

the field. They will be ashamed of employing such instruments, as the present defendant. When the government of Ireland lately gave up the celebrated O'Brien, to the hands of the executioner, I have no little reason to believe that they suffered as they deserved on the occasion. I have no doubt, but that their verdict of this day, if you act as you ought to do, will produce a similar effect. And as to England, I cannot too often inculcate upon you that she knows nothing of our situation. When the torture was the daily & ordinary system of the executive government, it was denied in London, with a profusion of effrontery, equal to the barbarity with which it was exhibited in Dublin; and if the facts that shall appear to day, should be at the other side of the water, I make no doubt, but very near one hundred worthy persons would be ready to deny their existence upon their honour, or if necessary upon their oaths.

I cannot also but observe to you, continued Mr. Curran, that the real state of one country is more forcibly impressed on the attention of another, by a verdict on such a subject as this, than it could be by any general description: When you endeavour to convey an idea of a greater number of barbarians, practicing a great variety of cruelties upon an incalculable number of sufferers, nothing defined or specific finds its way to the heart, nor is any sentiment excited, save that of a general erratic unappropriated commiseration. If, for instance, you wish to convey to the mind of an English matron, the horrors of that direful period, when in defiance of the remonstrance of the ever to be lamented Abercromby, our poor people were surrendered to the licentious brutality of the soldiery, by the authority of the state; you would vainly endeavour to give her a general picture of lust, and rapine, and murder and confiscation. By endeavouring to comprehend every thing, you would convey nothing. When the father of poetry wishes to portray the movements of contending armies, and an embattled field, he exemplifies only, he does not describe; he does not venture to describe the perplexed and promiscuous conflicts of adverse hosts, but by the acts and the feats of a few individuals he conveys a notion of the vicissitudes of the fight and the fortune of the day. So should your story to her keep clear of generalities; instead of exhibiting the picture of an entire province, select a single object; and even if that single object do not release the imagination of your hearer from its task, by giving more than an outline, take a cottage; place the afflicted mother of her orphan daughters at the door, the paleness of death upon her face, and more than its agonies in her heart; her aching eye, her anxious ear, struggle thro' the mists of closing day, to catch the approaches of desolation, and dishonour.—The Russian gang arrives, the feast of plunder begins, the cup of madness kindles to its circulation. The wandering glance of the ravisher become concentrated upon the shrinking and devoted victim. You need not dilate, you need not expatiate; the unpolluted mother, to whom you tell the story of horror beseeches you not to proceed; she presses her child to her heart, she drowns it in her tears her fancy catches more than an angel's tongue could describe; at a single view she takes in the whole miserable succession of force, of profanation, of despair of death. So it is in the question before us.—If any man shall hear of this day's transaction, he cannot be so foolish as to suppose that we have been confined to a single character, like those now brought to you.—No, gentlemen; far from it; he will have too much common sense not to know, that outrages like this are never solitary, that where the public calamity generalizes, like these, their number is as the sands of the sea, and their nature, as insatiable as the waves.—I am therefore anxious, that our masters should have one authenticated example of the treatment, which our unhappy country suffers under the sanction of their authority; it will put a strong question to their humanity, if they have any, to their prudence, if their pride will let them listen to it; or at least to that anxiety for reputation, to that pretension to the imaginary virtues of mildness and mercy, to whom even those countries the most divided of them, are so ready to assert their claim, and so credulously disposed to believe that claim allowed.

