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FIVE DOLLS. PER ANN. | WEDNESDAY, MAY 18, 1803. | PAID IN ADVANCE.

To be sold positively at public sale, on Tuesday the 26 of May, on the premises.

THE Subscriber's life-estate in the Walnut Tree Farm, situate on the river Potomac, about 4 miles below Alexandria. The farm consists of about 360 acres. The buildings and improvements very good, and the fishery attached to it very valuable.

Also will be sold at the same time and place, a number of horses, cattle and sheep, and a variety of farming utensils as well as a quantity of household furniture, consisting of mahogany tables, bureaus, bedstead, chairs &c.

The terms cash, for all sums under one hundred dollars; and for all sums above, approved notes negociable in the banks of Alexandria or Columbia, at 60 and 90 days.

TOBIAS LEAR.

May 4, 1803. ep24M.

CHARLES VARDEN,

TAYLOR,

FROM PHILADELPHIA.

HAS received from Philadelphia an elegant assortment of the best quality Superfine Cloths, Cassimeres, Silk florintine, Black and fancy silk moleskin velvet, white & figured Marseilles, Swandowns, Toilinettes, Velveteens, Fancy cords, Coating, &c.

With a variety of other articles suitable for the winter season.

N. B. Ladies Habits, Regimentals and Navy uniforms made in the first style of fashion.

New-Jersey Avenue, the second House from the Capitol Square.

December 8, 1802. tf.

Plank & scantling for cash.

Wanted for the Eastern Branch bridge, a quantity of the best HEART YELLOW PINE *plank and scantling, viz.*

2000 feet running, of 5 by 6 inches in lengths of 5 f. 3 inch.—10 f. 6 inch—15 9 inch. or 21 feet.

3400 feet running of 5 by 6 inch in lengths. from 17 f. 6 inch to 26 f. 6 inch.

3250 feet runing of 2 inch plank 8 inch. wide and 3250 feet running of 4 by 4 inch in lengths of 8 f 6.—17 f. 0 inch or 25 6 inch as most convenient.

Also 30 000 feet 4 inch plank in 17 feet lengths.

The whole must be found and entire heart —Apply speedily to

WILLIAM BRENT.

Treasurer to the Eastern Branch bridge company.

Capitol Hill May 4 1803. ep2w.

The subscriber has for sale,

A QUANTITY OF

Claret in bottles,	Jamaica Spirits,
Anchovies in boxes,	Whiskey in barrels,
Capers in ditto,	New-England cheese,
Olives in ditto,	Imperial Tea in chests,
Olive Oil in ditto,	Butter in Firkins,
Sugar in hhds. & bls	&c. &c.

WILLIAM BRENT.

Washington, May 11. tf

Carpenters and Labourers Wanted.

WANTED to work on the Bridge over the eastern Branch of Potomak, a number of rough Capenters, also a number of labourers by the month, to whom employment will be given during the whole of the summer. Their wages will be paid monthly, and the best prices will be given. Application to be made to the Subscriber.

WILLIAM BRENT.

Treasurer of the Eastern Branch Bridge Company April 18th. ep 3w.

FOR SALE OR RENT,

THAT elegant three story BRICK HOUSE on the corner of Falls & Frederick street in George Town, lately occupied by Mr. PICHON.

Likewise,

THE two well finished three story BRICK HOUSES, adjoining that occupied by Mr. SAMUEL H. SMITH, Printer, on the Pennsylvania Avenue, east of the centre Market House, City of Washington—Apply to

GEORGE THOMPSON,
George Town.

Geo. Town, Oct. 20. tf.

THOMAS CARPENTER, TAYLOR.

HAS Just received by recent arrivals at Philadelphia, from England, and the East Indies, a handsome assortment of SPRING and SUMMER GOODS, of the best quality, also Patent water proof Cloth's and Cassimere's, superfine NAVY BLUE and other colours; handsome NAVY & FASHIONABLE BUTTONS, &c.

Gentlemen of ARMY, NAVY and FASHION served with expedition and taste.

New Jersey Avenue, seventh house from Capitol Square and Pennsylvania Avenue near the President's square.

April 13 1803. tf.

TO LET,

And be entered upon immediately, three well finished BRICK HOUSES,

NEARLY opposite Morin's Tavern, on Twelfth street very near Pennsylvania Avenue, built for the WASHINGTON BUILDING COMPANY.

The Houses will be rented on very reasonable terms.

Apply to THOMAS CARPENTER near the President's Square. eptf.

