FOR THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

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 sailed 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 circumstances than those of contemplated ease were allotted 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 pensive soliloquy.

"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 Bordentown or Morisania than see all the "pomp and show of Europe.

"A thousand years hence, for I must "indulge 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 favour, may sound 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 principle 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! "ah painful thought! the noblest work "of human wisdom, the grandest scene "of human glory, the fair cause of freedom ROSE and FELL. 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 too 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 Edmund 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 effect would have been the same in England, as it had been in America, could the vote of the nation 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) are a dishonour 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 FIT 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 anonimous 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 great occasion. When this body moves all the little barkings of scribbling and witless 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 expences of Government; they have dismissed my son, 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 it gnashes its teeth, and struggles. My arrival has struck it as with a hydrophobia; it is 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 declaring 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 politics or religion. I must be in every thing what I ever have 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 accustomed to such common stuff to take any notice of it. The Government of England honoured 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,
Nov. 12, 1802.

District of Columbia,
Washington County.

By the Orphan's Court, 10th Nov. 1802, JOHN A. BURFORD, having made application for Letters of Administration on the estate of JOHN BENNETT, late of the Boston Frigate, deceased, claiming the same as a Creditor.—It is ordered that he give public notice of his application by inserting a copy of this order in a newspaper of the City of Washington, three successive weeks—that any person interested may shew cause on or before the second Tuesday in December next, why the said letters shall not be granted him.

Test,
JOHN HEWITT, Reg.
Nov. 15. 1aw3t.

The Subscriber has for Sale,

London particular Madeira

Wine, in pipes and quarter casks; West-India Rum in hhds. and barrels; Brown Sugar of excellent quality; and 55 bbls. of Cargo Beef.

WM. BRENT.
Washington, Nov. 12. tf

NOTICE.

THE Inhabitants of Washington are particularly requested to give in to the Treasurer correct lists of their property, real and personal, on or before the 15th of the present month. To those who were assessed in August and September, 1801, it will only be necessary to list such additional property acquired since that time, and such property as may have been transferred. To render as little trouble and inconvenience as possible to the inhabitants, those living in the eastern part of the city may leave their lists in the letter-box at the Marshal's office; those of the western part, at the post office. Others, and all, if they chuse, will be thanked for leaving their lists at my lodgings, at Mrs. Johnson's, on F street, near the Bank.

By recurrence to the corporation law, authorising the levying and collection of a tax, they may see what property is liable to be taxed. It will be necessary for all the lists left at the places described, to be signed by the proprietor, and directed to me. It is earnestly hoped the inhabitants will comply with the above requests, as the short time allowed by law for completing the assessment cannot be complied with without these measures.

WASHINGTON BOYD,
Treasurer of Washington City.
November 5. 115N

Public Sale.

By order of the Orphans' Court of Washington county, in the District of Columbia, will be sold to the highest bidder, on Tuesday the 23d of November next, at the dwelling house of the subscriber, on New-Jersey Avenue, in Washington, at 11 o'clock P. M.

The Personal Property of John Fownes, deceased, consisting of a variety of Store Goods, Household Furniture, and other Articles.

Terms of sale—All purchases under thirty dollars, Cash; on all purchases above that sum a credit of six months will be given, the purchasers giving bond, with good security, for payment, with interest from the day of sale.

SARAH FOWNES, Administratrix.
Washington, Oct. 29. 1aw3w

PROPOSALS

FOR CARRYING

Mails of the United States

On the following Post-Roads,

Will be received at the GENERAL POST-OFFICE at WASHINGTON, until the 18th day of January, inclusive.

IN DELAWARE.

1. From Wilmington by New-Castle, St. George's-town, Cantwell's bridge, Duck Creek, Dover, Frederica, Milford, George-town, Trap, Snowhill, Horntown, Drummond and Northampton c. h. to the Ferry Landing, three times a week.

April 1st to November 15th.

Leave Wilmington every Monday, Wednesday and Friday, at 11 a. m. arrive at Dover same days by 9 p. m.—Leave Dover every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, at 4 a. m. and arrive at Drummond the next day, Wednesday, Friday and Monday, by 8 p. m. and arrive at the Ferry Landing on Thursday, Saturday and Tuesday, by noon.—*Returning*—Leave the Ferry Landing every Monday, Wednesday and Friday, at noon. Leave Drummond every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, at 6 a. m. arrive at Dover the next day on Wednesday, Friday and Monday, by 8 p. m. Leave Dover every Thursday, Saturday and Tuesday, at 4 a. m. and arrive at Wilmington the same days by 2 p. m.—

November 15th to April 1st.