There are some considerations respecting yourselves and the defendant, to which I should wish to say a word. You may perhaps think your persons unsafe, if you find a verdict as you do—I know he might send you to the provost, as he has done the plaintiff, and force a return on any writ you might issue for your deliverance—I know there is no spot in this devoted nation (except that on which we now are) where the story of oppression can be told or heard; but I think you can have no well founded apprehensions. There is a time when cruelty and oppression, become satisfied and fatigued; in that fatigued state you will find yourselves secure. But there is still a better security for you: The gratitude of the worthy defendant—If any thing could add to his honour and his credit, and the claims, it would be your verdict for the plaintiff; for in what instance have you ever seen any man so effectually accredited and recommended, as by the public execution? What a man, for instance, might Mr. O'Brien have been, if the copy of the gibbet had not arrested the career of his honour and profusion? In every point of view, therefore, I recommend to you to find, and to find liberally for the plaintiff. I have founded my advice upon the real circumstances of your situation; I have not endeavoured to stimulate you into any silly hectic of fancied liberty. I do not call upon you to expose yourselves by the affectation of vindicating the cause of freedom, and humanity; much less do I wish to exhibit ourselves to those, whose property we are, as indignant of contumacious, under their authority. Far from it, they are unequal to the proprietors of us, they are entitled of right to drive us, and to work us; but we may be permitted modestly to suggest, that for their own sake, and for their own interest, a line of moderation may be drawn. That there are excesses of infidelity, that human nature cannot bear. With respect to her western Negroes, Great Britain has had the wisdom and humanity to feel the justice of this observation, and in some degree to act upon it; and I have too an high opinion of that great and philosophical nation, not to hope that she might think us, not undeserving of equal mildness; provided it did not interfere with the just authority over us. It would, I should even think be for her credit, that having the honour of so illustrious a rider, she should be kept in some sort of condition, somewhat bordering upon spirit, which cannot be maintained, if the sufferer is to be utterly broken down, by the malicious wantonness of hergrooms and jockeys. Mr. Curran concluded by saying, that the cause was of no inconsiderable expectation, and that in whatever light the jury regarded it: whether with respect to the two countries, or to Ireland singly, or to the parties concerned, or to their own sense of character and public duty, or to the natural consequences that must flow from the event, they ought to consider it with the most profound attention, before they agreed upon their verdict.

RALEIGH, December 13.

This morning the blanks were filled on the bill for laying off the State into dis-

tricts, for electing Members to Congress, as follow:

1. Chowan, Currituck and Hertford, Pasquotank, Perquimons, Combeden and Gates.
2. Halifax, Northampton, Bertie and Martin.
3. Beaufort, Hyde, Pitt, Edgecomb, Tyrrel and Washington.
4. Lenoir, Craven, Carteret, Jones, Greene, Wayne and Johnston.
5. N. Hanover, Brunswick, Onslow, Duplin, Sampson and Bladen.
6. Franklin, Granville, Warren and Nash.
7. Richmond, Montgomery, Anson, Moore, Cumberland and Robeson.
8. Wake, Orange and Chatham.
9. Guilford, Rockingham, Caswell, Person and Randolph.
10. Cabarrus, Rowan and Mecklenburg.

11. Burke, Lincoln, Buncombe, and Rutherford.
12. Surry, Stokes, Iredell, Wilkes, and Ashe.

The election is to take place in August as usual. The bill is not yet passed, but it is expected to pass in this manner.

This morning the Assembly elected James Vaughan, of Granville, Colonel of the Cavalry for Hillsborough District.

The bill for dividing the State into twenty Superior Court districts, has been rejected in the Senate.

The Act to prevent the practice of Drilling, passed its third reading, 61 to 51.

From the National Intelligencer.

THOMAS PAINE,

TO THE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Letter the Third.

TO elect, and to reject, is the prerogative of a free people.

Since the establishment of Independence no period has arrived that so decidedly proved the excellence of the representative system of Government, and its superiority over every other, as the time we now live in. Had America been cursed with John Adam's *Aristocratic Monarchy*, or Alexander Hamilton's *Senate for life*, she must have fought, in the doubtful contest of civil war, what she now obtains by the expression of the public will. An appeal to elections decides better than an appeal to the sword.

The reign of terror that raged in America during the latter time of the Washington Administration, and the whole of that of Adams, is enveloped in mystery to me. That there were men in the government hostile to the representative system, though it is now their overthrow, was once their boast, and therefore the fact is established against them. But that so large a mass of the people should become the dupes of those who were loading them with taxes, in order to load them with chains and deprive them of the right of election, can be ascribed only to that species of wild-fire rage, lighted up by falsehood, that not only acts without reflection, but is too impetuous to make any.

There is a general and striking difference between the genuine effects of truth itself, and the effects of falsehood believed to be truth. Truth is naturally benign; but falsehood believed to be truth is always furious. The former delights in serenity, is mild and persuasive, and seeks not auxiliary aid of the invention. The latter sticks at nothing. It has naturally no morals. Every lie is welcome that suits its purpose. It is the innate character of the thing to act in this manner, and the criterion by which it may be known, whether in politics or religion. When any thing is attempted to be supported by lying, it is presumptuous evidence that the thing so supported is a lie also. The stock on which a lie can be engrained must be of the same species as the graft.

