rumored that the officers of the customs were about to give information of the port being shut; but it is supposed we shall on Tuesday next—unless the Governor thinks the measure opposed to the interests of the inhabitants."

Another letter dated the 12th says:—The PORT IS SHUT:—It will be announced on Tuesday. The above may be confidently relied on."

November 26. Extract of a letter received this morning, dated TRENTON, 25th Nov.

"A joint-meeting is to be held this afternoon for the choice of a Governor, Treasurer, a Clerk of the Supreme Court and the county Clerks, whose times are expired and these only. Two trials were made before the mail closed, and no governor chosen."

French Evacuated St. Domingo.

Mr. Buffet, owner of the ship Perseus, arrived here yesterday from Jamaica, informs us, that just before he sailed, news had been received there, by American vessels, that the French troops had evacuated the different fortified places of St. Domingo, in consequence of the formidable opposition of the Blacks; and had gone to the Island of Tortuda, to wait for reinforcements. This information was generally believed at Kingston; at which port nearly thirty fail of American vessels had recently arrived from the different ports of that Island.

By a gentleman who came passenger in the scho. Nautilus, of Baltimore, 16 days from Port Republic, we learn, that the greatest conformation prevails throughout the Bight of Leogane. The negroes have burnt the towns of Leogane, Grand Guave, Petit Guave, L'Archavey, and St. Marcs; they have also destroyed Fort Bisoton; it was expected they would in a few days become masters of Port Republic. The French troops were very sickly.—Nor. pa.

HARTFORD, December 1.

The Washington Federalist, says Tom Paine dines with the President three or four times a week.

G. Durall, Esq. one of the Judges of the General Court of Maryland, is appointed Comptroller of the Treasury of the United States, in the room of the Hon. John Steel, resigned.

The Hon. John Milledge, David Meriwether, Samuel Hammond, and Peter Early, Esquires, are chosen to represent the people of the State of Georgia, in the 8th Congress of the United States.—Mr. Early is a Federalist.

His Excellency John Milledge, Esq. is elected Governor of the State of Georgia, in the room of Governor Tatnall, resigned.

It is said Paine could get but one man in all George-Town, to walk with him to the President's house, and that one notorious for professing deistical tenets; a tolerable clever couple, to spend an hour with the philosopher of Monticello, to be sure! No doubt it gave the President an appetite for his dinner; and the provisions must have had an additional zest from the supreme felicity Mr. Jefferson felt at having his worthy friend at the same table with him. It is not known whether he invited his companion or not; but it is believed—he did not. G. U. S.

On the 20th instant, departed this life, at Enfield, Miss Martha Potter, daughter of the Rev. Elam Potter, deceased, after a long and distressing illness, which she bore with christian patience, fortitude, and resignation to the divine will, in the 24th year of her age. "Blessed are the dead, who die in the Lord."

At Simsbury, the 22d inst. after a long and distressing sickness, Mrs. Charlotte Buell, wife of Mr. Solomon Buell, in the 41st year of her age. She has left a bereaved husband and ten children to lament their loss. Her funeral was attended by a large concourse of people, and a well adapted Sermon delivered by the Rev. Samuel Stebbins, from Psal. xxiii. 4.

At Harwington, on the 26th of Nov. Doct. William Abernethy aged 68 years.

At his seat in Pendleton district (S. Carolina), on the 26th ult. in the 33d year of his age, John Ewing Colburn, Esq. Senator from the State of South-Carolina in the Congress of the United States.

In this city Mrs. ELIZABETH KNEELAND, aged 61 years.

An Act in addition to and explanation of an Act entitled an Act for prescribing and establishing forms of Oaths in this State. (Passed October 1802.)

BE it enacted by the Governor and Council and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, That when any Grand Juror is chosen in any Town in this State, he shall be sworn into office by receiving the oath, as prescribed by Law in the 23d Paragraph of the Act to which this Act is an addition; and when a Grand Jury is impaneled before any Court, in this State, such Grand Jury shall be qualified by administering to them the Oath as prescribed in the 12th Paragraph of said Act.

AUCTION.

To-morrow will be sold at the office of Elias Morgan, a quantity of New Furniture and other Goods; Consisting of New Dining and Breakfast Tables, Bureaus, Candle Stands, Chairs, &c. &c. Sales to commence at 2 o'clock P. M. E. MORGAN, Auctioneer. Hartford, Dec. 1.

ELISHA BOARDMAN.

HAS just received a new and handsome assortment of GOODS; consisting of Broadcloths, Forestcloths, Calimeres, Coatings and Plains, Swanndowns, Serges, Baizes, Flannels, Stuff Goods of almost every description, Chintzes, Calicoes, Mullins of various sorts, Linens, Hummings, &c. &c. Crockery and Hard Ware, Teas, Pepper, Ginger, Pimento, and Molasses per Hhd. or less, Sugar per bbl. or less.—Which he is determined to sell at the lowest prices for Cash or short and approved credit. He will not be underbilled by any of his neighbors. Wethersfield, Nov. 30, 1802. (75)

RUM AND MOLASSES.

44 Hhds. sweet flavored RUM. For sale by GEORGE PIERCE. WANTED—Beef, Pork, Rye-Flour, Corn Meal and Corn. Hartford, Dec. 1, 1802. (75)

AT THE SIGN OF THE

LOOKING GLASS,

NEAR THE BRIDGE.

ARE just received, a new supply of LOOKING GLASSES, from 7/6 to 21 dollars each, which with those before on hand are offered the public at very low prices. Hartford, December 1, 1802. (75)

PORK.

WANTED, within one week, 100 barrels prime Pork, and a quantity of Pork in the Hog, for which Cash will be paid on delivery, by WHITING, KILBOURN & Co. Who have for sale 27 Hhds. of Port-au-Prince and Barbadoes Molasses, of the best quality, for retailing. Also, real Holland Gin—Brandy—Sweet-flavored Rum—India, brown and lump Sugars in Hhds. and Bbls.—Teas, Coffee, Chocolate and Spices—Table and common Fish—1500 bushels rock and Turk's Island Salt—A constant supply of Pitkin's warranted Gun Powder, &c. Hartford, Ferry street, Dec. 1, 1802.

REED POLES.

12,000 South Carolina Reed Poles, just received for sale, on pleasing terms to Reed-Makers, by JOHN MATHER. Hartford, Nov. 29, 1802. (75)

ZECHARIAH MILES,

At his Paper Staining Manufactory, a few rods North of the Episcopal Church, Hartford—CONTINUES to manufacture and sell, all kinds of PAPER HANGINGS and BORDERS, on the lowest terms. He makes a large discount to those who purchase by the quantity. Orders from the country faithfully attended to. Cash given for Sizing and Hogs Bristles. November 30th, 1802. (75)

STRAYED from the subscriber on the 23d inst. a red Cow, full milking size, had a rope tied round her horn when she went away; whoever will take up said Cow, and return her to the subscriber, or give information where she may be had, shall receive a generous reward and the thanks of their humble servant, WILLIAM CHADWICK. Hartford, Nov. 30, 1802. (74)