Leave Wilmington every Monday, Wednesday and Friday, at 6 a. m. arrive at Dover same days by 6 p. m. Leave Dover every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, at 5 a. m. and arrive at Drummond on Wednesday, Friday and Monday, by 8 p. m. and arrive at the Ferry Landing on Thursday, Saturday and Tuesday, by noon.—*Returning*—Leave the Ferry Landing every Monday, Wednesday and Friday, at 10 a. m. and arrive at Dover the next Wednesday, Saturday and Monday, by 8 p. m. Leave Dover every Thursday, Saturday and Tuesday, at 4 a. m. and arrive at Wilmington same days by 6 p. m.

2. From Frederica by Berry-town and Whitelysburg to Greensboro', in Maryland, once a week. Leave Frederica every Friday at 4 a. m. and arrive at Greensboro' by 11 a. m. Leave Greensboro' every Friday at 1 p. m. and arrive at Frederica by 8 p. m.

3. From Lewis-town by Broadkiln Landing, George-town, Bridge Branch, North W. F. Bridge and New-Market, Md. to Cambridge, Md. once a week. Leave Lewis-town every Tuesday at 6 a. m. arrive at George-town by noon. Leave George-town every Tuesday at 1 p. m. arrive at Cambridge on Wednesday by 6 p. m. *Returning*—Leave Cambridge every Thursday at noon, and arrive at Lewis-town on Friday by 8 p. m.

4. From George-town by Concord and Laurel to Salisbury, Md. once a week. Leave George-town every Friday at 6 a. m. and arrive at Salisbury by 6 p. m. Leave Salisbury every Saturday at 6 a. m. and arrive at George-town by 6 p. m.

IN MARYLAND.

5. From Elkton by Warwick, Sassafras-town, Massys-town, Bridge-town, Sadlers, Bear-town, Greensboro', Denton and Hillsboro', to Easton, once a week. Leave Elkton every Tuesday at 6 a. m. and arrive at Easton on Thursday by 10 a. m. *Returning*—Leave Easton every Thursday at 2 p. m. and arrive at Greensboro' by 3 p. m. and arrive at Elkton on Saturday by 6 p. m.

6. From Wilmington, De. by Christiana, Middletown, Warwick, Georgetown, Chester-town, Church-hill, Centreville, Queens-town, Shark-town and Kent Island, to Annapolis, twice a week. Leave Wilmington every Tuesday and Friday at 5 a. m. and arrive at Chester-town by 8 p. m. Leave Chester-town every Wednesday and Saturday at 4 a. m. and arrive at Centreville by 10 a. m. and at Annapolis by 8 p. m. Leave Annapolis every Friday and Tuesday at 4 a. m. arrive at Centreville at 2 p. m. Leave Centreville at 3 p. m. arrive at Chester-town by 8 p. m. Leave Chester-town every Saturday and Wednesday at 5 a. m. and arrive at Wilmington by 6 p. m.

7. From Centreville to Easton twice a week. Leave Centreville every Wednesday and Saturday at noon, and arrive at Easton by 6 p. m.—*Returning*—Leave Easton every Tuesday and Friday at 7 a. m. arrive at Centreville by 1 p. m. Leave same at 2 p. m. and arrive at Chester-town by 8 p. m.

8. From Annapolis by Queen Ann's and Lower Marlboro' to Washington city, once a week. Leave Annapolis every Monday and Thursday at 6 a. m. and arrive at Washington by 6 p. m. Leave Washington every Monday and Thursday at 6 a. m. arrive at Annapolis by 6 p. m.

9. From Easton by Cambridge, Vienna, Salisbury, Snowhill, Princess Ann, Vienna, Salisbury and Cambridge, to Easton, once a week. Leave Easton every Thursday at 5 a. m. arrive at Cambridge by 11 a. m. and arrive at Snowhill on Friday at half past 8 p. m. Leave Snowhill every Saturday at 6 a. m. and arrive at Easton on Monday by 6 p. m.

10. From Hartford to Bell-Air once a week. Leave Bell Air every Tuesday at 7 a. m. arrive at Hartford by 9 a. m. Leave Hartford at 11 a. m. and arrive at Bell-Air at 1 p. m.

11. From Baltimore by Liberty-town to Frederick-town, and from thence by New-Market to Baltimore, twice a week. Leave Baltimore every Thursday and Saturday at 6 a. m. arrive at Frederick-town by 6 p. m. Leave Frederick-town every Friday and Sunday at 6 a. m. arrive at Baltimore by 7 p. m.

