

Thomas Paine Fights for Freedom  
in Three Worlds

*The New, The Old, The Next*



Catalogue of an Exhibition Commemorating  
The One Hundred Fiftieth Anniversary  
of His Death

*Yale University Library*  
*October 1959*

By RICHARD GIMBEL

Selections from the Paine collection of Richard Gimbel,  
whose opening lecture "The Resurgence of Thomas Paine"  
can be found in Volume 69, Part II of these *Proceedings*.

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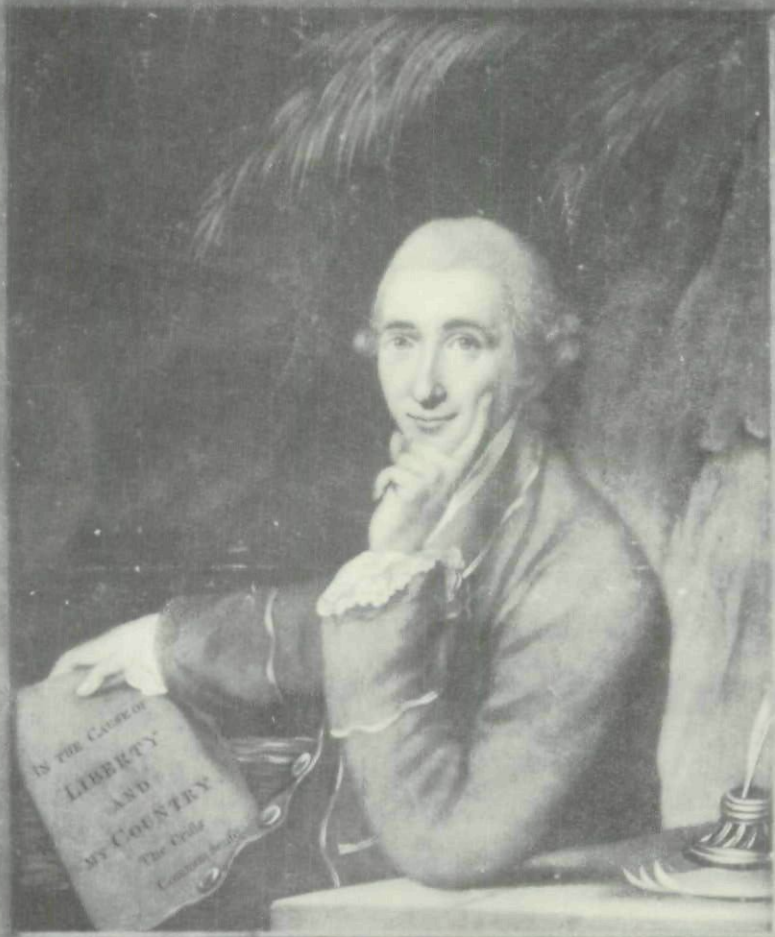
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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Marjorie S. Barclay typed the manuscript and helped solve its problems.



*C. W. Peckham*

*James Watson*

EDWARD PAYNE ESQ.<sup>d</sup>

FROM AN ORIGINAL PORTRAIT IN THE POSSESSION OF  
HENRY LAURENS ESQ.<sup>d</sup>

*Printed and Sold by W. Woodcock, No. 10, Strand.*

ERRONEOUSLY CALLED "EDWARD", IT IS THOMAS PAINE'S  
EARLIEST PORTRAITURE. No. 186

AMERICAN SOCIETY



57  
COMMON SENSE;

ADDRESSED TO THE

INHABITANTS  
OF  
AMERICA,

On the following interesting

SUBJECTS.

- I. Of the Origin and Design of Government in general, with concise Remarks on the English Constitution.
- II. Of Monarchy and Hereditary Succession.
- III. Thoughts on the present State of American Affairs.
- IV. Of the present Ability of America, with some miscellaneous Reflections.

---

Man knows no Matter save creating HEAVEN,  
Or those whom choice and common good ordain.

THOMSON.

---

PHILADELPHIA;

Printed, and Sold, by R. BELL, in Third-Street.

MDCCLXXVI.



*Thomas Paine Fights for Freedom  
in Three Worlds  
The New, the Old, the Next*

Section I

PAINE'S SEPARATE WORKS, LETTERS, MANUSCRIPTS, ETC.

Photograph, taken by A. G. Bagshaw, in Thetford, Norfolk, England, showing the cottage in which Paine was born. [ 1 ]

Thomas Paine (the family spelling was Pain) was born on the 29th of January, 1737 in this small two-story house located on Bridge (now called White Hart) Street.

Photograph, taken by A. G. Bagshaw, of the bronze plaque erected by an American Air Force unit during World War II which stands in the vicinity of Paine's birthplace. It reads:

[ 2 ]

THOMAS PAINE. 1737-1809. Journalist, Patriot & Champion of the rights of the common man. Thomas Paine, son of an humble Thetford staymaker, was born near this House. From his talented pen came the voice for the democratic aspirations of the American Republic through such splendid writings as "Common Sense," "Crisis" & "The Age of Reason." Buried in New York this simple son of England lives on through the ideals & Principles of the democratic world for which we fight today.

In tribute to his memory & to the everlasting love for freedom embodied in his works, this Plaque is gratefully dedicated through the voluntary contributions of Soldiers of an American Airforce Group.

October 21st, 1943

Photograph, taken by A. G. Bagshaw, of the grammar school in Thetford, Norfolk, which Paine attended until the age of thirteen. [3]

Paine later wrote concerning this school:

I did not learn Latin, not only because I had no inclination to learn languages, but because of the objection the Quakers have against the books in which the language is taught. But this did not prevent me from being acquainted with the subjects of all the Latin books used in the school. The natural bent of my mind was to science. I had some turn, and I believe some talent, for poetry; but this I rather repressed than encouraged, as leading too much into the field of imagination.

I happened, when a schoolboy, to pick up a pleasing natural history of Virginia, and my inclination from that day of seeing the western side of the Atlantic never left me.

His master in the grammar school was the Reverend William Knowles.

Caricature, titled *Fashion before Ease; or, A good Constitution Sacrificed for a Fantastick Form*, published by H. Humphrey, No. 18 Old Bond Street, January 2, 1793. [4]

Paine at the age of 13 was withdrawn over his objections from the Thetford Grammar School to learn the trade of his father—that of master staymaker (for corsets). Forty years later his political enemies were still reminding the public of his first humble occupation.

Broadside. *Tom the Bodice Maker*. To the Tune of Bow! wow! wow! [n.d.] [5]

This drinking song about Thomas Paine, consisting of nine verses and a chorus, was perhaps a forerunner to a tune still used by Yale. It was sung by the working classes, emphasizing their viewpoint that Paine's working with his hands was no disgrace.

[Anonymous] *Perils of the Ocean, or Disasters of the Seas*. New York: Murphy [n.d.] [6]

Paine, inspired by tales told by his grammar school teacher, finally ran away from home and the hated profession of staymaking. He enlisted as a sailor on the privateer *Terrible* (26 guns and 200 men).



In December of 1757 the *Terrible* fought to the death the French privateer *Vengeance* of 36 guns, in an engagement hardly paralleled in the annals of the British Navy. The French commander was killed, along with two-thirds of his crew; while Captain Death and virtually his entire crew were annihilated. From this fate, however, Paine was preserved by the timely intervention of his Quaker father, who pulled him off the ship before it sailed.

A stranger combination of names than those associated with the *Terrible* is difficult to find: it was commanded by Captain Death, his lieutenant was Devil, and his surgeon's name was Ghost. The ship was equipped at Execution Dock.

[Thomas Paine] *The Case of the Officers of Excise; with Remarks on the Qualifications of Officers; and on the Numerous Evils Arising to the Revenue, from the Insufficiency of the Present Salary.* Humbly addressed to the Hon. and Right Hon. the Members of Both Houses of Parliament. [Printed at Lewes, 1772.] Title page of the first edition in photostat [1772], and the second edition, London: J. S. Jordan, 1793. [7]

Paine tried various occupations unsuccessfully, and finally became an officer of excise, whose duty it was to hunt for smugglers and to collect the hated excise taxes on liquor and tobacco. The pay of fifty pounds a year was insufficient to cover living costs, which included keeping a horse. Corruption was rife. Paine listened attentively to the complaints of his fellow officers, and felt that only a raise in pay would enable them to lead honest careers. He wrote a strong argument for a pay raise and then solicited funds from them to print sufficient copies to send one to each member of Parliament. Result: Paine was dismissed from the Excise on the excuse that he had on an occasion absented himself without leave.

Although this has been accepted as Paine's first printed work, Paine himself never considered it so.

Dr. Benjamin Franklin. *Information to Those Who Would Remove to America.* London. 1794. [8]

Thomas Paine's first thirty-seven years in England were of little significance. He had two brief marriages. He was unhappy or failed in every job he tried. Dismissed from his government position as an



excise man trying to catch smugglers, he met Benjamin Franklin, who had recently lost the position he held in London as Postmaster for North America. The two became lifelong friends. Franklin advised Paine to seek his fortune in America, and may have used many of the arguments which he later included in this pamphlet, first printed at Passy, France, in 1784. To help Paine succeed in America, Franklin gave him letters of introduction to his natural son, William Franklin, then Royal Governor of New Jersey, and to his son-in-law, Richard Bache, a prosperous wine merchant of Philadelphia.

*Pennsylvania Journal*, Philadelphia, January 4, 1775 to November 27, 1776. [9]

Paine was ill with typhus when he arrived in Philadelphia, November 30, 1774, after nine weeks at sea on the *London Packet*. It was many weeks before he recovered, and probably the first thing published by him in America was the anonymous article, "A Dialogue between General Wolfe and General Gage," which appeared in the *Pennsylvania Journal* on January 4, 1775.

Paine contributed many articles to this newspaper, which was published every Wednesday. The most important one to him appeared in the issue for March 8, 1775, addressed "To Americans" and signed "Justice and Humanity." This was a slashing and powerful article against the African slave trade, doubtless inspired by the odious slave market opposite Paine's lodging. The celebrated Philadelphia physician, Dr. Benjamin Rush, was so impressed by reading this anti-slavery article that he sought out the anonymous author and became a friend to Paine. The first association against slavery in America was organized in Philadelphia shortly after Paine's article appeared.

Other articles by Paine in the *Pennsylvania Journal* included "A Serious Thought," signed "Humanus," and a series of four letters addressed to Cato, signed "The Forester." He also wrote an article discussing the manufacture of saltpeter.

*The Pennsylvania Magazine*, Philadelphia, March, 1775. [10]

Paine's first regular literary employment was helping Robert Aitken edit his new monthly publication called the *Pennsylvania Magazine*. Besides editing, Paine wrote numerous articles anonymously or using the pseudonyms "Atlanticus," "Vox Populi," and "Aesop."

The March number of the magazine contained Paine's well-known song to General Wolfe, with the engraved music on the opposite page.

Thomas Paine. Manuscript of song, "The Death of General Wolfe." [ 11 ]

This popular song, written by Paine, was widely used during the Revolution after its publication in the *Pennsylvania Magazine* for March, 1775. There has not yet been uncovered any earlier printing of this song in England.

*The Pennsylvania Magazine*, Philadelphia, April, 1775. [ 12 ]

Paine's ability to write pithy political remarks is shown in his comment on the excerpt of Lord Chatham's speech to the House of Lords in London. Chatham, criticising the advice given to the King of England on American affairs, said: ". . . if his majesty continues to hear such counsellors—he will not only be badly advised—but **UNDONE**. He may wear his crown, it is true, but it will not be worth wearing; robbed of so principal a jewel as America, it will lose its lustre, and no longer beam that effulgence which should irradiate the brow of majesty."

Paine asterisked this statement and added a footnote: \*"Tho' we believe Lord Chatham used this expression as an orator, and not as a commentator on past circumstances, yet we cannot help minding our readers, that the principal jewel of the crown actually dropt out at the coronation."

[Thomas Paine] *Common Sense; Addressed to the Inhabitants of America on the Following Interesting Subjects: I. Of the Origin and Design of Government in General, with Concise Remarks on the English Constitution. II. Of Monarchy and Hereditary Succession. III. Thoughts on the Present State of American Affairs. IV. Of the Present Ability of America, with Some Miscellaneous Reflections.* Philadelphia: R. Bell, 1776. [ 13 ]

After blood had been spilled at the Battle of Lexington, April 19, 1775, Paine argued that the cause of America should not be a mere revolt against taxation but a demand for independence.

Timed to appear when the King's speech might be expected to arrive in America, Paine was lucky enough to have his argument, entitled *Common Sense*, and the King's speech appear on the same day. Paine's



tract was printed by Robert Bell, to whom Paine had been introduced by Doctor Benjamin Rush. It immediately became a best seller. (*Illustration facing p. 399.*)

[Thomas Paine] *Common Sense; Addressed to the Inhabitants of America on the Following Interesting Subjects . . .* Philadelphia: W & T Bradford [n.d.] [ 14 ]

Paine had patriotically agreed to give his share of the profits from *Common Sense* toward the purchase of mittens for the half-frozen American troops then battling before Quebec. When Bell said there were no profits, Paine, infuriated, dismissed Bell and employed Bradford to publish a new edition. He materially enlarged the work by one-third. He also reduced the price from two shillings to one shilling so that everybody might read the flaming arguments, *and they did!*

Refusing to copyright this work, he gave permission to all to reprint it, with the result that it spread rapidly all over the country.

[Thomas Paine] Manuscript of *Common Sense*, 1776. [ 15 ]

This manuscript, written on 35 folio pages, was sent by Paine to Samuel Clay Harvey, J.P., of Lodge Hill, Kent, England, a political writer.

*The Pennsylvania Evening Post*, Vol. II, No. 226, Philadelphia, July 2, 1776. [ 16 ]

The impact of *Common Sense* can best be appreciated if we realize that its equivalent sale today, based on the present population of the United States, would be 6,500,000 copies within three months.

As a direct result of this overwhelming distribution, the Declaration of Independence was unanimously ratified July 4, 1776.

On July 2 the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* carried as a last minute insertion the important news that the Continental Congress had declared the United Colonies to be free and independent states.

*The Pennsylvania Evening Post*, Vol. II, No. 228, Philadelphia, July 6, 1776. [ 17 ]

The Declaration of Independence was not agreed on until many hours after the July 4 issue was out and first appeared, in the next number of



this tri-weekly newspaper, on July 6, 1776. This was the first newspaper printing of the Declaration.

[Thomas Paine] *The American Crisis. Number I.* By the Author of *Common Sense*. [First published around December 19, 1776, without indication of publisher, place or date, by Styner and Cist, Philadelphia.] [ 18 ]

When Washington's troops floundered in the War of Independence to which Paine had given birth, he rejuvenated the dispirited soldiers with this pamphlet, opening with the flaming watchword "These are the times that try men's souls." Washington was so impressed that he ordered it read to all the troops at Valley Forge, and this pamphlet was carried in the pockets of the officers, even during bloody engagements, as the stained copy shown might verify.

Calling this *Crisis No. I*, Paine must have anticipated other crises. His foreboding was well-founded and others followed—thirteen in all—of which those below, numbered II, III, IV, V and *The Crisis Extraordinary* were the only ones first printed in America as separate pamphlets. The rest were given directly to the newspapers. (*Illustrated at p. 406.*)

[Thomas Paine] *The American Crisis. Number II.* By the Author of *Common Sense*. Philadelphia: Styner and Cist. Dated at bottom of page 24, January 13, 1777. [ 19 ]

[Thomas Paine] *The American Crisis. Number III.* By the Author of *Common Sense*. Philadelphia: Styner and Cist. Dated at the bottom of page 56, April 19, 1777. [ 20 ]

[Thomas Paine] *The American Crisis. Number IV.* By the Author of *Common Sense*. Philadelphia: Styner and Cist. Dated at the bottom of page 60, September 12, at Noon [1777]. [ 21 ]

[Thomas Paine] *The American Crisis. Number V. Addressed to General Sir William Howe.* By the Author of *Common Sense*. Lancaster: John Dunlap, 1778. [ 22 ]

In this *Crisis* Paine defends George Washington as Commander-in-Chief of the American Army. Politicians had been dissatisfied with

# The *American* CRISIS.

NUMBER I.

By the Author of COMMON SENSE.

**T**HESE are the times that try men's souls: The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph. What we obtain too cheap, we esteem too lightly:---'Tis dearness only that gives every thing its value. Heaven knows how to set a proper price upon its goods; and it would be strange indeed, if so celestial an article as FREEDOM should not be highly rated. Britain, with an army to enforce her tyranny, has declared, that she has a right (*not only to TAX*) but "*to BIND us in ALL CASES WHATSOEVER,*" and if being bound in that manner is not slavery, then is there not such a thing as slavery upon earth. Even the expression is impious, for so unlimited a power can belong only to GOD.

WHETHER the Independence of the Continent was declared too soon, or delayed too long, I will not now enter into as an argument; my own simple opinion is, that had it been eight months earlier, it would have been much better. We did not make a proper use of last winter, neither could we, while we were in a dependent state. However, the fault, if it were one, was all our own; we have none to blame but ourselves\*. But no great deal is lost yet; all that Howe has been doing for this month past is rather a ravage than a conquest, which the spirit of the Jerseys a year ago would have quickly repulsed, and which time and a little resolution will soon recover.

I have as little superstition in me as any man living, but my

\* "The present winter" (meaning the last) "is worth an age, if rightly employed, but if lost, or neglected, the whole Continent will partake of the evil; and there is no punishment that man does not deserve, be he who, or what, or where he will, that may be the means of sacrificing a season so precious and useful." COMMON SENSE.

THE TIMES THAT TRY MEN'S SOULS. No. 18



Washington and were calling for his resignation. Paine here helped Washington at a critical time, but when Paine's own critical moment came many years later in France, Washington failed to reciprocate.

[Thomas Paine] *The Crisis Extraordinary*. Philadelphia: William Harris. At the bottom of page 14 signed COMMON SENSE, and dated October 4, 1780. [ 23 ]

Thomas Paine. Autograph letter to [Henry Laurens], President of Congress, dated Lancaster, April 11, 1776. [ 24 ]

Counterfeiting was rampant during the early days of the Revolution. Paine in this letter points out that the present law against counterfeiting national currency is a state law and the Governor of a state is therefore in the position of being able to pardon an offense against the nation. Following Paine's advice, Congress passed a law making counterfeiting a national crime.

Thomas Paine. Autograph letter to [John Bayard]. dated, General Green's Headquarters, October 30, 1777. [ 25 ]

More important than Paine's fighting ability was his writing skill, and much of the known history of the war comes from his pen.

Enlisted in the army as an aide to General Green, Paine writes to the Speaker of the General Assembly: "Does not the gallant defense of Red Bank, under the command of Colonel Greene of Rhode Island deserve the thanks of the House. I shall go to Fort Mifflin this afternoon." Paine's daring at Fort Mifflin in carrying messages under heavy fire, made him a hero in the "Times that tried men's souls."

Thomas Paine. Autograph letter to an unknown correspondent. [n.p., n.d., c. 1779?] [ 26 ]

The greatest scandal during the Revolutionary War concerned the case of Silas Deane (Yale, class of 1758) who was accused by Thomas Paine of seeking to get money from the American government to repay France when, as a matter of fact, the King of France had already agreed to make a gift of this money to America to aid the cause of the Revolution.



Paine, in revealing these facts, disclosed matters of a confidential nature which he had learned from his position as Secretary to the Committee of Foreign Affairs. As a result, despite the truth of his accusations Paine was forced to resign his post.

In this letter he discusses the Deane affair, and compares him to the infamous Mme. D'On.

