Life of Thomas Paine by Peter Eckler.

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Life of Thomas Paine
by
Peter Eckler

The Life of Thomas Paine
by
Thomas Clio Rickman

THE LIFE OF THOMAS PAINE.

LIFE OF THOMAS PAINE,

BY THE EDITOR OF THE NATIONAL,

WITH PORTRAITS OF PAINE'S PRINCIPAL FRIENDS, AND VIEWS OF THE PAINE HOMESTEAD AND THE PAINE MONUMENT AT NEW ROCHELLE, N. Y.

ALSO, A REPRINT OF PAINE'S LIFE BY HIS FRIEND

THOMAS CLIO RICKMAN, OF LONDON, ENG.

TO WHICH HAS BEEN ADDED THE

SPEECH OF THOMAS, LORD ERSKINE,

In behalf of Thomas Paine, Court of King's Bench, Dec. 18, 1792.

The liberty of the press has been, in every country, the last liberty which subjects have been able to wrest from power. Other liberties are held *under* governments; but the liberty of opinion keeps *governments themselves* in due subjection to their duties. This has produced the martyrdom of truth in every age, and the world has been only purged from ignorance with the innocent blood of those who have enlightened it.—*Erskine.*

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THOMAS PAINE.

LIFE OF THOMAS PAINE

BY

THE EDITOR OF "THE NATIONAL,"

WITH

PREFACE, NOTES, AND PORTRAITS OF THE MOST CELEBRATED OF MR. PAINE'S FRIENDS,

BY

PETER ECKLER.

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The purpose of the Bank of Wisdom
is to again make the United States the
Free Marketplace of Ideas that the
American Founding Fathers
originally meant this Nation to be.
Emmett F. Fields

THE PAINE HOMESTEAD.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE DAWN.

PUBLISHER'S PREFACE.

THE object of the present work is to place before the public, at a low price, a concise and impartial history of the life of Thomas Paine; so that the people who have been so grossly misled in regard to his real character, and so greatly benefited by his services, may learn to respect and honor the memory of their great benefactor.

But few, who have not specially examined the subject, realize the great and beneficent influence which Paine's writings have exerted and are still destined to exert. He was, as is well known, one of the chief instigators and promoters of the American Revolution, and also one of the most earnest and zealous workers in the brave struggle of the Colonies for Freedom and Independence.

His success and popularity in America insured him an enthusiastic welcome in France, where he was elected a deputy to the National Convention from two different departments. The revolution in France, after many excesses and reverses, has at length proved successful, and the Republic there, as in America, is permanently established.

In England, the revolutionary spirit was also invoked;

but, unfortunately, suppressed by the strong hand of power, aided by bribery and treachery.*

"The French Revolution," says James Cheetham,† "that terrible concussion which had perniciously affected all Europe, and particularly England, had prepared the Clubs for the unhinging doctrines of the *Rights of Man.* Never did the parched earth receive refreshing rain with more welcome, than that with which the revolutionary people of England admitted amongst them the tumultuous writings of Paine. To that which was his object; to commotion, to the overthrow of the government, and to bloodshed, in all its horrid forms, they were rapidly hastening. Thus predisposed, the cordiality and enthusiasm with which the first part of the *Rights of Man* was greeted, although flattering to the vanity and encouraging to the hopes of the author, were not surprising. The Clubs, zealous to a degree of frenzy; always vigilant, always alert, published a groat‡ edition of thirty thousand copies of the work, which was distributed amongst the poor, who could not afford to purchase. In the great manufacturing towns, Paine was considered by the ignorant as an apostle of freedom. A song was privately circulated, beginning with—

"'God save *great* Thomas Paine,
His *Rights of Man* proclaim,
From Pole to Pole!'

"The government, alarmed, knew not how to meet the evil. Burke did, however, by his successive and

* The government purchased the venal at any price. Paine refused £1.000 for the copyright of the *Rights of Man*, but freely permitted all to publish his works who desired. He could not be bribed nor corrupted. Edmund Burke, one of Paine's intimate correspondents, suddenly changed his political views, under Pitt's baneful influence, and wrote his *Reflections on the Revolution in France.* When bribery did not succeed and publishers could not be intimidated, they were arrested, tried, convicted and imprisoned.

† See Preface to Cheetham's *Life of Paine*, pages xvii and xviii.

‡ An English coin of the value of four pence.

impressive appeals, animate them to precautionary measures."

This is the language of James Cheetham, the enemy of Paine, and the convicted libeller of Madame Bonneville. But Cheetham, whose writings cannot always be relied upon, may be believed when he is forced, as in the present instance, to admit, most unwillingly, the great influence of Paine's writings upon the masses.

Before Paine announced in the *Age of Reason* his belief in "One God and no more," no writer in Europe or America was more popular and respected; but when Christians realized that the great author's religion was Deism and not Trinitarianism nor Catholicism, their former friendship was turned to enmity, and their admiration changed to hatred. His patriotic services were ungratefully ignored, his motives misrepresented, his character basely slandered, and his memory maligned.

Still, there were many members of the community who believed in the religious views of Thomas Paine, and who also upheld his political doctrines. These formed a brave and gallant band who sturdily defended his memory from clerical assaults, and refuted many of the wicked slanders of his enemies. Their efforts to vindicate Paine's character were ably seconded by reformers of every kind—by Theists, Pantheists, Materialists, Agnostics and Atheists—that is to say, by that numerous and worthy class of citizens whom Paine styled Infidels! *

In the twenty-first chapter and twenty-fifth verse of the Gospel of St. John, we are told that if the many things which Jesus did "should be written every one, I suppose even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written."

This romantic and apostolic statement, even if inspired, may not be absolutely true; but it is an indisputable

* See "*Discourse to the Society of Theophilanthropists*," Paine's Theological Works, pp. 300-306.

fact that if all the libels which have been written and published against Thomas Paine, were printed in one book, that book would form a volume much larger than both the Old and New Testaments combined.

Touchstone speaks of a lie seven times removed.* That is, first, the *retort courteous;* second, the *quip modest;* third, the *reply churlish;* fourth, the *reproof valiant;* fifth, the *countercheck quarrelsome;* sixth, the *lie circumstantial;* seventh, the *lie direct;*—but it would require a greater genius than even the famed bard of Avon to describe and define all the various grades and varieties of misrepresentations, untruths, and absolute falsehoods with which Christian rancor has assailed the character of Thomas Paine.

The friend and companion of three presidents,—Washington, Jefferson, and Monroe,—the friend of Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Adams, De Witt Clinton, Joel Barlow, Benjamin Rush, and the most prominent patriots of the American Revolution,—the associate of Count Volney, Marquis de La Fayette, Condorcet, Brissot, Madame Roland, and the leaders of the Revolution in France, the companion of Clio Rickman, Mary Wollstonecraft, Horne Tooke, Dr. Priestley, Dr. Towers, Romney, the painter, Sharp, the engraver, Col. Oswald, &c., &c., in England, has been described by Christian writers as a drunkard, a debauchee, and an outcast, while the plain truth is, that he was temperate, unselfish, patriotic, and the devoted friend of mankind.

At the present day the number of Paine's friends has become so great and their influence so potent, that only the most reckless and audacious of romancers now venture to repeat the stale, well-worn, and oft-refuted slanders of former years, and, as a consequence, more tolerant and rational views in regard to his character are becoming prevalent in the community.

* Shakspeare: *As You Like It*, Act 5, Scene 4.

C. F. VOLNEY.

VOLNEY.

CONSTANTINE FRANCIS CHASSEBEUF, de VOLNEY, an eminent French writer, was born in 1757, at Craon, in Britanny. He was educated at Angers, and for three years studied medicine at Paris; when, coming into possession of an inheritance, he was enabled to indulge his ardent desire of Traveling. He spent three years in Syria and Egypt; and on his return published, in 1787, his *Travels*, which established his reputation. He was elected a member of the states general; was confined for ten months during the reign of terror; was appointed professor of History at the Normal school in 1794; and in 1795 he made a voyage to the United States, where he remained till 1798. Napoleon created him a senator and count. In all circumstances, however, Volney was a friend of freedom. He died April 25, 1820. Among his principal works are, *The Ruins; Lectures on History;* and *New Researches on Ancient History.*

"Although no man," says Count Daru, "had a better right to have an opinion, no one was more tolerant for the opinions of others. In State assemblies as well as in Academical meetings, the man whose counsels were so wise, voted according to his conscience, which nothing could bias; but the philosopher forgot his superiority to hear, to oppose with moderation, and sometimes to doubt. The extent and variety of his information, the force of his reason, the austerity of his manners, and the noble simplicity of his character had procured him illustrious friends in both hemispheres; and now, since this erudition has become extinct in the tomb, may we not venture to predict that he was one of the very few whose memory shall never die?"

The mutual and intimate friendship that existed between Count Volney, Joel Barlow, and Thomas Paine, might readily be inferred from the similarity of both their religious and political views. It was to Barlow that Paine confided, while on his way to Luxembourg prison, the precious manuscript of the *Age of Reason*, which has since immortalized his name! and it was from the literary culture and experience of Barlow that Volney derived great assistance while translating into English his immortal work, *The Ruins of Empires.*

Barlow received from his country the highest political trusts, having been appointed Consul for the United States at Algiers, and afterwards Minister to France; he also was fortunate in his mercantile ventures, and amassed great wealth; but his literary efforts were never crowned with the success awarded to the writings of his chosen friends, Paine and Volney.—E.

The spirit of enquiry is also abroad, and has greatly modified the religious bigotry of former years. The advance of science—the diffusion of knowledge—the criticisms of the learned—the teachings of the emancipated—have produced their salutary effects. Doubts have arisen, questions have been propounded, reasons have been advanced, and *Heresy*—the fair child of Wisdom and Knowledge—has not only travelled from pews to pulpit, but has even invaded Schools, Seminaries and Colleges—the very nurseries of faith and doctrine—the sacred strongholds of orthodox theology.

In the first page of the first part of the *Age of Reason*, Mr. Paine tells us, that he had intended to publish his thoughts upon religion at an advanced period of life, when the purity of the motive could not admit of a question. In the preface to the second part of the same work, and also in a letter to his friend Samuel Adams, he tells us why he published his religious views sooner than he had intended.

"I saw," says he, "my life in continual danger. My friends were falling as fast as the guillotine could cut their heads off, and as I expected every day the same fate, I resolved to begin my work. This accounts for my writing at the time I did, and so nicely did the time and intention meet, that I had not finished the first part of the work six hours before I was arrested and taken to prison.

"Toward the latter end of December," (1793,) he continues, "a motion was made and carried to exclude foreigners from the Convention. There were but two in it, Anacharsis Clootz* and myself; and I saw I was par-

* Baron Jean Baptiste de Clootz, or better known as World Citizen Anacharsis Clootz, from Cleves, dreamed of a Universal Republic, or union of all Peoples and Kindreds in one and the same fraternal bond, and one God only, *the People*. He was arrested and guillotined after two month's imprisonment in the Luxembourg—the same prison in which Paine was also confined.

ticularly pointed at by Bourdon de l'Oise, in his speech on that motion."

We quote from Lamartine* the violent language used by Chaumette, the blood-thirsty orator of La Montagne and of the tribunes, and also by the speaker of the deputation of Jacobins, to show the intense excitement that preceded and prevailed during the dark period of the "Reign of Terror."

"Citizens," said Chaumette, "they desire to starve us. They wish to compel the people to exchange their sovereignty for a morsel of bread. New aristocrats, no less cruel, no less covetous, no less insolent than the old ones, have raised themselves upon the ruins of feudalism. They calculate with an atrocious indifference how much they may derive from a famine, an insurrection, and a massacre. Where is the arm that shall turn your weapons against the breasts of these traitors? Where is the hand to strike these guilty heads? Your enemies must be destroyed, or they will destroy you. They have defied the people; the people this day accept the defiance. And you, Montange, forever celebrated in the pages of history, be you the Sinai of the French! Hurl the decrees of the justice and the will of the people in the midst of thunder! Holy Montagne! become a volcano, whose lava shall devour our enemies! No more quarter! No more mercy for traitors! Let us place between them and us the barrier of eternity!"

The orator of the Jacobins was next heard:—

"Impunity emboldens our enemies," said he. "The people are discouraged by seeing the most guilty escape their vengeance. Brissot still breathes—that monster vomited forth by England to disturb and shackle the Revolution. Let him be judged, he and his accomplices."

*History of the Girondists, vol. iii, pp. 119-120.

The words, "his accomplices," includes the Girondists and also the friend of Brissot, Thomas Paine; and this intemperate language comprises all the speaker could urge against the author of the *Rights of Man.* Paine was guilty of having been born in England; he was also opposed to the guillotine, and had voted with the Girondists to spare the lives of the king and royal family. He wished to temper justice with mercy—to destroy king-craft, but to spare the king's life; and for advocating this leniency towards the dethroned monarch, he placed his own liberty and life in imminent danger.

It was among scenes like these—scenes of violence and bloodshed that disgraced the grandest revolution in the world's history—that Thomas Paine, the patriot and philosopher, with mind undaunted and serene, regardless of his own fate, and inspired only by his great love for humanity, penned his unanswerable protest against Venerable Error and Credulous Faith—and bequeathed to mankind his priceless and immortal work—the *Age of Reason.*

The writings of Paine, like those of Shakspeare, "are not for a day, but for all time," and the political principles he so ably taught—the moral truths he so earnestly enforced—will be remembered and commended whilst reason holds her throne and justice survives among mankind.

Paine loved his fellow men,—his life was dedicated to Humanity,—his writings aroused the world,—his genius immortalized his name,—his faith in Democracy was sublime,—his labors were crowned with success,—his reward was neglect, obloquy, and scorn!

PETER ECKLER.

THE ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE view of the *Old Paine Homestead*, herewith presented, has been engraved by Walknarf, the well-known wood engraver, from a photograph by Mr. C. Lovell. It faithfully represents the buildings as they now appear; and they are substantially the same as they were when owned and occupied by Mr. Paine. Necessary repairs have been made from time to time as required. The one-story addition to the right has been added recently. The shingles seen on the front of the larger building show wear, but are still in a good state of preservation.

The house is on high ground, pleasantly situated, and affords a good view of the surrounding country. The land is in a fine state of cultivation, and from its proximity to the thriving town of New Rochelle, has become valuable for building purposes.

The present proprietor, Mr. William See, an affable and courteous gentlemen, stated that the larger tree, shown in the foreground to the right of the engraving, is the celebrated mulberry tree planted by Mr. Paine, and that it yearly bears a large crop of excellent fruit. I remember that this tree, or one similar in appearance, was in full bearing and loaded with luscious berries when I visited this farm in company with Mr. Gilbert Vale (author of Vale's *Life of Paine*) over forty years ago.

The window through which an assassin fired a bullet at Mr. Paine, is on the opposite side of the house from that here shown.

The *Paine Monument* is situated at the side of the public road about one mile north from the town of New Rochelle. It is a plain and substantial granite shaft of suitable proportions, and of good workmanship, and is quite in harmony with the character of Thomas Paine. It is placed about thirty feet north from the spot where Paine was originally buried, and this spot can be easily identified by the interested visitor, from the presence of a solitary tree—a young and thrifty hickory, about six inches in diameter,—planted directly over Paine's former grave by the bounteous hand of Nature.

The Monument is enclosed by a substantial stone wall in excellent repair; and at the entrance is an iron gate, which is also in good order. Four trees are planted in the plot, two weeping willows, one maple, and one hickory. It is a quiet and pleasant location, easily accessible, and should be visited, if possible, by every friend and admirer of the Author-Hero of the Revolution.

The portraits of Danton, Marat, Charlotte Corday, Roujet de Lisle, Napoleon, etc., have been added to this collection, not because they were particularly the friends of Mr. Paine, but because they were all prominent actors in the grand Revolution of '89, for which Paine labored so faithfully and suffered so much. The Marseilles Hymn is also given because of the immense influence it exercised, and because, as Lamartine truly says, "it is graven on the soul of France."—E.

THOMAS CLIO RICKMAN.

THOMAS CLIO RICKMAN.

THE preceding portrait of Rickman was painted by Hazlitt, engraved by Jas. Holmes, and published in February, 1800, "as the Act directs," at Upper Mary-le-Bone Street, London.

Rickman was a Bookseller, Stationer, and Printer, and his intelligent, resolute, honest, and kind expression of countenance distinguishes him as a typical Englishman of the Old School. He was the life-long friend and biographer of Thomas Paine, and we are indebted to him for the best description we have of the social life of Paine.

"Mr. Paine's life in London," he tells us, "was a quiet round of philosophical leisure and enjoyment. It was occupied in writing, in walking about with me to visit different friends, or being visited by a select few. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, the French and American ambassadors, Mr. Sharp, the engraver, Romney, the painter, Mrs. Wollstonecraft, Joel Barlow, Mr. Hull, Mr. Christie, Dr. Priestley, Dr. Towers, the walking Stewart, Colonel Oswald, Captain Sampson Perry, Mr Tuffin, Mr. William Choppin, Captain De Stark, Mr. Horne Tooke, &c., &c., were among the number of *his* friends and acquaintance; and of course as he was my inmate, the most of *my* associates were frequently his."

If there be any truth in the old proverb, that "*A man may be known by the company he keeps*," then Mr. Paine must have possessed many sterling and estimable qualities to have won the esteem and friendship of all these people. He must have been, at least in the scriptural sense of the term, (Eccles. x. 7,) a *prince* among men, and a MAN among princes.—E.

LIFE OF THOMAS PAINE.

CHAPTER I.

THE STAY-MAKER;* THE SAILOR; THE EXCISEMAN; THE USHER.

THOMAS PAINE—the sturdy champion of political and religious liberty—was born at Thetford, in the county of Norfolk, on the 29th of January, 1737. His father, Joseph Paine, was a stay-maker of that place, a man of good character, and belonged to the Society of Friends, but was disowned by them on account of his marriage with a member of the established church, Frances Cocke, the daughter of an attorney at Thetford. Probably in consequence of this difference in the religious denomination of his parents, Paine was never baptized; yet, owing to the orthodox care of an aunt, he was in due time confirmed by the Bishop of Norwich. Some trifling verses, written in his childhood—of the usual character of children's rhymes—are recorded as the first literary efforts of the future disturber of the old-time tranquility of tyranny and priestcraft. His heretical opinions also commenced at a very early period. He says in his *Age of Reason:*

"I well remember, when about seven or eight years of age, hearing a sermon read by a relation of mine, who was a great devotee of the church, upon the subject of what is called *Redemption by the death of the Son of God.* After the sermon was ended, I went into the garden, and

* It is probable that Paine acquired in the manufacture of ship stays, the skill which enabled him to forge and manufacture with his own hands the models for his iron bridge spoken of on page 53.—E.

as I was going down the garden-steps (for I perfectly recollect the spot) I revolted at the recollection of what I had heard, and thought to myself that it was making God Almighty act like a passionate man, that killed his son when he could not revenge himself any other way; and as I was sure a man would be hanged that did such a thing, I could not see for what purpose they preached such sermons."