Dec. 1st.

From the Aurora.

THOMAS PAINE.

TO THE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES.

LETTER THE SEVENTH.

RELIGION and war is the cry of the federalists; morality and peace the voice of republicans. The union of morality and peace is congenial; but that of religion and war is a paradox, and the solution of it is hypocrisy.

The leaders of the federalists have no judgement; their plans no consistency of parts and want of consistency is the natural consequence of want of principle. They exhibit to the world the curious spectacle of an *opposition* without a CAUSE and conducted without system. Were they, as doctors, to prescribe medicine, as they practise politics, they would poison their patients with destructive compounds.

There are not two things more opposed to each other than war and religion; and yet, in the double game, those leaders have to play, the one is necessarily the theme of their politics, and the other the text of their sermons. The week-day orator of Mars and the sunday preacher of Federal Grace, play like gamblers, into each other's hands, and this they call religion.

Though hypocrisy can counterfeit every virtue, and become the associate of every vice, it requires a great dexterity of craft to give it the power of deceiving. A painted sun may glisten but it cannot warm. For hypocrisy to personate virtue successfully it must know and feel what virtue is, and as it cannot long do this it cannot long deceive. When an orator foaming for war breathes forth in another sentence a *plaintive piety of words*, he may as well write HYPOCRISY on his front.

The late attempt of the federal leaders in congress (for they acted without the knowledge of their constituents) to plunge the country into war, merits not only reproach, but indignation. It was madness conceived in ignorance and acted in wickedness. The head and the heart went partners in the crime.

A neglect of punctuality in the performance of a treaty is made a *cause* of war by the *Barbary Powers*, and of remonstrances and explanation by *civilized powers*. The Mahomedans of Barbary negociate by the sword—they seize first, and expostulate afterwards; and the federal leaders have been laboring to *barbarise* the United States by adopting the practice of the Barbary States, and this they call honor. Let their honor and their hypocrisy go weep together for both are defeated. The present administration is too moral for hypocrites and too economical for public spendthrifts.

A man the least acquainted with diplomatic affairs, must know, that a neglect in punctuality is not one of the legal causes of war, unless that neglect be confirmed by a refusal to perform; and even then it depends upon circumstances connected with it. The world would be in continual quarrels and war, and commerce be annihilated, if Algerine policy was the law of nations. And were America, instead of becoming an example to the Old World of good and moral government, and civil manners, or if they like it better, of gentlemanly conduct towards other nations, to set up the character of ruffian, that of *word and a blow, and the blow first*, and thereby give the example of pulling down the little that civilization has gained upon barbarism, her independence, instead of being an honor and a blessing would become a curse upon the world & upon herself.

The conduct of the Barbary Powers, though unjust in principle, is suited to their prejudices, situation, and circumstances. The crusades of the church to exterminate them, fixed in their minds the unobliterated belief that every Christian power was their mortal enemy. Their religious prejudices, therefore, suggest the policy, which their situation and circumstaces protect them in. As a people, they are neither commercial nor agricultural, they neither import nor export, have no property floating on the seas, nor ships and cargoes in the ports of foreign nations. No retaliation, therefore, can be acted upon them and they sin secure from punishment.

But this is not the case with the United States. If she sins as a barbary power she must answer for it as a civilized one. Her commerce is continually passing on the seas exposed to capture, and her ships and cargoes in foreign ports to detention and reprisal. An act of war committed by her in the Mississippi would produce a war against the commerce of the Atlantic States, and the latter would have to curse the policy that provoked the former. In every point, therefore, in which the character and interest of the United States be considered, it would ill become her to set an example contrary to the policy and custom of civilized powers, and practised only by the barbary powers, that of striking before she expostulates.

But can any man, calling himself a legislator, and supposed by his constituents to know something of his duty, be so ignorant as to imagine that seizing on New-Orleans would finish the affair or even contribute towards it. On the contrary, it would have made it worse. The treaty right of deposit at New-Orleans, and the right of the navigation of the Mississippi into the gulph of Mexico are distant things. New Orleans is more than an hundred miles in the country from the mouth of the river, and as a place of deposit is of no value, if the mouth of the river be shut, which either France or Spain could do, and which our possession of New-Orleans could neither prevent nor remove. New-Orleans in our possession, by an act of hostility, would have become a blockaded port, and consequently of no value to the western people as a place of deposit. Since, therefore, an interruption had arisen to the commerce of the western states, and until the matter could be brought to a fair explanation, it was of less injury to have the port shut and the river open, than to have the river shut, and the port in our possession.