[Thomas Paine] "Common Sense to the Public." In *The Pennsylvania Packet*, Philadelphia, January 9, 1779. [ 27 ]

Typical of the controversy which raged between Paine and Silas Deane in the newspapers during the year 1779 is this article in which he chides Deane for his accusations against Arthur Lee.

Manuscript pay voucher to John Bayard, signed by Thomas Paine. Philadelphia, November 27, 1779. [ 28 ]

After Paine was forced to resign his position as Secretary to the Committee of Foreign Affairs because of his indiscreet, although correct, disclosures to the American people that Silas Deane was attempting to rob the treasury, he was in desperate need of employment. Conrad Alexander Gérard, the French Minister to the United States, feared that Paine might blame France for his dismissal, and, rather than have him resentful, promised him \$1,000 a year if he would use his pen to promote friendly feelings toward France and the Alliance among the Americans. Paine listened, but could not accept constraint, and the proposed agreement with Gérard failed. He never received a cent from Gérard. His American friends finally came to his rescue by having him appointed to the remunerative position of clerk of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania on November 2, 1779. His duties included signing pay vouchers on the State Treasurer, David Rittenhouse, such as the one above, which paid John Bayard, Speaker of the House.

Thomas Paine. Autograph letter to Honorable John Bayard, Esq. [Last page only] n.d. [November, 1779?] [ 29 ]

At the end of the above letter, Paine gives the dates and circumstances of his writing the *American Crisis* series.

John Bayard, to whom it is addressed, was Speaker of the House. It was docketed, "part of a letter to the General Assembly."

Manuscript pay voucher to Thomas Paine, signed by John Bayard. Philadelphia, March 18, 1780. [30]

Although Paine's task as Clerk was to sign all pay vouchers, he could not sign his own, and John Bayard signed this one for him.

On the 18th of March, 1780, Paine was owed 187 pounds and 10 shillings for back pay as Clerk of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania. Paine wrote in his own hand at the bottom "March 18th, Rec'd the above content. Thomas Paine."

[Thomas Paine] *Public Good, Being an Examination into the Claim of Virginia to the Vacant Western Territory, and of the Right of the United States to the Same. To which is Added, Proposals for laying off a new State, to be applied as a Fund for carrying on the War, or redeeming the National Debt.* By the Author of *Common Sense*. Philadelphia: John Dunlap, 1780. [31]

When Virginia claimed the territory now known as West Virginia for herself, Paine immediately wrote and published the above pamphlet, in which he argues that the territory, having been won through the joint effort of the thirteen states, should benefit all.

Naturally, this did not endear him to Virginia, and later, when the legislature of that state was asked to recompense Paine for his wartime activities, it refused to do so.

*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society.* Vol. I, 1781. Philadelphia, Wm. & Thomas Bradford. Facsimile edition of the original manuscript [n.d.]. [32]

Although proposed by Dr. Hutchinson, Thomas Paine was blackballed from membership in the American Philosophical Society on January 19, 1781, before the completion of its first year. His certifying signature had appeared at the end of the original Act incorporating the Society (15 March, 1780). His first failure to be elected may have been due to his diatribes against the Loyalist and Quaker members, but Paine continued his attacks upon these Tories. As the outcome of the Revolution became more certain, the Tories were dropped from membership, and on January 22, 1785, Paine was admitted to membership in this honored Society.



Abbé Raynal. *The Revolution of America*. London, Davis, 1781. [ 33 ]

This work was written or edited by Raynal, who was sympathetic to England, and roused the ire of Thomas Paine because of its many false statements. He answered this work in his *Letter* to the Abbé.

Abbé Raynal. *The Revolution of America*. Published in the French language, London, 1781. [ 34 ]

Abbé Raynal. *The Revolution of America*. Philadelphia, Bell, 1782. [ 35 ]

Thomas Paine, M.A. *Letter Addressed to Abbé Raynal On the Affairs of North-America. In Which the Mistakes in the Abbé's Account of the Revolution of America are Corrected and Cleared Up*. Philadelphia: Steiner, 1782. [ 36 ]

Paine's answer to Abbé Raynal was immediately reprinted in England and in France in several editions (without French approval or privilege).

M. Chevalier de la Luzerne, secretary to the French Minister Gérard, was so pleased with Paine's *Letter to Abbé Raynal* that he sent Paine fifty guineas in August of 1782. In the last three months of 1783 La Luzerne gave Paine nearly one hundred guineas, possibly as a reward for his *American Crisis* of May 11, 1782, in which Paine protested against a separate peace between the United States and Great Britain.

Thomas Paine. *Rémarques sur les Erreurs de l'Histoire Philosophique et Politique de Mr. Guillaume Thomas Raynal, par Rapport aux Affaires de l'Amérique-Septentrionale, &c.* Par Mr. Thomas Paine Maître ez-Arts de l'Université de Pensylvanie, Auteur des diverses Brochures publiées sous le Titre de Sens Commun, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères pour le Congrès, &c. Traduites de l'Anglais & augmentées d'une préface & de quelques notes, par A. M. Cerisier. Amsterdam, F. A. Crafenschot, 1783. [ 37 ]

Thomas Paine. Autograph letter to [General Nathaniel Greene], dated Philadelphia, September 10, 1781. [ 38 ]

It took sixteen ox teams to carry the half-million dollars in silver which Colonel Laurens and Thomas Paine secured from the French



King, Louis XVI, after a short trip they made together to Paris in 1781. This money, plus the clothing and ammunition also received, saved the day for America and led directly to the surrender of Cornwallis on October 19, 1781.

This letter describes the trip, so important to the success of the Revolution.

*Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*  
[in 1779]. Philadelphia: Francis Bailey, 1782. [39]

No *American Crisis* appeared for nearly a year after the Deane affair, but Paine was still a hero of the people. On the day he was appointed clerk of the Pennsylvania Assembly, an Act was introduced for the abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania, which then had 6,000 slaves. Paine was given credit for writing the Preamble to this Abolition Resolution, which measure had been prepared by George Bryan. The legislation was successfully passed on March 1, 1780.

Thomas Paine. Autograph letter to Honorable Robert Morris, Esq., dated Borden Towne, October 14, 1783. [40]

Paine criticised the delay in signing the definitive treaty and the treaty of commerce, ending the War.

"... as if foreign Nations would be so foolish to pay respect to our Confederated Government when we set them the example of paying so little attention to it ourselves, for if it has not authority enough to regulate a Commercial Tax, it cannot be important enough for a Commercial Treaty."

John Dickinson. "A Message from the President and the Supreme Executive Council to the General Assembly." In the *Independent Gazetteer*, December 24, 1784. [41]

Paine refused to accept any profit from his patriotic writings, which were sold by the hundreds of thousands. He hoped this would make it easier for the masses to secure them.

When the war was over, however, he was without resources, and his friends, attempting to secure for him reumuneration for his services, found that he had trod on so many toes that it was difficult to persuade any of the governmental bodies to vote even a small recompense.

In this published letter, John Dickinson pleaded Paine's cause to the Pennsylvania General Assembly, and shortly after its publication the legislators voted to give Paine five hundred pounds.

The State of New York had already given him a farm in New Rochelle, and Congress a few months later voted to pay him three thousand dollars.

Thomas Paine. Autograph letter to Mr. [David C.] Claypo[o]le.  
[Philadelphia], March 22, 1786. [ 42 ]

Paine writes to Claypoole, publisher of the *Pennsylvania Packet & Daily Advertiser*, the only daily newspaper in Philadelphia, claiming the paper has published an untruth and the least atonement that can be made to the people will be to give them the truth and thus undeceive them. "If you do not choose to print this piece, you will return it and I will publish it in another paper!"

Thomas Paine. Autograph letter to John Hall, dated Philadelphia, "Fryday noon" [1783?]. [ 43 ]

With the money he was awarded from the States of Pennsylvania and New York, and from Congress, Paine started the peaceful pursuit as an inventor of something useful to society. A bridge was needed to cross the wide Schuylkill River near Philadelphia, which Paine thought could be spanned by a single bridge made of iron without the necessity for placing a pier in the middle. Paine invented a new type of iron bridge which was transportable, and to prove the merit of its construction he started building a 13-foot model of it. John Hall, to whom this letter and the following one are addressed, was the carpenter who helped Paine construct the model.

Paine showed his invention to Benjamin Franklin, who felt that there was no one in America who had enough nerve to build so large a bridge of iron. On Franklin's advice Paine decided first to secure the approval of the plan, demonstrated in his model, from the French Academy of Science, and for this purpose soon set sail for France.

Thomas Paine. Autograph letter to John Hall, dated Borden Town, September 22, 1786. [ 44 ]



[Thomas Paine] *Dissertations on Government, the Affairs of the Bank, and Paper-Money.* By the Author of *Common Sense*. Philadelphia, Cist, 1786. [45]

Another time that tried men's souls occurred in 1780 when the American troops were at the end of their patience because of lack of pay and scarcity of supplies. Serious features of mutiny and sedition had already appeared. A tone of discouragement swept through the Pennsylvania Assembly, for the treasury was empty. One member said, "We might as well give up first as last."

But Paine did not agree, and when he drew his meager salary, he took \$500 and started a subscription for the relief of the soldiers. Robert Morris and many others followed, and by June 8, 1780, had raised 300,000 pounds and started the bank which supplied the army through the campaign. It was popularly known as the Bank of Pennsylvania; however, the plan was changed and most subscriptions went towards the founding of the Bank of North America, which received a charter from Congress on December 21, 1781, and from the State of Pennsylvania on April 1, 1782.

When this bank came under attack by those who favored inflation after the war, Paine rushed to its defense with this pamphlet, which his enemies insisted he had been bribed to write by the bank's principal stockholders. Paine vigorously denied this, stating he was a member neither of the party in favor of the bank nor of that opposed to it, but only knew the difference between right and wrong. As a result of this defense, the bank's charter was saved, but Paine became the political goat and had made fresh enemies.

Colored Engraving, by W. Birch and Son, of the Bank of Pennsylvania, South Second Street, Philadelphia, [1800] [46]

This handsome edifice owes its beginning to the small contribution given by Thomas Paine in June, 1780.

"Extrait des Minutes de l'Assemblée de Pennsylvania," due 21 May, 1787. [47]

A committee appointed by the government of Pennsylvania to examine the model of Paine's iron bridge reported that it appeared to be ingenious and well conceived. Made of wrought iron, it had a span of thirteen feet and a height at its center of six to seven inches.

Paine had this report translated into the French language and carried it with him when he went to Paris for the purpose of getting the bridge construction approved by the French Academy of Sciences (see next item). Paine also brought along the model of his bridge, which was readily disassembled, a feature which Paine believed would be advantageous to an army on the march.

Thomas Paine. Autograph letter to the French Academy of Science, dated Paris, 21 Juillet, 1787. [48]

Paine had with him on his arrival in France letters of introduction from Benjamin Franklin to French engineers.

The letter shown, written in French and signed by Paine, states that Dr. Franklin desired the opinion of the Academy on the construction of this bridge before any attempt to erect it was made in America. Dr. Franklin emphasizes the friendship between the two nations.

[Thomas Paine] *Prospects on the Rubicon; or An Investigation into the Causes and Consequences of the Politics to be Agitated at the Meeting of Parliament.* London, J. Debrett, 1787. [49]

Paine now returned to his native England after having been thirteen years in America. He wished to see his aged parents and to have the British iron-mongers build his iron bridge. He was somewhat diverted from these objectives by his deep concern about the threatening war between England and France over Holland, and decided to publish anonymously in December, 1787, a warning. In this pamphlet he states that "war involves in its progress such a train of unforeseen and unsuspected circumstances, such a combination of foreign matters, that no human wisdom can calculate the end. It has but one thing certain, and that is increase of taxes."

Thomas Paine. Autograph letter to [General Lewis Morris], dated Paris, May 4, 1788. [50]

Paine has often been criticized for not mentioning his mother, but in this letter he writes to his friend General Morris in America: "My Mother, good old woman, told me that she got an American newspaper during the Revolutionary war in which there was a proclamation of Congress for a Fast-Day, and that she kept it very strictly."



The English newspapers had abused Paine on account of certain statements in his *Prospects on the Rubicon*, but Paine now writes that present events have proved him right.

The letter ends: "The English newspapers have very ingenuously found out that the author of *Common Sense* is an ARCH REBEL. However, they are disposed to give me credit for the ingenuity of the model [iron bridge]. God bless you all."

Thomas Paine. Autograph letter to Benjamin West, dated London, Monday, July 13, 1788. [ 51 ]

Paine met John Trumbull, the American painter, in Benjamin West's studio in London, and the three became friends.

A little later Trumbull painted a miniature of Thomas Paine, which was lost for more than a century until it was recently identified, and now can be seen in Thomas Jefferson's home at Monticello, Virginia.

The "jeu d'esprit" originally enclosed with this letter is now lost. It probably was a poem. Paine always enjoyed writing poetry, but only a few poems have survived.

Thomas Paine. Autograph letter to an unknown correspondent, dated [London], July 11, 1788. [ 52 ]

Paine considered himself an expert on American affairs and did not consider it improper to offer advice through the addressee to the English Privy Council regarding their prohibition of wheat from America on account of what they called dangerous pollution by the Hessian Fly. Paine gives his address at this time as the White Bear Inn, Piccadilly.

Thomas Paine. Manuscript copy in Paine's hand of an extract from a letter written to him by Thomas Jefferson, dated Paris, July 28 [1788]. [ 53 ]

In full confidence of Edmund Burke's friendship, Paine did not hesitate to communicate to him facts from a private letter he received from Thomas Jefferson in Paris, giving details, which he received from the Russian Minister, of the results of naval battles between the Turks and the Russians.

Thomas Paine. Autograph letter to Edmund Burke, dated Broad Street Buildings [London], August 7, 1788. [ 54 ]

Paine at this time considered Edmund Burke a true friend of liberty. In this letter one can recognize the birth of the *Rights of Man*, for Paine uses almost identical language in his preface to the English edition of his work, published in 1791.

I have seen enough of war and the misery it inflicts to wish it might nevermore have an existence in the world, and that some other mode than that of destruction might take place to adjust and compose the differences that should occasionally arise in the neighborhood of nations. Though I had closed my political career with the establishment of the independence of America . . . yet there appeared to me . . . such a fair opening opportunity to bring England and France to a better understanding with each other than had formerly been the case, and as a man always feels a happy consolation in any attempt to do good that I wrote to the Abbé Morellet on this subject.

*Abridgement of Specifications Relating to Bridges, Viaducts and Aqueducts, 1750-1866.* London, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1868, pp. 1-2. [ 55 ]

After receiving French approval of the construction of his bridge, Paine left for London and secured an English patent on his bridge, August 26, 1788, No. 1667.

Thomas Paine. Autograph letter to Kitty Nicholson Few, dated London, January 6, 1789. [ 56 ]

Paine received word that pretty Kitty Nicholson, whom he had watched grow from girl to young lady while in America, had married Colonel Few. He wrote her this long, congratulatory letter in which he explains his attitude toward love and marriage, and then goes on to discuss the calamity to the world if America should ever fall.

He printed the excerpt on America in later writings, such as his pamphlet *Letter to George Washington*.

Richard Price. *A Discourse on the Love of our Country.* Delivered on November 4, 1789 at the Meeting House in the Old Jewry to the Society for Commemorating the Revolu-



tion in Great Britain, with an Appendix. 2nd edition. London, T. Cadell, 1789. [ 57 ]

Paine's Fight for Freedom in England was sparked by this *Discourse on the Love of our Country*, delivered by Richard Price, eminent English dissenting minister. Dr. Price had previously advocated the cause of American liberty and had been invited by Congress to become an American citizen, but he had declined. He was a close friend of both Benjamin Franklin and Dr. Priestley. In this discourse he warned that the principles of that Revolution should not be forgotten. These principles included the "right to resist power when abused," and "the right to choose our own government; to cashier them for misconduct; and to frame a government for ourselves."

Edmund Burke. *Reflections on the Revolution in France and on the Proceedings in Certain Societies in London Relative to that Event*. In a Letter Intended to Have been Sent to a Gentleman in Paris. London, J. Dodsley, 1790. [ 58 ]

The revolutionary doctrine expressed by Dr. Price in his address *A Discourse on the Love of Our Country* angered Edmund Burke enough so that he wrote in reply his outstanding rhetorical work *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, published in November, 1790.

Thomas Paine. *Rights of Man: Being an Answer to Mr. Burke's Attack on the French Revolution*. London: J. Johnson, 1791. [ 59 ]

The attack on the French Revolution, which Burke had made in his *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, infuriated Paine, who was chagrined by these statements coming from his former friend, the great liberal. He rushed into print with his even more celebrated answer, *The Rights of Man*.

Paine hoped this book would do for England what his *Common Sense* had done for America. He appropriately dedicated it to George Washington and published it on Washington's birthday, February 22, 1791. However, the publisher, J. Johnson, frightened by Government agents, suppressed it on the day of publication. Only a very few copies, distributed prior to publication, have survived.

Thomas Paine. *Rights of Man. Being an Answer to Mr. Burke's Attack on the French Revolution.* Eighth edition. London: J. S. Jordan, 1791. [60]

Paine, after some difficulty, secured another publisher, J. S. Jordan, who insisted that the work should be toned down. The book was a sensation, and at least eight editions were published by Jordan during 1791.

Thomas Paine. *Rights of Man. Being an Answer to Mr. Burke's Attack on the French Revolution.* Second edition. Philadelphia: S. H. Smith, 1791. [61]

Paine's *Rights of Man* was reprinted in America and created a new explosion, not because the principles outlined American Jeffersonian democracy, but because Smith, the publisher, had printed in it an extract of a letter from Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson: "I am extremely pleased to find this will be reprinted, and that something is at length to be publicly said against the political heresies which have sprung up against us."

This was a direct slap at the Vice-president, John Adams, and his adherents rushed to defend him.

Thomas Paine. [Manifesto to the French People] in *Le Républicain, ou le Défenseur du gouvernement Représentatif.* Numéro premier. Paris: Au Bureau du Courier de Provence. Juillet, 1791. [62]

When Louis XVI and his family fled from Paris, Paine, temporarily on a visit to Paris, seized the opportunity to write the first call for a Republic to be made in France. He had it translated into the French language and dramatically placarded it all over Paris on the morning of July 1, 1791. Acceding to French law, it was signed by a friend of Paine, Achille Duchatelet, Colonel of the Chasseurs and President of the Société de Republicains. It explained how useless, harmful and costly is the monarchical form of government. It also invited the French to subscribe to a new paper *Le Républicain*, which would explain the republican principles to the populace. Paine even had the audacity to have the Manifesto nailed to the front door of the National Assembly itself, where it caused a storm of indignation. It was immediately denounced in the Assembly. After debate the author was not arrested, for



it was considered the work of a madman and a matter too insignificant to take up the valuable time of the Assembly. The Société de Républicains consisted of only five members: Paine, Duchatelet, Condorcet, Brissot and Clavière (see letter to Etienne Dumont). They filled their paper, *Le Républicain*, with their contributions. After four weekly numbers had been published, the paper folded, but the first seed for the republic had been sown.

Thomas Paine. "Lettre de Thomas Paine, à M. l'Abbé Syeyes."

In *Le Républicain, ou le Défenseur du gouvernement Représentatif*. No. 3, Paris, 16 juillet, 1791. [63]

Paine's attack on the monarchy in the first number of *Le Républicain*, had caused Abbé Syeyes, spokesman for the French moderates who had framed the Constitution of 1791, to challenge Paine to a debate on the subject in a letter to *Le Moniteur*, July 6, 1791.

Nothing suited Paine better, and he immediately accepted the challenge in this letter, which was first published in *Le Moniteur* on the 16th of July. Paine agreed to limit his arguments in favor of the republican system, while granting the Abbé the privilege of writing as much as he would think proper in defence of monarchy.

Abbé Syeyes refused to write further, and so left Paine the ostensible victor of this tilt.