There is little remarkable in this early bent. Perhaps there are few children whose undirected minds do not thus revolt from the apparent incongruities of revelation, before the discipline of religious education has accustomed them to those mysteries undiscoverable by human reason, and removed from their limited perception the many entanglements of faith. In Paine's case, however, this early-excited skepticism lasted during his life. No interference with his reason ever had sufficient potency to lay that spirit of inquiry so dangerous to all systems not founded upon evidence within the reach of human investigation. He was educated, indeed, at Thetford grammar school: but religion is not acquired at grammar-schools. "His studies were directed merely to the useful branches of reading, writing, and arithmetic."* Latin he did not learn, having no inclination for it, and because of the well-grounded objection the Quakers have against the book in which the language is taught. But this did not prevent him from becoming acquainted with the subjects of all the Latin books used in the school.† From his father, he says, he received a "good moral education and a tolerable stock of useful learning."‡ About the age of thirteen he was taken into his father's shop to learn the business of stay-making.

When "little more than sixteen years of age," he tells us,§ "raw and adventurous, and heated with the false heroism of a master (Rev. Mr. Knowles, master of the

* Rickman p. 34. † *Age of Reason*, part 1. ‡ Ibid. § *Rights of Man*, part 2.

grammar-school at Thetford) who had served in a man-of-war, I became the carver of my own fortune, and entered on board the Terrible privateer, Capt. Death. From this adventure I was happily prevented by the affectionate and moral remonstrance of a good father, who, from his own habits of life, being of the Quaker profession, must begin to look upon me as lost. But the impression, much as it effected at the time, began to wear away, and I entered afterwards in the King of Prussia privateer Capt. Mendez, and went with her to sea." * We have no means of ascertaining how long he was at sea. The next notice we have of him, is in 1756 (but there is much confusion of dates in the various accounts of this period of his life) when he was in London, and, probably compelled by his necessities to resume his business, working with a Mr. Morris, a noted stay-maker in Hanover Street, Long Acre. In 1758 we find him at Dover, at the same trade of stay-making.† In April, 1759, he settled as a master stay-maker, at Sandwich, in Kent; and on the 27th of the following September, he married Mary Lambert, the daughter of an exciseman of that place. In April, 1760, he removed to Margate, where, shortly after, his wife died. Paine resought London. In the course of the next year he returned to his father's house, at Thetford; finally renouncing stay-making to study for the excise, in which, through the interest of Mr. Cocksedge, the recorder of Thetford, he obtained a situation as supernumerary. For some fault, possibly

* The following, from a life published under the assumed name of Oldys, may serve as a sample of the lies "like truth" with which it has been more than once endeavored to prejudice the public mind. "He (Paine) tells what surely can not be true. He was sixteen on the 29th of January, 1753. But the war was not declared *against France* till the 17th of May, 1756, when he had entered into his twentieth year. The Terrible was fitted out *probably* in the summer of 1756, and was *certainly captured* in January, 1757. These facts evince how little Paine is to be trusted."—Oldys, p. 8, tenth edition. Referring to Smollett's History we find that though war against *France* was not proclaimed till 1756, yet in 1752, the King of Prussia complained of the depredations of English privateers then infesting the seas. Probably the Terrible was one of these privateers.

† Rickman, p. 35.

an official irregularity, he was dismissed from this employment, when he had held it for rather more than a year. The following is a copy of his petition to the Board of Excise, to be restored to his situation:*

"*Honorable Sirs:*

"In humble obedience to your honors' letter of discharge, bearing date August 29, 1765, I delivered up my commission, and since that time have given you no trouble.

"I confess the justice of your honors' displeasure, and humbly beg leave to add my thanks for the candor and lenity which you at that unfortunate time indulged me with.

"And though the nature of the report and my own confession cut off all expectations of enjoying your honors' favor then, yet I humbly hope it has not finally excluded me therefrom; upon which hope I humbly presume to entreat your honors to restore me.

"The time I enjoyed my former commission was short and unfortunate—an officer only a single year. No complaint of the least dishonesty, or intemperance, ever appeared against me; and if I am so happy as to succeed in this my humble petition, I will endeavor that my future conduct shall as much engage your honors' approbation, as my former has merited your displeasure.

"I am

"Your honors' most dutiful, humble servant,

"THOMAS PAINE.

"*London, July 3, 1766.*"

"*July 4, 1766.*—To be restored on a proper vacancy.

"S. B."

His remark—"No complaint of the least dishonesty, or intemperance, ever appeared against me"—and the

* Sherwin, p. 9.

The TEMPLE.

THE TEMPLE.

THE Temple was an ancient fortress, says Lamartine, "built by the monastic order of Templars, when sacerdotal and military theocracies, uniting in revolt against princes, with tyranny towards the people, constructed for themselves forts for monasteries, and marched to dominion by the combined force of the cross and sword. After their fall, their fortified dwelling had remained standing, as a wreck of past times neglected by the present. The chateau of the Temple was situated near the faubourg Saint Antoine, not far from the Bastille; it enclosed with its buildings, its palace, its towers, and its gardens, a vast space of solitude and silence, in the centre of a most densely populated quarter.

"The walls of the edifice were nine feet thick. The embrasures of the few windows which lighted it, very large at the entrance of the hall, sunk as they became narrow, even to the crosswork of stone, and left only a feeble and remote light to penetrate into the interior. Bars of iron darkened these apartments still further. Two doors, the one of doubled oak wood, very thick, and studded with large diamond-headed nails; the other plated with iron, and fortified with bars of the same metal, divided each hall from the stair by which one ascended to it.

"This winding staircase rose in a spiral form to the platform of the edifice. Seven successive wickets, or seven solid doors, shut by bolt and key, were ranged from landing to landing, from the base to the terrace. At each one of these wickets a sentinel and a key-bearer were on guard. An exterior gallery crowned the summit of the donjon. One made here ten steps at each turn. The least breath of air howled there like a tempest. The noises of Paris mounted there, weakening as they came. Thence the eye ranged freely over the low roofs of the quarter Saint Antoine, or the streets of the Temple, upon the dome of the Pantheon, upon the towers of the cathedral, upon the roofs of the pavilions of the Tuileries, or upon the green hills of Issy, or of Choisy-le-Roi, descending with their villages, their parks, and their meadows towards the course of the Seine."

It was in this dismal fortress that Louis XVI. and the royal family were confined and held as prisoners until their trial, sentence and execution.—E.

readiness of his restoration, sufficiently prove his offence to have been unimportant and little affecting his moral character; and the humility and confession that his conduct had "merited displeasure" is but the customary form of petition, and amounts to nothing.

In the time between his dismissal and return to office he was engaged as teacher at Mr. Noble's Academy, in Leman Street, Goodman's Fields; and afterwards at Mr. Gardner's Academy, at Kensington. During his residence in London, he attended the philosophical lectures of Martin and Ferguson, and became acquainted with Dr. Bevis, the astronomer, a member of the Royal Society.* He also purchased a pair of globes, and appears to have closely studied and to have acquired great proficiency in mechanics, mathematics, and astronomy.

In 1768 he was settled, as an exciseman at Lewes, in Sussex; and there, in 1771, married Elizabeth Ollive, shortly after the death of her father, a tobacconist of that place, with whom he had lodged, and whose business he entered into and carried on. In 1772 he wrote a pamphlet—*The Case of the Officers of Excise*—advocating the claims of the excisemen to higher salaries. Four thousand copies of this work were printed at Lewes.† He also, about this time wrote several

* *Age of Reason.*

† "This pamphlet," says Richard Carlile in his *Life of Paine*, page 6, is the first known literary production of Mr. Paine. "He was selected by the body of excisemen to draw up a case in support of a petition they were about to present to Parliament for an increase of salary. This task he performed in a most able manner; and, although this incident drew forth his first essay at prose composition, it would have done honor to the first literary character in the country. It did not fail to obtain for its author universal approbation. The *Case of the Officers of Excise* is so temperately stated, the propriety of increasing their salaries—which were then but small—urged with such powerful reasons and striking convictions, that, although we might abhor such an inquisitorial system of excise as has long disgraced this country, we cannot fail to admire the arguments and abilities of Mr. Paine, who was then an exciseman, in an endeavor to increase their salaries. He was evidently the child of Nature from the beginning, and the success of his writings was mainly attributable to his never losing sight of this infallible guide. In his recommendation to Government to increase the salaries of excisemen, he argues from natural feelings, and shows the absolute necessity of placing a man beyond the reach of want, if honesty be expected in a place of trust, and that the strongest inducement to honesty is to raise

little pieces in verse,* which, however, hardly bear him out in his remark that he had "some talent for poetry."† In April, 1774, on the plea that his trading in excisable articles was incompatible with his situation, he was again dismissed from the excise. This was the ostensible reason: it is not impossible that his pamphlet—in so much as it evinced a resolute and independent spirit, a disposition to oppose injustice, to sift and eradicate abuses—had something to do with his discharge; since nothing was adduced against him beyond a mere suspicion that he connived at and was concerned in smuggling, a common practice among his neighbors and fellow-officers. Indeed, so well was his duty performed, that he received several letters from the principal clerk in the Excise-Office, thanking him for his assiduity.‡ In the same month the goods of his shop were sold to pay his debts; and almost immediately after, he was separated from his wife, by mutual agreement, articles of which were settled on the following 4th of June.§ He had never cohabited with her from their marriage till the day of their separation, a period of three years, although they lived in the same house. To those, who upon this circumstance would found an unfavorable opinion, we will only say, that no inference bearing upon Paine's character can be deduced from the bare fact, of which neither the extrinsic causes nor the personal motives can be known; referring them to his own reply to the questioning of his friend Clio Rickman, who attests the truth of our relation:—"It is nobody's business but my own: I had cause for it, but I will name it to no

the spirit of a man, by enabling and encouraging him to make a respectable appearance."

"This *Case of the Officers of Excise*" says Carlile, "procured Mr. Paine an introduction to Oliver Goldsmith, with whom he continued on terms of intimacy during his stay in England."—*Eckler.*

* These poetical productions consisted of *The Death of Wolfe*, a song; and the humorous narrative about *The Three Justices and Farmer Short's Dog.*—*Eckler.*

† *Age of Reason.* ‡ Rickman, p. 45. § Ibid.

OLIVER GOLDSMITH.

one." He returned to London; and in the same year became acquainted with Dr. Franklin, then in London as agent for the House of Representatives of Massachusetts. He had happened, when a school-boy, to pick up a pleasing Natural History of Virginia; and his inclination from that day of seeing the western side of the Atlantic never left him.* Being now without home or employment, this inclination appears to have gained strength, probably encouraged by Franklin; and, furnished by him with letters of introduction, he proceeded forthwith to America;† arriving at Philadelphia, in the winter of 1774, a few months previous to the commencement of actual hostilities between Great Britain and her rebellious colonies.

His first engagement in the New World was with a Mr. Aitkin, a bookseller, as editor of the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, at a salary of £25 a year. The first number of this work, containing an introduction written by him, bears date, January 24, 1775. The well-known song, *On the Death of General Wolfe*, written by him at Lewes, appeared in an early number. In a number for November of the same year, he proposed the plan of a *Saltpetre Association for supplying the national magazines with gunpowder*, all foreign supplies being cut off. His writings in the magazine procured him the society of

* *Crisis*, note to No. 3.

† Carlile in his *Life of Paine* states the case somewhat fuller. He says that in the autumn of 1774, Paine "was introduced to the celebrated Dr. Franklin, then on an embassy to England respecting the dispute with the Colonies, and the doctor was so much pleased with Mr. Paine that he pointed his attention to America as the best mart for his talents and principles, and gave him letters of recommendation to several friends. He took his voyage immediately, and reached Philadelphia just before Christmas. In January he had become acquainted with a Mr. Aitkin, a bookseller, who, it appears, started a magazine, for the purpose of availing himself of Mr. Paine's talents. It was called the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, and, from our author's abilities, soon obtained a currency that exceeded any other work of the kind in America. Many of Mr. Paine's productions in the papers and magazines of America have never reached this country (England) so as to be republished, but such as we have seen are excellent, and compel us to admit that his literary productions are as admirable for style as his political and theological are for principle."—*Eckler*.

many of the leading men in America, and the work seems to have acquired an extensive circulation, mainly owing to his ability. His purpose, in coming to America, had been to open a school for the instruction of young ladies in certain branches of knowledge:* from this we may conclude he was diverted by his connection with Mr. Aitkin. He had up to this time no thought of political writing: indeed he says that he believed he should never have been known to the world as an author but for the affairs of America. In early life he had no disposition for "what is called politics,"† regarding them merely as a species of "jockey-ship," in which was no material for improvement, in which an honest man was sure to be deemed "impracticable." We have given, however, sufficient evidence of his early detection and detestation of wrong, whatever guise it might assume. The master-feeling is apparent in his child-like thoughts upon religion, and in his first literary attempt in behalf of his brethren of the excise. These afford clear indications of his character: opportunity alone was wanting. Opportunity there was none in England, then grovelling fast-bound in ignorance, and unresisting and degrading serfdom: but the upstarting of America called him forth; and the man was ready to work out his destiny. *Common Sense* was written in the close of the year 1775,‡ and published on the 1st of January, 1776.§

* Letter from Dr. Rush, quoted by Rickman, p. 49.

† *Age of Reason.* ‡ Ibid.

§ "This pamphlet appeared at the commencement of the year 1776," says Richard Carlile, "and electrified the minds of the oppressed Americans. They had not ventured to harbor the idea of independence, and they dreaded war so much as to be anxious for reconciliation with Britain. One incident which gave a stimulus to the pamphlet *Common Sense* was, that it happened to appear on the very day that the King of England's speech reached the United States, in which the Americans were denounced as rebels and traitors, and in which speech it was asserted to be the right of the legislature of England to bind the Colonies in all cases whatsoever! Such menace and assertion as this could not fail to kindle the ire of the Americans, and *Common Sense* came forward to touch their feelings with the spirit of independence in the very nick of time."—*Eckler.*

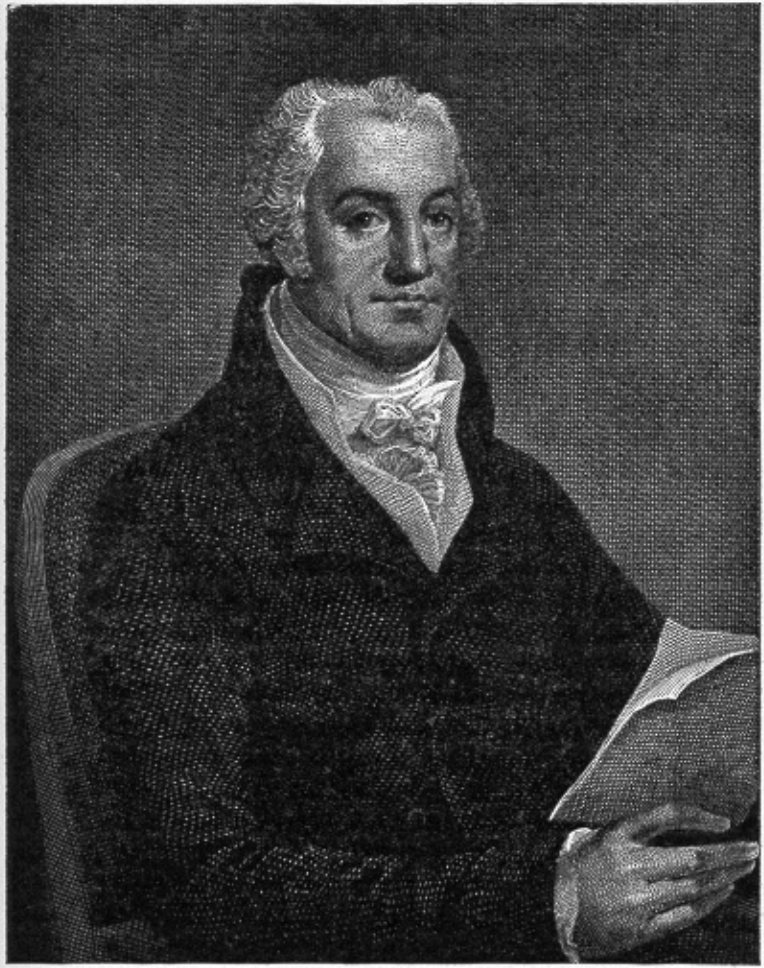
CHAPTER II.

A REVOLUTION.

A BRIEF account of the commencement of the American Revolution is almost indispensable for the proper appreciation of the importance of Paine's first great work, at the time of its publication.

So early as the year 1764, at the beginning of the reign of George III., the longest, and, perhaps the most disastrous in British annals, the selfish policy of Great Britain had sown the seeds of offence, by vexatiously interfering with the trade of her North American colonies. By an act passed in September of that year, the long-accustomed and beneficial trade between the British colonists and the French and Spanish settlements was loaded with such heavy duties, that it amounted to a prohibition; and a clause of the same act prescribed that all offenders against its provisons should be tried in the Admiralty Court, where they were deprived of trial by jury. Yet more offensive was the preamble of this legislative injustice, in which the House of Commons laid claim to a right of taxing the colonies for the service of the mother country:—"Whereas it is just and necessary that a revenue be raised in America, for defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the same, We, the Commons, &c., towards raising the same, give and grant unto your Majesty, &c." This was followed by a resolution of the English Parliament, "that it may be proper to charge certain stamp duties in the said colonies and plantations." When intelligence of this resolution reached America, the colonists were filled with

alarm, and petitions and remonstrances were hurried to the foot of the throne: these petitions were utterly disregarded. The Stamp Act was passed: and the colonies, emphatically denying the power of the British Senate to tax them, proceeded to organize methods of resistance. The Assembly of Virginia led the way, in a series of spirited resolutions denouncing the encroachment and all its supporters. These resolutions were promptly responded to by the other States: and on the 6th of June, 1765, the Assembly of Massachusetts invited the other colonial legislative bodies to send deputies to a general congress to be holden in New York, on the second Tuesday of October, to deliberate on the measures rendered necessary by existing circumstances. The representatives of nine States met; and agreed upon a declaration of rights, and a statement of their grievances; and also drew up petitions to the king and both houses of parliament. Similar steps were taken by the other States, prevented by their respective governors from sending deputies to the congress. The first of November, the day on which the Stamp Act was to come into operation, was ushered in throughout the States, by the funereal tolling of bells. This particular tax had been chosen under the idea that the legal nullity of all transactions in which the prescribed stamps were not used would ensure its working: but not a stamp was bought to legalize any contract; no notice was taken of the act, save its burning in public amid the execrations of the indignant multitude. The colonists pledged themselves not to import any articles of British manufacture, till the repeal of the act; and an association was formed to oppose its operation by force. This last resistance was not needed: the stoppage of trade brought such distress upon the British manufacturers and merchants, that the government, besieged by remonstrances, was compelled to rein in its violence; and the obnoxious act was repealed, in the commence-



JOEL BARLOW.