That New-Orleans could be taken required no stretch of policy to plan, nor spirit of enterprise to effect. It was like marching behind a man to knock him down; and the dastardly slyness of such an attack would have stained the fame of the United States. Where there is no danger cowards are bold, and captain *Bobadils* are to be found in senates as well as on the stage. Even Governeur on such a march, dare have shewn a leg.

The people of the western country to whom the Mississippi serves as an inland sea to their commerce, must be supposed to understand the circumstances of that commerce better than a man who is a stranger to it; and as they have shewn no approbation of the war-whoop measures of the federal senators, it becomes presumptive evidence they disapprove them. This is a new mortification to those war-whoop politicians; for the case is, that finding themselves losing ground and withering away in the Atlantic states, they laid hold of the affair of New-Orleans in the vain hope of rooting and reinforcing themselves in the western states; and they did this without perceiving, that it was one of those ill judged hypocritical expedients in politics that whether it succeeded or failed the event would be the same—Had their motion succeeded it would have indangered the commerce of the Atlantic states and ruined their reputation there; and on the other hand, the attempt to make a tool of the western people was so badly concealed as to extinguish all credit with them.

But hypocrisy is a vice of a sanguine constitution. It flatters and promises itself every thing; and it has yet to learn, with respect to moral and political reputation it is less dangerous to offend than to deceive.

To the measures of administration supported by the firmness and integrity of the majority in congress, the United States owe, as far as human means are concerned, the preservation of peace and of national honor. The confidence which the western people reposed in the government and in their representatives is rewarded with success. They are reinstated in their rights with the least possible loss of time; and their harmony with the people of New-Orleans, so necessary to the prosperity of the United States, which would have been broken, and the seeds of discord sown in its place, had hostilities been preferred to accommodation, remains unimpaired.—Have the federal ministers of the church meditated on these matters? and laying aside as they ought to do, their electioneering and vindictive prayers and sermons returned thanks that peace is preserved and commerce without the stain of blood.

In the pleasing contemplation of this state of things, the mind, by comparison, carries itself back to those days of uproar and extravagance that marked the career of the former administration, and decides, by the unstudied impulse of its own feelings, that something must then have been wrong. Why was it, that America, formed for happiness, and remote by situation and circumstances from the troubles and tumults of the European world, became plunged into its vortex and tainted with its crimes? The answer is easy—Those who were then at the head of affairs were apostates from the principles of the revolution. Raised to an elevation they had not a right to expect, nor judgment to conduct, they became like feathers in the air, and blown about by every puff of passion or conceit.

Candor would find some apology for their conduct if want of judgment was their only defect. But error and crime, though often alike in their features, are distant in their characters and in their origin. The one has its source in the weakness of the head, the other in the badness of the heart, and the coalition of the two describes the former administration.

Had no injurious consequences arisen from the conduct of that administration it might have passed for error or imbecility, and been permitted to die and be forgotten. The grave is kind to innocent offence. But even innocence when it is a cause of injury ought to undergo an enquiry.

The country, during the time of the former administration, was kept in continual agitation and alarm, and that no investigation might be made into its conduct it intrenched itself within a magic circle of terror, and called it a *sedition law*. Violent and mysterious in its measures and arrogant in its manners, it affected to disdain information and insulted the principles that raised it from obscurity. John Adams and Timothy Pickering were men whom nothing but the accidents of the times rendered visible on the political horizon. Elevation turned their heads, and public indignation hath cast them to the ground —But an enquiry into the conduct and measures of that administration is nevertheless necessary.

The country was put to great expence. Loans, taxes, and standing armies became the standing order of the day. The militia, said Secretary Pickering, are not to be depended upon, and fifty thousand men must be raised. For what? No cause to justify such measures has yet appeared.—No discovery of such a cause has yet been made. The pretended sedition law shut up the sources of investigation and the precipitate flight of John Adams closed the scene. But the matter ought not to sleep here.

It is not to gratify resentment, or encourage it in others, that I enter upon this subject. It is not in the power of man to accuse me of a persecuting spirit. But some explanation ought to be had. The motives and objects respecting the extraordinary and expensive measures of the former administration ought to be known. The sedition law, that shield of the moment, prevented it then, and justice demands it now. If the public have been imposed upon, it is proper they should know it, for where judgement is to act, or a choice to be made, knowledge is first necessary. The conciliation of parties, if it does not grow out of explanation, partakes of the character of collusion or indifference.