[Thomas Paine] *Address and Declaration of the Friends of Universal Peace and Liberty at the Thatched House Tavern, St. James Street*. London, August 20, 1791. [64]

Paine returned to London and plunged deeper into his movement toward a revolution in England. Although this Address is signed by John Horne Tooke as chairman of the Society, it was actually written by Paine, who later publicly acknowledged it.

Paine at this time suggested no break with the King, but he left the way open for the King to join the side of the republic and become its chief. He mentioned that the kingship was a mighty expensive sinecure.

We have also a very numerous poor: and we hold, that the moral obligation of providing for old age, helpless infancy and poverty, is far superior to that of supplying the invented wants of courtly extravagance, ambition and intrigue. We hold that [government] to be the best, which secures to every man his rights, and promotes the greatest quantity of happiness with the LEAST EXPENSE!

Thomas Paine. Autograph letter to Messrs. Samuel Walker & Co., dated, London, August 30, 1791. [65]

After much difficulty Paine finally induced the Walker Iron Works at Rotherham in Yorkshire to construct a full-scale section of his transportable iron bridge, with a span one hundred feet long and twenty-four feet wide. The height of its arch above ground at the center was five feet.

This bridge was erected on Paddington Green, London, in August, 1790, and there it remained for a year for public inspection. A high fence shut it off from view, and a charge of one shilling per person was made for those who wished to see and walk over this new marvel of engineering. In 1791 Paine's lease for the ground was up, hence this letter to the Walkers, complaining of their delay in removing the bridge.

Thomas Paine. *Rights of Man. Part the Second. Combining Principles and Practice.* London: J. S. Jordan, 1792. [66]

On February 16, 1792 Paine published a second part to his *Rights of Man*, dealing an even stronger blow for a change of government in England. While the first part of the *Rights of Man* was relatively mild, due to the survival of royalty in the French Constitution, Part the Second fully developed his great political philosophy:

Government is the organization of the aggregate of those natural rights which individuals are not competent to secure individually, and therefore surrender to the control of society in exchange for the protection of all rights.

Republican government is that in which the welfare of the whole nation is the object.

Monarchy is government, more or less arbitrary, in which the interests of an individual are paramount to those of the people generally.

Aristocracy is government, partially arbitrary, in which the interests of a class are paramount to those of the people generally.

Democracy is the whole people governing themselves without secondary means.

Representative government is the control of a nation by persons elected by the whole nation.

The Rights of Man mean the right of all to representation.

*La Chronique du Mois ou les Cahiers Patriotiques* de E. Clavière, C. Condorcet, L. Mercier, M. E. Guadet, J. Oswald, N.



Bonneville, J. Bidermann, A. Broussonet, A. Guy-Kersaint, J. P. Brissot, J. Ph. Garran de Coulon, J. Dussaulx, T. Paine et F. Lanthenas. A Paris, De l'Imprimerie du Cercle Social, [Mai, 1792.] pp. 85-89. [67]

While on a sojourn to France, Paine became one of the editors of *La Chronique du Mois*. He answered in its columns in the May issue four questions regarding the constitution of France.

1. Is there not a want of equilibrium between the legislative and the executive powers?
2. Is not the Executive power too feeble?
3. Is not a legislative body composed of a single chamber likely to be the victim of its own rash impulsiveness and unrestrained impetuosity?
4. Is the administrative system so intricate as to lead to anarchy of a permanent character?

Paine replied that he favored a legislative body divided into two equal sections: the first would discuss while the second listened. Then the second would take up the same questions. After each section had heard the arguments of the other, the subject would be submitted to the entire legislature.

[Anonymous] *Paine's Political and Moral Maxims. Selected from the Fifth Edition of Rights of Man, Parts I and II.* By a Free-born Englishman. London: H. H. Symonds, 1792. [68]

This digest of Paine's *Rights of Man* was prepared by well-meaning friends by the 15th of May in 1792 to provide the public with a clear statement of the incontrovertible maxims contained in the two volumes, divested of the dross, and at low cost. It was already in print when the editors learned that Paine was publishing a cheap edition of the *Rights of Man*.

The mask of George Chalmers, the smearer of Paine, who had posed as Francis Oldys, was torn away and he was exposed as a mere clerk in Lord Hawkesbury's office, while his *Life of Paine* was termed a collection of impudent falsehoods. Paine's friends wanted his Maxims to be placed on a respectable footing along with those of La Rochefoucauld, Montesquieu and other eminent political writers.

Thomas Paine. *Rights of Man, Being an Answer to Mr. Burke's Attack on the French Revolution, Part I and Part II.* London: H. D. Symonds, 1792. [69]

Paine felt that the American Revolution was the direct result of his reducing the price of *Common Sense* so that the work could readily circulate among the masses. He now determined to do the same for England, and he started it with the publication of 100,000 copies of the *Rights of Man, Part I*, which sold for sixpence, and later on with Part II which also sold for sixpence. The British Government now thought this work should be suppressed and issued a Royal Proclamation directed against it.

Thomas Paine. *Letter to Lord Onslow, as Chairman of the Meeting at Epsom, June 18, 1792, convened to Address His Majesty on the Late Proclamation.* London: J. Parsons, 1792. [70]

Following the Royal Proclamation, meetings were held throughout England under the guidance of the Government. Their purpose was to send Addresses to the King showing public approval of the Proclamation.

Paine poured oil on the flames by writing this letter to Lord Onslow, Chairman of one of these meetings, in an endeavor to express his opinion that these Addresses were merely the Government's attempt to dictate a political policy by proclamation.

Thomas Paine. *A Letter to Mr. Secretary Dundas, in Answer to His Speech on the Late Proclamation.* London: J. Parsons, 1792. [71]

The remarks of Secretary Dundas, who opened the debate in the House of Commons for the Government against Paine's *Rights of Man*, were immediately contradicted by Paine in the above open letter, which was first published in the *Argus* on June 9.

It was later published as above and circulated freely by the Society for Constitutional Information, of which Paine was a member.

Thomas Paine. *Two Letters to Lord Onslow, Lord Lieutenant of the County of Surry: and One to Mr. Henry Dundas, Secretary*



*of State, on the Subject of the Late Excellent Proclamation.*  
London: Ridgway, 1792. [72]

Paine combined the letters written to Lord Onslow and to Secretary Dundas with a second letter in which he found further fault with Lord Onslow's action at the meeting at Epsom on June 18 when Paine's letter addressed to that meeting was opened.

The publication of these three letters went through many editions as public tension continued to mount.

Thomas Paine. *Paine Insulted at Dover! Letter from Thomas Paine to Mr. Secretary Dundas, complaining of an Insult Offered to Him, by the Inferior Officers Under Government Belonging to the Custom-House at Dover. To Which are Added Two Letters from Calais. One from Mr. Achille Audibert, Confirming the Above Insult; and the Other Giving the Particulars of Mr. Paine's Reception at Calais.* London: Holland, 1792. [73]

This second and final letter addressed to Mr. Dundas tells of the insulting treatment accorded Paine on leaving Dover, England, on September 15, 1792, and compares it with the joyous reception he received on arriving at Calais, France. Paine, having been elected to a seat in the French National Convention by the citizens of Calais, was en route to Paris when these incidents occurred.

George Washington. Autograph letter to Thomas Paine, dated, Philadelphia, May 6, 1792. [74]

In the previous item Paine tells that the Collector of the Port at Dover searched his trunk and had the effrontery to start reading his personal letters. Fortunately, the first one the officer picked up was this letter from George Washington, the concluding paragraph of which reads:

and as no one can feel a greater interest in the happiness of mankind than I do, it is the first wish of my heart, that the enlightened policy of the present age may diffuse to all men those blessings to which they are entitled, and lay the foundation of happiness for future generations.

Paine's attorney, John Frost, was present, and he quickly pointed out to the surprised port collector the possible international complications

which might result from delaying a person carrying a personal letter from the President of the United States. Then the collector reluctantly let Paine sail for France.

Twenty minutes later the order for Paine's arrest reached Dover, but too late. This letter undoubtedly saved Paine's life.

Thomas Paine. *Lettre de Thomas Paine au Peuple françois*. Paris: le 25 Septembre l'an premier de la republique [1792]. [75]

Thomas Paine was now world famous as a liberal and considered most knowledgeable in the new republican form of government. His challenge to the English Government and his defense of the French Revolution so endeared him to the French people that he had been elected by four French provinces to represent them in the National Convention.

This is the only time Paine was ever elected to office, and he chose, from among the four, to represent Calais, since not only had they been the first to elect him, but they had further honored him by sending an emissary to accompany him to France.

Paine's first remarks to the Convention were to thank his electors. As an indication of his importance at that time, his "Thank-you" was not only printed in Paris and America, but reprinted in England, where it was distributed gratis.

Thomas Paine. *Letter Addressed to the Addressers on the Late Proclamation*. London: H. D. Symonds, 1792. [76]

When Paine had been searched at Dover he had with him the proofs for his next attack on the British government, entitled as above, but they were not seized. Paine, in Paris, corrected the proofs and sent them back to London, where the work was published around the 16th of October, 1792, by Symonds and Rickman, both of whom were later prosecuted for doing so. Rickman escaped to Paris, while Symonds received a sentence of two years in jail and was fined. Paine here makes a brazen call for a revolution in England and outlines a plan for calling together a convention for the purpose of reviewing the whole mass of English laws and retaining all worthy ones, while letting the rest drop. He states his basic definition of a constitution: "a thing antecedent to a government; it is the act of the people creating a government and giving it power and defining its limits and exercise of the power so given." Under this definition England had no constitution.



This work is sometimes referred to as the Third Part of the *Rights of Man*. This copy belonged to Thomas Walker, surely the builder of Paine's bridge, who is mentioned on page 34 of the work, and his signature appears on the title page.

Thomas Paine. Contemporary manuscript of his *Letter Addressed to the Addressers on the Late Proclamation*. [n.d.] [77]

Although Paine's pamphlet had been banned and the publisher jailed, its circulation did not cease entirely. Enterprising scribes copied it in longhand, as in the 208-page copy above, and it was then passed around from hand to hand, thus escaping the police ban on printers.

*The Whole Proceedings on the Trial of an Information . . . against Thomas Paine before the Right Honorable Lord Kenyon*. Taken in Short-hand by Joseph Gurney. London: Printed by Martha Gurney, 1793. [78]

Paine was in France, sitting as a member of the French National Convention, which was acting as a jury in the trial of Louis XVI, King of France, when his own trial as the author of seditious literature (Part II of the *Rights of Man*) began in London on December 18, 1792.

Despite the brilliance of Paine's attorney, Thomas Erskine, Paine was found guilty, declared an outlaw and the *Rights of Man* contraband.

Thomas Paine. *Opinion de Thomas Payne sur l'affaire de Louis Capet*. Addressée au Presidente de la Convention Nationale. Imprimée par Ordre de la Convention Nationale [January 14, 1793]. [79]

Before Paine had a chance to express his opinion on the punishment of Louis, cloture was invoked in the Convention. Paine moved and had passed a resolution that the views of the delegates who had not yet spoken be published. Paine's opinion appeared on January 18, 1793, after voting had begun. Paine voted with the majority that the King was guilty of conspiring against the state, that the Convention should be the Judge and that the question should not be submitted to the people. But for punishment, he recommended detention until the end of the war; then permanent banishment.

He stated that the United States owed to France alone the support which enabled them to shake off the tyrannical yoke of Britain. "We legislators can accomplish our purpose without spilling a drop of blood."

Thomas Paine. Speech giving his reasons for wishing to preserve the life of Louis Capet, in *Gazette Nationale, ou Le Moniteur Universal*. Paris, 23 Janvier, 1793. p. 248. [80]

No one fought harder than Paine to save the life of Louis XVI. When the death sentence was voted, Paine, through an interpreter, Bancal, had this plea read. Marat interrupted the speech saying that Paine was a Quaker and would never vote the death sentence. He protested it was not a true translation, but Paine ascended the Tribune and affirmed the reading.

... delay the execution. Ah, Citizens, give not the tyrant of England the triumph of seeing the man perish on a scaffold who helped my much loved America. ...

Despite Paine's plea the death sentence was approved 380-310. Paine later was to pay heavily for his dramatic attempt to save the King's life, when the radicals under Robespierre took over the power.

John King. *Mr. King's Speech, at Egham, with Thomas Paine's Letter to Him on it, and Mr. King's Reply, as they all appeared in The Morning Herald: Tenth Edition*. London: Debrett [n.d.] [81]

John King, a former liberal friend of Paine, made a speech against France at Egham, December 12, 1792, which elicited a reply from Paine, dated January 3, 1793, asking King to give up his present attachment to England and to follow the fortunes of Thomas Paine in France.

King hotly replied in three different letters to Paine, dated 11 January, 12 February, and 9 April, 1793. All were published in *The Morning Herald*, as well as in separate pamphlets—so popular that they reached eleven editions. King chided Paine about Paine's remarks at their last meeting: "If the French kill their king, it will be a signal for my departure, for I will not abide among such sanguinary men."

"Yet," said King, "after this, you are not only with them, but the chief modeler of their new constitution."

This may have been a crucial point in Paine's career.



*Réponse à la Déclaration du Roi d'Angleterre relativement à ses motifs pour continuer la guerre actuelle et à sa conduite envers la France*, Traduite de l'Anglais. Paris: Imprimée, l'An deuxième de la République [1793]. [82]

When the King of England published his reasons for continuing the war against France, the National Convention, on February 11, 1793, appointed Paine, Condorcet, Barrere and Faber as a Committee to frame a reply. Certain sections of this reply were obviously written without Paine's approval.

*Plan de Constitution Présenté à la Convention Nationale les 15 et 16 Février, 1793, l'an II de la République*. Paris: De l'Imprimerie Nationale, 1793. [83]

On October 11, 1792, Paine, along with Condorcet and several others, was appointed to the Committee to frame a new constitution for France.

On the 15th and 16th of February, 1793, their plan, occupying forty-seven closely printed pages, was reported to the Convention. It was published by order of the National Convention on the 25th of February, together with arguments of its principles, which filled another sixty-five pages. It contained so many ideas of Paine and his friend Condorcet that it is sometimes referred to as the Paine-Condorcet constitution.

The struggle for power between the Girondins and the Jacobins caused action on the matter to be postponed until April 18, when it was recommitted because God was not mentioned in the constitution.

Condorcet, Gensonne, B. Barrere, Barbaroux, Thomas Payne, Petion, Vergniaud, Emmanuel Sieyes signed this plan of the Constitution as members of the Committee of the Constitution.

*Authentic Copy of the New Constitution of France Adopted by the National Convention June 23, 1793*. English and French. London: J. Debrett, 1793. [84]

The Paine-Condorcet plan of the Constitution, when recommitted, was put into the hands of a new committee, since the Jacobins had the Girondin members of the original committee condemned on June 2 and put under house arrest.

The new Constitution of 1793 was a brief one—printed in small type it occupied only eight pages—and was adopted by the National Convention on the 23rd of June, 1793 and by the Communes on August 19.

But when it was proposed to organize under it, thereby dissolving the Convention, Robespierre remarked, "That sounds like a suggestion by Pitt." Thus, freedom under any form of a Constitution was denied the French people. Result: The Terror.

[Anonymous] *Tom Paine's Jest: Being an Entirely New and Select Collection of Patriotick Bon Mots, Repartees, Anecdotes, Epigrams, Observations, &c. on Political Subjects. By Thomas Paine, and other Supporters of the Rights of Man.* London: J. Ridgway, 1793. [85]

*Tom Paine's Jest* was published September, 1793, to take advantage of the popularity, or notoriety, of Thomas Paine, and although the book contains 124 epigrams, only a few are the words of Paine.

Here is an example: "A country gentleman on hearing that several persons were punished for selling the *Rights of Man* protested that he thought no punishment too great for those who dared to SELL The Rights of Man." The book sold well enough to require reprinting in several editions, not only in England, but also in America.

*To General George Washington, President of the Congress of the United States of America.* Paris: 30 October, 1793. [86]

This broadside, bearing the printed signature of Thomas Paine, was circulated as a true letter from him to George Washington in America, mainly to embarrass Washington and his Federalist party.

That it was not actually written by Paine is obvious since it includes a Latin quotation. Paine opposed the teaching of Latin in schools, never studied it in school and never used it in any of his writings.

[Thomas Paine] *Le Siècle de la Raison, ou le Sens Commun des Droits de l'Homme.* Par. F. Lanthenas. [87]

In 1793 Paine, past 56 years of age, began giving his attention to publishing what he had long had on his mind—his religious beliefs. He called his manuscript *The Age of Reason*, and had Lanthenas translate it into French, intending to publish it in Paris to combat the growing atheistic movement. He felt it necessary to get the approval of Couthon, a powerful member of the Committee of Public Safety. Couthon disapproved of the work and had it suppressed so effectively that the only copy that has survived, shown here, may have been a proof copy.



On the title page Lanthenas appears to be the author, since the word "traduit" was omitted through error.

Thomas Paine. *Le Siècle de la Raison, ou Recherches*. Traduit de l'Anglais de T. Paine. A Paris: Au Bureau de l'Imprimerie. L'An 2 de la République [1794]. [ 88 ]

Paine did not give up his plan to publish *The Age of Reason*, and wrote additional chapters.

On the 27th of December, 1793, Paine was barred from the National Convention because of his English birth, and the following day he was arrested and taken to the Luxemburg prison. However, en route he arranged to meet Joel Barlow (Yale class of 1778), who was proof-reading his work, and personally handed over the remainder of the manuscript.

While Paine was imprisoned, Barlow had the work published, now known as *Part I of The Age of Reason*, both in an English and a French edition (translated by Lanthenas) about the 11th of March, 1794.

Copies printed cheaply in English were sent to America, but a much finer edition was printed in Paris for circulation in England.

Thomas Paine. *The Age of Reason, Being an Investigation of True and Fabulous Theology*. New York: J. Fellows, 1794. [ 89 ]

This was the first edition printed in our country, but it undoubtedly was preceded by the circulation of the Paris edition, in English, dedicated to his fellow citizens of the United States.

I put the following work under your protection. It contains my opinion upon Religion. You will do me the justice to remember, that I have always strenuously supported the Right of every man to his opinion, however different that opinion might be to mine. He who denies to another this right makes a slave of himself to his present opinion, because he precludes himself the right of changing it. The most formidable weapon against errors of every kind is Reason. I have never used any other, and I trust I never shall.

More than a million copies have already been printed of this work. 100,000 copies were printed in 1959 in America.

Gilbert Wakefield. *An Examination of the Age of Reason by Thomas Paine*. London: Kearsley, 1794. [ 90 ]

The clear logic evidenced by Paine's *Age of Reason, Part I*, immediately brought forth a number of answers, the most important of which was

Gilbert Wakefield's *Examination of the Age of Reason*, which appeared in 1794 and went through many editions.

Some publishers bound Paine's *Age of Reason* with Wakefield's *Examination*, thereby giving the readers the arguments on both sides.

Thomas Carlyle. *History of the French Revolution*. New York: 1891. [91]

After Paine had been in prison for seven months Robespierre had written in his own hand: "Demand that Thomas Paine be decreed of accusation for the interest of America as well as France." This was tantamount to being sent to the guillotine.

How Paine escaped after the mark had been put on his cell door for him to be taken out in the morning for execution is told in his own words: The mark was put on when the door was open and flat against the wall, and thereby came on the inside when it was shut at night, and the destroying angel passed by it. A few days after this Robespierre fell, and Mr. Monroe [the new American Minister] arrived and reclaimed me and invited me to his house.

The incident is reported in Thomas Carlyle's *History of the French Revolution*, and the scene is illustrated in this New York edition, reprinted in 1891.