JOEL BARLOW'S VIEW OF THOMAS PAINE.

(*Extract from Barlow's Letter to James Cheetham.*)

THOMAS PAINE as a visiting acquaintance and as a literary friend, the only points of view in which I knew him, was one of the most instructive men I ever have known. He had a surprising memory and brilliant fancy; his mind was a storehouse of facts and useful observations; he was full of lively anecdote, and ingenious original, pertinent remark upon almost every subject.

He was always charitable to the poor beyond his means, a sure protector and friend to all Americans in distress that he found in foreign countries. And he had frequent occasions to exert his influence in protecting them during the revolution in France. His writings will answer for his patriotism, and his entire devotion to what he conceived to be the best interest and happiness of mankind.

I am, sir, &c.,

JOEL BARLOW.

Kalorama, August 11, 1809.

ment of 1766. But there was no intention of leaving the colonies at peace. When, indeed, does tyranny refrain from any mischief which it has the power to perpetrate? The very repeal was accompanied by an insolent declaration that "Parliament had, and of right ought to have, power to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever." In the following year another attempt was made. A bill for granting duties in the British colonies on glass, paper, painters' colors, and tea, passed through the corrupt British legislature; and a board of commissioners of customs was established at Boston. Again the colonies resisted. Non-importation agreements were again had recourse to; cargoes of goods, actually arrived, were sent back to Great Britain: and the baffled ministry rescinded all the duties except that on tea. This reservation of the contested right was of course most odious. Accordingly, all use of tea, save that supplied by smuggling, was resolutely forborne to such an extent, that seventeen millions of pounds of tea accumulated in the East India Company's warehouses. With a view of getting rid of this stock, and at the same time of aiding the ministry, the company proposed that an act should be passed, authorizing them to receive a drawback of the full import duties on all teas which they should export to America. The government agreed to this scheme, in the hope that the colonists—thus enabled, on paying the duty for landing tea in their harbors, to buy it at a cheaper rate than they could from the contraband dealers—would sacrifice their patriotic scruples for the sake of gain. They did not know their men, the descendants of those stern religionists who for conscience' sake had left their father-land, to seek a home in the trans-atlantic wilderness. Resolutions were passed throughout the States, declaring that whosoever should aid or abet in landing or vending the expected tea, should be deemed an enemy to his country; and appointing committees to

wait upon the agents of the East India Company, to demand the resignation of their agencies. These demands were complied with, except in Massachusetts, where the agents, relying on the support of a strong military force stationed at Boston, determined to land and attempt the sale of the interdicted commodity. The tea ships were in the harbor, ready to land their cargoes, when the leading patriots boarded the vessels and emptied the tea-chests into the water. Great was the rejoicing of the evil-desiring and infatuated ministry at this "outrage." The British Parliament immediately set aside the charter of Massachusetts; and declared Boston to be no longer a port, prohibiting "the landing and discharging, lading and shipping of goods, wares, and merchandize at the said town of Boston, or within the harbor thereof." This was early in 1774. General Gage was sent out with an army, as governor of Massachusetts; and soon announced his intention of transferring the seat of government from Boston to Salem, for the purpose of ruining the rebellious citizens of Boston. Immediately, in the condemned city, property was fearfully depreciated; houses and warehouses, were emptied and abandoned; the quays were deserted; silence reigned in the ship-yards; and thousands of unemployed artizans wandered breadless about the streets. Curses, loud and violent, echoed the decree of the British Parliament; but not a murmur was heard against the democratic leaders. Contributions poured in from all quarters for the relief of the sufferers; public meetings were promptly held in every township of every province, in which it was resolved to make common cause with the doomed citizens of Massachusetts; thanks were voted to the men of Boston; the inhabitants of Marble Head offered their warehouses to the Boston merchant; and those of Salem, in an address to the governor, grandly declared that they could not "indulge one thought to seize on wealth, or raise their fortunes on

the ruin of their suffering neighbors." The proceedings of the governor were continually baffled by the counsel and unanimity of the patriots. In conformity with the statute, he issued a proclamation, prohibiting the calling of any meetings after the first of August, 1774. Nevertheless a meeting was held: and, on his endeavoring to disperse it, he was informed that the assembly was not in violation of the Act of Parliament, "for that only prohibited the calling of town meetings, and that no such call had been made; a former legal meeting before the first of August having only adjourned themselves from time to time." At this meeting a "solemn league and covenant" was entered into: the parties thereto binding themselves to suspend all commercial intercourse with Great Britain until the offensive laws should be repealed and the colony of Massachusetts be restored to its chartered rights. The governor's proclamations were treated with contempt. When Gage attempted to organize the new constitution, most of the counsellors, whom he appointed, declined to act; and juries refused to serve under judges nominated by the crown. Congress, composed of the several committees of the provinces, met in Philadelphia, and issued a declaration that it "most thoroughly approved the wisdom and fortitude" displayed in Massachusetts, and that no obedience was due to the restraining statutes. The governor, alarmed at these demonstrations, set about erecting a fortress at the entrance of Boston; and on his refusal to desist, a provincial assembly, held at Concord, appointed a committee to draw up a plan for arming the province. The assembling the militia was intrusted to a committee of public safety; a committee of supply was empowered to expend £15,000 in provisions, military accoutrements and stores, which were accordingly provided; resolutions were passed to raise an army of twelve thousand men; delegates were sent to the adjacent States, to urge their co-

operation; and it was determined that the British troops should be attacked if they presumed to march in field equipment beyond Boston. Congress issued a declaration of rights, claiming complete exemption from internal taxation by the British Parliament; protesting against the infringement of their charters, and the introduction of a standing army into the colonies without their own consent. Committees were instructed to watch the conduct of the people, as regarded the suspension of trade with Britain till the redress of grievances. Neither was the desire of pacification wanting on the aggrieved side. An address was agreed upon to the British people; the king was petitioned: ("We ask," said the petitioners, "but for peace, liberty, and safety.") The answer of Parliament was the voting, in February, 1775, an addition to the ordinary military force, for the purpose of coercing the rebellious provinces; and the passing an act to cripple the American commerce. On the 19th of April, 1775, a few months after the arrival of Paine in America, war commenced. On the night preceding that eventful day, General Gage had ordered a detachment of eight hundred picked men of his garrison to march upon Concord, to seize the stores of the insurgents, there deposited. They encountered, at Lexington, a small party of the American militia, who, hesitating to disperse, were fired upon by the king's troops, and three or four of them were killed: the rest fled. The detachment proceeded to Concord, and destroyed the stores, but before they could evacuate the place, were attacked by the Americans, who, accumulating by degrees, harassed their march, taking advantage of every inequality in the ground and annoying them from behind the stone walls that flanked the road. The marauders would inevitably have been cut off, had they not been reinforced by nine hundred men under the command of Lord Percy. In a state of great exhaustion the united British forces reached

Dr. JOSEPH PRIESTLEY.

JOSEPH PRIESTLEY.

JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, an eminent dissenting divine, and experimental philosopher. His liberal religious principles, and his avowed partiality to the French Revolution, aroused the hatred of the high church and tory party, and his house, library, manuscripts at Birmingham, England, where he resided and apparatus, were burned by a zealous and bigoted mob. He was also exposed to great personal danger. He emigrated to North America in 1804, and settled at Northumberland in Pennsylvania. His published works comprise between seventy and eighty volumes, among which his *History of the Corruptions of Christianity*, and *Letters to a Philosophical Unbeliever* will be remembered.

In 1797 Count Volney honored Dr. Priestley with a letter in answer to his pamphlet entitled, *Observations on the Increase of Infidelity, with animadversions upon the writings of several modern unbelievers, and especially the Ruins of Mr. Volney.*

At the home of Clio Rickman in London, Dr. Priestley made the acquaintance of Thomas Paine, John Horne Tooke, and other celebrated English reformers.—E.

Boston, with the loss of sixty-five killed, one hundred and eighty wounded, and twenty-eight prisoners. Blood being thus drawn, the whole of the discontented States flew to arms, and adopted energetic and prompt measures to repel the royal usurpation. Volunteers enrolled themselves in every province, and throughout the Union the "king's" stores were seized for the use of the rebels. George Washington was appointed commander-in-chief, and military operations commenced. Hopes of reconciliation were still entertained by many; and another petition, temperate and respectful, was presented, on the 1st of September, to the "Muley Moloch" of England, the "Father of his people." Three days after Mr. Penn, the bearer, was informed by Lord Dartmouth that "no answer would be given to it." In accordance with this "policy," immense levies of soldiers were made in England; treaties were entered into with some of the paltry butcher-sovereigns of Germany, the "divine-right" sellers of human flesh, who agreed to furnish "men" at so much a head, to murder the rebellious Americans; and, not only in opposition to the commercial interests of Great Britain, but also in despite of the expressed wishes of great bodies of the British people, of the wishes of all, indeed, save the high church-and-king bigots and the priest-ridden serfs, havoc was let loose by God's vicegerent upon an unoffending people; and all chance of peace, save through "unconditional" and most base submission, effectually annihilated. Previously to this, a desultory civil war, began at Lexington, was prosecuted with alternating success. Many of the colonists still held aloof from the cause of liberty: some in sheer cowardice; some "moderate" men, half inclined to slavery, whose chains were tolerably gilded, or whose spirits were degraded; some honest patriots, but men of peace, anxious to avert the desolation of their country, anxiously watching any shadow of reconciliation; some

summer soldiers, tired of hard fare and blows: these formed a large party of neutrals, enough to swamp the best endeavors. While the public mind was thus divided, news arrived of the hateful obstinacy of the English government. The waverers were yet more fearful; traitors more calmorous. What hope for the peace seekers? What escape for the peace-breakers? What was to be done? On the very day on which the king's firebrand speech made its appearance, *Common Sense* confronted it—confronted the timid and the time-waiting—and answered the question. The Independence of America was proclaimed!

CHAPTER III.

THE AUTHOR; THE SOLDIER; THE SECRETARY.

"NOTHING could have been better timed"* than the appearance of COMMON SENSE. "This pamphlet of forty-seven octavo pages, holding out relief by proposing independence to an oppressed and despairing people, was published in January, 1776; speaking a language which the colonists had felt, but not thought of. Its popularity, terrible in its consequences to the parent country, was unexampled in the history of the press. At first involving the colonists, it was thought, in the crime of rebellion, and pointing to a road leading inevitably to ruin, it was read with indignation and alarm; but when the reader (and every body read it), recovering from the first shock, re-perused it, its arguments, nourishing his feelings and appealing to his pride, re-animated his hopes, and satisfied his understanding that *Common Sense*, backed by the resources and force of the colonies, poor and feeble as they were, could alone rescue them from the unqualified oppression with which they were threatened. The unknown author, in the moments of enthusiasm which succeeded, was hailed as an angel sent from heaven to save from all the horrors of slavery, by his timely, powerful and unerring councils, a faithful but abused, a brave but misrepresented people."† Thus writes even the infamous traducer of Paine. This sufficiently witnesses the avidity with which the contents of the pamphlet were seized by the American mind. "I gave the copyright," says the

* Ramsay's American Revolution. † Cheetham.

author, "to every state in the Union, and the demand ran to not less than one hundred thousand copies."* Owing to this disinterestedness, though the sale of *Common Sense* was so great, the author was in debt to the printer £29 12*s.* 1*d.*† The motives which produced the work may also claim our admiration, as much as this magnificent offering at the shrine of freedom. Hear him state them himself, with some little egotism it may be, but with a self-gratulation surely warranted and inoffensive:

"Politics and self-interest have been so uniformly connected, that the world, from being so often deceived, has a right to be suspicious of public characters. But with regard to myself I am perfectly easy on this head. I did not, at my first setting out in public life, turn my thoughts to subjects of government from motives of interest; and my conduct proves the fact. I saw an opportunity in which I thought I could do some good, and I followed exactly what my heart dictated. I neither read books nor studied other people's opinions—I thought for myself."‡—"It was the cause of America that made me an author. The force with which it struck my mind made it impossible for me, feeling as I did, to be silent; and if I have rendered her any service, I have added likewise something to the reputation of literature, by freely and disinterestedly employing it in the service of mankind, and showing there may be genius without prostitution."

Mighty indeed was the effect of the publication of this one man's thoughts. Million-voiced their echo from the hearts of colonized America. The doctrine of independence had found an efficient preacher; and the independent spirit was breathed even into the dry bones of the world-withered trembler. The dead became quick; the living had found a voice. On the first

* *Rights of Man*, part 2. † Rickman, p. 68. ‡ *Rights of Man*, part 2.

of January a word was spoken by a poor vagrant stay-maker: by the 4th of July it had been repeated from Vermont even to Georgia; on that day the Independence of thirteen States was proclaimed; a home, and rallying-place, was established for Freedom; and from that day to this, far-throned monarchy has not ceased to quail, in sad presentiment of its assured doom.

A groundless suspicion arose that *Common Sense* was not written by Paine. He thus notices the rumor, and silences it; for it cannot be supposed that such an assertion, if false, would have been allowed to pass unchallenged:

"Dr. Franklin, Mr. Samuel, and John Adams were severally spoken of as the supposed author. I had not, at that time, the pleasure of either personally knowing or being known to the last two gentlemen. The favor of Dr. Franklin's friendship, I possessed in England, and my introduction to this part of the world was through his patronage. In October, 1775, Dr. Franklin proposed giving me such materials as were in his hands towards completing a history of the present transactions, and seemed desirous of having the first volume out the next spring. I had then formed the outlines of *Common Sense* and finished nearly the first part; and as I supposed the doctor's design in getting out a history, was to open the new year with a new system, I expected to surprise him with a production on that subject, much earlier than he thought of; and without informing him of what I was doing, got it ready for the press as fast as I conveniently could, and sent him the first pamphlet that was printed off."*

Toward the close of 1776 he wrote a cutting and pithy reply to a late piece—entitled, *The Ancient Testimony and Principles of the People called Quakers renewed, with respect to the King and Government, and touching*

* *Crisis*, No. 3.

the Commotions now prevailing in these and other parts of America, addressed to the People in England,—which had denied the right of rebellion, and hypocritically defended that parasite doctrine of court convenience, that (as the *Testimony* phrases it) "the setting up and putting down kings and government is God's peculiar prerogative for causes best known to himself; and that it is not our" (the people's) "business to have any hand or contrivance therein." "Wherefore," says Paine, "what occasion is there for your political testimony?"

But our author was not content with writing. The Declaration of Independence was a declaration of war to the death; and soldiers were not to many. Paine joined the army under Washington, at New York; and accompanied it in the retreat (after the defeat at Long Island, on the 26th of August,) from New York to the Delaware. At the tables of the officers he appears to have been a welcome guest, on account both of his genius and of his conversational powers; and Washington himself was not backward in expressions of admiration and personal esteem.*

On the 19th of December,† of the same year, he published the first number of the *Crisis:* written to re-animate the Americans, who were generally dispirited by the reverses of the campaign. This work was continued, at various periods, as events called it out, till the consummation of the revolution: the last of the series appearing on the 19th of April, 1783; on which day a cessation of hostilities was proclaimed. Thirteen numbers appeared; besides a *Crisis Extraordinary, on the subject*

* "Paine was the favorite," says Richard Carlile, "of all the officers, and of every other liberal-minded man that advocated the independence of his country, and preferred liberty to slavery. It does not appear that he held any rank in the army, but merely assisted with his advice and presence as a private individual, acting as a sort of literary and friendly aide-de-camp to different generals. In one of the latter pieces of his writing he states himself, particularly, to have been aide-de-camp to General Greene."—*Eckler.*

† Rickman, p. 67.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

IN the year 1774, while Franklin was in England as the agent for the province of Pennsylvania, the Earl of Chatham, being desirous of saving to England her dissatisfied American Colonies, sought an interview with the American representative, for the purpose of consulting with him upon American affairs.

In this interview Lord Chatham, (as stated in Parton's *Life of Franklin*, vol. ii, p. 29), asked Franklin whether "America aimed at setting up for itself as an *independent state?*" and the nobleman expressed much satisfaction when Franklin assured him that "having more than once travelled almost from one end of the continent to the other, and kept a great variety of company, eating, drinking, and conversing with them freely, he never had heard in any conversation, from any person, drunk or sober, the least expression of a wish for a separation, or hint that such a thing would be advantageous to America."

This was no doubt a correct statement of the case. For while the people of America sternly resented the oppressive and aggressive conduct of England, and were unanimously opposed to taxation without representation, yet they had at that time no thought of establishing a separate and independent government; and, like Franklin, they were still loyal to the king and government of Britain.

But events of great importance were transpiring during this eventful year of 1774—events which none had foreseen or foretold, and in which Dr. Franklin was unconsciously acting the principal part.

He had casually made the acquaintance of a modest, unassuming and energetic young Englishman, who wished to emigrate to America, in hopes of bettering his fortune; and Franklin, who was favorably impressed with his agreeable manners and intelligent conversation, kindly gave him a letter of introduction to his son-in-law, Mr. Bache, then residing in Philadelphia. The letter is as follows:

"The bearer, Mr. Thomas Paine, is very well recommended to me, as an ingenious, worthy young man. He goes to Pennsylvania with a view of settling there. I request you to give him your best advice and countenance, as he is quite a stranger there. If you can put him in a way of obtaining employment as a clerk, or assistant surveyor, (of all of which I think him very capable), so that he may procure a subsistence at least, till he can make acquaintance and obtain a knowledge of the country, you will do well and much oblige your affectionate father."

Mr. Bache immediately procured Paine several pupils, and he was soon after engaged to assist in conducting a magazine just started in Philadelphia. He wrote back to Franklin with expressions of gratitude, and stated "that he owed his good fortune in Philadelphia to the letter he had brought with him." He continued to labor in a moderately successful manner for a year after his arrival, no one suspecting, least of all himself, the grand work he was destined to do for his adopted country. The order of events is as follows:

In the year 1775, the thirteen American Colonies, though greatly dissatisfied and discontented, still hoped for redress, and were still loyal to the British crown.