What is become of the mighty clamour of French invasions, and the cry that our country is in danger and taxes and armies must be raised to defend it? The danger is fled with the faction that created it, and what is worth of all the money is fled too. It is I only that have committed the hostility of invasion, & all the artillery of pop-guns are prepared for action. *Poor fellows*, how they foam! They set half their own partisans in laughter; for among ridiculous things nothing is more ridiculous than ridiculous rage. But I hope they will not leave off. I shall lose half my greatness when they cease to lie.

So far as respects myself I have reason to believe and a right, to say, that the leaders of the reign of terror in America, and the leaders of the reign of terror in France, during the time of Robespierre, were in character the same sort of men, or how it is to be accounted for, that I was persecuted by both at the same time.—When I was voted out of the French Convention the reason assigned for it was, that I was a foreigner. When Robespierre had me seized in the night and imprisoned in the Luxembourg (where I remained eleven months) he assigned no reason for it. But

when he proposed bringing me to the tribunal, which was like sending me at once to the scaffold, he then assigned a reason, and the reason was "for the interest of America as well as of France."—*Pour l'intérêt de l'Amerique autant que de la France.* The words are in his own hand writing and reported to the Convention by the committee appointed to examine his papers, and are printed in their report, with this reflection added to them, "Why Thomas Paine more than another? because he contributed to the liberty of both worlds."

There must have been a coalition in sentiment, if not in fact, between the terrorists of America and the terrorists of France, and Robespierre must have known it, or he could not have had the idea of putting America into the bill of accusation against me. Yet these men, these terrorists of the new world, who were waiting in the devotion of their hearts for the joyful news of my destruction, are the same banditti who are now bellowing, in all the hacheyed language of hackneyed hypocrisy, about humanity, and piety, and often about something they call infidelity, and they finish with the chorus of *crucify him, crucify him.* I am become so famous among them they cannot eat or drink without me. I serve them as a standing dish, and they cannot make up a bill of fare if I am not in it.

But there is one dish, and that the choicest of all, they have not yet presented on the table, and it is time they should. They have not yet accused *providence of infidelity.* Yet, according to their outrageous piety, we must be as bad as Thomas Paine; he has protected him in all his dangers, patronised him in all his undertakings, encouraged him in all his ways, and rewarded him at last by bringing him in safety and in health to the promised land. This is more than the did by the Jews, the chosen people, that they tell us she brought out of the land of Egypt and out of the house of bondage; for they all died in the wilderness and Moses too.

I was one of the nine members that composed the first committee of constitution. Six of them have been destroyed. Seyjes and myself have survived. He by bending with the times and I by not bending. The other survivor joined Robespierre and signed with him the warrant for my arrestation. After the fall of Robespierre he was seized and imprisoned in his turn and sentenced to transportation. He has since apologised to me for having signed the warrant, by saying, he felt himself in danger and was obliged to do it.

Herauld Sechelles, an acquaintance of Mr. Jefferson and a good patriot, was my *sup-plant* as member of the committee of constitution, that is, he was to supply my place, if I had not accepted or had resigned, being next in number of votes to me. He was imprisoned in the Luxembourg with me, was taken to the tribunal and the Guillotine, and I, his principal was left.

There were but two foreigners in the Convention, Anarcharis Cloots and myself. We were both put out of the Convention by the same vote, arrested by the same order, and carried to prison together the same night. He was taken to the Guillotine and I was again left. Joel Barlow was with us when we went to prison.

Joseph Lebon, one of the vilest characters that ever existed, and who made the streets of Arras run with blood, was my suppliant as member of the convention for the department of the *Pas de Calais.* When I was put out of the Convention he came and took my place. When I was liberated from prison and voted again into the Convention, he was sent to the same prison and took my place there, and he went to the Guillotine instead of me. He supplied my place all the way through.

One hundred and sixty eight persons were taken out of the Luxembourg in one night, and a hundred and sixty of them Guillotined the next day, of which I now know I was to have been one; and the manner I escaped that fate is curious and has all the appearance of accident.

The room in which I was lodged was on the ground floor, and one of a long range of rooms under a gallery, and the door of it opened outward and flat against the wall; so that when it was open the inside of the door appeared outward, and the contrary when it was shut. I had three comrades, fellow prisoners with me, Joseph Vanhuile of Bruges, since president of the municipality of that town, Michael Robbins and Bistini of Lorraine.