Thomas Paine. Autograph letter to George Washington, dated Paris: September 20, 1794. [92]

Paine, who was undoubtedly an American citizen, blamed his former comrade President George Washington for not quickly interceding on his behalf when he was imprisoned by the French as an enemy alien. Moreover, while in prison he had contracted a serious illness, which he likewise now blamed on Washington's negligence.

He felt he had been "sold down the river" because of Washington's new friendship for England, as evidenced by the Jay Treaty, and that Washington was unfairly turning his back, not only on France, but also on Thomas Paine. In a feverish rancour he wrote Washington this angry letter demanding to know what finger Washington raised to save him from death. To guard against British interception, he sent copies of the same letter by two boats. Both copies bear the subsequent endorsement of Benjamin Franklin Bache and the personal docketing by President Washington. The other copy is now in the Library of Congress.



Thomas Paine. Autograph letter to Citoyen Pelet, dated Paris, 9 Ventose an 3 (27 February, 1795). [ 93 ]

After Paine's release from prison on November 15, 1794, he was nursed back to health in the home of the American Ambassador, James Monroe. On the 8th of December he was unanimously recalled to take his seat in the French National Convention. Paine gladly accepted the seat, but he refused a pension for his literary services which the Convention offered him. By February 27, 1795, Paine was regaining some of his influence and could write Pelet this letter requesting a passport for a young English woman named Evans. Paine also writes about an abscess contracted in prison, which still remains on his chest, and about a new work he intends to publish.

Thomas Paine. Autograph letter to Citoyen Pelet, written in French and English, dated Paris, 27 February, 1795. [ 94 ]

Paine, having written directly to Pelet, gave this short note of introduction to Mrs. Evans so that she might meet Pelet to get a passport.

This letter shows the way Paine used to transact business in France, first writing in English and then having a translator write the French alongside, so the recipient would understand it.

Thomas Paine. *Dissertations sur les Premiers Principes de Gouvernement*. Paris: De l'Imprimerie de la Rue de Vanguard, l'an troisième [1795]. [ 95 ]

The new work referred to in the letter to Pelet on February 27 was an exposition of his principles of government which he desired to publish in Holland to help the Dutch form a republican government. But now, while the new French constitution was being discussed, he altered the work to fit France. He tore away the mystery of government and felt that the "meanest mind" could understand his simple basic principles of government. This dissertation was read on July 7, 1795, to the National Convention, while Paine was seated in the hall.

The universal suffrage demanded in it was not adopted in the new constitution, nor was much attention given to his other suggestions.

Thomas Paine. *Siècle de la Raison. Seconde Partie. Recherches et Réflexions sur le Théologie Vrai, traduit de l'Anglais de Thomas Payne.* Paris: J. B. Louvet [1795]. [96]

Paine read all the answers to Part I of *The Age of Reason* and found his attackers had based their authority on the Bible. Therefore, Paine wrote Part Two of *The Age of Reason* to prove that the Bible was not the word of God.

He cried out against the command of God to the Israelites to commit horrible crimes: that they should steal upon their enemies, whole nations of people who had done them no wrong, "that they put all those nations to the sword; that they spare neither age nor infancy; that they utterly destroy men, women and children; that they leave not a soul to breathe." This he refused to believe was the word of God.

Paine had it first printed in a French translation about September, 1795. But, unknown to Paine, a workman in the printer's office copied from the manuscript and sold it to a London publisher, H. D. Symonds.

Thomas Paine. *Age of Reason, Part the Second.* London: Symonds, 1795. [97]

This is the edition pirated by Symonds and published in England ahead of any other edition. Symonds went so far as to have it entered at Stationers' Hall, and in the Foreword to the People says:

It is not intended by this Note to the Reader to apologize, nor is it necessary, for the publication of the Second Part of a work called "The Age of Reason," writted by so celebrated an author as Thomas Paine. The Publisher knows, that as well as there are persons biassed by prejudices there are others blinded by partiality. The best men are influenced by long and ancient habits and practices. He wishes not to offend the good, he would not arm the hand or aid the tongue of the bad. All rational men allow Truth to be discovered by free discussion, to follow unrestrained research. The subject which *The Age of Reason* holds to our view, is confessedly of the first importance. . . .

The price of this edition was two shillings, sixpence.

Thomas Paine. *Age of Reason, Part the Second.* London: Eaton, 1796. [98]

As soon as Paine learned that Symonds had surreptitiously published his work, he forwarded an authentic manuscript of Part Two to M. Eaton in London and ordered him to publish a cheap edition. Op-



posite the preface Eaton printed the text of Paine's letter. He priced the book at one shilling and sixpence, and also reprinted the first part of *The Age of Reason* so that the two parts could be conveniently bound together.

Thomas Paine. *The Age of Reason, Part the Second*. Paris: Printed for the Author, 1795. [ 99 ]

Paine had 15,000 copies of Part Two printed in English in Paris and forwarded them in September, 1795, to Benjamin Franklin Bache of Philadelphia. But these copies did not arrive in America until April, 1796, long after the work had been reprinted here, taken from the London edition pirated by Symonds.

Thomas Paine. *Décadence et Chute du Système de Finances de l'Angleterre*, par Th. Paine. Paris: Cercle-Social [April 8, 1796]. [ 100 ]

Paine, disbelieving in the soundness of English paper money, attacked the system in a publication which was printed not only in France and England, but in other countries.

A run started on the Bank of England and it had to close its doors. Such was the power of Paine's pen!

Thomas Paine. *The Decline and Fall of the English System of Finance*. Paris: Hartley, Adlard and Son; London reprinted, for D. I. Eaton, 1796. [ 101 ]

The English version of the previous item went through many editions.

[Anonymous] Manuscript of an Answer to Paine's *Decline and Fall of the English System of Finance* [c. 1796]. [ 102 ]

This anonymous twenty-eight page manuscript written in answer to Paine's tract contains a preface assailing his alleged subversive attitude. This is followed by a treatise, which includes the statement: "Thomas Paine, after having attempted the pillars of our monarchy and endeavoured to overthrow our altars, now takes the field against our system of credit."

Thomas Paine. *Au Conseil des Cinq-Cents*. Séance du 9 Pluvisoise, an 6 [26 May, 1796]. [ 103 ]

Napoleon, after his victorious campaign in Italy, returned to Paris and planned a descent on England. He conferred with Paine, whom he complimented highly by telling him that every city in the world should erect a statue of Paine in gold, and that he slept with a copy of the *Rights of Man* under his pillow.

Paine at first believed Napoleon and gave him suggestions, particularly on the use of gunboats. He contributed 100 livres from his meager funds, with a "wish with all his heart for the success of the descent, for there will be no lasting peace for France, nor for the world until the tyranny and corruption of the English Government be overthrown, and England, like Italy, becomes a sister republic."

The National Convention ordered this letter of Paine's published in French, together with an English translation, 26 May, 1796.

Thomas Paine. *Letter to George Washington, President of the United States of America on Affairs Public and Private*. Philadelphia: Benjamin Franklin Bache, 1796. [ 104 ]

Paine had written Washington on September 20, 1794:

Your silence in not inquiring into the cause of that imprisonment and reclaiming me against it, was tacitly giving me up. I ought not to have suspected you of treachery; but whether I recover from the illness I now suffer, or not, I shall continue to think you treacherous, till you give me cause to think otherwise.

When Paine did not receive any answer to this letter, he was convinced that Washington had connived at his imprisonment, and published this violent diatribe, first in America in 1796, and shortly afterward in England and other countries in many editions.

Thomas Paine. Manuscript Document: Assignment by Thomas Paine to Stephen Thorn and George Barnes, Citizens of the United States, of Copyright in his work entitled *Letter from Thomas Paine to George Washington, President of the United States of America*. Dated, December 10, 1796. [ 105 ]

Paine here authorizes the sale of his latest production *Letter to George Washington* for publication in London, and turns over a fair copy of the manuscript to two American citizens, then enroute to London.



It is interesting to note that to authenticate it, Paine wrote the title page of the manuscript and the title page of the Appendix in his own hand. He characteristically did not permit its publication in England until after it had appeared in America, the place of its primary interest.

Thomas Paine. *Letter from Thomas Paine to George Washington, President of the United States of America.* London: H. D. Symonds, 1797. [ 106 ]

Paine relates that he had been offered three hundred pounds for his manuscript, but refused it and arranged for his own publication in London.

R. Watson, D.D. F.R.S., Lord Bishop of Llandaff. *An Apology for the Bible, in a Series of Letters, addressed to Thomas Paine.* London: T. Evans, 1796. [ 107 ]

The mild-mannered Lord Bishop of Llandaff, Richard Watson, wrote this answer to Paine's *Age of Reason*, Part Two. Despite some protests stating that the Bible needed no apology, it has run through almost as many editions as *The Age of Reason*.

Paine felt that Watson's work required him to write an answer, but he failed to publish it during his lifetime.

[Thomas Paine] Manuscript: "Accidental Reconciliation From the Castle in the Air to the Little Corner of the World" [1796]. [ 108 ]

Paine's unfulfilled desire to become a poet is shown in the few examples which have survived.

While he was in Luxemburg prison he had corresponded with an unknown lady, who had signed her letters "A Little Corner of the World," and Paine had replied, using the pseudonym "The Castle in the Air."

When released from prison he found the lady to be the wife of an English banker, Sir Robert Smyth, hence the above title.

Probably for personal reasons, Paine never published the last verse (tenth) here displayed.

Bridge over the River Wear, portrayed on various articles of pottery. [ 109 ]

The great cast iron bridge over the River Wear was begun in September, 1793, and finished August 1, 1796, having a span of 236 feet

and a height of 100 feet. This bridge used the design and actual materials of Paine's model. Paine wrote demanding recompense for the use of his invention, but, having been adjudged an outlaw, he was brushed aside.

Bridge historians (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, 8th edition) gave Paine credit for its invention.

The bridge, only recently taken down, has been the principal decorative feature of the pottery from that region, known all over the world as Sunderland pottery.

Thomas Paine. *Thomas Payne, à la Législature et au Directoire, ou La justice agraire opposée à la loi et aux privilèges agraires.* Paris: Ragouleau, 1797. [ 110 ]

Paine was spurred to write *Agrarian Justice* after reading a sermon by the Bishop of Llandaff, who had previously replied to his *Age of Reason*. Paine says he wrote it in the winter of 1795 and 1796 but it was not published until 1797 while Paine was preparing to go to America (a trip that did not take place until 1802).

Paine, denying the Bishop's statement that "God created rich and poor," claimed that God made only "male and female, and gave them the earth for their inheritance."

Paine considers it to be justice to collect a tax of 10% on land, which would give every person (landowner or not) the sum of fifteen pounds on reaching majority and ten pounds a year after the age of fifty. This is an early example of an old age pension plan.

He boasts: "An army of principles will penetrate where an army of soldiers cannot; it will succeed where diplomatic management would fail: it is neither the Rhine, the Channel, nor the Ocean that can arrest its progress: it will march on the horizon of the world, and it will conquer." This edition contains an Address to the Legislature. (*Illustrated at p. 437.*)

Thomas Paine. *Agrarian Justice Opposed to Agrarian Law, and to Agrarian Monopoly.* Paris: Printed by W. Adlard. London: reprinted and sold by J. Adlard and J. Parsons [n.d.] [ 111 ]

The Address to the Legislature is omitted and in its place there is a Preface, which, however, contains some deletions marked by asterisks. The full Preface had appeared in the second French edition.



THOMAS PAYNE,  
A LA LÉGISLATURE

ET

AU DIRECTOIRE,

OU

LA JUSTICE AGRAIRE  
OPPOSÉE A LA LOI  
ET AUX PRIVILÈGES AGRAIRES.

---

Prix, 15 sols.

---

A PARIS,

Chez le citoyen RAOUILLU, au Palais Egalité,  
galerie vitrés, près le théâtre de la République, n° 229.  
Et chez les Marchands de nouveauté.

---

1797.

---

*Le départ précipité de Thomas Payne  
ne lui a pas permis de faire traduire, sous  
ses yeux, cet ouvrage auquel il attachoit  
le plus grand prix. Il a chargé un ami de  
prendre ce soin; c'est au lecteur à juger si  
le plan que renferme cet ouvrage, est digne  
de la publicité qu'on lui donne.*

---

CONTAINS AN OLD AGE PENSION PLAN. No. 110

Thomas Paine. *Agrarian Justice Opposed to Agrarian Law and to Agrarian Monopoly*. Philadelphia, Bache [1797]. [ 112 ]

This edition does not contain the Address to the Legislature, but does have the Preface of the London edition, with its deletions.

Abiel Foster. Autograph letter to an unknown correspondent, dated, Philadelphia, 19 June, 1797. [ 113 ]

Foster, a member of the Old Congress from 1783 to 1785, wrote in this letter that Thomas Paine saved his head by writing against Christianity. ". . . Mr. Monroe . . . wishes to return . . . bids fair to give us the aid of the Apostle of infidelity, Thomas Paine, to correct our Constitution, & conform it to that of France, if we should think it advisable; and to assist in propagating Deism and the other new fangled opinions of regenerated France." Of course, Paine did not save his head by writing against Christianity, but escaped only because Robespierre was beheaded before the busy guillotine could reach Paine.

Thomas Paine. *The Age of Reason. Part the First*. London: Printed by Thomas Williams, 1796. [ 114 ]

When the Government decided to stop the sale of *The Age of Reason*, Erskine, the Attorney General, who five years before had defended Paine, now prosecuted a poor publisher, Thomas Williams, for reprinting the banned book in 1796.

Williams, who had to raise by subscription the money for his defense, was found guilty by the special jury and was given three years in prison. Before judgment was rendered, Erskine was persuaded by Mrs. Williams to inspect the wretched room where their three children, two suffering from small pox, were lying. Realizing the desperate hardship which would be aggravated by the husband's imprisonment, Erskine now asked the court to give Williams a nominal sentence. This led the judge to reduce Williams' sentence to one year.

Thomas Erskine. *The Only Genuine Edition of the Speeches of the Hon. T. Erskine, and S. Kyd, Esq. on the Trial of T. Williams, for publishing Thomas Paine's Age of Reason; with Ld. Kenyon's Charge to the Jury*. London: Evans [1797]. [ 115 ]

The actual addresses of the prosecutor Erskine, and the defense counsel, Kyd, were widely published and ran through many editions.



The publicity attending this trial only enhanced public interest in the *Age of Reason*, but because of the verdict in favor of the prosecution, the *Age of Reason* had thereafter to be circulated surreptitiously.

Thomas Erskine. *Christianity Vindicated, in the Admirable Speech of the Hon. Tho. Erskine, in the Trial of T. Williams, for publishing Paine's "Age of Reason."* 24th June, 1797. From the Twelfth London Edition. Philadelphia: Printed by J. Carey for G. Douglas, 1797. [ 116 ]

This is one of the many reprints of the Hon. Thomas Erskine's address, which was widely circulated in various countries by those hostile to Paine.

Thomas Paine. Contemporary manuscript of *The Age of Reason*. [ 117 ]

After it had been declared blasphemous and all known copies destroyed, printed copies of *The Age of Reason* were scarce. It was then that manuscripts of the book, such as the one shown above, were circulated.

Thomas Paine. *A Letter to the Hon. Thomas Erskine, on the Prosecution of Thomas Williams, for Publishing the Age of Reason*. Paris: Printed for the Author, 1797. [ 118 ]

As soon as Paine learned of the results of the trial of Thomas Williams he wrote Erskine this letter, which he published in English in Paris and sent to England for circulation.

Paine argued that every man's religion should be a private affair between himself and his creator and that no third party, such as the government or prosecutor, had the right to interfere.

He included at the end of his letter a discussion of the new deists called "Theophilanthropists,"—"Adorers of God and Friends of Man." He was one of the first to join their society.

This work is sometimes referred to, incorrectly, as the third part of *The Age of Reason*.

*Manuel des Théophilantropes, ou Adorateurs de dieu, et amis des hommes; Contenant l'exposition de leurs dogmes de leur morale et de leurs pratiques religieuses, avec une instruction sur l'organisation et la célébration du culte; rédigé par C\*\*\*, et adopté par les Sociétés théophilantropiques établies à Paris. Seconde édition. A Paris, Au Bureau de l'Abeille politique et du Courier de la Librairie, rue Neuve-Etienne-l'Estrapade. n° 25. An V—1797. [ 119 ]*

This first theistic and ethical society devoted one of its four great festivals to the honor of George Washington. The other three festivals honored Socrates, Rousseau and Vincent de Paul.

Four of the great churches of Paris were initially used by its adherents, but after a few years' growth, the society began to decline. It finally disappeared under pressure from Napoleon, influenced undoubtedly by his friendly relations with the Pope.

*Manual of the Theophilanthropes, or Adorers of God, and Friends of Men. Containing the Exposition of their Dogmas, of their Moral, and of their Religious Practices; with Instruction Respecting the Organization and Celebration of their Worship. Arranged by certain Citizens, and adopted by the Theophilanthropic Societies established in Paris. Second edition, Translated by John Walker, Author of Elements of Geography, and Universal Gazeteer. London: Printed and sold by Darton and Harvey, 1797. Price sixpence. [ 120 ]*

*Code Religieux et Moral des Théophilantropes, ou Adorateurs de Dieu et Amis des Hommes; Contenant, 1°. Le Manuel, ou exposition de leurs dogmes, de leur morale et de leurs pratiques; 2°. le Rituel, ou recueil des hymnes, avec l'ordre des exercices; 3°. l'Instruction élémentaire de morale, par demandes et par réponses; 4°. l'Année religieuse, ou recueil d'extraits puisés dans les moralistes anciens et modernes, sur la religion et la morale universelles. Le tout, rédigé, publié et mis en ordre par J. B. Chemin. A Paris, Chez l'Editeur, rue de la Harpe, n°. 307, près celle du Foin. An VI. [ 121 ]*



This Bible and Prayer book contains the history, services and the songs of the Theophilanthropist religion, and might be considered the only Bible in accord with the ideals of Paine.

Paine was reported to have sent to an early meeting of this Society an essay "The Existence of God," which was reprinted separately in England (see next item).

The frontispiece in color shows the robes worn by the leaders of the Society.

Thomas Paine. *A Discourse Delivered by Thomas Paine to the Society of the Theophilanthropes at Paris, 1798.* [London]: Printed and sold by Clio Rickman, 1798. [ 122 ]

The date of this discourse on "The Existence of God" is generally believed to have been 1797. There has been found no evidence that the discourse was delivered verbally.

Thomas Paine. Autograph manuscript, "The Cape of Good Hope." [1797] [ 123 ]

When France and England were negotiating for peace in the summer of 1797 through Lord Malmsbury at Lille, Paine wrote this suggestion of a compromise in reference to possession of the Cape of Good Hope. Paine thought it should be a free port, open to all vessels, with neither the French nor the English, but the Dutch as portmasters.

"As the Cape is a half-way stage between Europe and India, it ought to be considered as a tavern, where travellers on a long journey put up for rest and refreshment."

Camille-Jordan. *Rapport fait par Camille-Jordan, sur la police des cultes.* Séance du 29 prairial, an 5 [17 June, 1797]. Corps Législatif, Conseil des Cinq-cents. [ 124 ]

During the French Revolution the privilege of ringing church bells had been revoked, but in 1797 Camille Jordan, a church-minded legislator, introduced a petition to the Council requesting the restoration of this right. Paine disagreed with Jordan and published a reply (see next item).

Thomas Paine. *Lettre de Thomas Paine, sur les Cultes*. A Paris, Cercle-Social, 1797. An V de la République française. [ 125 ]

Paine published his rejoinder to Jordan on the 21st day of July, stressing his idea that no religion had a right to such privileges. He insisted that bells were a public nuisance and priests were merely pretenders; that the state should concern itself with education, the welfare of the poor and aged, and the teaching of morality unfettered by superstition.