In January, 1776, Paine, the young protege of Franklin, published his wonderful and priceless work known as *Common Sense.* Its effect on the public mind was instantaneous and unprecedented, and its popularity was never excelled in the history of printing. One hundred thousand copies were required to meet the demand, and, as a result, Congress, on the fourth of July following, signed the *Declaration of Independence!*

Thus are we indebted for the liberties we now enjoy, to the brilliant intellect of Paine, the patriotic sagacity of Franklin, as well as to the faithful sword of Washington.—E.

of Taxation, dated October 6th, 1780; a brief *Supernumerary Crisis*, addressed to Sir Guy Carleton, May 31, 1782; and another supernumerary, December 9, 1783.

In 1777 Paine left the army, being appointed, by Congress, secretary to the committee for foreign affairs: an office, he says, "agreeable to me, because it gave me the opportunity of seeing into the abilities of foreign courts, and their manner of doing business." Some fuss has been made, both by friends and foes, about his assuming the title of *Secretary for Foreign Affairs:* why, it may be difficult to say; since he certainly was such, though not minister and director as English secretaries of state unfortunately are wont to be. He resigned his secretaryship in January, 1779, in consequence of a disagreement with Congress, of which his own account, in his letter to Congress, appears to give the true reason:—"I prevented Deane's fraudulent demand being paid, and so far the country is obliged to me; but I became the victim of my integrity."*

Silas Deane, in the early part of the war, had been employed by Congress to negotiate a loan with the French government, for the supply of the patriot army. Without waiting the result of his mission, Dr. Franklin and Mr. Lee were sent to co-operate with him. Louis readily furnished the supplies; but, not being prepared for a rupture with Great Britain, he took a pledge of the American commissioners that the affair should remain secret. The supplies were shipped in the name of a M. Beaumarchais, and consigned to an imaginary house in the United States. Deane, taking advantage of the necessity for secrecy, presented a claim for "compensation"—hush-money; and Congress seemed inclined to suffer the imposition. Paine, perceiving this, and, of course, aware of the circumstances of the case, published several articles in the newspapers, under the title of

* Memorial to Congress, February 14, 1808.

Common Sense to the Public, on Mr. Deane's Affairs; exposing the impudent attempt of Deane. In consequence of this publicity, the auditing committee rejected Deane's demand; and that worthy soon after absconded to England. Paine's breach of "official confidence" was, however, severely animadverted upon by several members of Congress; and, though a motion for his dismissal was lost, his application to be heard in explanation was negatived; and he therefore sent in his resignation, concluding with these words:—"As I cannot, consistently with my character as a freeman submit to be censured unheard; therefore, to preserve that character and maintain that right, I think it my duty to resign the office of secretary to the committee for foreign affairs, and I do hereby resign the same."*

Having received but very poor pay while secretary, and not choosing to derive any emolument from the sale of his writings, (a conduct which he faithfully preserved throughout his career), he now engaged himself as clerk, to a Mr. Biddle, an attorney at Philadelphia. Neither his principles nor exertions were affected by the loss of place—a rare instance of political consistency. About this time the degree of Master of Arts was conferred on him by the University of Philadelphia; and he was shortly after appointed clerk to the Assembly of Pennsylvania,† and also chosen a member of the American Philosophical

* Paine, however, says Richard Carlile, "carried no pique with him into his retirement, but was as ardent as ever in the cause of independence and a total separation from Britain. He published several plans for an equal system of taxation to enable Congress to recruit the finances and to reinforce the army; and, in the most clear and pointed manner, held out to the inhabitants of the United States the important advantages they would gain by a cheerful contribution towards the exigencies of the times, and at once to make themselves formidable, not only to cope with, but to defeat the enemy. He reasoned with them on the impossibility of any army that Britain could send against them being sufficient to conquer the continent of America. He again and again explained to them that nothing but fortitude and exertion were necessary on their part to annihilate in one campaign the forces of Britain, and to put a stop to the war. It is evident and admitted on all sides, that these writings became the mainspring of that action which procured independence to the United States."—*Eckler.*

† Memorial to Congress

Society, on its revival by the Pennsylvanian legislature. Somewhere near this period he published a pamphlet entitled *Public Good*, an examination of the claim of Virginia to the vacant western territory, a work of little interest now, but worthy of notice here, as evidence of his uncompromising spirit. The part he took was in opposition to the claim of Virginia, though he knew that a proposition was pending before the legislature of that state, for voting him a gratuity, on account of his labors in behalf of American independence. It seems that he lost the grant in consequence of his untimely stiffness; yet his example deserves occasional imitation, however "inconvenient" such conduct may be to the mere marketable politician of our degenerate day.*

In February, 1781, the financial distress of America induced Congress to send Colonel Laurens, a son of the late president, to France, in order to obtain a loan; and, at his solicitation, Paine, whose suggestion seems to have originated the mission, accompanied him. They were again in America in August, having accomplished the object of their mission more readily, and to a greater amount, than was expected.† In 1782 he published a *Letter to the Abbé Raynal*, to expose the errors of the abbé's history of the American Revolution.‡

* "Nothing can more strongly argue the genuine patriotism and real disinterestedness of the man," says Richard Carlile, whose honest, intrepid spirit was in harmony with that of Paine, "than his opposing the claims of this State at a moment when it was about to make him a more liberal grant than any other State had done."—*Eckler.*

† "They returned to America," says Richard Carlile "with two millions and a half of livres in silver, and stores to the united value of sixteen millions of livres. This circumstance gave such vigor to the cause of the Americans, that they shortly afterwards brought the Marquis Cornwallis to a capitulation, and the war for independence to an end. Six millions of livres were a present from France, and ten millions were borrowed from Holland on the security of France. In this trip to France, Mr. Paine not only accomplished the object of his embassy, but he also made a full discovery of the traitorous conduct of Silas Deane; and, on his return, fully justified himself before his fellow citizens in the steps he had taken in that affair; whilst Deane was obliged to shelter himself in England from the punishment due to his crimes."—*Eckler.*

‡ "With a hope of correcting the future historian," says Richard Carlile, "Mr. Paine answered the Abbé in a letter, and pointed out all his misstatements. This letter is remarkably well written, and abounds with brilliant ideas and natural

We have before noticed Franklin's friendship for Paine. His society, according to the accounts of those who best knew him, was highly esteemed; "his value, his firmness, his independence, as a political character, were now univerally acknowledged; his great talents, and the high purposes to which he devoted them, made him generally sought after and looked up to; and General Washington was foremost to express the great sense he had of the excellence of his character, and the importance of his services."*

"When the war ended," says Paine, "I went from Philadelphia to Bordentown, on the east bank of the Delaware, where I have a small place. Congress was at this time at Princetown, fifteen miles distant; and General Washington had taken his headquarters at Rocky-Hill, within the neighborhood of Congress, for the purpose of resigning his commission, (the object for which he had accepted it being accomplished,) and of retiring to private life. While he was on this business he wrote me the letter which I here subjoin."†

"*Rocky-Hill, September 10, 1783.*

"I have learned since I have been at this place, that you are at Bordentown. Whether for the sake of retirement or economy, I know not. Be it for either,

embellishments. Ovid's classical and highly admired picture of Envy can scarcely vie with the picture our author has here drawn of Prejudice:"

"There is something exceedingly curious in the constitution and operation of prejudice. It has the singular ability of accommodating itself to all the possible varieties of the human mind. Some passions and vices are but thinly scattered among mankind, and find only here and there a fitness of reception. But prejudice, like the spider, makes everywhere its home. It has neither taste nor choice of place, and all that it requires is room. There is scarcely a situation except fire or water in which a spider will not live. So let the mind be as naked as the walls of an empty and forsaken tenement, gloomy as a dungeon, or ornamented with the richest abilities of thinking—let it be hot or cold, dark or light, lonely or uninhabited, still prejudice if undisturbed, will fill it with cobwebs, and live like the spider where there seems nothing to live on. If the one prepares her food by poisoning it to her palate and her use, the other does the same; and as several of our passions are strongly characterized by the animal world, prejudice may be denominated the spider of the mind."

"He never deviated from the path of nature, and was unquestionably as bright an ornament as ever our Common Parent held up to mankind. He studied men and things in preference to books, and thought and compared as well as read."—*Eckler.*

* Rickman, p. 70.

† *Rights of Man*, part 2.

MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT

THE REVOLUTION.

BY ALPHONSE DE LAMARTINE.

THE great epoch of the Revolution ended with Robespierre and Saint-Just. The second race of revolutionists began. The republic fell from tragedy into intrigue, from spiritualism into ambition, from fanaticism into cupidity. At this moment when every thing grows small, let us learn to contemplate what was so vast.

The Revolution had only lasted five years. These five years are five centuries for France. Never perhaps on this earth, at any period since the commencement of the Christian era, did any country produce, in so short a space of time, such an eruption of *ideas, men, natures, characters, geniuses, talents, catastrophes, crimes, and virtues*, as during these convulsive throes of the social and political future which is called by the name of France. (Neither the age of Cæsar and Octavius at Rome, nor the age of Charlemagne amongst the Gauls and in Germany, nor the age of Pericles in Athens, nor of Leo X., in Italy, nor Louis XIV., in France, nor of Cromwell in England.) It was as if the earth were in labor to produce a progressive order of societies, and made an effort of fecundity comparable to the energetic work of regeneration which Providence desired to accomplish.

Men were born like the instantaneous personifications of things which should think, speak, or act. Voltaire, *good sense;* Jean Jacques Rousseau, *the ideal;* Condorcet, *calculation:* Mirabeau, *impetuosity;* Vergniaud, *impulse;* Danton, *audacity;* Marat, *fury;* Madame Roland, *enthusiasm;* Charlotte Corday, *vengeance;* Robespierre, *Utopia;* Saint-Just, *the fanaticism of the Revolution.* Behind these came the secondary men of each of these groups, forming a body which the Revolution detached after having united it, and the members of which she brake, one by one, as useless implements. Light shone from every point of the horizon at once; darkness fell back; prejudices were cast off; consciences were freed; tyrannies trembled, and the people rose. Thrones crumbled; intimidated Europe ceased to strike, and, stricken herself, receded in order to gaze on this grand spectacle at a greater distance.

This deadly struggle for the cause of human reason is a thousand times more glorious than the victories of the armies which succeeded to it. It acquired for the world inalienable truths, instead of acquiring for a nation the precarious increase of provinces. It enlarged the domain of mind, instead of expanding the limits of a people. Martyrdom is its glory; its ambition virtue. We are proud to be of a race of men to whom Providence has permitted the conception of such ideas, and to be the child of an age which has impressed its impulses on such advances of the human mind.

We glorify France in its intelligence, its character, its soul, its blood! The heads of these men fall one by one; some justly, others unjustly: but they fall in consummation of the work. We accuse or absolve; weep or curse them. Individuals are innocent or guilty, loved or hateful, victims or executioners. The working out is vast, and the idea soars above the instruments, like the ever pure cause over the horrors of the field of battle.

After five years, the Revolution is nothing but a vast cemetery. Over the tomb of each of these victims is inscribed a word which characterises it. Over one, *Philosophy;* another, *Eloquence;* another, *Genius;* another, *Courage;* here *Crime*, there *Virtue:* but over one and all is written, "Died for posterity," and, "Workman in the cause of humanity."

The History of the Revolution is glorious and sad as the morrow of a victory, and the eve of a battle. But if this history be full of mourning, it is also full of faith. It resembles the antique drama, in which, whilst the narrator gives the recital, the chorus of the people sings the glory, bewails the victims, and raises a hymn of consolation and hope to God!

for both, or whatever it may, if you will come to this place and partake with me, I shall be exceedingly happy to see you in it. Your presence may remind Congress of your past services to this country, and if it is in my power to impress them, command my best exertions with freedom; as they will be rendered cheerfully by one who entertains a lively sense of the importance of your works, and who, with much pleasure, subscribes himself

"Your sincere friend,

"G. WASHINGTON."

In 1785 Congress granted Paine three thousand dollars, in consideration of his public sevices, as is shown by the following extracts from the journals of Congress:

"*Friday, August 28, 1785.*

"On the report of a committee, consisting of Mr. Gerry, Mr. Petit, and Mr. King, to whom was referred a letter of the 13th, from Thomas Paine:

"*Resolved*, That the early, unsolicited, and continued labor of Thomas Paine, in explaining the principles of the late revolution, by ingenious and timely publications upon the nature of liberty and civil government, have been well received by the citizens of these states, and merit the approbation of Congress; and that in consideration of these services, and the benefits produced thereby, Mr. Paine is entitled to a liberal gratification from the United States."

"*Monday, October 3, 1785.*

"On the report of a committee, consisting of Mr. Gerry, Mr. Howell, and Mr. Long, to whom were referred sundry letters from Mr. Thomas Paine, and a report on his letter of the 13th of September:

"*Resolved*, That the board of treasury take order for paying to Mr. Thomas Paine the sum of three thousand dollars, for the considerations mentioned in the resolution of the 26th of August last."

One of his biographers (Sherwin) disputes the inference to be drawn from the above resolutions, that the grant was in payment of his literary labors. There is an error, he says, in the wording of the resolutions. "The case was this:—The salary which Mr. Paine received as secretary to the committee of foreign affairs was very small, being only eight hundred dollars a year; and the depreciation which took place in consequence of the immense and repeated issues of paper money reduced even this to less than a fifth of its nominal value. Mr. Paine, aware of the difficulties in which the Congress were placed, forebore to harass them with any applications for money during the war; but after it was closed he addressed to them a letter requesting that they would make up the depreciation, with some other incidental expenses which he had been at in the discharge of his official duties. The letter was referred to a committee, of which Mr. Gerry was chairman. This gentleman came to Mr. Paine, and informed him that 'the committee had consulted upon the subject, that they intended to bring in a handsome report, but they thought it best not to take any notice of Deane's affair or Mr. Paine's salary.'—'They will indemnify you,' said he, 'without it. The case is, there are some motions on the journals of Congress for censuring you with respect to Deane's affair, which cannot now be recalled because they have been printed. We will, therefore, bring in a report that will supersede them, without mentioning the purport of your letter.'"*

In the same year (1785) the state of Pennsylvania (where he first published *Common Sense* and *The Crisis*) presented him with £500. New York gave him the confiscated estate of a royalist, situated at New Rochelle, in the county of Westchester; consisting of more than three hundred acres of land in high cultivation, with an elegant

* Sherwin, p. 88-9; see also the Memorial to Congress.

stone house, outhouses, &c. Virginia, we have seen, had good intentions towards him: the purposed grant of that state was lost by a single vote. In 1786 he published, in Philadelphia, *a Dissertation on Government, the Affairs of the Bank, and Paper Money*, in opposition to an attack upon the Bank of North America, incorporated in 1781. In 1780, the army being in a most forlorn and almost mutinous state (when the British forces, having laid waste the southern states, closed their ravages by the capture of Charleston), Washington addressed a letter to the Pennsylvanian Assembly, which Paine, as clerk to the Assembly, was ordered to read. "A despairing silence pervaded the House:" the public treasury was empty, the country already overburdened with taxation. No resource presented itself but voluntary subscription. The state of affairs was critical, and no time was to be lost. Paine, on his return home, drew the salary due to him on account of his clerkship, and proposed a prompt subscription, laying down five hundred dollars as his own contribution. The scheme was successful. The subscribers formed themselves into a bank (incorporated by Congress in the following year), which supplied the wants of the army and was of essential service to the state. The *Dissertation* had the desired effect: the assault upon the bank was given up.

During the war Paine had meditated a visit to England. "I was," he says, "strongly impressed with the idea, that if I could get over to England without being known, and only remain in safety till I could get out a publication, that I could open the eyes of the country with respect to the madness and stupidity of its government. I saw that the parties in parliament had pitted themselves as far as they could go,* and could make no new impressions on each other."† He had thought of the project before the detection and execution of Major André, the

* This was 100 years ago. † *Rights of Man*, part 2.

agent in the treason of Arnold. That event had deterred him. His desire was renewed while he was in France with Colonel Laurens. An English packet to New York was seized by a French privateer, and, by some stratagem, the government dispatches were secured. These were sent to Paris, and presented by the French minister, Count Vergennes, to Colonel Laurens and Mr. Paine, for the information of Congress. This circumstance revived Paine's intention of visiting England, but he was induced to postpone undertaking it, as Colonel Laurens was unwilling to return alone to America. Now, however, 1787, the independence of America fully established, and his main occupation gone, he resolved to fulfil his purpose. In April, 1787,* he set sail from the United States; visited Paris (where he made a brief sojourn, enjoying the society of several of the most scientific men of France, and exhibiting to the Academy of Sciences, the model of an iron bridge of his own invention);† and arrived in England, in the beginning of September, just thirteen years after his departure for America.

* Sherwin, p. 94.

† "The famous iron bridge of one arch at Sunderland," says Richard Carlile, "was the first result of this discovery, although another claimed the invention and took credit for it with impunity, in consequence of the general prejudice against the name and writings of Mr. Paine. It is a sufficient attestation of this fact, to say, that the Sunderland bridge was cast at the foundry of Mr. Walker, at Rotherham, in Yorkshire, where Mr. Paine had made his first experiment on an extensive scale.

"How few are those," continues Carlile, "who walk across the bridge of Vauxhall and call to mind the fact, that Thomas Paine was the first to suggest and recommend the use of the iron bridge! He says he borrowed the idea of this kind of bridge from seeing a certain species of spider spin its web! In the mechanical arts he took great delight, and made considerable progress. In this, as in his political and theological pursuits, to ameliorate the condition, by adding to the comforts of his fellow-men, was his first object and final aim."—*Eckler.*

CHAPTER IV.

THE MECHANIC; THE "SEDITIOUS."

ON his arrival in England, Paine hastened to his native place, Thetford. His father was dead, and his mother was in a state of penury. Upon her he settled a weekly allowance; and remained some weeks at Thetford, leading a recluse life, occupied in writing a pamphlet on the state of the British nation, which was published in London, before the close of the year, (1787,) under the title of *Prospects on the Rubicon.*

In 1788, he went to reside at Rotherham, in Yorkshire, to superintend the manufacture of an iron bridge after the model exhibited in Paris. In May, 1789, he wrote an account of his proceeding to Sir George Staunton, who forwarded the letter to the Society of Arts, &c., in the Adelphi. The society determined that this account of his invention was well worthy of a place in their "Transactions;" but the appearance of the *Rights of Man* altered their scientific opinions, marvellously depreciating the value of the iron bridge.*

He appears to have visited Paris again both in 1789 and '90: but his biographers throw little light upon his movements, for nearly two years. Rickman has no notice of him from '88 to '91, and Sherwin,† without mentioning time, simply states, that "he hastened over to Paris, that he might have the pleasure of witnessing the down-

* Sherwin, p. 97-8.‡

† The Glasgow edition, published in 1833, is merely a bungling and dishonest copy of Sherwin's. Its very title-page contains a lie. It says, "Interspersed with *sundry letters &c. not before published.*" Now, in this Glasgow piracy there is *but one letter* not contained in Sherwin: that one letter is copied from Rickman.