12. From Baltimore by Ellicotts' Lower Mills, Brookville, Montgomery c. h. and Charlesburg, to Leesburg, Va. once a week. Leave Leesburg every Thursday at 6 a. m. arrive at Baltimore on Friday at 10 a. m. Leave Baltimore every Friday at 2 p. m. and arrive at Leesburg on Saturday by 6 p. m.

13. From Baltimore to Annapolis three times a week. Leave Baltimore every Monday, Wednesday and Friday, at 8 a. m. and arrive at Annapolis same days by 5 p. m.—*Returning*—Leave Annapolis every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, at 8 a. m. and arrive at Baltimore same days by 5 p. m.

14. From Annapolis by Tracey's Landing, Lower Marlboro', Huntington and Calvert c. h. to St. Leonard's, once a week. Leave Annapolis every Tuesday at 6 a. m. arrive at St. Leonard's on Wednesday by 10 a. m. Leave St. Leonard's every Wednesday at 2 p. m. arrive at Lower Marlboro' on Thursday. Leave Lower Marlboro' every Monday at 8 a. m. and arrive at Annapolis by 5 p. m.

15. From Washington city by Unity-town, Hobb-town, Brookville, Howard, Pusey's mill and Wright's mill, to Taneyton, once a week. Leave Washington every Wednesday at 6 a. m. and arrive at Taneyton by 6 p. m. on Thursday. Leave Taneyton every Friday at 6 a. m. and arrive at Washington on Saturday by 6 p. m.

16. From Washington city by George-town, Montgomery c. h. and Clarksboro' to Frederick-town, three times a week. Leave Washington every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, at 4 a. m. arrive at Frederick town same days by 6 p. m. *Returning*—Leave Frederick-town every Monday, Wednesday and Friday, at 4 a. m. and arrive at Washington same days by 6 p. m.

17. From Frederick-town by Woodsboro', Taneyton, Petersham, Pa. and Hanover to York, Pa. once a week. Leave Frederick-town every Monday at 6 a. m. arrive at York by 6 p. m. *Returning*—Leave York every Tuesday at 6 a. m. arrive at Frederick-town same day by 6 p. m.

18. From Frederick-town by Middle-town, Boonesboro', Hager's-town and Green-Castle, to Chambersburg, Pa. twice a week. Leave Frederick-town every Sunday and Friday at 4 a. m. arrive at Hager's-town by 11 a. m. Leave Hager's-town at half past 11, and arrive at Chambersburg same days by 7 p. m.—*Returning*—Leave Chambersburg every Monday and Friday at 11 p. m. arrive at Hager's-town on Tuesday and Saturday at half past 12 p. m. Leave Hager's-town at 1 p. m. and arrive at Frederick-town same days by 8 p. m.

19. From Hager's-town by Hancock, Berkly Springs, and Old-town, to Cumberland, once a week. Leave Hager's-town every Tuesday at 2 p. m. arrive at Cumberland on Thursday by 2 p. m.—Leave Cumberland every Saturday at 8 p. m. arrive at Hager's-town on Tuesday at 10 a. m.

20. From Frederick-town by New-town, Harper's ferry, Charles-town and Shepherd's-town, to Martinsburg, Va. once a week. Leave Frederick-town every Wednesday at 6 a. m. arrive at Charles-town by 5 p. m. Leave Charles-town every Wednesday at 6 p. m. arrive at Martinsburg on Thursday at 9 a. m. Leave Martinsburg every Thursday at noon, arrive at Harper's ferry by 8 p. m. Leave Harper's ferry on Tuesday at 9 a. m. arrive at Frederick-town by 6 p. m.

21. From Frederick-town to Leesburg once a week. Leave Frederick-town every Friday at noon, arrive at Leesburg by 8 p. m. Leave Leesburg every Thursday at 8 p. m. arrive at Frederick-town on Friday by 11 a. m.

22. From Washington city by Piscataway, Port-Tobacco, Allen's Fresh, Newport, Chaptico, Leonard-town, Great Mill and St. Inigoes, to the Ridge.—Leave Washington every Monday and Friday at 7 a. m. and arrive at Port-Tobacco by 5 p. m. Leave Port-Tobacco every Tuesday at 4 a. m. arrive at Leonard-town by 4 p. m. Leave Leonard-town at half past 4 p. m. and arrive at the Ridge on Wednesday by 4 p. m.—*Returning*—Leave the Ridge on Thursday at 6 a. m. arrive at Port-Tobacco Friday by 6 p. m. Leave Port-Tobacco on Saturday at 4 a. m. arrive at Washington by 4 p. m.