Thomas Paine. *Lettre de Thomas Paine, sur les Cultes*. Nouvelle Edition. Paris, Cercle-Social, 1797. An V de la République française. [ 126 ]

That this subject was one of considerable interest is proven by the fact that it was necessary to print another edition.

Thomas Paine. *Letter from Thomas Paine to Camille Jordan of the Council of 500, Occasioned by their Report on the Priests, Public Worship and on Bells*. London: All Booksellers, 1797. [ 127 ]

Thomas Paine. *Letter to the People of France and the French Armies on the Events of the 18th Fructidor—Sep. 4—and its Consequences*. Paris: Social-Circle, 1797. New York, reprinted at the Argus Office, 1798. [ 128 ]

A *coup d'état* crushed all forms of constitutional government on the 18th of Fructidor [4th September, 1797] and a military dictatorship took control, shooting on sight anyone in favor of a return to royalty or the Constitution of 1793.

In early October, 1797, Paine published the above pamphlet in Paris (it was reprinted in New York in 1798). Paine claimed the Constitution of 1795 was the best ever, but he took the surprising stand that the dictatorship was temporarily necessary to squelch the counter-revolution. He accused Pitt of preferring to keep England at war, to hide that country's desperate financial condition.

Paine hoped that the new French military dictatorship would make an invasion of England in order to destroy the British monarchy.



[Donald Fraser] *The Recantation; Being an Anticipated Valedictory Address of Thomas Paine to the French Directory.* New York: Printed for the Author, 1797. [ 129 ]

Paine's greatest fear was that when he became too old to know what he was doing, someone would claim that he had renounced his religion of deism. This actually happened when Donald Fraser, hearing the rumor that Paine had died in France, published this false recantation.

When Paine returned to America in 1802, Donald Fraser, fearing a lawsuit, made an apology, which Paine magnanimously accepted.

Thomas Paine. *Compact Maritime.* City of Washington: S. H. Smith, 1801. [ 130 ]

Under the title *Pacte Maritime* this pamphlet had been first published in Paris in 1800.

A pact was to be made so as to insure protection of the rights and commerce of all nations that desire to remain neutral in time of war. Paine's plan urged the closing of all ports of neutral powers against the belligerents, as well as using financial pressure. Paine thus anticipated the League of Nations and the United Nations.

Paine even designed a flag for his Association of Nations composed of the colors of the rainbow and arranged in their natural order, thereby making it a composite of all national flags without hurting the feelings of any nation.

Thomas Paine. Autograph letter to Citoyen Skipwith, dated 14 Pluoise [3 February, 1801]. [ 131 ]

Paine had just read in an English newspaper the glad tidings of the election of his bosom friend, Thomas Jefferson, to the Presidency of the United States.

Here he hastens to write of the victory to another liberal friend, Fulwar Skipwith, the Consul-General of the United States at Neuilly.

Thomas Paine. Autograph letter to Citoyen Skipwith. Dated, Paris, 7 Vende, year 10 [29 September, 1801]. [ 132 ]

Paine asks a favor of Skipwith, that he arrange to get Joseph Vanhuli appointed American Consul at Ostend.

Vanhuli was one of Paine's former cell-mates at Luxemburg prison, who had carefully nursed Paine during his long illness, and whom Paine here describes as "the man to whom I owe the preservation of my life."

He also refers favorably to Westmoreland and Lancashire immigrants to America as "Rights of Man's Men."

Thomas Paine. *Letters from Thomas Paine to the Citizens of America after an Absence of 15 Years in Europe. To which are subjoined Some Letters . . . Also Some Original Poetry of Mr. Paine's.* London: T. C. Rickman, 1804. [133]

Paine finally became disgusted with the stamping out of freedom by Napoleon and the strong measures taken by England against his principles and decided to return to America, where he hoped to find freedom. Thomas Jefferson, Paine's most steadfast admirer, was now President. He offered Paine a frigate (today's version, a battleship) to bring him safely through any British blockade, but Paine returned on an ordinary vessel. For this gesture the President was violently attacked by the Federalist party, who accused him of using public money to bring back the world's greatest infidel.

Immediately upon landing in Baltimore on November 1, 1802, Paine started writing a series of letters addressed to the American people, supporting the principles of the Democratic party of Thomas Jefferson.

These letters, which were published in most American newspapers, created new tension. Defended by the Jeffersonians and attacked by the Federalists, they were reprinted in pamphlet form in England as well as in America.

Correspondence between Thomas Paine and Samuel Adams, reprinted in the *True American* [Trenton], Vol. III, March 28, 1803. [134]

Samuel Adams, the prominent Revolutionary leader from Massachusetts, who had highly praised Paine for his *Common Sense* and the *Crisis*, wrote Paine on November 30, 1802, accusing his eminent friend of infidelity. Paine replied, giving additional arguments in defense of his religious beliefs:

I believe in God.

I have been exposed to, and preserved through, many dangers; but instead of buffeting the Deity with prayers as if I distrusted him, or must dictate to him, I repose myself on his protection; and you, my friend, will find, even in your last moments, more resolution in the silence of resignation than in the murmuring up of a prayer.

The correspondence had earlier been published in the *Washington National Intelligencer*.



Thomas Paine. *Thomas Paine to the People of England on the Invasion of England*. Philadelphia: Temple of Reason Press. 1804. [ 135 ]

Paine thought that the British monarchy was the principal obstruction in the way of spreading republicanism throughout the world and he hoped that Napoleon would still invade England and establish a republic. This had not occurred while Paine was in Europe, but with news of Napoleon's latest victories, Paine became optimistic. He wrote: The people of England have now two revolutions before them: the one as an example [America]; the other as a warning [France]. Their own wisdom will direct them what to choose and what to avoid, and in everything which regards their happiness, combined with the common good of mankind, I wish them honor and success.

[Thomas Paine] "Of the Sabbath Day in Connecticut." In the *Prospect; or, View of the Moral World*. September 15, 1804, pp. 326-327. New York: Printed for the Editor, 1804. [ 136 ]

Elihu Palmer, one-time minister who had been stricken with blindness from the yellow-fever epidemic, was head of the deistic movement in New York City. (This later turned into the Columbian Illuminati and, becoming a political club, espoused the cause of DeWitt Clinton.)

Palmer became an intimate associate of Paine, who had similar beliefs. As a result, Paine contributed at least sixteen articles to Palmer's weekly journal, the *Prospect*.

Paine's article is signed with his pseudonym "An Enemy to Cant and Imposition."

. . . for the stupid Blue Laws of Connecticut make a labor of rest, for they oblige a person to sit still from sun-rise to sun-set on the Sabbath Day, which is hard work.

Thomas Paine. *Thomas Paine to the Citizens of Pennsylvania on the Proposal for Calling a Convention*. Philadelphia: William Duane, 1805. (Photostat) [ 137 ]

Paine has been usually credited with writing much of the Constitution of Pennsylvania, adopted in 1776, but this was not actually the case, although it did contain much that undoubtedly met with his approval.

When the Legislature started to revise this Constitution, which was considered too liberal by many, Paine published the above address on the subject.

All the constitutions which Paine helped write gave suffrage to all, and upheld the rights of the "little people" who did not own land.

Thomas Paine. Autograph letter to [John Fellows], dated New Rochelle, June 4, 1805. [ 138 ]

Paine, who had lived happily for five years with the Nicolas Bonneville in Paris, promised them in return a haven in America, but when the time came, Napoleon refused to permit Mr. Bonneville to leave France. Only Mrs. Bonneville and her three children were able to follow Paine to America, where, keeping his promise, he assumed responsibility for them. Mrs. Bonneville was not trained in the strict economy of Paine's household and ran up bills. In this letter Paine says: "This is the last money Mrs. Bonneville will ever put me to the expense of paying." But Paine continued to make payments, and she and her children were the principal benefactors under his will.

[Thomas Paine] Autograph manuscript, later titled "To a Friend of Peace" and signed "Common Sense." Dated, November 13, 1806. [ 139 ]

A long controversy in the American newspapers, in which Paine took part, concerned the defences of the port of New York against possible invasion. Paine opposed fortifying New York at the expense of the federal Government, since he felt troops could be landed above or below such fortifications. Instead, he recommended gun boats which were maneuverable even in a calm sea and could be readily moved to the point of attack.

Rufus King, Paine's adversary, hinted that Paine had invited two or three thousand French troops to plunder New York, and Paine retorted that if Rufus King would put the statement in writing, he would prosecute him.

[Thomas Paine] Autograph manuscript published in the *New York Advertiser*, August 21, 1807. [ 140 ]

This three and one-half page manuscript, lacking the first page, shows that Paine, now nearing the end of his life, had not lost any of the vigour and vindictiveness of his pen.



Paine was roused to fury by Cheetham's charge of cowardice in his newspaper, *The American Citizen*, and, in reply, described his service in the army during the years of the "times that tried men's souls" from the beginning to the end.

Characteristically, Paine ends his attack with: "After this Mr. Cheetham will take care how he attack old Revolutionary characters whose undiscouraged intrepidity in the times that tried men's souls made a home for him to come to."

Thomas Paine. *Examination of the Passages in the New Testament. To which is prefixed, An Essay on Dream; With an Appendix containing my Private Thoughts of A Future State.*  
New York: Printed for the Author [1807]. [ 141 ]

Despite his worsening physical condition, Paine continued to attack revealed religion. Here he states that the alleged prophecies in the Old Testament concerning the coming of Christ really refer to Jewish events of the period:

all the means are human means, slow, uncertain and inadequate to the accomplishment of the end proposed, and therefore the whole is fabulous invention and undeserving of credit. The priests of the present day profess to believe it. They gain their living by it, and they exclaim against something they call infidelity. I will define what it is. He that believes in the story of Christ is an infidel to God!

In the Appendix to the above pamphlet Paine published his private thoughts on the next world. He summarizes:

My own opinion is, that those whose lives have been spent in doing good, and endeavouring to make their fellow mortals happy, for this is the only way in which we can serve God, will be happy hereafter; and that the very wicked will meet with some punishment. But those who are neither good nor bad, or are too insignificant for notice, will be dropt entirely.

These articles are sometimes referred to, incorrectly, as the fourth part of *The Age of Reason*.

Thomas Paine. Autograph letter to Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States, dated, Broome Street, New York, August 29 [1807]. [ 142 ]

Paine, always fond of inventing, sent with this letter a model of his latest invention, which he was sure would increase the power of gun-

boats in the proportion of 20-12. The model has been lost, but it dealt with two guns placed on the usual-size gunboat on separate tracks joining in the bow, with a switching arrangement which allowed either gun after firing to be retracted, cooled, and reloaded while the other gun was pushed forward into firing position.

Thomas Paine. *Of the Cause of the Yellow Fever and the Means of Preventing it in Places not yet Infected with it.* London: Clio Rickman, 1807. [ 143 ]

The yellow-fever epidemics in Philadelphia and other ports intrigued Paine. He noted that the cases progressively decreased from the vicinity of the docks toward the interior, and came to the conclusion that the source must be the docks where cargoes were unloaded from the tropics.

He could not guess that the disease was carried by mosquitoes, and thought that it came from the putrescence of waste dumped overboard from these vessels.

[Thomas Paine] Autograph manuscript to Doctor Mitchell, docketed October 17, 1807. [ 144 ]

Paine requested an Amendment to the Constitution concerning the removal of Federal judges for reasonable cause, "which shall not be sufficient ground for impeachment, whereby the President may remove any one of them on the address of the majority of both Houses of Congress."

Paine thought it was a bad thing that the people of the United States should have no share in the appointment of judges nor any control of them afterward.

Thomas Paine. Autograph letter to Mr. Waterman. Undated. [ 145 ]

This letter, written in 1808 or 1809 in a shaky hand, is probably one of the last written by Paine. It concerns a request made for some of his writings.

Thomas Paine. Photostatic copy of the Will of Thomas Paine. [ 146 ]

Paine signed his Will on January 18, 1809, about five months before he died. He purposely restated his religious beliefs so there would be no chance for anyone to say he recanted at the approach of death.



The Will begins: "Thomas Paine, reposing confidence in my Creator, God, and in no other being, for I know of no other, nor believe in any other . . .", and closes: "I have lived an honest and useful life to mankind; my time has been spent in doing good, and I die in perfect composure and resignation to the will of my Creator, God."

*The Public Advertiser*, New York, June 9, 1809. [ 147 ]

Thomas Paine died in New York City on June 8, 1809. This Jeffersonian newspaper wrote the most favorable obituary of him, and invited the friends of the deceased to attend his funeral. Paine's body was borne to New Rochelle and buried there on the farm given to him by the State of New York as a reward for his Revolutionary writings. Ten years later William Cobbett exhumed the bones and took them to England, where he hoped to give Paine a funeral worthy of so great a man. The British, hating Cobbett as much as Paine, ruined the plan by ridicule, and the bones were lost, never to be recovered.

*Utica Patriot*, Oneida County, New York, June 27, 1809. [ 148 ]

Obituaries of Paine appeared in nearly all of the important newspapers of the country. But most of them ignored *The Public Advertiser*, and instead copied the notice from the *New York Citizen*, which had been written by Paine's arch enemy, James Cheetham, owner of the paper, and which read in part: "He had lived long, did some good and much harm."

Thomas Paine. *On the Origin of Freemasonry*. Posthumous Work. New York: Eliot & Crissy, 1810. [ 149 ]

It is not yet known for certain whether Paine was ever admitted to a Masonic Lodge, but it seems likely that he was, since some of his best friends were Masons.

This work was published the year after his death by Madame Bonneville, the heir to his literary manuscripts. Madame Bonneville had become a Catholic and no longer agreed with Paine's religious principles. Since the Paine manuscript has not been located we cannot be certain whether this is exactly what Paine wrote, but his story of the origin of Freemasonry, linking it as a continuation of the religion of the Druids has been reprinted many times.

Thomas Paine. "Extract from Thomas Paine's Answer to Bishop Watson's *Apology for the Bible*. Never before published. (Communicated by a friend, to whom Mr. Paine presented the manuscript some years since.)" In *The Theophilanthropist*. Number 6, pp. 220-228 and Number 7, pp. 263-272. New York: Printed for the Proprietors, 1810. [150]

Paine said in his last Will, that he had in his possession manuscripts of the Third Part of *The Age of Reason* and an *Answer to the Bishop of Llandaff*. The actual manuscripts have never been made available. Many people endeavored to get hold of these manuscripts from Madame Bonneville for publication, but very little was forthcoming. This excerpt from his *Answer to Bishop Watson's Apology for the Bible* was published in a separate pamphlet by R. Carlile in 1818. Many believe that some of its most pungent paragraphs may have been eliminated or altered because of the strong Catholicism of Madame Bonneville.

*Genuine Report of the Two Trials of Richard Carlile for the Re-publication of Thomas Paine's Age of Reason*. Duncombe [n.d.] [151]

Although Williams had gone to jail for reprinting *The Age of Reason* in England in 1796, Richard Carlile had the courage to reprint it again in 1818. The result was that not only Richard Carlile went to prison for six years, but also his wife, who printed this report of his trial containing once again the entire *Age of Reason*. She received a two-year sentence, followed by his sister with a similar penalty.

Carlile asked for volunteers to go to prison in behalf of the right to print Paine's works, and over the years more than one hundred fifty persons responded, who collectively served more than 200 years' imprisonment in this battle for the freedom of the press. While in jail Carlile received 500 pounds a week in contributions from supporters to encourage him in his fight for freedom. His heroic efforts finally won the battle, and *The Age of Reason* has ever since been in print.



## Section II

## COLLECTED WORKS (1791-1827)

Thomas Paine. *Rights of Man; Common Sense; A Letter Addressed to the Abbé Raynal*. London: J. S. Jordan, 1791. [152]

No general title page. Although these titles could be purchased separately and each had an individual title page and separate pagination, they were also bound together and so advertised for sale by the publisher.

Thomas Paine. [Letters]. *A Letter to the Earl of Shelburne; Thoughts on the Peace . . . ; A Letter on Republicanism; A Letter Addressed to the Abbé Syeyes*. A new edition. London: James Ridgway, 1791. [153]

Frontispiece portrait dated July 25, 1791.

## POCKET EDITIONS, NUMBERS 154 TO 162

Thomas Paine. *Common Sense; Rights of Man, Part I; Rights of Man, Part II*. London: Symonds, 1792. [154]

Paine decided in April, 1792, to bring out a cheap edition of both parts of the *Rights of Man* in the unheard of quantity of 100,000 copies. This was followed by additional reprints in the same format of his other works, so that besides being sold separately they could be readily bound together with the *Rights of Man*, constituting a cheap edition of his Works. These have separate title pages, with London imprint and separate pagination, and do not have a general title page. Later editions contain more titles. The sequence varies.

Thomas Paine. *Common Sense; Rights of Man, Part I; Rights of Man, Part II; Letter Addressed to the Addressers*. London, Symonds, 1792. [155]

Thomas Paine. *Common Sense; Rights of Man, Part I; Rights of Man, Part II; Letter Addressed to the Addressers*. London: Symonds, 1792. *Letter Addressed to the Abbé Raynal*. London: Ridgway, 1792. [156]

The last item consists of 45 pages in this edition; was later condensed to 36 pages.

Thomas Paine. *Common Sense; Rights of Man, Part I; Rights of Man, Part II; Letter Addressed to the Addressers*, London: Symonds, 1792. *Letter Addressed to the Abbé Raynal; Two Letters to Lord Onslow . . . and One to Mr. Henry Dundas*, London: J. Ridgway, 1792. [ 157 ]

Thomas Paine. *Common Sense; Rights of Man, Part I; Rights of Man, Part II; Letter Addressed to the Addressers*, London: Symonds, 1792. *Letter Addressed to the Abbé Raynal; Miscellaneous Articles*. London: J. Ridgway, 1792. [ 158 ]

(Among the *Miscellaneous Articles* are Letters to Onslow and Dundas which constitute the last item in No. 157.)

Thomas Paine. *Common Sense; Rights of Man, Part I; Rights of Man, Part II; Letter Addressed to the Addressers*. London: Symonds, 1792. *Letter Addressed to the Abbé Raynal; Miscellaneous Articles*. London: J. Ridgway, 1792. [ 159 ]

Frontispiece portrait, dated July 25, 1791.

Thomas Paine. *Miscellaneous Articles*. London: Ridgway, 1792. *Common Sense; Rights of Man, Part I; Rights of Man, Part II; Letter Addressed to the Addressers*. London: Symonds, 1792. *Letter Addressed to the Abbé Raynal*. London: Ridgway, 1793. [ 160 ]

Frontispiece portrait dated July 25, 1791.

Thomas Paine. *Miscellaneous Articles*. London: Ridgway, 1792. *Common Sense*. London: Symonds, 1793. *Rights of Man, Part I; Rights of Man, Part II; Letter Addressed to the Addressers*. London: Symonds, 1792. *Letter Addressed to the Abbé Raynal*. London: Ridgway, 1792. *The Age of Reason, Part I; The Age of Reason, Part II*. London: Symonds, 1795. [ 161 ]

Frontispiece portrait dated July 25, 1791.



Thomas Paine. *Common Sense; Rights of Man, Part I.* London: Symonds, 1792. *Rights of Man, Part II.* London: J. S. Jordan, 1792. *Letter Addressed to the Addressers.* London: Symonds, 1792. *Letter Addressed to the Abbé Raynal.* London: Ridgway, 1793. *Dissertation on the First Principles of Government.* London: For the Proprietors [n.d.]. *Decline and Fall of the English System of Finance.* London: T. Williams, 1796. [ 162 ]

End of Pocket Editions

Thomas Paine. *The Works of Thomas Paine, Esq.* With engraved portrait. London: D. Jordan, 1792. [ 163 ]

Has general title page. (*Illustrated at p. 454.*)

Thomas Paine. *An Impartial Sketch of the Life of Thomas Paine, to which is added his Letters . . .* London: Printed by T. Browne and sold by H. D. Symonds, 1792. [ 164 ]

Frontispiece portrait dated November 6, 1792. The book includes nine letters by Paine.