‡ Bigotry and prejudice," says Richard Carlile, "form a woful bar to science and improvement."—*Eckler.*

fall of Bourbon despotism."* The following sentence —"The destruction of the Bastile, and the universal diffusion of republican principles throughout the French empire, *had* rendered that country a singular object of terror to the English government,"—leads us to infer that the visit alluded to was after the destruction of the Bastile, July 14, 1789. "He left France," says Sherwin, "in November, 1790:"† yet, in one of his letters, (given by Sherwin in the appendix to his life)‡ dated from Paris, March 16, 1790, he says, "I leave this place to-morrow for London: I go "expressly for the purpose of erecting an iron bridge, which Messrs. Walker, of Rotherham, Yorkshire, and I have constructed, and which is now ready for putting together."

In the erection of this bridge he appears to have been at considerable expense, which was principally defrayed by a Mr. Whiteside, an American merchant, probably on the strength of some security on Paine's property in America. This person becoming bankrupt, Paine, who had overdrawn his account, was arrested by the assignees for the balance. He was, however, soon bailed out by two American merchants, and in a very short time was enabled to clear himself.

In the House of Commons, early in 1790, Mr. Burke had attacked the principles of the French Revolution. Shortly after, appeared an advertisement in the newspapers of his intention of publishing a pamphlet on the same subject; and Paine promised the friends of the revolution, that he would reply to it.§ The pensioner's

* Sherwin, p 99. † Ibid., p. 100. ‡ Appendix, p. 16.

§ "The friend of Washington and Franklin," says Carlile, "could not fail to obtain an introduction to the leading political characters in England, such as Burke, Horne Tooke, and the most celebrated persons of that day. Burke had been the opponent of the English Government during the American war, and was admired as the advocate of constitutional freedom. Pitt, the most insidious and destructive man that ever swayed the affairs of England, saw the necessity of tampering with Burke, and found him venal. It was agreed between them that Burke should receive a pension in a fictitious name, but outwardly continue his former character, the better to learn the dispositions of the leaders in the Opposition, as to the principles they might

"*Reflections*" appeared just after Paine's return to England (in November, 1790); and in less than three months after, was produced *the first part of the* RIGHTS OF MAN. This was written "partly at the Angel at Islington, partly in Harding Street, Fetter Lane, and finished at Versailles."*

The work was printed in February,† for Mr. Johnson, of St. Paul's Church-yard; but he, on re-perusing it, finding certain passages which he thought liable to prosecution, declined having anything further to do with it.‡

After some difficulty, a willing publisher was found—a Mr. Jordan, of No. 166, Fleet Street; and the book was brought out by him, on the 13th of March, 1791. Its immediate circulation—allowing for some exaggeration on the part of his friend, Clio Rickman—appears

imbibe from the American Revolution, and the approaching revolution in France. This was the masterpiece of Pitt's policy; he bought up all the talent that was opposed to his measures; but, instead of requiring a direct support, he made such persons continue as spies on their former associates; and thus was not only informed of all that was passing, but, by his agents, was enabled to stifle every measure that was calculated to affect him, by interposing the advice of his bribed opponents and pseudo patriots.

"It was thus that Mr. Paine was drawn into the company of Burke, even into a correspondence with him on the affairs of France; and it was not until Pitt saw the necessity of availing himself of the avowed apostacy of Burke, and of getting him to make a violent attack upon the French Revolution, that Mr. Paine discovered his mistake in the man. It is beyond question that Burke's attack on the French Revolution had a most powerful effect in this country, [England,] and kindled a hatred without showing a cause for it; but still, as honest principles will always outlive treachery, it drew forth the *Rights of Man*, which will stand as a lesson to all people in all future generations, whose government may require reformation. Vice can triumph but for a moment, whilst the triumph of virtue is perpetual."—*Eckler*.

* Rickman, p. 84.

† Sherwin, p. 101. Rickman says it was *published* in February; but his dates are very little to be depended upon.

‡ "The laws of England have been a great bar to the propagation of sound principles and useful lessons on government," says Richard Carlile, "for, whatever might have been the disposition and abilities of authors, they have been compelled to limit that disposition and those abilities to the disposition and abilities of the publisher. Thus, it has been difficult for a bold and honest man to find a bold and honest publisher; even in the present day it continues to be the same; and the only effectual way of going to work is for every author to become his own printer and publisher. Without this measure every good work has to be mangled according to the humor of the publisher employed. Itwas thus that Mr. Paine found great difficulty in procuring a publisher even for his First Part of *Rights of Man*. It was thus that the great and good Major Cartwright found it necessary, during the suspension of the Habeas

to have been of an extent unprecedented, if we except that of *Common Sense.*

In May, Paine revisited France; and was in Paris at the time of the king's flight. On that occasion, he is said to have remarked to a friend:—"You see the absurdity of monarchial governments. Here will be a whole nation disturbed by the folly of one man."

While in France, the Abbé Sieyes having avowed an intention of writing in defence of monarchy, against republicanism, Paine offered to controvert his arguments, in a given number of pages: but the abbé's work never appeared.

On the 13th of July, he returned to London, and was present, August 20th, at the Thatched House Tavern, St. James's Street, at a meeting (of which Horne Tooke was chairman) of the "Friends of Universal Peace and Liberty," for whom he drew up an address in approbation of the French Revolution, and to protest against an underhand government interference, which had hin-

Corpus Act, to take a shop and sell his own pamphlets. I do not mean to say that there is a fault in publishers; the fault lies elsewhere; for it is well known that as soon as a man finds himself within the walls of a gaol for any patriotic act, those outside trouble themselves but little about him. It is the want of a due encouragement which the nation should bestow on all useful and persecuted publishers.

"Mr. Paine would not allow any man to make the least alteration, or even correction, in his writings. He would say that he only wished to be known as what he really was, without being decked with the plumes of another. I admire and follow this part of his principles, as well as most of his others, and I hold the act to be furtive and criminal where one man prunes, mangles, and alters the writings of another. It is a vicious forgery, and merits punishment.

"Mr. Paine had been particularly intimate with Burke, and I have seen an original letter of Burke's to a friend, wherein he expressed the high gratification he felt at having dined at the duke of Portland's with Thomas Paine, the great political writer of the United States, and the author of *Common Sense.* Whether the English ministers had formed a desire to corrupt Mr. Paine by inviting him to their tables, it is difficult to say, but not improbable: one thing is certain, that, if ever they had formed the wish, they were foiled in their design; for the price of £1,000, which Chapman, the printer of the Second Part of *Rights of Man* offered for its copyright, and which was refused, is a proof that he was incorruptible on this score Mr. Paine was evidently much pleased with his intimacy with Burke; for it appears that he took considerable pains to furnish him with all the correspondence possible on the affairs of France, little thinking that he was cherishing a viper, a man that would hand those documents over to the minister; but such was the case, until Mr. Burke was compelled to display his apostacy in the House of Commons, and to bid his former associates beware of him."—*Eckler.*

JOHN HORNE TOOKE.

JOHN HORNE TOOKE.

JOHN HORNE TOOKE, a prominent English politician and philiologist, educated at Westminster and Eaton schools, and at the St. Johns College, Cambridge. He was inducted to the chapelry of New Brentford in 1760, but the clerical profession being little suited to his habits and feelings, he resigned his living at the above place and studied law at the Temple. In 1775 he was sentenced to imprisonment on a charge of having libelled the king's troops in America. In 1792, he was tried at the "Old Bailey" on a charge of treason and acquitted. His crime was an attempt to effect a reform in Parliament. He was defended by the celebrated lawyer, Thomas Erskine, (afterwards Lord High Chancellor of England,) who had also defended Thomas Paine from the charge of treason, brought before the same court.

Many persons have believed that Horne Tooke was the author of the *Letters of Junius*.—E.

dered their purposed commemoration of the fourth of August.*

The following account of Paine's manner of life, about this period, is given by his friend Clio Rickman :†

"Mr. Paine's life in London was a quiet round of philosophical leisure and enjoyment. It was occupied in writing, in a small epistolary correspondence, in walking about with me to visit different friends, occasionally lounging at coffee-houses and public places, or being visited by a select few. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, the French and American ambassadors, Mr. Sharp, the engraver, Romney, the painter, Mrs. Wollstonecraft, Joel Barlow, Mr. Hull, Mr. Christie, Dr. Priestley, Dr. Towers, Colonel Oswald, the walking Stewart, Captain Sampson Perry, Mr. Tuffin, Mr. William Choppin, Captain De Stark, Mr. Horne Tooke, &c., &c., were among the number of his friends and acquaintance; and of course, as he was my inmate, the most of my associates were frequently his. At this time he read but little, took his nap after dinner, and played with my family at some game in the evening, as chess, dominoes, and drafts; in recitations, singing, music, &c.; or passed it in conversation: the part he took in the latter was always enlightened, full of information, entertainment, and anecdote. Occasionally we visited enlightened friends, indulged in domestic jaunts, and recreations from home, frequently lounging at the White Bear, Picadilly, with his old friend the walking Stewart, and other clever travellers from France, and different parts of Europe and America. When by ourselves we sat very late, and often broke in on the morning hours, indulging the recip-

* 4th of August, 1789—the day on which the nobles of France, enlightened by the burning of their mansions, "voluntarily" surrendered their privileges (which they could not retain,—which were no longer allowed,) not to the people, but to their "representatives," the moneyed classes, whose patriotism fomented the revolution, and whose philosophy overthrew it.

† Rickman, p. 100.

rocal interchange of affectionate and confidential intercourse."

Paine was now engaged in preparing *the second part of the* RIGHTS OF MAN.* The ministry endeavored to prevent its publication. Having discovered the printer, they employed him to purchase the entire copyright of this second part, as well as the remaining copyright of the first part. Beginning with an offer of one hundred guineas, he increased his bidding to one thousand; but Paine replied, that "he would never put it in the power of any printer or publisher to suppress or alter a work of his, by making him master of the copy, or give him the right of selling it to any minister, or to any other person, or to treat as a mere matter of traffic that which he intended should operate as a principle." Failing in this, the ministry next attempted to delay the publication of the work. It contained, among other

"* The publication of *Rights of Man*, says Richard Carlisle, in his Life of Paine, "formed as great an era in the politics of England as *Common Sense* had done in America: the difference is only this—the latter had an opportunity of being acted upon instantly, while the former has had to encounter corruption and persecution; but that it will finally form the basis of the English Government is certain. Its principles are so self-evident that they flash conviction on the most unwilling mind that gives the work a calm perusal. The First Part of *Rights of Man* passed unnoticed as to prosecution, nor did Burke venture a reply, though he was mean enough to advise a criminal process against its author. The proper principles of a government, where the welfare of the community is the object of that government, as the case should always be, are so correctly and forcibly laid down in *Rights of Man*, that the book will stand, as long as the English language is spoken, as a monument of political wisdom and integrity.

"It should be observed that Mr. Paine never sought profit from his writings, and when he found that *Rights of Man* had obtained a peculiar attraction, he gave up the copyright to whomsoever would print it, although he had had so high a price offered for it. He would always say they were works of principle, written solely to ameliorate the condition of mankind, and, as soon as published, the common property of anyone who thought proper to circulate them.

"The First Part of *Rights of Man* has not that methodical arrangement which is to be found in the Second Part, but an apology arises for it: Mr. Paine had to tread the "wilderness of rhapsodies" that Burke had prepared for him. The part is, however, interspersed with such delightful ornaments, and such indisputable principles, that the path does not become tedious. No work has better defined the causes of the French Revolution, and the advantages that would have arisen from it had France been free from the corrupting influence of foreign powers.

"After some difficulty, a publisher was found for *Rights of Man*, in Mr. Jordan, late of 166, Fleet-street. The First Part appeared on the 13th of March, 1791, and the Second Part on the 16th of February in the following year. The Government was

matters, a proposition for reducing the taxes; and it was desirous that it should appear on the day of the meeting of parliament: but the printer, finding he could not purchase it, suddenly refused to proceed with the printing; and another printer had to be sought for. The *Appendix* furnishes reason to believe, that this honest man (the first printer,) regularly forwarded the proof sheets to the minister; and that certain alterations in the taxes, &c., proposed by Mr. Pitt, at the opening of the session of parliament, were the result of these confidential communications with the purpose of forestalling Paine's objections.

The RIGHTS OF MAN, *part the second—combining principle and practice*—was published by Mr. Jordan, on the 16th of February, 1792; and the sale equalled that of the first part. The following extract from Hazlitt, no mean authority, will evidence the sensation which the appearance of this masterly work produced:

"Paine's 'RIGHTS OF MAN' was the only really powerful reply (to Burke's *Reflections*), and, indeed, so powerful and explicit, that the government undertook to crush it by an *ex-officio* information, and by a declaration of war against France to still the ferment, and excite an odium against its admirers, as taking part with a

paralyzed at the rapid sale of the First Part, and the appearance of the Second. The attempt to purchase having failed, the agents of the Government next set to work to ridicule it, and to call it a contemptible work. Whig and Tory members, in both houses of Parliament, affected to sneer at it, and to laud our glorious constitution as a something impregnable to the assaults of such a book. However, Whig and Tory members had just begun to be known, and their affected contempt for *Rights of Man* served but as advertisements, and greatly accelerated its sale. In the month of May, 1792, the King issued his proclamation, and the King's devil, his *ex-officio* information, on the very same day, against *Rights of Man*. This in some measure impeded its sale, or occasioned it to be sold in a private manner; through which means it is impossible to give effectual circulation to any publication. One part of the community is afraid to sell, and another to purchase, under such conditions. It is not too much to say that, if *Rights of Man* had obtained two or three years' free circulation in England and Scotland, it would have produced a similar effect to that which *Common Sense* did in the United States of America. The French Revolution had set the people of England and Scotland to think, and *Rights of Man* was the book to furnish materials for thinking."—*Eckler.*

foreign enemy against their prince and country."* The following note was left with the publisher.†

"*Feb. 16, 1792.*

"SIR:

"Should any person, under the sanction of any kind of authority, inquire of you respecting the author and publisher of the *Rights of Man*, you will please to mention me as the author and publisher of that work, and show to such person this letter. I will, as soon as I am made acquainted with it, appear and answer for the work personally.‡

"Your humble servant,
"THOMAS PAINE."

"MR. JORDAN,
"No. 166, Fleet-street."

On the 14th of May, Paine, then at Bromley, in Kent, learned that Mr. Jordan had been served with a summons to appear at the court of King's Bench; and he immediately appointed a meeting with him, provided a solicitor, and engaged to furnish the necessary expenses for his defence. Jordan, however, preferred compro-

* Hazlitt's Life of Napoleon. † Sherwin, p. 115.

"‡ On reaching Paris," says Richard Carlile, "Paine addressed a letter to the English Attorney-General, apprising him of the circumstances of his departure from England, and hinting to him that any further prosecution of *Rights of Man* would form a proof that the author was not altogether the object, but the book, and the people of England who should approve its sentiments. A hint was also thrown out that the events in France ought to form a lesson for the English Government, on its attempt to arrest the progress of correct principles and wholesome truths. This letter was in some measure due to the Attorney-General, as Mr. Paine had written to him in England, on the commencement of the prosecution, assuring him that he should defend the work in person. Notwithstanding his departure, as a member of the French National Convention, the information against the *Rights of Man* was laid before a jury, on the 2nd of December, in the same year, and the government and its agents were obliged to content themselves with outlawing him, and punishing him in effigy throughout the country! Many a faggot have I gathered in my youth to burn old Tom Paine! In the West of England his name became quite a substitute for that of Guy Faux. Prejudice, so aptly termed by Mr. Paine, the spider of the mind, was never before carried to such a height against any other individual; and what will future ages think of the corrupt influence of the English Government at the close of the eighteenth century, when it could excite the rancor of a majority of the nation against such a man as Thomas Paine?"—*Eckler.*

mising the matter by agreeing to appear in court and plead guilty, which course seeming to imply a condemnation of the work, partially answered the purpose of the ministry.* He also consented to give up all papers in his possession relative to the *Rights of Man*, in order to facilitate the conviction of the author, against whom proceedings were openly commenced on the 21st of May. On the same day that the government commenced legal proceedings against Paine, they issued a proclamation against "seditious writings," of course not with any intention of biasing the minds of a jury. Loyal addresses, (words to which sycophants attach their names) were also manufactured as a means of counteracting the effect of the "wicked and seditious libel," which had dared to assert in clear language, and to prove by incontrovertible arguments, the universality and inalienability of human rights. Notwithstanding, several addresses of a more spirited character congratulated the country "on the influence which Mr. Paine's publications appear to have had, in procuring the repeal" (before adverted to) "of some oppressive taxes, in the present session of parliament; and hoping that the other great plans of public benefit, which Mr. Paine has so powerfully recommended, will be speedily carried into effect."† Paine was not to be intimidated. About August, of the same year,‡ he prepared another publication in defence of his principles and conduct, entitled *A Letter addressed to the Addressers on the late Proclamation*, a subject most favorable for the exercise of his fierce sarcasm, in which he thus adverts to the accusation against him:—

"If to expose the fraud and imposition of monarchy and every species of hereditary government—to lessen the oppression of taxes—to propose plans for the education of

* Sherwin, p. 116. See also the letter from Paine to Sir Archibald Macdonald, then attorney-general.

† Resolutions of the Manchester Constitutional Society.

‡ Sherwin, p. 127.

helpless infancy, and the comfortable support of the aged and distressed — to endeavor to conciliate nations to each other — to extirpate the horrid practice of war — to promote universal peace, civilization, and commerce — and to break the chains of political superstition, and raise degraded man to his proper rank ; — if these things be libellous, let me live the life of a Libeller, and let the name of LIBELLER be engraven on my tomb !"