There has been guilt somewhere; and it is better to fix it where it belongs, and separate the deceiver from the deceived, than that suspicion, the bane of society, should range at large, and sour the public mind. The military measures that were proposed and carrying on during the former administration could not have for their object the defence of the country against invasion. This is a case that decides itself, for it is self-evident that while the war raged in Europe, neither France nor England could spare a man to send to America. The object therefore must be something at home, and that something was the overthrow of the representative system of government, for it could be nothing else. But the plotters got into confusion and became enemies to each other. Adams hated and was jealous of Hamilton, and Hamilton hated and despised both Adams and Washington. Surly Timothy stood aloof, as he did at the affair of Lexington, and the part that fell to the public was to pay the expence.

But ought a people who but a few years ago were fighting the battles of the world, for liberty had no home but here, ought such a people to stand quietly by and see that liberty undermined by apostacy and overthrown by intrigue? Let the tombs of the slain recall their recollection, and the forethought of what their children are to be revive and fix in their hearts the love of liberty.

If the former administration can justify its conduct give it the opportunity. The manner in which John Adams disappeared from the government renders an enquiry the more necessary. He gave some account of himself, lame and confused as it was, to certain *eastern wise men* who came to pay homage to him on his birth day. But if he thought it necessary to do this ought he not to have rendered an account to the public. They had a right to expect it of him. In that *tete a tete* account he says, "*Some measures were the effect of imperious necessity, much against my inclination.*" What measures does Mr. Adams mean, and what is the imperious necessity to which he alludes. "*Others* (says he) *were the measures of the legislature, which although approved when passed were never previously proposed or recommended by me.*" What measures, it may be asked, were those, for the public have a right to know the conduct of their *representatives*? "*Some,* [says he] *left to my discretion were never executed, because no necessity for them, in my judgment, ever occurred.*"

What does this dark apology, mixed with accusation, amount to, but to encrease and confirm the suspicion that something was wrong. Administration only was possessed of foreign official information, and it was only upon that information communicated by him publicly or privately or to Congress that Congress could act, and it is not in the power of Mr. Adams to shew, from the condition of the belligerent powers, that any *imperious necessity* called for the warlike and expensive measures of his administration.

What the correspondence between administration and Rufus King in London, or Quincy Adams in Holland, or Berlin, might be, is but little known. The public papers have told us that the former became *cup bearer* from the London underwriters to Captain Truxton, for which, as minister from a neutral nation, he ought to have been censured. It is, however, a feature that marks the politics of the minister, and hints at the character of the correspondence.

I know it is the opinion of several members of both houses of Congress that an enquiry, with respect to the conduct of the late administration ought to be gone into. The convulsed state into which the country has been thrown will be best settled by a full and fair exposition of the conduct of that administration, and the causes and object of that conduct. To be deceived, or to remain deceived can be the interest of no man who seeks the public good; and it is the deceiver only, or one interested in the deception, that can wish to preclude enquiry.

The suspicion against the late administration, is, that it was plotting to overturn the representative system of government, and that it spread alarms of invasions that had no foundation, as a pretence for raising and establishing a military force as the means of accomplishing that object.

The law, called the sedition law, enacted, that "if any person should write or publish, or cause to be written or published any libel (without defining what a libel is) against the government of the United States, or either House of Congress, or against the President, he should be punished by a fine not exceeding two thousand dollars, and imprisonment not exceeding two years.

But it is a much greater crime for a President to plot against a constitution and the liberties of the people than for an individual to plot against a President; and consequently John Adams is accountable to the public for his conduct as the individuals under his administration were to the sedition law.

The object, however, of an enquiry in this case is not to punish, but to satisfy; and to shew by example to future administrations that an abuse of power and trust, however disguised by appearances or rendered plausible by pretence, is one time or other to be accounted for.

THOMAS PAINE.

Bordentown on the Delaware, N. Jersey May 12, 1803.

From the Easton Star.

Washington, 30th April, 1803.

SIR,

I received by the mail a few days since, one of your papers, and was somewhat surprised to observe in it a paragraph stating a conversation which had passed during the sitting of the general court at Easton, between col. Done and Mr. Wright; in which, it is stated that, on Mr. Wright's observing that he had understood that I had sent a letter to be filed with the clerk expressive of my dissent to what he termed the extrajudicial part of the opinion of the judges in the case of Whittington against Polk, Mr. Done replied that he had not heard of my dissent "until long after."

If col. Done, by this reply, meant that he had not heard of the letter *stat-*