Thomas Paine. *The Writings of Thomas Paine.* Albany, New York: Charles R. and George Webster, 1792. [ 165 ]

Does not include *Rights of Man, Part II* or *Letter to Mr. Secy. Dundas*.

Thomas Paine. *The Writings of Thomas Paine.* Albany, New York: Charles R. and George Webster, 1792. [ 166 ]

Includes *Rights of Man, Part II* and *Letter to Mr. Secy. Dundas*, June 6, 1792.

Thomas Paine. *The Writings of Thomas Paine.* Albany, New York: Charles R. and George Webster, 1793. [ 167 ]

Thomas Paine. *The Writings of Thomas Paine.* Albany, New York: Charles R. and George Webster, 1794. [ 168 ]

Thomas Paine. *Recueil des divers écrits de Thomas Paine.* Paris: Buisson, 1793. [ 169 ]

THE  
*WORKS*  
OF  
THOMAS PAINE, ESQ.

FOREIGN SECRETARY TO THE AMERICAN CONGRESS  
DURING THE WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN;

CONTAINING,

- |  |                                    |
|--|------------------------------------|
| I. COMMON SENSE.                       | VII. LETTER TO THE ABBE<br>SYEYES. |
| II. RIGHTS OF MAN, PART I.             | VIII. THOUGHTS ON THE<br>PEACE.    |
| III. ————— PART II.                    | IX. LETTER TO SECRETARY<br>DUNDAS. |
| IV. LETTER TO THE ABBE<br>RAYNAL.      | X. LETTERS TO LORD ONS-<br>LOW.    |
| V. LETTER TO THE EARL<br>OF SHELBURNE. |                                    |
| VI. LETTER ON REPUBLI-<br>CANISM.      |                                    |

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*"THE SPIRIT, INDEPENDENCE! LET ME SHARE."*

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SMOLLEY.

L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR D. JORDAN, FICCADILLY.

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1792.

THE GENERAL TITLE PAGE OF No. 163



This includes ten of Paine's letters and his *Thoughts on the Peace*, and has a frontispiece portrait. In the same format Buisson published the translations of *Rights of Man, Part I and Part II, Common Sense* and *American Crisis*.

These five articles constitute the complete works of Thomas Paine in French.

Thomas Paine. *The Works of Thomas Paine*. London [no publisher]: 1796. [170]

Includes twelve of Paine's works.

Thomas Paine. *The American Crisis; The Age of Reason, Part I; The Age of Reason, Part II*. London: Daniel Isaac Eaton [1796]. [171]

No general title page.

Thomas Paine. *American Crisis*, London: Eaton, n.d.; *The Age of Reason, Part I; The Age of Reason, Part II; Decline and Fall of the English System of Finance*, London: Eaton, 1796. *Letter . . . to Erskine*, Paris: Printed for the Author, 1797. *Agrarian Justice*. London: T. Williams, 1797. *Letter to George Washington*. London: T. Williams, 1797. *Dissertation on the First Principles of Government*. London: Griffith, 1795. *Prospects on the War . . .* London: Ridgway, 1795. [172]

No general title page. A collection of remainders all of one size, bound in calf.

Thomas Paine. *The Works of Thomas Paine . . .* In two volumes. Philadelphia: James Carey, 1797. [173]

Previous to this edition only eleven numbers of the *American Crisis* had been published, omitting number 10 or number 12. In this edition, without authorization by author, other articles were added, increasing the *American Crisis* to sixteen numbers, two of which were labelled "Supernumerary Crisis." This collection also includes *The Age of Reason* with separate pagination.

Thomas Paine. *The Works of Thomas Paine . . .* In two volumes.  
Philadelphia: James Carey, 1797. [ 174 ]

At the request of some subscribers, this collection was published without *The Age of Reason*.

Thomas Paine. *The Works of Thomas Paine . . .* In two volumes.  
Philadelphia: James Carey, 1797. [ 175 ]

For subscribers requesting a replacement for *The Age of Reason*, the publisher supplied a reprint of Watson's *Apology for the Bible* bound in.

Thomas Paine [*The Political Works of Thomas Paine*. London: Sherwin, 1817]. [ 176 ]

This copy contains the earliest printings by Sherwin of Paine's works, some of which are in two columns and had been taken from Sherwin's *Political Register*. Owing to a change in the plan by Sherwin during publication, four of the Letters appear twice. There is no portrait and no title page, or table of contents. There have been bound with this particular copy two works by Paine which do not belong: *Miscellaneous Poems* published in 1819 and *Reflections on the Life and Death of Lord Clive* published in 1820.

Thomas Paine. *The Political Works of Thomas Paine*. In two volumes. London: W. T. Sherwin, 1817. With portrait frontispiece [after Romney], published January 1, 1818 by R. Carlile. [ 177 ]

Each of the articles in this edition has its own title page, and could be purchased separately both on fine and on common or bluish paper. Many had previously appeared in Sherwin's *Political Register* [weekly], which was also published both on fine and on common paper.

Thomas Paine. *The Theological Works of Thomas Paine*. London: R. Carlile, 1818. [ 178 ]

Each article has a separate title page. *A Discourse Addressed to the Society of Theophilanthropists* in Paris also has a separate title page, but is not mentioned on the general title page, and should properly be considered a continuation of the *Letter to Mr. Erskine*.



Thomas Paine. *The Theological Works of Thomas Paine*. London: R. Carlile, 1819. [179]

*Miscellaneous Poems*, London: 1819, published in the same format by R. Carlile, has been bound in this copy.

Thomas Paine. *The Theological Works of Thomas Paine*. London: R. Carlile, 1818. [180]

Although the general title page is still dated 1818, an *Appendix* published in 1820 by M. A. Carlile (Mrs. Richard Carlile) is included in this copy.

Thomas Paine. *Common Sense; Rights of Man, Part I; Rights of Man, Part II*. London: Benbow, 1822. [181]

No general title page. Separate title pages, but continuous pagination. *Common Sense* and *Rights of Man, Part I* are dated 1821. Frontispiece portrait, Benbow, publisher, 1822.

Thomas Paine. [Theological Works]. London: R. Carlile, 1822. [182]

No general title page. A vest-pocket size edition, having separate title pages and separate pagination.

Thomas Paine. *The Theological Works of Thomas Paine*. London: R. Carlile, 1824. [183]

This has an engraved title page as well as an engraved portrait done after G. Romney by G. Phillips. It also has a letter of Paine's dated Paris, May 12, 1797.

Thomas Paine. *The Theological Works of Thomas Paine*. London: R. Carlile, 1826. [184]

This edition has continuous pagination [400 pages] and does not have separate title pages.

Thomas Paine. *The Theological Works of Thomas Paine*. London: R. Carlile, 1827. [185]

This has separate title pages and separate pagination.

## Section III

## PORTRAITS AND ENGRAVINGS

The two best known portraits of Paine were painted by Charles Willson Peale of Philadelphia between 1778 and 1782, and by George Romney in London, June, 1792. The whereabouts of the originals are at present unknown. It is also recorded that Peale painted a second portrait of Paine, likewise lost.

The first Peale portrait, copied in an engraving by James Watson in 1783, and the Romney portrait, copied in an engraving by William Sharp in 1793, have been reproduced a great many times, and during Paine's lifetime were sold as separate engravings. Engravings made from the Peale portrait were, moreover, reduced to book size and used as frontispieces in editions of Paine's works. The Sharp engraving does not appear as a frontispiece in England until 1819 when it is found in Rickman's *Life of Thomas Paine*. A slightly different version, after Romney, appears in Carlile's *The Political and Miscellaneous Works of Thomas Paine*, 1819-1820.

Two portraits in oils, both done from life by Americans, are still extant, and full-scale photographic reproductions are exhibited. So far as I am able to ascertain these were not reproduced in any form during Paine's lifetime. One, a miniature painted by John Trumbull in London in 1788, is now in Thomas Jefferson's home in Monticello, and the other, painted by John Wesley Jarvis in New York around 1803, is in the National Gallery in Washington, D. C.

Two original portraits in oils are exhibited for the first time. One, on a mahogany panel, was undoubtedly influenced by the Romney portrait, and may have been done during Paine's lifetime. It was possibly intended to be reproduced as a frontispiece for the cheap edition of the *Rights*



of *Man*, published by Parsons in 1792, since it is indicated on the back as having belonged to the Rev. Mr. Parsons. The book, however, appeared in 1792 without any portrait and was banned shortly thereafter. The picture eventually passed into the collection of Moncure D. Conway, the biographer of Paine, and was sold by his son, Eustace Conway, in 1929, when it was attributed to John Wesley Jarvis. If this attribution is accepted, it would date the painting as having been made at a very much later period. The other portrait, 54 x 39 cm., executed on canvas, was done in 1865 by Winkler in Paris.

Lesser known are the many drawings and reproductions from other portraits. The exhibition is chronologically arranged, and includes those said to have been created prior to 1820.

Watson, James. "Edward Payne, Esqr." [*i.e.* Thomas Paine]. London. January 1, 1783. Mezzotint. 32 x 22.5 cm. From an original portrait by C. W. Pele [*i.e.* Peale] in the Possession of Henry Laurens, Esqr. (*See frontispiece.*) [186]

Trumbull, John. "Thomas Paine." London. 1788. Photograph, actual size, of miniature oil painting on wood. 12.3 x 9.5 cm. [187]

Original in Jefferson's home, Monticello, Virginia.

Reproduced in the *Yale University Library Gazette*, April, 1956.

Bassett, T. "Thomas Paine, Esq." London. July 14, 1791. Engraving. 18.5 x 11.5 cm. After the painting by W. C. Peele [*i.e.* C. W. Peale]. [188]

[Artist unknown] "Thomas Paine." London: J. Ridgway, July 25, 1791. Engraving. 18.5 x 12 cm. After the painting by

Peel [*i.e.* Peale] of Philadelphia in the possession of T. B. Hollis, Esqr. [189]

Frontispiece for a new edition of Paine's *Letter to the Earl of Shelburne*. London: J. Ridgway, 1791. Some copies have a brownish tone.

[Artist unknown] "Thomas Paine." London: for J. Ridgway, July 25, 1791. Engraving. 18.5 x 12 cm. [190]

Printed from a much used plate, similar to the preceding one, and used in the cheap editions of Paine's *Works*, printed for H. D. Symonds, London, 1792. Example of the deterioration—Paine's right coat sleeve appears to be in tatters.

Angus. "Mr. Thomas Paine." London: C. Forster, September 1, 1791. Engraving. 17.5 x 11.2 cm. From Peale's portrait. [191]

In the *Literary Magazine*, London. 1791.

de Rood, F. "T. Paine." Engraved by A. Loosjes. 1792. Engraving. 17.5 x 11.2 cm. From Peale's portrait. [192]

Frontispiece for *Rights of Man*. Rotterdam and Antwerp: J. Meyer and H. Brongers, Jr., 1791.

d'Lizacs. "Thomas Paine. author of Rights of man &c." Engraving. 16.2 x 9.3 cm. From Peale's portrait. [193]

Frontispiece for *The Works of Thomas Paine, Esq.* London: D. Jordan, 1792.

Bonneville, F. "Thomas Paine. Secrétaire du Congrès . . ." Engraved by Sandox. Engraving. Oval. 21.5 x 13.3 cm. From Peale's portrait. [194]

Appeared in the *Chronique du Mois*. Paris: June, 1792.

[Artist unknown] "Thomas Paine, Esqr. Late Secretary for Foreign Affairs to the American Congress; Author of The Rights of Man, Common Sense, &c." London: c. 1792.



Engraving. 19.7 x 12.4 cm. From a picture by Peel [*i.e.* Peale]. [195]

Stothard. "Thomas Paine." Engraved by H. Mutlow. London. November 6, 1792. Engraving. 17 x 9.5 cm. From Peale's portrait. [196]

Frontispiece for *An Impartial Sketch of the Life of Thomas Paine*. London: T. Brown, 1792.

[Artist unknown] "Mr. Thomas Paine. Author of the Rights of Man." London: W. & J. Stratfords, August 1, 1792. Engraving. 18 x 11.5 cm. [197]

Engraved for the *Carlton House Magazine* for August, 1792.

[Barlow?] [Thomas Paine] Pen and ink drawing. 16.3 x 12.8 cm. [London? c. 1792] [198]

[Artist unknown] "Thomas Paine" [London? c. 1792?]. Oil painting on wood. 23.5 x 21 cm. [199]

Note on back of painting gives earliest provenance as Rev. Mr. Parsons, England.

[Artist unknown] "Thomas Paine. Secrétaire du Congrès . . ." Paris, chez le Cit. Bassett. c. 1792. Engraving. Oval. 17.7 x 11.8 cm. From Peale's portrait. [200]

Muller, C. "Thomas Payne." c. 1792. Engraving. Oval. 13.7 x 8.2 cm. From Peale's portrait. [201]

Sharp, William. "Thomas Paine." London: W. Sharp, April 20, 1793. Engraving. 23.2 x 19.2 cm. From Romney's portrait. [202]

[Dabos?] [Thomas Paine] Engraving. 14.6 x 10.2 cm. [203]

Note on reverse states the original was painted in Paris during the French Revolution. At one time in Howlett collection.

- Bolt. "Thomas Paine. Secretair d. Americ: Congr: 1780. Mitgl: d. fr: Nat. Convents 1793." 1793. Engraving. Oval. 14 x 8.8 cm. From Peale's portrait. [ 204 ]
- Schule, C. "Thomas Paine." Engraved by A. Schule. Zwickau, bei Gebr. Schumann. Engraving. 18.8 x 12 cm. From Peale's portrait. [ 205 ]
- [Artist unknown] "Thomas Paine." Engraving. Oval. 18.8 x 12 cm. From Peale's portrait. [ 206 ]  
 Frontispiece for *Recueil des divers écrits de Thomas Paine*. Paris: Buisson, 1793.
- [Artist unknown] "Thomas Paine." Engraving. Oval. 5.8 x 7 cm. [ 207 ]  
 Engraving on title page of *Die Rechte des Menschen*. Copenhagen: Prost, 1793. Berlin: Vos, 1792.
- Sharp, William. "Thomas Paine." London: W. Sharp, February 1, 1794. Engraving. 15.4 x 7.8 cm. From Romney's portrait. [ 208 ]  
 Frontispiece for Rickman's *Life of Thomas Paine*. London, 1819.
- Kay, John. "Thomas Paine." 1794. Engraving. 7.5 x 5 cm. [ 209 ]  
 Reproduced in Kay's *Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings*. Edinburgh, 1838.
- Maguire, P. "Thomas Paine." Engraving. 17.6 x 11 cm. From Peale's portrait. [ 210 ]  
 Frontispiece for *Works of Thomas Paine*. London, 1796.
- [Artist unknown] "Thomas Paine, Author of the Rights of Man." London: H. D. Symonds, July 2, 1796. Engraving. 22.7 x 15.5 cm. [ 211 ]  
 Engraved for Baxter's *History of England*.



Bonneville, F. "Thomas Paine. Ex Député à la Convention Nationale." Paris: Rue Jacques. Engraving. Oval. 20.4 x 13.5 cm. From Romney's portrait. [212]

Reproduced in *Portraits des Personnages Célèbres de la Révolution*. Paris: Bonneville, 1797.

[Artist unknown] "Tommaso Paine." Engraving. Oval. 14.5 x 9 cm. From Peale's portrait. [213]

Mackenzie, K. "Tom Paine." London: G. Cawthorne, British Library, March 31, 1800. Engraving. Oval. 15.3 x 11 cm. From a miniature by H. Richards. [214]

Frontispiece to "Sketch of the Life of Thomas Paine." in a London periodical, Vol. II, March, 1800.

Godby, James. "Thomas Paine." London, May 21, 1805. Engraving. Oval. 12.5 x 8.2 cm. From an original drawing [by Edward Stacey] done from the Life in America 1803. [215]

Jarvis, John Wesley. "Thomas Paine." Photograph, full-size of oil painting. 1805. 62 x 49.5 cm. [216]  
Original in National Gallery, Washington, D.C.

[Sully, Thomas?] "Thomas Paine." Photograph of oil painting. November 19-23, 1807. 33 x 30.5 cm. [217]  
Copy in American Antiquarian Society.

[Artist unknown] "Thos. Paine." Miniature profile. Engraving. Oval. 5.6 x 4 cm. [218]

Jarvis, John Wesley. Photograph of bust of Thomas Paine. 1809. [219]

Original in the New York Historical Society.

Jarvis, John Wesley. "Thomas Paine." Engraving. 15.8 x 10 cm. From Jarvis' portrait. [ 220 ]

Said to have been circulated at the time of Paine's death, 1809.

Jarvis, John Wesley. Plaster cast of death mask made by Jarvis in 1809. [ 221 ]

[Artist unknown] "T. Paine." London: G. Smeeton, September 21, 1812. Engraving. 19 x 21 cm. From Peale's portrait. [ 222 ]

Easto, A. [Thomas Paine] [c. 1818]. Engraving. 30 x 23.8 cm. From Romney's portrait. [ 223 ]

[Artist unknown] "Thomas Paine." London: Geo. Smeeton, 1819. Engraving. 12 x 8 cm. From Romney's portrait. [ 224 ]

Warren. "Thomas Paine." Engraving. 15.5 x 11 cm. From Romney's portrait. [ 225 ]

Frontispiece in *Political and Miscellaneous Works of Thomas Paine*. London: R. Carlile, 1819.

[Artist unknown] "Thomas Paine." London: W. T. Sherwin, May 1, 1819. Engraving. 17.5 x 11.2 cm. From Romney's portrait. [ 226 ]

Frontispiece in *Memoirs of the Life of Thomas Paine . . .* by W. T. Sherwin. London: R. Carlile, 1819.

Parke. "Mr. Thomas Paine. Author of Age of Reason, Rights of Man, &c." West Smithfield: T. Davison, n.d. Engraving. 17.8 x 11.3 cm. From Romney's portrait. [ 227 ]

[Artist unknown] "Thomas Paine." Engraving. 11.8 x 7.8 cm. From Romney's portrait. [ 228 ]







Avec  
Permission  
Messieurs  
Et  
Dames

*Le Fancux Empyrique Anglois Americain  
Se possède le vni Spécifique contre la furor de l'oppression Anglaise.*



## Section IV

## CARICATURES

Many of the attacks on Thomas Paine and his principles, depicted through the medium of caricatures, were published between 1791 and 1798. Mainly directed against his *Rights of Man* and *The Age of Reason*, they virtually ceased after his death in 1809. However, more appeared in 1819 when William Cobbett dug up Paine's bones from their resting place in New Rochelle, New York, and escorted them to England for a second funeral worthy of so great a man. These caricatures were helpful in preventing the second funeral and Paine's bones have since disappeared. Only a few caricatures show honor to Paine, and these do so in a very limited sense.

In the *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, continued by Mary Dorothy George in 1935, can be found complete descriptions of many of these cartoons, and the reference numbers to these are given. Measurements are given for the others.

PART A: RELATING TO *Rights of Man*

F. Sayer. *Mr. Burke's Pair of Spectacles for Short Sighted Politicians*. London: Thos. Cornell, May 12, 1791. Aquatint. George No. 7858. [ 229 ]

Fox raises an axe, the blade inscribed *Rights of Man*. A demon sits on two volumes, one entitled *Rights of Man by M P. [Paine]*.