In the *Letter*, he also denies that unprincipled crown-lawyers and packed and prejudiced juries are competent to decide so momentous a question : whether individuals have a right to investigate the principles of government and to publish the result of their inquiries ; and contends that the government-brand of "wicked and malicious" is in reality an attack upon this liberty of expression, a liberty ever most dreaded by corrupt power. He had at first intended to conduct his defence in person ; but was induced to change his purpose by the announcement of a French deputation, in September, 1792, that the department of Calais had elected him, as their representative in the National Convention. This, in his estimation, was a matter of more importance than that of defending his own conduct before judges predetermined to condemn him ; and, accordingly, he proceeded to Dover, with the intention of immediately embarking for Calais. At Dover he met with much unworthy treatment and annoyance, under cover of the custom-house regulations, even his papers not escaping examination ; but he was at length suffered to embark, a few minutes before the arrival of a government order for his detention. His reception at Calais was most enthusiastic : a salute was fired from the battery ; the soldiers at the gates were drawn up in his honor ; he was welcomed with shouts of "Long live Thomas Paine ;" and was escorted by crowds to the Town-hall. On his road to Paris he was met with similar demonstrations of respect. He had

BRISSOT.

BRISSOT.

BRISSOT and Condorcet were the most prominent leaders of the Girondists, and both were the intimate friends of Thomas Paine.

Lamartine describes Brissot as of a mixed character—half intrigue, half virtue. Destined to serve as the centre of a rallying point to the party of the *Gironde*, he had, by anticipation, in his character all there was in store for the Girondists, of destiny, of intrigue and patriotism, of faction and of martyrdom.

"Brissot," says Lamartine, "was the root of the Girondist party—and the first apostle and first martyr of the republic. He wrote *La Patriote Français* and carried away by the logic of his republican principles to the 10th of August had displayed, since the conquest of the republic, a force of resistance to the factions equal to the power of impulse he had previously communicated to the opinion of freemen. A stranger to power, his hands uncontaminated by blood or spoil, as poor after three years of the Revolution, as he was on the day he began to wage war in its cause; he dwelt for five years in an apartment on the fourth story, which was almost unfurnished, surrounded by his books and the cradles of his children. Every thing attested the mediocrity of his asylum; poor, almost to indigence. After the tumult of the day, and the fatigue of labor undergone in the conducting of his journal, Brissot walked home to rejoin his wife and young children, sheltered in a thatched cottage at St. Cloud. He cherished them by his labor as a workmen of the mind. Destitute of that exterior of eloquence which gives fire to discussion, and bursts out in gesture and accent, he left the tribune to Vergniaud. He had created a tribune for himself in his journal. In that he wrestled each day with Camille, Robespierre, and Marat. His articles were speeches. He voluntarily devoted himself to the hatred and the poignards of the Jacobins. The sacrifice of his life was made. But nature had created him rather to influence ideas than men. His short and slender stature, his meditative and placid figure, the palor and severe expression of his features, the melancholy gravity of his physiognomy, prevented him from displaying outwardly the antiquity of soul which burned within."—E.

been elected deputy for Versailles,* as well as for Calais, but preferred representing the latter, as they had first elected him.†

* Sherwin says, for Abbeville and Beauvais also.

† "On reaching Calais," says Richard Carlile, "the name of Thomas Paine was no sooner announced than the beach was crowded; all the soldiers on duty were drawn up; the officer of the guard embraced him on landing, and presented him with the national cockade, which a handsome young woman, who was standing by, begged the honor of fixing in his hat, and returned it to him, expressing a hope that he would continue his exertions in the behalf of Liberty, France, and the *Rights of Man.* A salute was then fired from the battery, to announce to the people of Calais the arrival of their new representative. This ceremony being over, he walked to Deissein's, in the Rue de l'Egalite (formerly Rue de Roi), the men, women, and children crowding around him, and calling out "Vive Thomas Paine!" He was then conducted to the Town Hall, and there presented to the municipality, who with the greatest affection embraced their representative. The Mayor addressed him in a short speech, which was interpreted to him by his friend and conductor, M. Audibert, to which Mr. Paine, laying his hand on his heart, replied, that his life should be devoted to their service.

"At the inn he was waited upon by the different persons in authority, and by the President of the Constitutional Society, who desired he would attend their meeting of that night. He cheerfully complied with the request, and the whole town would have been there had there been room: the hall of the Minimes was so crowded that it was with the greatest difficulty they made way for Mr. Paine to the side of the President. Over the chair in which he sat was placed the bust of Mirabeau, and the colors of France, England, and America united. A speaker acquainted him from the tribune with his election, amidst the plaudits of the people. For some minutes after this ceremony nothing was heard but "Vive la Nation!" "Vive Thomas Paine!" in voices male and female.

"On the following day an extra meeting was appointed to be held in the church, in honor of their new Deputy to the Convention, the Minimes being found quite suffocating from the vast concourse of people which had assembled on the previous occasion. A play was performed at the theatre on the evening after his arrival, and a box was specially reserved "for the author of *Rights of Man*, the object of the English Proclamation."—*Eckler.*

CHAPTER V.

THE REPRESENTATIVE; THE PRISONER; THE INFIDEL.

OF Paine's conduct in the National Convention we know but little. He voted for the king's trial: but exerted himself to prevent the sentence or death.* He was one of a committee, appointed to frame the new Constitution,† whose labors were superseded by the democratic Constitution, proposed by the Jacobins; and he appears to have sided with the Girondists, the moderate reformers who murdered the republic. We do not mean by this to impeach his political honesty. It is possible that his former acquaintance with La Fayette (in America), and with Brissot, may have predisposed him to associate with them and their party (among whom,

* "Louis fell under the guillotine," says Richard Carlile, "and Mr. Paine's deprecation of that act brought down upon him the hatred of the whole Robespierrean party. The reign of terror now commenced in France; every public man who breathed a sigh for Louis was denounced as a traitor to the nation, and as such was put to death. Every man who complained of the despotism and violence of the party in power was hurried to a prison or before the Revolutionary Tribunal, and to immediate execution. Mr. Paine, although a Member of the Convention, was first excluded on the ground of being a foreigner, and then thrown into prison, because he had been born in England! His place of confinement was Luxembourg; the time about eleven months, during which he was seized with the most violent fever, that rendered him insensible to all that was passing, and to which circumstance he attributes his escape from the guillotine.

"Mr. Paine willingly voted for the trial of Louis, as a necessary exposure of court intrigue and corruption; but when he found a disposition to destroy him at once, in preference to banishment, he exposed the safety of his own person in his endeavor to save the life of Louis. Mr. Paine was a perfectly humane man; he deprecated the punishment of death on any occasion. His object was to destroy the monarchy, but not the man who had filled the office of monarch."—*Eckler.*

† In place of the unsatisfactory Constitution of 1791. That of '93 was in its turn set aside, to make room for the "moderate" Constitution of '95, the "good intentions" of which paved the hell-path of Napoleon.

no doubt, there were honest men, as there are honest men in all parties,) rather than to seek the companionship of those whose "ultra" opinions were not, we may be sure, too favorably represented by their adversaries; and once surrounded by the sophistry of "respectability," there was little chance of his learning the true characters of the real republicans, the Friends of the People. Not fully understanding their views, his humanity, too, would be enlisted against the extreme section of the Jacobins, who feared not to declare, that they deemed the life of a peer, or a priest, of no more worth than the life of a proletarian;* and who, while they directed their cannon against the distant foe, whetted the guillotine for the more dangerous traitors, the hypocritical "friends" at home. That Paine acted with the Brissotins, on the trial of Louis, and in other instances, is evident: but this will no more justify us in condemning him as a half-reformer, than their association with him will lead us to infer the soundness of their political faith—if they had faith, "who were sure of but one thing, that a man and a Girondin ought to *have* footing somewhere, and to stand firmly upon it, keeping well "with the respectable classes."† That Paine in principle was a thorough republican, let his own words avouch:—"The true, and only true basis of representative government is equality of rights. Every man has a right to one vote, and no more, in the choice of representatives. The rich have no more right to exclude the poor from the right of voting, *or of electing, and being elected*, than the poor have to exclude the rich; and wherever it is attempted, it is a question of force, and not of right."—*Dissertation on First Principles of Government.*

"That which is now called aristocracy, implies an inequality of rights."—*Ib.*

* Proletarian—One whose only business in the world is to labor and beget laborers.

† Carlyle's French Revolution.

"Inequality of rights is created by a combination in one part of the community to exclude another part from its rights."—*Ib.*

"He that would employ his pecuniary property, or presume upon the influence it gives him, to dispossess or rob another of his *property of rights*, uses that pecuniary property as he would use fire-arms, *and merits to have it taken from him.*"—*Ib.*

"In any view of the case it is dangerous and impolitic, sometimes ridiculous, and always unjust, to make property the criterion of the right of voting."—*Ib.*

Hardly prepared were the Girondists to work out these principles. These were not their motors. They, the virtuous, the philosophic, the always moderate men, preferred a property-qualification, which Robespierre, the "Incorruptible" (called so even by his enemies), so intrepidly denounced. The Constituent Assembly, the framers of the so much vaunted Constitution of '91, had divided the nation into "active" and "passive" citizens, establishing, in opposition to Robespierre and a few others, two degrees of qualification for the exercise of the universal right. The payment of *direct* taxes to the amount of three days wages was the qualification for voting in the primary assemblies, in other words, of choosing those *who were to elect the deputies*, a property-qualification being required from these secondary *electors*. It was for opposing this law of disfranchisement, and other laws as iniquitous, that Robespierre lost his life, and became the Slandered of History. Paine could have had but little sympathy with such reformers as these Girondists; and it is hard to account for his moving in their ranks. It is manifest from the *Rights of Man*, that, when he wrote that work, he was not aware of the manifold delinquencies of the Constituent Assembly.*

* See, for one instance, where he says, "The Constitution of France says, that every man who pays a tax of sixty sous *per annum* is an elector." We have shown it was no such thing.

His knowledge of the French language, too, appears to have been very imperfect; and even this may have been some hindrance to his forming a just estimate of what was passing around him. His addresses in the Convention were all written in English, and translated for him. His intimacy with Brissot was preserved, partly, because Brissot spoke English.*

The "libeller" was not forgotten in England. On the 18th of December his trial came on at the Guildhall, London, before Lord Kenyon. The result was such as might have been anticipated: the judge (as is usual in political cases) being a mere tool of the government, the jury his obsequious obeyers; no inquiry being instituted as to the truth of the condemned principles; the only question raised, being, whether their publication disturbed the government. The jury found a verdict for the crown, "without the trouble of deliberation:"—guilty—guilty of speaking the truth to enlighten his fellow men, the old blasphemy, unforgiven of political or spiritual depotism. Mr. Erskine was the defendant's counsel, and addressed the jury for some hours, in an able, lawyer-like speech, of which Paine remarked, that it was "a good speech for himself, but a poor defence of the *Rights of Man.*" A number of state prosecutions against the vendors of Paine's works, followed hard upon his conviction. Any one having a copy of the proscribed book was a marked man; and every endeavor was used by the paternal care of the government, to prevent the spreading of these "inflammatory" writings—for some time with considerable success; but after a while, as is always the case, rather aiding than retarding the advancement of the interdicted opinions. Paine's frequent toast was, "The best way of advertising good books: by prosecution."

Though the representative of Calais held opinions on

* Rickman, p. 102.

most questions far beyond the protestations or the policy of the Brissot faction,* yet, as was to be expected, his connection with them excited suspicion. In the close of

* Witness the following:—"No question has arisen within the records of history that pressed with the importance of the present. It is not whether this or that party shall be in or out, whether whig or tory, high or low shall prevail; but whether man shall inherit his right, and universal civilization take place? Whether the fruits of his labors shall be enjoyed by himself or consumed by the profligacy of governments? Whether robbery shall be banished from courts, and wretchedness from countries?

"When, in countries that are called civilized, we see age going to the work-house, and youth to the gallows, something must be wrong in the system of government. It would seem, by the exterior appearance of such countries, that all was happiness; but there lies hidden from the eye of common observation, a mass of wretchedness that has scarcely any other chance than to expire in poverty or infamy.—

"*Why is it, that scarcely any are executed but the poor?* The fact is a proof, among other things, of a wretchedness in their condition. Bred up without morals and cast upon the world without a prospect, they are the exposed sacrifice of vice and legal barbarity.

"It is difficult to discover what is meant by the *landed interest*, if it does not mean a combination of aristocratical landholders.—

"If the Baron merited a monument to be erected in Runnymede, Wat Tyler merits one in Smithfield."—*Rights of Man, part 2.*

See also, in the same work, Paine's scheme for improving the condition of the poor and abolishing the inhuman poor-laws; also his table of progressive taxation to restrict accumulation within certain limits;—and compare the above with the following, from a Declaration of Rights, proposed by Robespierre. It will then be seen how well Paine and Robespierre accorded; and how little the former was that unprincipled emasculation, self-named a "moderate reformer."

"*Art. 1.* The end of all political associations is the maintenance of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man, and the development of all his faculties.

"*Art. 2.* The principal rights of man are those of providing for the preservation of his existence and liberty.

"*Art. 3.* These rights belong to all men equally.

"*Art. 7.* The right of property is limited, like all other rights, by the obligation to respect the rights of others.

"*Art. 10.* Society is under obligation to provide subsistence for all its members, either by procuring employment for them, or by insuring the means of existence to those that are incapable of labor.

"*Art. 11.* The relief indispensable to those that are in want of necessaries is a debt due from the possessors of superfluities. It belongs to the law to determine the manner in which the debt should be discharged.

"*Art. 12.* Citizens, where the income does not exceed what is necessary to their subsistence, are dispensed from contributing to the public expenditure. The rest ought to contribute *progressively*, according to the extent of their fortunes.

"*Art. 21.* All the citizens are equally admissable to all public functions

"*Art. 22.* All the citizens have an equal right to concur in the nomination of the delegates of the people.

"*Art. 29.* When the government violates the rights of the people, insurrection is for the people, and for every portion of the people, the most sacred of rights, and the most indispensable of duties.

"*Art. 30.* When the social guarantee, or compact, fails to protect a citizen, he resumes his natural right to defend *personally* all his rights.

"*Art. 31.* In either of the two preceding cases, to subject to legal forms the resistance to oppression, is the last refinement of tyranny."—*Maximilien Robespierre*, given in *Buonarroti's History of Babeuf's Conspiracy for Equality.*

CONDORCET.

CONDORCET.

CONDORCET, says Lamartine, "was a philosopher, as intrepid in his actions as bold in his speculations. His political creed was a consequence of his philosophy. He believed in the divinity of reason, and in the omnipotence of the human understanding, with liberty as its handmaid. Heaven, the abode of all ideal perfections, and in which man places his most beautiful dreams, was limited by Condorcet to earth: his science was his virtue; the human mind his deity. The intellect impregnated by science, and multiplied by time, it appeared to him must triumph necessarily over all the resistance of matter; must lay bare all the creative powers of nature, and renew the face of creation. He had made of this system a line of politics, whose first idea was to adore the future and abhor the past. He had the cool fanaticism of logic, and the reflective anger of conviction. A pupil of Voltaire, D'Alembert, and Helvetius, he, like Bailly, was of that intermediate generation by which philosophy was embodied with the Revolution. More ambitious than Bailly, he had not his impassibility. Aristocrat by birth, he, like Mirabeau, had passed over to the camp of the people. He had become one of the people, in order to convert the people into the army of philosophy. He wanted of the republic no more than was sufficient to overturn its prejudices. Ideas once become victorious,—he would willingly have confided it to the control of a constitutional monarchy. He was rather a man for dispute than a man of anarchy. Aristocrats always carry with them, into the popular party, the desire of order and command. They would fain

"'Ride in the whirlwind and direct the storm.'

Real anarchists are those who are impatient of having always obeyed, and feel themselves impotent to command.

"Condorcet had edited the *Chronique de Paris* from 1789. It was a journal of constitutional doctrines, but in which the throbbings of anger were perceivable beneath the cool and polished hand of the philosopher. Had Condorcet been endowed with warmth and command of language, he might have been the Mirabeau of another assembly. He had his earnestness and constancy, but had not the resounding and energetic tone which made his own soul and feelings felt by another."—E.

1793, he lost his seat in the Convention, in consequence of a successful motion, made by Bourdon de L'Oise, for expelling foreigners from that body; and immediately afterwards, he was arrested and conveyed to the Luxembourg, by order of the Committees of Public Safety and General Surety (of which Barrere and Vadier were presidents, and Robespierre not "dictator",) in pursuance of a former decree for imprisoning natives of England, from which Paine had been excepted in virtue of his seat in the Convention.