When persons by scores and by hundreds were to be taken out of prison for the Guillotine, it was always done in the night, and those who performed that office had a private mark or signal by which they knew what room to go to and what number to take. We, as I have said, were four, and the door of our room was marked, unobserved by us, with that number in chalk; but it happened, if happening is a proper word, that the mark was put on when the door was open and flat against the wall, and thereby came on the inside when we shut it at night, and the destroying angel passed by it. A few days after this Robespierre fell and Mr. Monroe arrived and reclaimed me, and invited me to his house.

During the whole of my imprisonment, prior to the fall of Robespierre, there was no

time when I could think my life worth twenty-four hours, and my mind was made up to meet its fate. The Americans in Paris went in a body to the convention to reclaim me, but without success. There was no party among them with respect to me. My only hope then rested on the government of America, that it would remember me. But the icy heart of ingratitude, in whatever man it may be placed, his neither feeling or sense of honor. The letter of Mr. Jefferson has served to wipe away the reproach and done justice to the mass of the people of America.

When a party was forming in the latter end of seventy seven & beginning of seventy eight, of which John Adams was one, to remove Mr. Washington from the command of the army, on the complaint that he did nothing, I wrote the fifth number of the crisis and published it at Lancaster (Congress being then at Yorktown in Pennsylvania) to ward off that meditated blow; for though I well know that the black times of seventy six was the natural consequence of his want of military judgment in the choice of positions into which the army was put about New York and Jersey. I could see no possible advantage, and nothing but mischief, that could arise by distracting the army into parties, which would have been the case had the intended motion gone on.

General Lee, who with a sarcastic genius joined a great fund of military knowledge, was perfectly right when he said, *We have no business on Islands, and in the bottom of bags, where the enemy, by the aid of its ships, can bring its whole force against a part of ours and shut it up.* This had like to have been the case at New-York, and was the case at fort Washington, and would have been the case at fort Lee, if general Greene had not moved instantly off on the first news of the enemy's approach. I was with Greene thro' the whole of that affair and know it perfectly.

But though I came forward in defence of Mr. Washington when he was attacked, and made the best that could be made of a series of blunders that had nearly ruined the country, he left me to perish when I was in prison. But as I told him of it in his life time, I should not now bring it up, if the ignorant impertinence of some of the federal papers, who are pushing Mr. Washington forward as their stalking-horse, did not make it necessary.

That gentleman did not perform his part in the revolution better, nor with more honour, than I did mine, and the one part was then as necessary as the other. He accepted as a present (though he was already rich) a hundred thousand acres of land in America, and left me to occupy six foot of earth in France. I wish, for his own reputation, he had acted with more justice. But it was always known of Mr. Washington, by those who best knew him, that he was of such an icy, and death-like constitution, that he neither loved his friends, nor hated his enemies. But, be this as it may, I see no reason that a difference between Mr. Washington and me should be made a theme of discord with other people. There are those who may see merit in both, without making themselves partisans of either, and with this reflection I close the subject.

As to the hypocritical abuse thrown out by the federalists on other subjects, I recommend to them the observance of a commandment that existed before either Christian or Jew existed. "Thou shalt make a covenant with thy senses." "With thine eye, that it behold no evil." "With thine ear, that it hear no evil." "With thy tongue, that it speak no evil." "With thy hands, that they commit no evil."

If the federalists will follow this commandment, they will leave off lying.

THOMAS PAINE.

Federal City, Lovell's Hotel, Nov. 26, 1802.

NOTICE.

THE subscriber returns thanks to the public in general, but particularly to those friends who have stepped forward and afforded such liberal encouragement, since his commencing the *Vendue and Commission Business*—He now solicits a continuance of their confidence, and as he is about to form some new arrangements, requests all those who may have open accounts with him, to come forward before the first day of January, in order that they may be adjusted.

JACOB LEVY.

Wilmington, Dec. 16.

NOTICE.

A Meeting of the creditors of Browne & Halsey, is requested by the subscriber, at Mrs. Howard's, on the 20th inst. at ten o'clock in the forenoon—when a full statement of that concern will be laid before them, and their approbation required, respecting the appropriation of the funds in the hands of the Trustees.

A. T. BROWNE.

Wilmington, Dec. 16.