23. From Piscataway to Alexandria once a week. Leave Piscataway every Saturday at 6 a. m. arrive at Alexandria by 10 a. m. Leave Alexandria every Saturday at 2 p. m. and arrive at Piscataway by 6 p. m.

24. From Washington by Upper Marlboro', Nottingham, Lower Marlboro', Aquasco, Benedict and Charlotte-Hall, to Chaptico, once a week. Leave Washington every Saturday at 5 a. m. and arrive at Chaptico on Sunday by 6 p. m. Leave Chaptico every Monday at 8 a. m. and arrive at Washington on Wednesday by 3 p. m.

IN VIRGINIA.

25. From Hagerstown, Md. by Williamsport, Martinsburg, Winchester, Stevensburg or Newtown, Strasburg, Woodstock, New Market & Harrisonburg to Staunton once a week. Leave Hagerstown every Tuesday at 2 p. m. arrive at Winchester on Wednesday by 10 a. m. Leave Winchester at 11 a. m. arrive at Staunton on Friday by [illegible] a. m.—*Returning*—Leave Staunton every Friday at 2 p. m. and arrive at Hagerstown the next Monday at 10 a. m.

26. From Washington City by George-town to Prospecthill once a week.—Leave Washington every Tuesday at 9 a. m. and arrive at Prospect hill by 3 p. m.—*Returning*—Leave Prospect-hill every Monday at 10 a. m. and arrive at Washington by 5 p. m.

27. From Alexandria by Prospecthill, Hillsboro', Leesburg, Waterford, Charlestown and Battletown to Winchester once a week. Leave Alexandria every Tuesday at 10 a. m. arrive at Prospect-hill by 3 p. m. Leave Prospect hill at half past 3 p. m. and arrive at Charlestown on Wednesday at 5 p. m. Leave Charlestown at 6 p. m. arrive at Winchester on Thursday by noon. *Returning*—Leave Winchester on Saturday 11 a. m. arrive at Charles-town by 6 p. m. Leave Charles-town at 7 p. m. arrive at Prospect hill on Monday by 9 a. m. and at Alexandria by 4 p. m.

28. From Washington City by Fairfax c. h. Centerville, Middleburg, Goshen, Millwood, Paris, Winchester, Romney and Western-port to Green Glades, once a week 172 miles. Leave Washington City every Friday at 2 p. m. arrive at Fairfax c. h. by 5 p. m. Leave Fairfax c. h. at half past 5 p. m. arrive at Winchester on Sunday by 8 a. m. arrive at Romney on Monday at 7 a. m. and at Green Glades by 8 p. m.—*Returning*—Leave Green Glades on Tuesday at 4 a. m. arrive at Romney at 5 p. m. arrive at Winchester on Wednesday by 5 p. m. at Fairfax c. h. on Friday by 5 and a half a. m. Leave Fairfax c. h. at 6 a. m. and arrive at Washington by 9 a. m.

29. From the Green Glades by Clarksburg to Marietta once a week, 168 miles. Leave the Green Glades every Tuesday at 4 a. m. arrive at Marietta on Friday by 10 a. m. Leave Marietta every Friday at 2 p. m. arrive at the Green Glades the next Monday by 8 p. m.

30. From Romney by Springfield, Frankfort and Cresapsburg to Cumberland once a week. Leave Romney every Monday at 9. a. m. arrive at Cumberland by 6 p. m. Leave Cumberland every Tuesday at 6 a. m. arrive at Romney at 6 p. m.

31. From Romney to Moorfields once a week, and from thence by Frankfort to Bath c. h. once in two weeks. Leave Romney every Monday at 9 a. m. arrive at Moorfields by 4 p. m. Leave Moorfields every other Monday at 4 p. m. arrive at Bath c. h. on Wednesday by 7 p. m. Leave Bath c. h. every other Thursday at 6 a. m. arrive at Moorfields on Saturday by 9 a. m. Leave Moorfields every other Saturday and every other Tuesday at 9 a. m. arrive at Romney by 7 p. m.

32. From Alexandria by Fairfax c. h. Centerville, Hay Market, Buckland, Fauquier c. h. and Jeffersonton to Culpeper c. h. once a week. Leave Alexandria every Friday at 2 p. m. arrive at Fairfax c. h. by 5 p. m. Leave Fairfax c. h. at half past 5 p. m. arrive at Culpeper the next Monday at 10 a. m.—*Returning*—Leave Culpeper c. h. every