The following, from Rickman, gives us a tolerable insight into his private life in Paris:—"His company was now coveted universally—by many who for some reasons never chose to avow it. With the Earl of Lauderdale, and Dr. Moore, whose company he was fond of, he dined every Friday, till Lord Gower's departure made it necessary for them to quit France, which was early in 1793. About this period he removed from White's Hotel to one near the Rue Richelieu, where he was so plagued and interrupted by numerous visitors, and sometimes by adventurers, that, in order to have some time to himself, he appropriated two mornings in a week for his levee days. To this indeed he was extremely averse, from the fuss and formality attending it, but he was nevertheless obliged to adopt it. Annoyed and disconcerted with a life so contrary to his wishes and habits, he retired to the Fauxbourg St. Dennis,* where

* He himself says, "In 1793, I had lodgings in the *Rue Fauxbourg St. Dennis. No 63*. They were the most agreeable for situation of any I ever had in Paris, except that they were too remote from the Convention, of which I was then a member. The house, which was enclosed by a wall and gateway from the street, was a good deal like an old mansion farmhouse, and the court-yard, was like a farm-yard, stocked with fowls, ducks, turkeys, and geese; which, for amusement, we used to feed out of the window of the parlor on the ground floor. There were some huts for rabbits, and a stye with two pigs. Beyond was a garden of more than an acre of ground, well laid out, and stocked with excellent fruit trees. The orange, apricot, and the green-gage plum were the best I ever tasted; and it is the only place where I saw the wild cucumber, which they told me is poisonous. My apartments consisted of three rooms. The first for wood, water, &c., with an old fashioned closet chest, high enough to hang up clothes in. The next was the bedroom, and beyond that the sitting-room. At the end of the sitting-room, which looked into the garden, was a

he occupied part of the hotel that Madame de Pompadour once resided in. Here was a good garden, well laid out; and here too our mutual friend Mr. Choppin occupied apartments. At this residence, which for a town one was very quiet, he lived a life of retirement and philosophical ease, while it was believed he was gone into the country for his health, which by this time indeed was much impaired by intense application to business, and by the anxious solicitude he felt for the welfare of public affairs. Here with a chosen few he unbent himself; among whom were Brissot, the Marquis de Chatelet le Roi of the gallerie de honore,* and an old friend of Dr. Franklin, Bancal, and sometimes General Miranda. His English associates were Christie and family, Mrs. Wollstonecraft, Mr. and Mrs. Stone, &c. Among his American friends were Capt. Imlay, Joel Barlow, &c., &c. To these parties the French inmates were generally invited.—He usually rose about seven, breakfasted with his friend Choppin, Johnson, and two or three other Englishmen, and a Monsieur La Borde, who had been an officer in the ci-devant garde-du-corps, an intolerable aristocrat, but whose skill in mechanics and geometry brought on a friendship between him and Paine.—After breakfast he usually strayed an hour or two in the garden, where he one morning pointed out the kind of spider whose web furnished him with the first idea of constructing his iron bridge.—The little happy circle who lived with him here will ever remember these days with delight: with these select friends he would talk of his boyish days, play at chess, whist, piquet, or cribbage, and enliven the moments by many interesting anecdotes: with these he

glass door, and on the outside a small landing-place railed in, and a flight of narrow stairs almost hidden by the vines that grew over it, by which I could descend into the garden, without going down stairs through the house. I used to find some relief by walking alone in the garden after it was dark, and cursing with hearty good will the authors of that terrible system, that had turned the character of the revolution I had been proud to defend."—*Yorke's Letters from France.*

* Possibly *du Chatelet du Roi of the galerie d'honneur.*

would play at marbles, scotch hops, battledores, &c., on the broad and fine gravel walk at the upper end of the garden; and then retire to his boudoir, where he was up to his knees in letters and papers of various descriptions. Here he remained till dinner time; and, unless he visited Brissot's family or some particular friend in the evening, which was his frequent custom, he joined again a society of his favorites and fellow-boarders, with whom his conversation was often witty and cheerful, always acute and improving, but never frivolous."*

"On the day of the trial of Marat, Mr. Paine dined at White's Hotel with Mr. Milnes, a gentleman of great hospitality and profusion, who usually gave a public dinner to twenty or thirty gentlemen, once a week. At table, among many others besides Mr. Paine, was a Capt. Grimstone, a high aristocrat. He took little pains to conceal his political principles, and when the glass had freely circulated a short time after dinner, he attempted loudly and impertinently to combat the political doctrines of the philosopher. Mr. Paine in few words, with much acuteness and address, continued exposing the fallacy of his reasoning, and rebutting his invectives. The captain became more violent, and waxed so angry, that at length, rising from his chair, he walked around the table to where Mr. Paine was sitting, and here began a volley of abuse, calling him incendiary, traitor to his country, and struck him a violent blow that nearly knocked him off his seat. Capt. Grimstone was a stout young man about thirty, and Mr. Paine at this time nearly sixty. The company, who had occasion frequently during dinner to call him to order, were now obliged to give him in charge of the national guard. An act of the Convention had made it death to strike a deputy, and every one in company with the person committing the assault, refusing to give up the offender, was considered an accomplice.

* Rickman, p. 129 to 136.

Paine immediately applied to Barrere, at that time president of the Committee of Public Safety, for a passport for the unhappy man, who must otherwise have suffered death; and at length accomplished it, at the same time sending Grimstone money to defray his travelling expenses; for his passport was of so short a duration, that he was obliged to go immediately from his prison to the messagerie nationale."*

At the time of his arrest, Paine confided to his friend Joel Barlow, the manuscript of the *first part* of the AGE OF REASON. A considerable portion of the *second part* was written during his imprisonment, (pens, ink, and paper being allowed even in the "Reign of Terror.") He also amused his prison hours with the composition of several trifles, both in prose and verse.

When he had been in the Luxembourg about three weeks,† the Americans resident in Paris went in a body to the Convention to demand his liberation; but were answered that Mr. Paine was born in England: it was also signified to them that their act had no authority from the American government.‡ The American ambassador, Morris, did not interfere in his behalf. Washington, too, neglected him. "I had been imprisoned seven months, and the silence of the executive part of the government of America (Mr. Washington) upon the case, and upon every thing respecting me, was explanation enough to Robespierre that he might proceed to extremities. A violent fever, which had nearly terminated my existence, was, I believe, the circumstance that preserved it. I was not in a condition to be removed, or to know of what was passing, for more than a month. It makes a blank in my remembrance of life. The first thing I was informed of was the fall of Robespierre. About a week after this Mr. Monroe arrived to supersede

* Rickman, p. 151-2-3. † Sherwin, p. 152.

‡ Paine's *Letter to George Washington*, Paris, August 3, 1796.

MADAME ROLAND.

MADAME ROLAND.

PRECEDING the Revolution in France, whilst Louis XVI. still retained his throne, and before the organization of the Girondists and Jacobins, the leading patriots of France frequently assembled at the home of a young woman, daughter of an engraver of the Quai des Orfévres. "It was there," says Lamertine, "that the two parties of the Gironde and Montagne assembled, united, separated, and after having acquired power, and overturned the monarchy in company, tore the bosom of their country with their dissensions, and destroyed liberty, whilst they destroyed each other.

"It was neither ambition, nor fortune, nor celebrity which had successively attracted these men to this woman's residence; it was conformity of opinion; it was that devoted friendship which chosen spirits like to render to a new truth which promises happiness to mankind. The ardent and pure mind of a female was worthy of becoming the focus to which converged all the rays of the new truth in order to become prolific in the warmth of the heart. Men have the spirit of truth, woman only its passion. There is invariably a woman at the beginning of all great undertakings; one was requisite to the principle of the French Revolution, and philosophy found this woman in Madame Roland.

"Young, lovely, radiant with genius, nature had endowed her with an understanding even superior to her beauty. A tall and supple figure, prominent bust, modest and becoming demeanor, black and soft hair, blue eyes, which appeared brown in the depths of their reflection, a skin marbled with the animation of life and veined by blood which the least impression sent mounting to her cheeks, a tone of voice which borrowed its vibrations from the deepest fibres of her heart, and was modulated to its finest movements.

"Her understanding lightened this beauteous frame with an intelligence which seemed like inspiration. Her active mind had need of all the means of thought for its due exercise. Theology, history, philosophy, music, painting, dancing, the exact sciences, chemistry, and foreign languages she learned and desired still more. The works of Rousseau, Voltaire, Montesquieu, and the English philosophers were read by her, but her preference was for Plutarch and Fénélon.

"Philosophy became her creed, and this creed formed a portion of her politics. The emancipation of the people united itself in her mind with the emancipation of ideas. She believed by overturning thrones that she was working for men; and by overturning altars that she was laboring for God.

The hour of the Revolution of '89 had struck, and Madame Roland felt a fire kindled within her, which was never to be quenched but in her blood. All the love which lay slumbering in her soul was converted into enthusiasm and devotion for the human race. All her repressed feelings were poured forth in her opinions; she avenged herself on her destiny, which refused her individual happiness, by sacrificing herself for the happiness of others.

"On the twentieth of February, Roland returned to Paris, and the *Salon* of Madame became a focus of the Revolution. It was here that she first met Thomas Paine, who, she says, from the boldness of his ideas and the originality of his style, was listened to as an oracle by Condorcet and Brissot, and acknowledged as a master by Robespierre.

"It is the lot of some individuals to attract a greater degree of interest and curiosity on the part of posterity than the records of an empire, for such persons have united in their situation and feelings—their alternate rise and fall—all the vicissitudes, catastrophes, glories, and misfortunes of the time in which they lived. Madame Roland was one of this class. Her enthusiasm and passion, her illusions, her martyrdom, her unextinguishable hope for the future, amid the actual discouragement of the present, rendered her, even in the very depths of her dungeon, a living personification of the whole Revolution.

"At the fall of the Girondists, Madame Roland bravely steeled her heart against persecution, and beheld in death only a refuge for her virtue, and a brilliant immortality for her name. At her trial she exclaimed to her judges, 'I thank you for considering me worthy to share the fate of the good and great men you have murdered.'

"After the execution of Lamarche, which she heard without changing color, Madame Roland stepped lightly up to the scaffold, and bowing before the statue of Liberty, as though to do homage to a power for whom she was about to die, exclaimed, 'O Liberty! Liberty! how many crimes are committed in thy name!'"—E.

Gouverneur Morris, and as soon as I was able to write a note legible enough to be read, I found a way to convey one to him by means of the man who lighted the lamps in the prison; and whose unabated friendship for me, from whom he had never received any service, and with difficulty accepted any recompense, puts the character of Mr. Washington to shame. In a few days I received a message from Mr. Monroe, conveyed to me in a note from an intermediate person, with assurance of his friendship, and expressing a desire that I would rest the case in his hands. After a fortnight or more had passed, hearing nothing further, I wrote to a friend who was then in Paris, a citizen of Philadelphia, requesting him to inform me what was the true situation of things with respect to me. I was sure that something was the matter; I began to have hard thoughts of Mr. Washington, but I was unwilling to encourage them. In about ten days, I received an answer to my letter, in which the writer says, 'Mr. Monroe has told me that he has no order (meaning from the president, Mr. Washington) respecting you, but that he (Mr. Monroe) will do every thing in his power to liberate you; but from what I learn from the Americans lately arrived in Paris, you are not considered either by the American government, or by individuals, as an American citizen.' Upon the receipt of the letter, I sent a memorial to Mr. Monroe, and received from him the following answer. It is dated the 18th of September, but did not come to hand till about the 18th of October. I was then falling into a relapse, the weather was becoming damp and cold, fuel was not to be had, and an abscess in my side, the consequence of those things, and of want of air and exercise, was beginning to form, and has continued immovable ever since."* Monroe, in his reply, states that Congress had not decided upon the question of citizenship, but that the Americans, "the

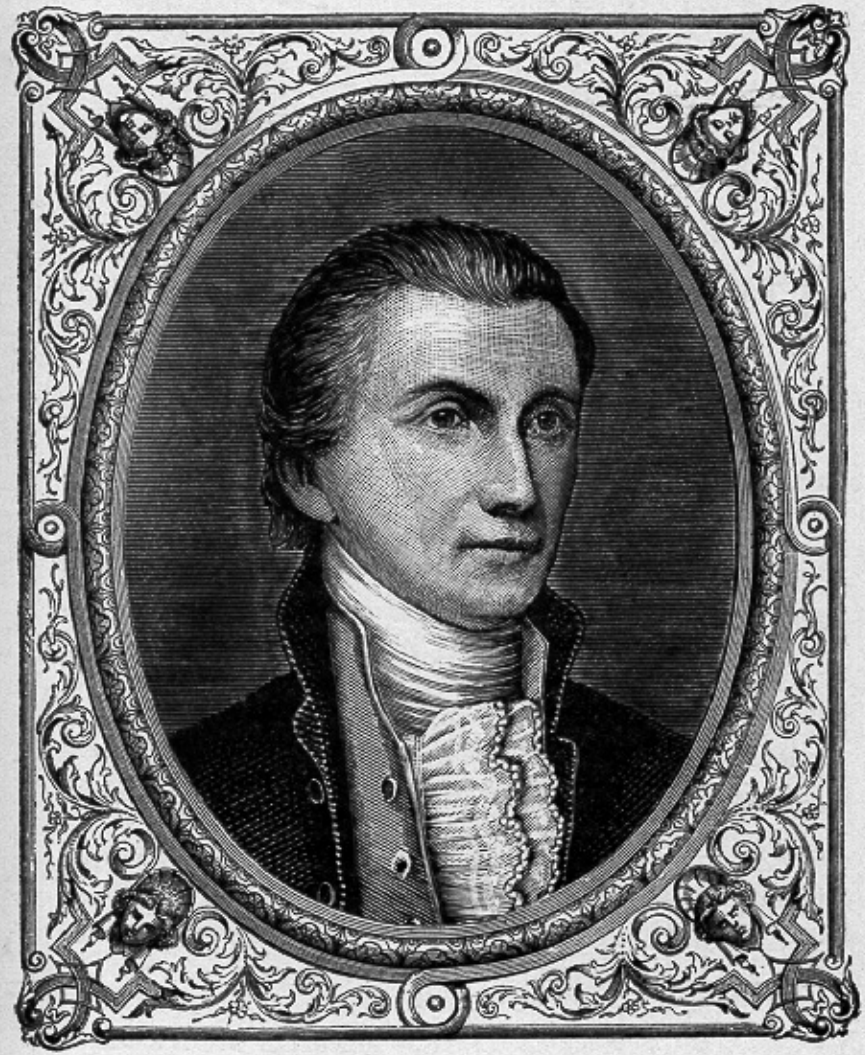
* Letter to Washington.

great mass of people," could not be otherwise than interested in his welfare. Of Washington he speaks cautiously and evasively, thus:—"Of the sense which the President has always entertained of your merits, and of his friendly disposition towards you, you are too well assured to require any declaration of it from me. That I forward his wishes in seeking your safety is what I well know; and this will form an additional obligation on me to perform what I should otherwise consider as a duty."* This almost amounts to an acknowledgment that Washington had given no orders whatever about him.

In a letter written by Paine after his return to America,† we find the following "miraculous intervention:"

"One hundred and sixty-eight persons were taken out of the Luxembourg in one night, and a hundred and sixty of them guillotined the next day, of which I know I was to have been one; and the manner I escaped that fate is curious and has all the appearance of accident. The room in which I was lodged was on the ground floor, and one of a long range of rooms under a gallery, and the door of it opened outward and flat against the wall; so that when it was open the inside of the door appeared outward, and the contrary when it was shut. I had three comrades, fellow-prisoners with me, Joseph Vanhuile of Bruges, since president of the municipality of that town, Michael Robins, and Bastini of Louvain. When persons by scores and hundreds were to be taken out of prison for the guillotine, it was always done in the night, and those who performed that office had a private mark or signal, by which they knew what rooms to go to, and what number to take. We, as I have said, were four, and the door of our room was marked, unobserved by us, with that number in chalk; but it happened, if happening is a proper word, that the mark was put on when the door was open and flat against the wall, and thereby

* Letter to Washington. † Sherwin, p. 161-2.



JAMES MONROE

JAMES MONROE TO THOMAS PAINE.

IT is not necessary for me to tell you how much all your countrymen—I speak of the great mass of the people—are interested in your welfare. They have not forgotten the history of their own revolution and the difficult scenes through which they passed; nor do they review its several stages without reviving in their bosoms a due sensibility of the merits of those who served them in that great and arduous conflict. The crime of ingratitude has not yet stained, and I trust never will stain, our national character. You are considered by them as not only having rendered important services in our own revolution, but as being on a more extensive scale the friend of human rights, and a distinguished and able defender of public liberty. To the welfare of Thomas Paine the Americans are not, nor can they be indifferent.

JAMES MONROE.

came on the inside when we shut it at night, and the destroying angel passed by it. A few days after this Robespierre fell." Yet though that "sanguinary tyrant" was murdered by the "Moderates" on the 28th of July, 1794, Paine did not obtain his liberty (and then through much exertion on the part of Monroe) till the 4th of November following.* He himself says, "All that period of my imprisonment, at least, I owe to George Washington."†

After his liberation he found a friendly home in the house of Monroe,‡ (afterwards president of the United States), with whom he resided, for eighteen months. His constitution suffered materially from his confinement: and thus circumstanced he hastened to complete the *second part of the* AGE OF REASON. The first part had also been produced under great disadvantages. He says, in the preface to the second part:—"It had long been my intention to publish my thoughts upon religion; but I had reserved it to a later period in life, intending it to be the last work I should undertake. The circumstances, however, which existed in France in the latter end of the year 1792, determined me to delay it no longer. I saw many of my most intimate friends" (Brissot among others) "destroyed; others daily carried to prison: and I had reason to believe, and had also intimations given me, that the same danger was approaching myself. Under these disadvantages, I began the former part of the *Age of Reason;* I had, besides, neither *Bible* nor *Testament* to refer to, though I was writing against both; nor could I procure any; notwithstanding which, I have produced a work that no Bible believer, though writing at his ease, and with a library of church books about him, can refute. Towards the latter end of December of that year, a motion was made and carried, to exclude

* Letter to Washington. † Ibid.

‡ Rickman, p. 164; Sherwin, p. 159.

foreigners from the Convention. There were but two in it, Anacharsis Clootz and myself; and I saw I was particularly pointed at by Bourdon de l'Oise, in his speech on that motion. Conceiving, after this, that I had but a few days of liberty, I sat down and brought the work to a close as speedily as possible: and I had not finished it more than six hours, in the state it has since appeared, before a guard came, with an order for putting me in arrestation."

The first part of the *Age of Reason* was probably published by Barlow,* during Paine's imprisonment. The second part made its appearance about the end of 1795.†

At the invitation of a unanimous vote of the Convention, Paine resumed his seat; but it would seem that he little accorded with the now unmasked Respectables, then manufacturing a new constitution to displace that of '93, which, principally framed by Robespierre, had received the sanction of four millions of adult Frenchmen.‡ More especially he contended against that odious distinction (formerly so strenuously opposed by the maligned Robespierre) between direct and indirect taxes as qualifications for the rights of citizenship.§ His objections had little weight with the Convention; and a new election following the formation of the "Constitution," Paine was not re-elected. Possibly *his* opinions were too extreme for the new regime of shopocrats.

During the English invasion of Holland, he went to Brussels, where he passed a few days with General Brune.‖ "For some years before he left Paris, he lodged at M. Bonville's," (Bonneville), "associating occasionally with the great men of the day, Condorcet,¶

* Gorton's Biographical Dictionary.

† Sherwin says, early in '95 but Paine's Letter to Washington, contradicts this.

‡ Buonarroti's History of Babeuf's Conspiracy for Equality.

§ Sherwin, p. 175. ‖ Yorke's Letters from France.

¶ Condorcet died 28th of March, 1791. Paine's acquaintance with him must have been previous to his imprisonment.

Volney, Mercier, Joel Barlow, &c., &c., and sometimes dining with Bonaparte and his generals."* The following is amusing: When Bonaparte returned from Italy "he called on Mr. Paine, and invited him to dinner: in the course of his rapturous ecstacies, he declared that a statue of gold ought to be erected to him in every city in the universe; he also assured him that he always slept with his *Rights of Man* under his pillow, and conjured him to honor him with his correspondence and advice."†

"Paine now indulged his mechanical taste, and amused himself in bridge and ship modelling, and in pursuing his favorite studies, the mathematics and natural philosophy. 'These models,' says a correspondent of that time,‡ 'exhibit an extraordinary degree not only of skill, but of taste in mechanics; and are wrought with extreme delicacy entirely by his own hands. The largest of these, the model of a bridge, is nearly four feet in length: the iron-works, the chains, and every other article belonging to it were forged and manufactured by himself. It is intended as the model of a bridge which is to be constructed across the Delaware, extending four hundred and eighty feet with only one arch. He also forged himself the model of a crane of a new description, which, when put together, exhibited the power of the lever to a most surprising degree.'"§

Soon after the publication of the second part of the *Age of Reason*, he gave to the world his *Dissertation on First Principles of Government; Agrarian Justice, opposed to Agrarian Law and to Agrarian Monopoly;* and *The Decline and Fall of the English System of Finance.* In 1796, too, he published his *Letter to George Washington.* In 1797 he published *A Discourse delivered to the Society of Theophilanthropists at Paris*

* Rickman, p. 164.
† Yorke's Letters from France.
‡ Redhead Yorke.
§ Rickman, p. 165.