F. S[ayer]. *Published by Order of the Society for Constitutional Information by D. Adams, Secretary*. London: Thos. Cornell, May 12, 1791. Engraving. George No. 7859. [ 230 ]

An ass, laden with panniers filled with books, lifts up its head to bray *Rights of Man*. From its head hang an ink-bottle and pen. The books are inscribed Paines Pamphl[ets].

Js. Gy. [James Gillray] *The Rights of Man; or-Tommy Paine, the little American Taylor, taking the measure of the Crown, for a new pair of Revolution-Breeches.* London: H. Humphrey, May 23, 1791. Engraving (coloured). George No. 7867. [ 231 ]

[Dent] *Revolution Anniversary or, Patriotic Incantations.* W. Dent, July 12, 1791. Engraving. George No. 7890. [ 232 ]

A book, *Rights of Men*, is in Priestley's hand, and he sings:

Oh! choice Spirit of dauntless Paine  
Make, make our Cauldron blaze again.

Hannibal Scratch. *Mad Tom, or the Man of Rights.* W. Locke, Sept. 1, 1791. Engraving. George No. 7900. [ 233 ]

Tom Paine sits on a paper inscribed *Rights of Man*.

[Artist unknown] *The Cries of London.* n.d. 24.8 x 35.5 cm. [ 234 ]

An orderly mob proudly carries placards, one of which reads *Rights of Man*. (Illustration facing page 464.)

G. M. Woodward. *A Democrat.* London: S. W. Fores, September 2, 1791. Engraving. (Coloured impression.) Between George Nos. 7901 and 7902. [ 235 ]

A French patriot has extending from his pocket the *Rights of Man*.

I. C[ruikshank]. *Mad Tom's First Political Essay on the Rights of Man.* London: S. W. Fores, May 14, 1792. Engraving (coloured impression). George No. 8087. [ 236 ]

Paine holds a torch to a pair of breeches (his own) stuffed with straw which he is putting under the floor, saying, "Now for a Deed that shall outdo my pen."

[Artist unknown] *Spirit of Democracy, or, the Rights of Man maintained.* London: W. Dent, January 23, 1792. Engraving (coloured impression). 25.2 x 11.3 cm. [ 237 ]



Cromwell drives a group of terrified Kings in the direction of "Equality or Annihilation." This is in line with Paine's principles of abolishing royalty.

[Gillray] *Vices overlooked in the new proclamation.* London: H. Humphrey, May 24, 1792. Engraving (coloured impression). George No. 8095. [238]

A satire on the Royal Proclamation of 21 May, which was directed chiefly against Paine's writings.

[Cruikshank] *The Friends of the People.* London: S. W. Fores, November 15, 1792. Engraving (uncoloured impression). George No. 8131. [239]

Dr. Priestley sits on a chair holding a dark lantern which he directs at Paine, who, seated on a barrel of Gun Powder, holds a dagger in each hand. Behind Paine are pamphlets inscribed *Rights of Man* and *Common Sense*.

Js. Gy. [James Gillray] *Tom Paine's Nightly Pest.* London: H. Humphrey, December 10, 1792. Engraving (coloured impression). George No. 8137. [240]

Paine lies asleep on straw on a ramshackle wooden bedstead. Before three judges hang long scrolls headed: "Pleas for Thomas Paine." "Charges against Thos. Paine." "Punishments for Thos. Paine." Above the bed, a terrified demon flies out the window.

F. S[ayer]. *Loyalty—Against—Levelling.* London: Thos. Cornell, December 15, 1792. Engraving. George No. 1838. [241]

Two designs represent England and France. Tom Paine is sawing down a sign in the English part, inscribed "Good Entertainment for Man & Horse." On the French side is a placard: "Memorial of Cit. Thos. Paine to the National Convention."

[Cruikshank] *Wha Wants Me*. London: S. Fores, December 26, 1792. Engraving. George No. 8146. [242]

Paine stands full face, holding a pen and a long scroll in one hand, a dagger in the other. He tramples on scrolls inscribed: "Loyalty, Magna Charta, etc."

[Artist unknown] *The Absent Man*. London: Robert Sayer, January 10, 1792. Engraving (coloured impression). George No. 8212. [243]

A man walks absent-mindedly into a shallow pond, a paper inscribed *Rights of Man* projecting from his pocket.

[James Gillray] *Fashion Before Ease;—or—A good Constitution Sacrificed for a Fantastick Form*. London: H. Humphrey, January 2, 1793. Engraving (coloured). George No. 8287. [244]

Paine tugs at the stay-lace of Britannia. On a thatched cottage is inscribed: "Thomas Pain, Stay-maker from Thetford. Paris Modes, by express."

T. O[vendon]. *The End of Pain*. 1793. Engraving. George No. 8294a. [245]

Paine dangles on a noose from a lamp-bracket, the post of which is inscribed "Rights of This Man."

This engraving is used as the heading to a printed leaflet, an ironical defense on Paine, the sub-title being: "The Last Speech, Dying Words, and Confession of T. P."

[Artist unknown] *A Sure Cure for all Paines, or The Rights of Man has got his Rights*. [1792-3] Engraving. 18.5 x 12.2 cm. [246]

Paine is shown on a scaffold with a noose around his neck.

W. Grainger. [1793?] Engraving. George No. 8295. [247]

Paine stands in the centre of a group of six apes, to whom he holds out his *Rights of Man*.



F. S[ayer]. *Brissot's Visit to his Friend Lord Leveller*. London: H. Humphrey, March 17, 1794. Engraving. George No. 8439. [248]

Lord Lauderdale riding a rocking-horse turns around to look at the headless Brissot, who runs forward, his head under his arm, issuing a warning on the dangers of Reform and Levelling, as advocated by Paine.

James Gillray. *Patriotic Regeneration—viz—Parliament Reformed, a la Françoise—that is—Honest Men (i.e. Opposition) in the Seat of Justice*. London: H. Humphrey. March 2, 1795. Engraving (coloured impression). George No. 8624. [249]

Pitt is shown on trial in the House of Commons. On the table are books labelled "Rights of Man," "Dr. Price," etc.

[James Gillray] *Democratic Levelling;—Alliance a la Françoise;—or—The Union of the Coronet & Clysterpipe*. London: H. Humphrey, March 4, 1796. Engraving. George No. 8787. [250]

Fox and Sheridan officiate at the wedding of Lady Lucy Stanhope and an apothecary. Fox holds open Paine's *Rights of Man*.

[James Gillray]? *The Contrast; or Things as they are*. London: H. Humphrey, November 12, 1796. Aquatint. George No. 8834. [251]

Two scenes contrasting prosperous England and oppressed and terrorized France. From a gibbet in the center dangles a placard: "Paine. Rights of Man."

James Gillray. *Consequences of a Successful French Invasion*. Sir John Dalrymple, inv. London: James Gillray, March 1, 1798. Engraving. George No. 9181. [252]

Sub-title: "We explain de Rights of Man to de Noblesse."

James Gillray. *London Corresponding Society, Alarm'd. Vide Guilty Consciences.* London: H. Humphrey, April 20, 1798. Aquatint. George No. 9202. [253]

Six brutal-looking men sit round a table in a cellar. On the wall are bust portraits of Horne Tooke and Tom Payne.

James Gillray. *The Tree of Liberty,—with, the Devil Tempting John Bull.* London: H. Humphrey, May 23, 1798. Engraving. George No. 9214. [254]

A serpent with the head of Fox is twined round a bare oak-tree, tempting John Bull with an apple inscribed "Reform." The main branches of the tree are "Rights of Man" and "Profligacy." The apples are labelled "Democracy, Deism, Age of Reason, etc."

[Ansel]? *The Funeral of the Party.* London: S. W. Fores, October 30, 1798. Engraving. George No. 9258. [255]

Horne Tooke, walking in the funeral procession of "The Party Supported by Corresponding Citizens," is reading the service from a book, *Right of Man.*

[Rowlandson] *A Peep into the Retreat at Tinnehinch.* London: T. Whittle, May 1st, 1799. Engraving. George No. 9370. [256]

James Gillray. *Preparing for the Grand Attack—or—a Private Rehearsal of "The Ci-Devant Ministry in Danger."* London: H. Humphrey, December 4, 1801. Aquatint. George No. 9739. [257]

Politicians rehearsing a speech. On the bookcase are three busts: Tom Paine, Abbe Seyeis, and Rob'spear.

James Gillray. *The Triumphal Procession of Little-Paul-the-Taylor upon his New-Goose.* London: H. Humphrey, November 8, 1806. Engraving (coloured). George No. 10608. [258]

In the political procession Tom Paine is shown distributing Halfpence among the mob.



James Gillray. *Posting to the Election,—a Scene on the Road to Brentford.* November 1806. London: H. Humphrey, December 1, 1806. Engraving (coloured). George No. 10614. [259]

A political procession in which Bosville carries a pamphlet: "Rights of Man."

James Gillray. *A Plumper for Paul!—or—The Little Taylor Done Over!* London: H. Humphrey, March 13, 1807. Engraving. George No. 10708. [260]

Horne Tooke and Cobbett, with others, receiving a strong rebuke in the House of Commons.

I. R. Cruikshank. *Modern Reformers in Council,—or—Patriot Regaling.* London: H. Humphrey, July 3, 1818. Engraving (coloured). George No. 13001. [261]

Henry Hunt presides at a meeting of revolutionary conspirators. On the wall are two bust portraits framed in bones: Tom Payne and Napoleon.

Designed by an Amateur. *Radical Quacks Giving a New Constitution to John Bull!* Etched by G. Cruikshank [25 May, 1820]. London: G. Humphrey, February 4, 1821. Engraving (coloured). George No. 13714. [262]

John Bull, very ill, sits in a chair between two doctors. His legs have been amputated above the knee; the peg-legs are inscribed "Universal Suffrage" and "Religious Freedom;" each rests on a book: "Rights of Man" and "Age of Reason."

#### PART B: RELATING TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

[Artist unknown] *Le Fameux Empryrique Anglois Americain.* "Je possede le vrai Specificque contre le fureur de l'Oppression Anglicanne." France. n.d. Engraving. 19.2 x 14.2 cm. [263]

Paine is shown as a medicine-man expounding the merits of his "cure" for English oppression. (*Illustration facing page 465.*)

- [I. Cruikshank] *The First Articles in Requisition at Amsterdam, or, The Sans Culotts Become Touts Culotts.* London: S. W. Fores, January 29, 1795. Engraving (coloured). George No. 8613. [264]

A group of French Revolutionists taking money and women from irate Dutchmen.

- [Artist unknown] *The Address of Louis the 16th at the Bar of the Convention on the 26th of Dec. 1792.* [London]. 1797. Engraving. 19 x 27 cm. [265]

Sketch of the interior of the National Convention at the time of the trial of Louis XVI, identifying many of the members, including Paine.

- H. Woodward. *The Effects of British Valour on the French Directory.* Pub. at Ackermann's Gallery, November 4, 1798. Engraving. 27.7 x 39.7 cm. [266]

Members of the French Directory try to commit suicide after receiving further bad tidings, being already surrounded by papers labelled: "Nelson and the Nile," "More Defeats," "Tom Payne," etc.

- James Gillray. *The Arms of France.* London: J. Hatchard, September 6, 1803. Engraving (coloured). George No. 10090. [267]

An ape sits on a pamphlet titled "Tom Paine."

- [Artist unknown] *Tommy Bull and Job.* [n.p., n.d.] Engraving. 14.8 x 17.3 cm. [268]

Two ragged Englishmen conversing: ". . . no Stay-makers, no sans Cullotes . . ." "Damn Tom Paine and Damn the French, that's no Treason however."

- J. P. [John Paget] *Specimen of Equality & Fraternity.* Pen and ink drawing. 16 x 25.8 cm. [269]

Paine, Priestly and the devil, "Citizen Nicholas," join in a spirit of equality and fraternity.





*The ACE of REASON in the World burned Solesby complete in Tom Peares WORKS!!  
 Dedicated to the Archbishop of CARLILE*



TOKEN PENNY. OBERSE NO. 300 ENLARGED



TOKEN HALF-PENNY. REVERSE NO. 320 ENLARGED



PART C: RELATING TO *Age of Reason*

[S. W. Fores] *The Unitarian Arms*. London: S. W. Fores, July 14, 1792. Engraving (coloured). George No. 8114. [270]

A burlesque coat of arms illustrating the prejudice against the dissenters and the alarm caused by the writings of Paine.

James Gillray. *New Morality; or—The Promis'd Installment of the High-Priest of the Theophilanthropes, with the Homage of Leviathan and his Suite*. London: J. Wright, August 1, 1798. Engraving (coloured and uncoloured). George No. 9240. [271]

Procession of poets in a Jacobin Club celebration. A crocodile wearing stays, to indicate Tom Paine, weeps, and under his legs is a paper: "Paine's defence of the 18 Fructidor . . ." A poem inscribed below the picture reads in part: "All creeping creatures, venomous and low; Paine, W-ll—ms, G-dw-n, H-lc—ft, Praie Le Paux!"

G. Cruikshank. *The Age of Reason or the World Topsyturvy exemplified in Tom Paine's Works!!* London: T. Tegg, October 16, 1819. Engraving (coloured). George No. 13274. [272]

Carlile is shown burning emblems of Church and State. A placard reads in part: "No Christianity!!! No King!!! No Commons! No Laws! Nothing but Tom Paine & Universal Suffrage!!!" (*Illustration facing page 472.*)

C. J. G. *A Bait for John Bull*. London: T. Gans, November 11, 1830. Engraving (coloured). 20.5 x 32.5 cm. [273]

The door of a box trap bears the names of Cobbett, Tom Paine, Carlile, etc. Posters on the outside of the cage advertise "Age of Reason . . . Rights of Man."

## PART D: RELATING TO PAINE'S BONES

I. R. C[ruikshank]. *The Political Champion Turned Resurrection Man!* London: E. King, December 1819. Engraving (coloured). George No. 13283. [274]

Cobbett, astride the neck of a diabolical monster, returning from America carrying a box filled with Paine's bones.

Seymour. *John Bull's Night Mare.* Engraved by Shortshanks. Published by Thos. McLean. Engraving. 21.7 x 32 cm. [275]

Pictured in John Bull's dream is a skeleton, its hands and chin resting on a book, titled "Tom Paine, &c, &c."

[Artist unknown] *Little Johnny Rouse-Hell or The Ministers Last Shift.* London: T. McLean, April 28, 1831. Engraving (coloured). 19 x 28.5 cm. [276]

A skull "Paine" and a document "Rights of Man" appear in the smoke from the burning of "Bill of Rights," "Magna Charta," etc.

I. Eyre. *Cobbett at Coventry.* [1820?] Engraving. 13.7 x 17.6 cm. [277]

A group of caricatures satirizing Cobbett's intention to honor Paine's bones with a ceremonial funeral.

## PART E: RELATING TO PAINE'S PRINCIPLES

Stothard. *Declaration of Rights.* Engraved by Sharp. June, 1782. Engraving. 50.5 x 34.7 cm. [278]

An attack on the English election laws, this plate is dedicated to the Society for Constitutional Information, an organization in which Paine later became an important member.

James Gillray. *A French Hail Storm,—or—Neptune Loosing Sight of the Brest Fleet.* London: H. Humphrey, December 10, 1793. Engraving. George No. 8352. [279]

Paine had contributed to the shower of guineas driving Admiral Howe's boat away from Brest.



James Gillray. *Lord Longbow, The Alarmist, Discovering the Miseries of Ireland*. London: H. Humphrey, March 12, 1798. Engraving (coloured). George No. 9184. [280]

Paine was interested in the Irish cause, and his works had received large circulation in Ireland. He was on good terms with Lord Fitzgerald, to whom he gave his suggestions that the French should aid the Irish with money rather than a fleet.

James Gillray. *Habits of New French Legislators, and Other Public Functionaries*. London: H. Humphrey, 1798. Engravings. Set of 12.

1. Le Ministre d'Etat, en Grand Costume. April 18, 1798.  
George No. 9196. [281]
  2. Les Membres du Conseil des Anciens, April 18, 1798.  
George No. 9197. [282]
  3. Les Membres du Conseil des Cinq Cents. April 18, 1798.  
George No. 9198. [283]
  4. Membre du Directoire Exécutif. April 18, 1798. George  
No. 9199. [284]
  5. Président d'Administration Municipale. April 18, 1798.  
George No. 9200. [285]
- Horne Tooke as President stands in front of a list of the Droit de l'Homme.
6. Le Boureau. April 18, 1798. George No. 9201. [286]
  7. L'Avocat de la République. May 21, 1798. Aquatint.  
George No. 9208. [287]
  8. Membre de la Haute Cour de Justice. May 15, 1798.  
Aquatint. George No. 9209. [288]
  9. Juge de Tribunal Correctionnel. Aquatint. May 21,  
1798. George No. 9210. [289]
  10. Juge de Paix. May 15, 1798. Aquatint. George No.  
9211. [290]

11. Le Trésorier. May 21, 1798. Aquatint. George No. 9212. [291]

12. Messenger d'état. May 21, 1798. Aquatint. George No. 9213. [292]

James Gillray. *Two Pair of Portraits; Presented to all the Un-biased Electors of Great Britain, by John Horne Tooke*. London: J. Wright, December 1, 1798. Engraving (coloured). George No. 9270. [293]

Universal suffrage was one of Paine's first principles.

[Gillray] *Destruction of the French Gun-Boats—or—Little Boney & his Friend Talley in High Glee*. London: H. Humphrey, November 22, 1803. Aquatint. George No. 10125a. [294]

Paine contributed to Napoleon's proposed assault on England.

[Artist unknown] *The Man Wots Got the Whip Hand of 'Em All*. London: T. McLean, May 30, 1820. Engraving. 30.5 x 20.7 cm. [295]

An animated printing press is shown overwhelming terrified men.

[Artist unknown] *Mad Tom in a Rage*. [American] [c. 1801] Engraving. 25 x 8 cm. [296]

Paine attempts to pull down the Federal Government.

[Artist unknown] *Recipes for the British Constitution*. London: J. Fairburn, n.d. Engraving (coloured). 30.5 x 21.8 cm. [297]

Paine recommended changes in the British Constitution in several of his works.

Wm. Charles. *Between Two Stools my B—Comes to the Ground*. [American] [1802-09] Photograph of engraving. 16.5 x 11.2 cm. Original is in the American Antiquarian Society. [298]

Paine is shown falling between two stools, labelled "Secy of State" and "Govt of the State."



## Section V

## TOKENS

The British Government between 1754 and 1770 and between 1775 and 1779 under King George II and King George III, found that it cost more to make copper coins (the penny, halfpenny and farthing) than could be realized, and, therefore, none were issued. Politicians, however, took advantage of this period, and to meet the public need struck private coins or tokens, utilizing as their designs political scenes helpful to their cause. These were circulated and used as currency in some parts of the country. During this period the Government thought it was unwise to prosecute those making political coins or tokens.

Many of these were struck by Thomas Spence, a bookseller whose liberalism was even more radical than Paine's, with whom he was very friendly. It is said that around 1796, having encountered financial difficulties, Spence sold his dies to another manufacturer of tokens, Peter Skidmore, who must have manufactured the coins adverse to Paine, using Spence's name on new dies. It seems strange, however, that some of these appear for sale in a catalogue published under Spence's name in 1795.

Unless otherwise indicated the tokens listed are copper and of halfpenny size. The obverse (O) is described, unless the reverse (R) is of prime Paine interest. The Dalton numbers refer to *The Provincial Token-Coinage of the 18th Century* by R. Dalton & S. H. Hamer, London, 1913.

O: "William III of Blessed Memory." Penny. Dalton No. 201. [ 299 ]

Refers to the democratic-minded King and the Revolution of 1688.

- O: "Thomas Paine." An excellent profile, made of white metal.  
Penny, 1793. Dalton No. 208. [300]  
(*Illustration facing page 473.*)
- O: "L[or]d Geo. Gordon. Died in Newgate, Nov. 1, 1793."  
Dalton No. 776. [301]  
This radical Lord was the instigator of religious disturbances,  
known as the Gordon Riots of 1780.
- O: "Thos. Hardy. Secretary to the London Corresponding  
Sociy. Not Guilty. Novr. 5, 1794." Penny. Dalton  
No. 205. [302]  
Thomas Paine was an active member of this radical Society.
- O: "John Horne Tooke, Esq." [303]  
Tooke was an ardent politician, a friend of Paine and the  
French Revolution. He was tried for high treason and  
acquitted.
- R: "British Justice displayed, Nov. 22, 1794. Erskine and  
Gibbs."
- O: "[John] Horne Tooke, Esq." Penny. Dalton No. 878.  
[304]
- R: "Sessions House. Old Baily."
- O: "T. Spence. 7 months imprison'd for high treason. 1794."  
Dalton No. 678a. [305]
- R: "Rouse Britannia."
- O: Same design as above, only a farthing. Dalton No. 1077.  
[306]
- O: Same. Dalton No. 686. [307]
- R: "Odd Fellows. A Million Hogs a Guinea Pig. 1795."  
A man's head and a donkey's head conjoined.



- O: Same. Dalton No. 689. [ 308 ]  
 R: "After the Revolution."  
 Three men dancing and eating at a table.
- O: Same. Farthing. Dalton No. 1081. [ 309 ]  
 R: "Pig's Meat, Published by T. Spence, London."  
 Boar treading on crowns and mitres.
- O: Same. Farthing. Dalton No. 1078. [ 310 ]  
 R: "Am I not Thine Ass?"  
 Bull with head of jackass, bearing a King.
- O: "T. Spence, Bookseller, Dealer in Prints & Coins. N 8 Little  
 Turnstile Holbob London." Dalton No. 699. [ 311 ]
- O: "Hon. T. Erskine." Dalton No. 1010. [ 312 ]  
 A noted advocate, who at one time defended Paine and later  
 prosecuted him.
- O: "Erskine and Gibbs and Trial by Jury." Dalton No. 1012.  
 [ 313 ]
- O: "Odd Fellows. Quis Rides." Dalton No. 803c. [ 314 ]  
 The heads of Pitt and Fox conjoined.  
 R: "Who Know Their Rights and Knowing Dare Maintain.  
 1795."  
 Three citizens armed.
- O: Same. Dalton No. 805a. [ 315 ]  
 R: "Honour."  
 Heart in palm of hand.
- O: "R[igh]t H[onorabl]e C. J. Fox." Dalton No. 764. [ 316 ]  
 He supported Paine in England, and the American colonies  
 during the Revolution.

- R: "Who Know Their Rights and Knowing Dare Maintain.  
1795." [ 317 ]
- O: Same. Dalton No. 763a. [ 317 ]
- R: "We Were Born Free and Will Never Die Slave."  
A caduceus between a crown and a cap of liberty.
- O: "Louis XVI et M. Antoinette. Roi et Reine de France.  
1795." Dalton No. 513. [ 318 ]
- O: "London Corresponding Society." Dalton No. 1011. [ 319 ]  
An old man instructing his sons in the advantages of close union.
- R: "Noted Advocates for the Rights of Man. Thos. Spence,  
Sir Thos. More, Thos. Paine." Dalton No. 798. [ 320 ]  
*(Illustration facing page 473.)*
- O: "Odd Fellows. Quis Rides."
- R: Same. Dalton No. 677. [ 321 ]
- O: "T. Spence. 7 months imprison'd for high treason. 1794."
- R: Same. Dalton No. 842b. [ 322 ]
- O: "Pig's Meat, Published by T. Spence, London."
- R: "Advocates of the Rights of Man. Thos. Spence, Sir Thos.  
More, Thos. Paine. 1795." Farthing. Dalton No. 1117.  
[ 323 ]
- O: "Pig's Meat. Published by T. Spence, London."
- R: Same. Farthing. Dalton No. 811. [ 324 ]
- O: "Am I not a Man and a Brother?"  
Negro in chains, in a supplicating posture.
- R: Same. Farthing. Dalton No. 1112. [ 325 ]
- O: "Am I not thine Ass?"



R: Same. Farthing. Dalton No. 113.            [ 326 ]

O: "Rouse Britannia."

O: "End of Pain." Dalton No. 830a.            [ 327 ]

Man hanging on a gibbet.

R: "May the Knave of Jacobin Clubs Never Get a Trick."

O: Same. Dalton No. 833.            [ 328 ]

R: "The Wrongs of Man. Jany. 21, 1793."

O: Same. Dalton No. 835.            [ 329 ]

R: "French Reforms, 1797."

O: Same. Dalton No. 829a.            [ 330 ]

R: "Pandora's breeches."

O: Same design as above, only a farthing. Dalton No. 1106a.            [ 331 ]

O: "Noted advocates for the Rights of Men. 1796. Dalton  
No. 837.            [ 332 ]

Three men hanging on a gibbet.

O: "Before the Revolution. 1795." Dalton No. 853.            [ 333 ]

A man sitting in prison gnawing a bone.

R: "1790."

A shepherd reclined under a tree.

O: Same. Dalton No. 852.            [ 334 ]

R: "Halfpenny."

A guillotine and part of a house.

O: "Tree of Liberty." Dalton No. 889b.            [ 335 ]

- O: "I was an Ass to Bear the First Pair." Dalton No. 719. [336]  
 An ass bearing two pairs of baskets, labelled "Rents" and "Tax's."
- O: "British Liberty Displayed. 1795." Dalton No. 739b. [337]  
 A sailor seizing a landsman.
- R: "Who Know Their Rights and Knowing Dare Maintain. 1795."  
 Three citizens armed.
- O: Same. Dalton No. 732. [338]
- R: "If Rents I Once Consent to Pay, My Liberty is Past Away."  
 An Indian.
- O: "One only Master Grasps the Whole Domain. 1795." Dalton No. 744. [339]  
 A village in ruins.
- R: "Rouse Britannia."
- O: Same. Dalton No. 747a. [340]
- R: "Let Tyrants Tremble at the Crow of Liberty. 1795."
- O: Same. Dalton No. 748. [341]
- R: "Beginning of Oppression."  
 Cain killing Abel.
- O: "Pig's meat Published by T. Spence, London." Dalton No. 845. [342]
- R: "Honour."
- O: Same. Farthing. Dalton No. 1083. [343]
- R: "Man over Man, he made not Lord."  
 Eve tempting Adam.



O: "Am I Not a Man and a Brother." Dalton No. 1037. [ 344 ]

O: "Much Gratitude Brings Servitude." Dalton No. 750. [ 345 ]

A dog.

O: "A Freeborn Briton of 1796." Dalton No. 520. [ 346 ]  
A man handcuffed and ironed, a padlock on his mouth.

O: "Beginning of Oppression." Dalton No. 817. [ 347 ]

O: "The End of Oppression." Dalton No. 820. [ 348 ]  
Two men dancing.

R: "We Were born Free and Will Never Die Slave."

O: Same. Dalton No. 822. [ 349 ]

R: "Honour."

O: Same. Dalton No. 823. [ 350 ]

R: "If Rents I once consent to pay, my liberty is past away."

O: "Am I not thine Ass?" Farthing. Dalton No. 1085. [ 351 ]

O: "In Society live free like me. 1796." Dalton No. 1091. [ 352 ]

A cat.

O: "Even Fellows." Farthing. Dalton No. 1095a. [ 353 ]  
Two smiling heads conjoined, one with horns.

R: "If the Law Requires it we will walk thus." Farthing. Dalton No. 1099. [ 354 ]  
Man walking on hands and feet.

O: "The Three Thomas's. 1796." Farthing. Dalton No. 1125a. [ 355 ]  
Three men hanging from a gibbet.

- R: "Libertas. 1796." Dalton No. 514. [ 356 ]  
Cap of Liberty, radiated.
- O: "John Thelwall." Dalton No. 865. [ 357 ]  
A leading member of the Constitutional Society.
- O: "Sir Joseph Banks." [ 358 ]  
An English naturalist and scientist, he thought highly of  
Paine's bridge designs.



## Section VI

## CELEBRATIONS

Since Paine's death there have been numerous celebrations to honor his memory, usually held on anniversaries of his birthday, both in England and America. On some of these occasions the principal addresses were published in newspapers, periodicals or separate pamphlets. The following examples in chronological order show continued public participation.

- 1810 London. Rickman, Thomas Clio. *Elegy to the Memory of Thomas Paine*. (Illustrated at p. 486.) [ 359 ]
- 1820 London. Cobbett's weekly *Political Register* announced on January 20 that the anniversary of the birthday of Paine would be celebrated on the 29th of January by a dinner at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, London. In the *Political Register* of January 27 appears a statement that the landlord had refused to permit the celebration, and it was therefore cancelled. [ 360 ]
- 1821 January 29. Leeds, England. Notice of a celebration, with 50 persons present, was reported in *To the Reformers of Great Britain* of March 3, a periodical issued by Richard Carlile from Dorchester Gaol. [ 361 ]
- 1821 January 29. Edinburgh. A few Friends of Freedom met to celebrate the anniversary of the birthday of Thomas Paine. From *To the Reformers of Great Britain*, July 24, 1821. [ 362 ]
- 1822 January 29. The first anniversary meeting of the Birmingham Paine Club. [ 363 ]
- 1822 January 29. London. Essay for the celebration was published by Richard Carlile in *To the Republican* from the Dorchester Gaol on December 30, 1821. [ 364 ]

**EPITAPH**  
 ON  
**THOMAS PAINE.**

---

TO future times this monumental stone,  
 Need not be spared, to make thy value known ;  
 For future times will in each bosom raise  
 An altar sacred to thy worth and praise,  
 And sound, with general voice, when Envy dies,  
 THEE and THY WORKS with plaudits to the skies.  
 This tomb is simply raised by friends sincere,  
 To point the spot, and tell that PAINE lies here ;  
 Their high respect and gratitude to prove,  
 Who dared insulted EXCELLENCE to love :  
 Who leave to future times, and better days,  
 Thy worth to appreciate, and proclaim thy praise —  
 For FUTURE AGES must, with loud acclaim,  
 When MAN will live to REASON, TRUTH, and FAME—  
 When FREEDOM, VIRTUE, LOVE shall reign below—  
 Hail HIM to whom their happy state they owe !

BY THOMAS CLIO RICKMAN. No. 359



- 1823 January 29. Bolton [England]. Celebration reported in *To the Republican*, March 7, 1823. [ 365 ]
- 1823 January 29. Birmingham. The second anniversary meeting of the Birmingham Paine Club. [ 366 ]
- 1824 January 24. London. A dinner honoring Paine was held in the White Hart Tavern in Bishopsgate Street, the details of which were given in *To the Republican* of February 6, 1824. [ 367 ]
- 1824 January 29. The third anniversary dinner of the Birmingham-Paine Club was noted in *To the Republican* on February 6, 1824. [ 368 ]
- 1824 January 29. Huddersfield [England]. Paine celebration reported in *To the Republican*, February 6, 1824. [ 369 ]
- 1824 January 29. Leedes. Advance notice of a celebration of the anniversary of Paine's birthday was reported in *To the Republican* for January 16, 1824. [ 370 ]
- 1828 January 29. New York. Anniversary dinner of Paine's birthday held by the Free Press Association at the Academy on Broadway. Reported in *The Correspondent*, January 20, February 2 and February 9, 1828. [ 371 ]
- 1829 January 30. New Hartford, N. Y. Birthday celebration published at end of *Political Writings*. London: Dugdale, 1844. [ 372 ]
- 1838 January 29. Philadelphia. Oration delivered by Joseph W. Pomroy at Paine celebration held in the Franklin House. [ 373 ]
- 1843 January 29. Philadelphia. Oration delivered by John Alberger at the celebration of the 106th anniversary of the birthday of Thomas Paine. [ 374 ]

- 1851 January 29. Philadelphia. [Invitation to] Paine Festival and Annual Ball at the Masonic Hall, Chestnut Street. [ 375 ]
- 1854 March 30. Boston. Article in Philadelphia *Monthly Jubilee*, taken from the *Boston Investigator*, referring to the celebration of the 117th anniversary of Paine's birthday at Union Hall. [ 376 ]
- 1856 February 3. Lafayette, Indiana. Paine celebration reported in *Boston Investigator*, March 19, 1856. [ 377 ]
- 1856 February 5. Report of an anniversary dinner from the *California Chronicle* of February 5, reprinted in the *Boston Investigator*, March 19, 1856. [ 378 ]
- 1859 January 31. Philadelphia. Friends of Mental Liberty. *Annual demonstration of respect to the Man, and regard to the principles of the illustrious Thomas Paine.* [ 379 ]
- 1860 January 29. Cincinnati, Ohio. Moncure D. Conway. *Thomas Paine: A Celebration.* Lecture delivered in the First Congregational Church. [ 380 ]
- 1860 February 6. Boston. Rev. Dr. Lothrop. Lecture: *Paine, the Deist.* [ 381 ]
- 1861 January 29. Cincinnati, Ohio. Orson S. Murray. *The Struggle of the Hour.* A discourse delivered at the Paine Celebration. [ 382 ]
- 1861 January 29. New York. Celebration of the birthday of Thomas Paine, at the City Assembly Rooms. [ 383 ]
- 1867 London. George Saxton. *Thomas Paine.* An Address delivered at a meeting in commemoration of the great Apostle of Freethought. [ 384 ]
- 1871 January 30. Illinois. Robert Ingersoll. *An Oration on the Life and Services of Thomas Paine.* Fairbury, Illinois. [ 385 ]



- c1875 New York. B. F. Underwood. *Paine, The Religious and Political Reformer*. An Address. [ 386 ]
- 1876 January 16. Boston. John W. Chadwick. *Thomas Paine*. A Lecture delivered at Horticultural Hall, Boston. [ 387 ]
- 1876 July 2 and July 9. Buffalo. Martin K. Schermerhorn. *Centennial lecture on Thomas Paine, delivered at the First Unitarian Church*. [ 388 ]
- 1876-77 June. New York. John W. Chadwick. *Thomas Paine: the Method and Value of his Religious Teachings*. A lecture. [ 389 ]
- 1877 Sunday, January 28. Philadelphia. Address by Walt Whitman in memory of Thomas Paine at the 140th anniversary of Paine's birth, at Lincoln Hall. [ 390 ]
- 1884 January 29. Boston. John E. Remsburg. *The Apostle of Liberty*. Address delivered in Paine Hall before the N.E. Freethinkers' Convention, 147th anniversary of Paine's birthday. [ 391 ]
- 1888 January 29. Chicago. Juliet H. Severance, M.D. *Thomas Paine, the author-hero of the Revolution*. Anniversary address delivered before the Chicago Secular Union. [ 392 ]
- 1889 February 3. Philadelphia. Florence Kelly Wischnewetzky. *Address in Memory of Thomas Paine*. [ 393 ]
- 1895 December 2 and 3. South Place Institute, Finsbury [England]. *Catalogue of Thomas Paine Exhibition*. [ 394 ]
- 1896 January 2. Chicago. Moncure D. Conway. "The Centenary of Paine's Age of Reason" in *The Open Court*. [ 395 ]

- 1896 January 29, 30 and 31. London. *Catalogue of Thomas Paine Exhibition*. Bradlaugh Club and Institute, 36 Newington Green Road, N. [396]
- 1899 May 4. New York. Robert Ingersoll. *An Oration on the Life and Services of Thomas Paine*. Academy of Music. [397]
- 1902 February 7. Pennsylvania. F. R. Diffenderfer. *Papers read before the Lancaster County Historical Society*. [398]
- 1904 June 8. Thetford [England]. Meeting and Banquet at White Hart Hotel. Reported in *Sussex Press*, June 11, 1904. [399]
- 1905 October 14. New Rochelle. Rededication of the Paine Monument and Assignment of its custody to the City of New Rochelle. [400]
- 1906 January 28. Chicago. Juliet H. Severance, M.D. *Thomas Paine, the author-hero of the Revolution*. Chicago Society of Anthropology. [401]
- 1908 January 31. New York. Edwin C. Walker. *Address at the Paine-Conway Memorial meeting of the Manhattan Liberal Club*. [402]
- 1908 May 30. Marietta, Ohio. The first public Paine Memorial of Marietta, Ohio, was held in the Assembly Room of the Court House. Address by Rev. E. A. Coil. [403]
- 1909 June 5. New Rochelle. Thomas Paine Centennial Celebration. [404]
- 1909 Thetford [England]. Anniversary dinner. From "The Rationalist Annual, 1937." [405]
- 1910 July 14. New Rochelle. Opening of the Paine House. Address by A. Outram Sherman: *Thomas Paine, the Patriot*. [406]



- 1912 Prize Medal Essay Contest of High School Scholars in the State of Missouri. [ 407 ]
- 1917 January 29. Philadelphia. Thomas Paine Banquet Association held its 9th annual entertainment. [ 408 ]
- 1928 January 29. Philadelphia. Thomas Paine Banquet Association held its 20th annual entertainment. [ 409 ]
- 1937 January. New York. The Greenwich Village Historical Society held its January meeting at the Crisis Cafe, located on the exact spot where the house stood in which Paine died. [ 410 ]
- 1937 Bordentown, New Jersey. The Thomas Paine National Historical Association held its celebration at Bordentown in cooperation with the Bordentown Historical Society. [ 411 ]
- 1937 New Rochelle. The Huguenot and Historical Association held its spring meeting in honor of Thomas Paine. [ 412 ]
- 1937 Philadelphia. Thomas Paine Exhibition at The Edgar Allan Poe House, 530 North 7th Street, in honor of the 200th anniversary of his birth. [ 413 ]
- 1937 Thetford [England]. Meeting and address by his Honour Charles Herbert-Smith. [ 414 ]
- 1950 May 14. White Plains, N. Y. Clifford Vessey, Minister of the White Plains Community Church. Lecture entitled "Citizen Tom Paine." [ 415 ]
- 1951 June 4-9. Thetford [England]. Thomas Paine Exhibition, held as part of the Festival of Britain celebrations. [ 416 ]
- 1952 May 8. New York. Bronze bust of Paine dedicated at the Hall of Fame, New York University. [ 417 ]

- 1953 January 29. New York. Thomas Paine Annual Banquet. Town Hall Club. Addresses: Col. Richard Gimbel: "Thomas Paine Through the Centuries." Prof. Horace M. Kallen: "Thomas Paine and this Age of Anxiety." [418]
- 1957 January 27. London. Paine Anniversary Lecture to the South Place Ethical Society at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, by Mr. Adrian Brunel. [419]
- 1957 May 2. Thetford [England]. Paine Anniversary Lecture at the Guildhall by Mr. Adrian Brunel. [420]
- 1958 January 29. Miami, Fla. Thomas Paine Foundation banquet at McAllister Hotel, Miami. Joseph Lewis: *Thomas Paine and the American Crisis*. [421]
- 1959 May 20-June 20. London. Exhibition of books, pamphlets, pictures, tokens, and other objects connected with Thomas Paine at Marx Memorial Library, Clerkenwell Green. Ref. in the *Freethinker*, June 5, 1959. [422]
- 1959 June 7. London. Memorial Meeting at Conway Hall. Organized jointly by the Humanist Council and the World Union of Freethinkers. [423]
- 1959 June 7. Glasgow, Scotland. Meeting at the Central Halls. [424]
- 1959 June 8-12. Glasgow. Exhibition held at the Mitchell Library. [425]
- 1959 June. Lewes. Exhibition sponsored by the Borough of Lewes and organized by the Borough Librarian. [426]
- 1959 October 25-December 31. New Haven. Exhibition held at the Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn. [427]



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