(a society of which he had been a principal promoter); *A Letter to the People of France on the events of the 18th Fructidor;* and *A Letter to Camille Jordan, on Priests, Bells, and Public Worship.** His popularity was now waning, in consequence of his assault upon the Bible. If we may believe Mr. Yorke's *Letters from France in 1802*, he, who had been obliged by the press of visitors to appoint regular levee days, was then the lonely habitant of the second story of a bookseller's in the Rue du Théatre Francais; occupying "a little dirty room, containing a small wooden table and two chairs. The chimney-hearth was a heap of dirt; there was not a speck of cleanliness to be seen; three shelves were filled with pasteboard boxes, each labelled after the manner of a minister of foreign affairs, *Correspondence Americaine, Britannique, Française; Notices Politiques; Le Citoyen Français,*† &c. In one corner of the room stood several huge bars of iron, curiously shaped, and two large trunks; opposite the fireplace, a board covered with pamphlets and journals, having more the appearance of a dresser in a scullery than a sideboard.—Mr. Paine came down stairs, and entered the room, dressed in a long flannel gown. Time seemed to have made dreadful ravages over his whole frame, and a settled melancholy was visible on his countenance."

He was detained in France much longer than he desired, through fear of the British cruisers. "When Monroe left France, to return to America," he says, "I was to have gone with him: it was fortunate I did not. The vessel he sailed in was visited by a British frigate, that searched every part of it, and down to the hold, for Thomas Paine. I then went, the same year, to embark at Havre; but several British frigates were cruising in sight of the port, who knew I was there, and I had to return again to Paris. Seeing myself thus cut off from

* Sherwin, p. 175 to 181.

† In which he is said to have written.

DANTON.

DANTON.

DANTON, whom the Revolution had found an obscure barrister at the Châtelet, had increased with it in influence. He had already, says Lamertine, that celebrity which the multitude assigns to him whom it sees every where, and always listens to. He was one of those men who seem born of the stir of revolutions, and which float on its surface until it swallows them up. All in him was like the mass—athletic, rude, coarse. He pleased them because he resembled them. His eloquence was like the loud clamor of the mob. His brief and decisive phrases had the martial curtness of command. His irresistible gestures gave impulse to his plebian auditories. Ambition was his sole line of politics. Devoid of honor, principles, or morality, he only loved democracy because it was exciting. It was his element, and he plunged into it. He was intoxicated with the revolutionary vertigo as a man becomes drunken with wine; yet he bore his intoxication well. He had that superiority of calmness in the confusion he created, which enabled him to control it: preserving *sang froid* in his excitement and his temper, even in a moment of passion, he jested with the clubs in their stormiest moods. A burst of laughter interrupted bitterest imprecations; and he amused the people even whilst he impelled them to the uttermost pitch of fury.

He was only with the people because he was of the people, and thus the people ought to triumph. He would have betrayed it, as he served it, unscrupulously. The court well knew the tariff of his conscience. He threatened it in order to make it desirous of buying him; he only opened his mouth in order to have it stuffed with gold. His most revolutionary movements were but the marked prices at which he was purchasable. His hand was in every intrigue, and his honesty was not checked by any offer of corruption. He was bought daily, and next morning was again for sale. Mirabeau, La Fayette, Montmorin, M. De Laporte, the intendant of the civil list, the Duc d'Orleans, the king himself, all knew his price. Money had flowed with him from all sources, even the most impure, without remaining with him. Any other individual would have felt shame before men and parties who had the secret of his dishonor; but he only was not ashamed, and looked them in the face without a blush. His was the quietude of vice.*

Danton and his friend Lacroix were arrested and thrown into the same cell. He desired, towards the middle of the day, to take exercise, like the rest of the *detenus*, in the corridors. The gaolers dared not refuse some steps in the prison to the man who ruled the Convention on the evening before. Hérault de Séchelles ran and embraced him. Danton affected indifference and gaiety. "When men do foolish things," said he, shrugging his shoulders at Hérault de Séchelles, "they must know how to laugh at them." Then, perceiving Thomas Paine, the American Democrat, he approached him, and said with sorrow, "That which you have done for your country, I have endeavored to do for mine."

Danton assumed a lofty air on the scaffold, and seemed as if he measured out his pedestal. Never in the tribune had he been more haughty—more imposing. He cast, right and left, a glance of pity, and seemed by his attitude to say, "Look at me well. You will not look upon my like again." But nature for a moment overcame this pride. A cry escaped him, torn from him by the remembrance of his young wife. "Oh my best beloved!" he exclaimed with moistened eyes, "I shall never see thee more!" Then, as if reproaching himself for his weakness, he said aloud: "Come, come, Danton, no weakness." Then he turned towards the headsman and said, with an air of authority; "You will show my head to the people—it will be well worth the display!" His head fell, and the executioner complying with his last wish, caught it from the basket, and carried it round the scaffold—the mob applauded! Thus end favorites!

Thus died on the stage before the multitude the man for whom the scaffold was also a theatre, and who desired to die applauded, at the close of the tragic drama of his life, as he had been at the beginning and in the middle. His only deficiency as a great man was virtue. He had its nature, cause, genius, exterior, destiny, death, but not its conscience. He played the great man, but was not one. There is no greatness in a part—there is greatness only in the actual faith. Danton had the feeling, frequently the passion of liberty, but not the faith, for internally he professed no worship but that of renown.—E.

* "Infamous and contented."—*Junius.*

every opportunity that was in my power to command, I wrote to Mr. Jefferson, that if the fate of the election should put him in the chair of the presidency, and he should have occasion to send a frigate to France, he would give me the opportunity of returning by it, which he did" (in a letter dated July, 1802); "but I declined coming by the Maryland, the vessel that was offered me, and waited for the frigate that was to bring the new minister, Mr. Chancellor Livingston, to France; but that frigate was ordered round to the Mediterranean; and as at that time the war was over, and the British cruisers called in, I could come any way; I then agreed to come with Commodore Barney in a vessel he had engaged. It was again fortunate I did not, for the vessel sunk at sea, and the people were preserved in the boat. Had half the number of evils befallen me, that the number of dangers amount to through which I have been preserved, there are those who would ascribe it to the wrath of heaven; why then do they not ascribe my preservation to the protecting favor of heaven?" *

On the 1st of September, 1802, disgusted with the loyal apathy of England and the "slavish politics"† of Consular France, Paine turned his back on Europe, embarking in the London packet, at Havre de Grace for America, after an absence of fifteen years.

* No. 4 of the Letters to the Citizens of the United States.

† "After Bonaparte had usurped the sovereign power," says Richard Carlile, "and everything in the shape of a representative system of government had subsided, Mr. Paine led quite a retired life, saw but little company, and for many years brooded over the misfortunes of France, and the advantages it had thrown away, by anticipating its present disgrace. He saw plainly, that all the benefits which the Revolution ought to have preserved would be foiled by the military ambition of Bonaparte. He would not allow the epithet Republic to be applied to it, without condemning such an association of ideas, and insisted upon it that the United States of America was alone of all the governments on the face of the earth, entitled to that honorable appellation."—*Eckler.*

CHAPTER VI.

THE ABANDONED.

WE have followed our "rebellious needleman" from obscurity to the summit of literary fame, to the zenith of political glory; we have seen kings and rulers of nations quailing at his unprivileged words; priestcraft has shrunk back aghast, for his grip is on her: it is time for him to rest. But old age and disease are undermining the Overthrower of thrones and altars; and as if these were all the household comforts a worn-out man can need, old friends are falling off, and some begin to think that "he has gone too far"—has been too much in earnest. Truly, it requires some virtue—greater virtue than may get a name in a revolution—to stand by him who likes no abuses. England has cast him forth: he was not to be bought with place or pension; neither would he take holy orders. France, counter-revolutionized, would disenfranchise such as he. And America, his "beloved America," is too proud of her independence to welcome back the—infidel. Certainly, to no men are reformers more offensive than to their friends, the slower-paced. Let a man be advised: and be careful to cut his conscience to the stature of his friends! There will be no condemnation like theirs. "Why, we are liberal; but we cannot tolerate *that*:"—Doubtless a sufficient proof of your liberality! The thousand thousand to whom *Common Sense* was given, to say nothing of some little efficient service in the war for *Independence*, independent as they were, crowded not to

MARAT.

MARAT.

MARAT, says Lamartine in his *History of the Girondists*, "was born in Switzerland. A writer without talent, a *savant* without reputation, with a desire for fame without having received from society or nature the means of acquiring either, he revenged himself on all that was great not only in society but in nature. Genius was as hateful to him as aristocracy. Wherever he saw anything elevated or striking he hunted it down as though it were a deadly enemy. He would have levelled creation. Equality was his mania, because superiority was his martyrdom; he loved the Revolution because it brought down all to his level; he loved it even to blood, because blood washed out the stain of his long-enduring obscurity; he made himself a public denouncer by the popular title; he knew that denouncement is flattery to all who tremble, and the people are always trembling. A real prophet of demagogueism, inspired by insanity, he gave his nightly dreams to daily conspiracies. The Seid of the people, he interested it by his self-devotion to its interests. He affected mystery like all oracles. He lived in obscurity, and only went out at night; he only communicated with his fellows with the most sinistrous precautions. A subterranean cell was his residence, and there he took refuge safe from poignard and poison. His journal affected the imagination like something supernatural. Marat was wrapped in real fanaticism. The confidence reposed in him nearly amounted to worship. The fumes of the blood he incessantly demanded had mounted to his brain. He was the delirium of the Revolution, himself a living delirium!"—E.

the sea-shore to hail back their friend, not the least to be esteemed among their liberators. Even Washington had forgotten his own hand-writing; or held he too precise a memory of Paine's angry letter from Paris, thus ending —"As to you, Sir, treacherous in private friendship and a hypocrite in public life, the world will be puzzled to decide, whether you are an APOSTATE or an IMPOSTOR, whether you have abandoned good principles, or whether you ever had any."* That letter, too, contained some ill-looking facts, not yet cleared up: at least Peter Porcupine's *Answer* says nothing. Such things are not to be forgiven by Christian men; neither may Infidelity be countenanced. Other causes of neglect may have been at work. The Commander-in-chief was a *Federalist*, and feared the republic might become too republican. Paine, though he misunderstood Robespierre, was a thorough-going democrat; thought La Fayette required spurring. Very dangerous these unaccommodating men, never halting at word of command, to respectable slave proprietors, who fain would harness revolutions to their family chariots, and hold the reins themselves. Here too was another sore. The great Washington was a slave-holder. Paine hated the "infernal traffic in negroes;" had only kept silence on that subject during the revolution, for fear of ruining all. But he had since written—"We must push that matter" (of abolition) "further on your side of the water. I wish that a few well-instructed negroes could be sent among their brethren in bondage; for until they are enabled to take their own part nothing will be done."† Was this to be forgotten? Yet Jefferson was a slave-holder; and he at least could write friendly, with "assurance of high esteem and affectionate attachment."‡ An infidel, too, was Jefferson; but too wary to publish

* Letter to George Washington.

†Letter to a friend in Philadelphia, Paris, March 16th, 1789.

‡Jefferson to Paine, July, 1802.

it till he was out of reach. After all, something must be allowed for the bent of a man's character. Washington's great point seems to have been *respectability:* and respectability, "thin film" as it is, keeps the wearer well with the slow-eyed world, "whose God is the Almighty Dollar;" and how shall great things be done without it? Truth is not to be spoken at all times. Your politic reformer will allow as much: but Paine was not of that stamp. He was one of those who "achieve greatness;" Washington one upon whom greatness is "thrust." The difference is worth notice when medals are struck.*

Paine arrived at Baltimore, in Maryland, on the 30th of October, 1802. "From New Hampshire to Georgia

*"It is evident from all the writings of Mr. Paine, says Richard Carlile, "that he lived in the closest intimacy with Washington up to the time of his quitting America in 1787, and it further appears that they corresponded up to the time of Mr. Paine's imprisonment in the Luxembourg. But here a fatal breach took place. Washington, having been the nominal commander-in-chief during the struggle for independence, obtained much celebrity, not for his exertions during that struggle, but in laying down all command and authority immediately on its close, and in retiring to private life, instead of assuming anything like authority or dictation in the government of the United States, which his former situation would have enabled him to do if he had chosen. This was a circumstance only to be paralleled during the purest periods of the Roman and Grecian republics, and this circumstance obtained for Washington a fame to which his generalship could not aspire. Mr. Paine says that "the disposition of Washington was apathy itself, and that nothing could kindle a fire in his bosom — neither friendship, fame, nor country." This might in some measure account for the relinquishment of all authority at a time when he might have held it, and, on the other hand, should have moderated the tone of Mr. Paine in complaining of Washington's neglect of himself whilst confined in France. The apathy which was made a sufficient excuse for the one case should have also formed a sufficient excuse for the other. This was certainly a defect in Mr. Paine's career as a political character. He might have attacked the conduct of John Adams, who was a bitter foe to Paine, republicanism, and purity of principle, and who found the apathy and indifference of Washington a sufficient cloak and opportunity to enable him to carry on every species of court and monarchical intrigue in the character of vice-president. He openly avowed his attachment to the monarchical system of government; he made an open proposition to make the presidency of the United States hereditary in the family of Washington, although the latter had no children of his own; and even ran into an intrigue and correspondence with the court and ministry of England on the subject of his diabolical purposes. All this intelligence burst upon Mr. Paine immediately on his liberation from a dreadful imprisonment, and at a moment when the neglect of the American government had nearly cost him his life. It was this which drew forth his virulent letter against Washington. The slightest interference of Washington would have saved him from several months' unjust and unnecessary imprisonment, for there was not the least charge against him further than that of having been born in England, although he had actually been outlawed in that country for supporting the cause of France and of mankind!"—*Eckler.*

(an extent of 1500 miles) every newspaper was filled with applause or abuse."* The Federalists (the American Tories) of course resented his onslaught upon the General. Many of the democratic party were also estranged from him on account of his "infidelity." Others, among whom was Jefferson, then president, received him with joy and gratulation. The leaders of the many religious sects were not the least anxious to see the author of the *Age of Reason.* On his way from Baltimore to New York, he was interrupted by a Mr. Hargrove, minister of the New Jerusalemites. "You are Mr. Paine," said Mr. Hargrove. "Yes."—"My name Sir, is Hargrove; I am minister of the New Jerusalem church here. We, Sir, explain the scriptures in their true meaning. We have found the key which has been lost above four thousand years." "It must have been very rusty," said Paine. At New York he remained some time, residing at Lovett's Hotel. Here his former friends gathered around him; a public dinner was held in his honor; other demonstrations of joy at his return were evinced: yet he could not but perceive how many of his political admirers were offended at the avowal of his religious principles; and that many, secretly approving of his opinions, openly denounced them, and shunned his society. These were things to disturb a man's serenity: and Paine was now old, and suffering, moreover, from an abscess in his side, the consequence of his long imprisonment. He appears to have become peevish and irritable; and this alienated other friends, who thought that the blighting of life's first hopes, persecution, imprisonment, old age, pain, neglect, and occasional insult, were, or ought to be, excellent promoters of tranquillity: yet there is not the slightest evidence that the benevolent disposition which had characterized him through life was at all diminished.

* Letter to Clio Rickman; Rickman, p. 175-6.

While in Paris, Paine had lodged some time with M. Bonneville, the proprietor of a republican paper, which was suppressed, to the impoverishing of Bonneville, on the usurpation of Bonaparte. When, therefore, Paine arrived in America, finding his estate prosperous, he returned certain kindnesses which he had received from Bonneville, by inviting him and his family to become his visitors.* That gentleman accepted his invitation, and sent his wife and three sons to New York; but stayed himself in Paris to settle his affairs; which improving, he remained in France, and the eldest of the boys returned to him. Madame Bonneville was placed by Paine in a small house and farm of his, at Bordentown, where he wished her to keep a school; however, she preferred residing at New York, drawing funds from him, and occasionally teaching French. "On one occasion she ran in debt on Mr. Paine's credit; but as this was without his authority, he declined paying, and suffered himself to be sued. He gained the cause, but generously paid the debt immediately. She also attempted a fraud on him to a large amount: he then, for a time, refused her assistance, but took care of her children. His god-son Thomas, he afterwards got into the West Point Academy, and we believe the other brother also; at least both were educated by him."†

Paine's popularity ceased with the New York dinner. Respectable people dared not own the *Deist;* aspiring politicians feared his acquaintance—it might injure them at the ballot-box. Many of his old friends contented themselves with a formal visit. There were honorable exceptions however, "Jefferson corresponded with him to the day of his death. De Witt Clinton sought him out and rapturously hailed him as a friend. A close intimacy existed also between him and Elihu Palmer,

*Sherwin, p. 208; Rickman, p. 179.

†From Vale's Life of Paine, formerly published in the *Beacon*, a New York periodical.

the eloquent Deistical lecturer. Mr. Palmer was blind, and while he lived, and Paine was in New York, he visited him almost daily, and at his death, rendered his widow essential service."* Paine's worldly circumstances were now very good. He writes to Clio Rickman. "My property in this country has been taken great care of by my friends, and is now worth £6000 sterling; which put in the funds, will bring me £400 sterling a year." He thus states the conduct he intended to adopt in America. "I have no occasion to ask, and do not intend to accept, any place or office in the Government. There is none it could give me, that would be any ways equal to the profits I could make as an author, for I have an established fame in the literary world, could I reconcile it to my principles to make money by my politics or religion; I must be in everything what I have ever been, a disinterested volunteer. My proper sphere of action is on the common floor of citizenship, and to honest men I give my hand and my heart freely.

"I have some manuscript works to publish, of which I shall give proper notice, and some mechanical affairs to bring forward, that will employ all my leisure time. I shall continue these letters as I see occasion, and as to the low prints that choose to abuse me, they are welcome. I shall not descend to answer them. I have been too much used to such common stuff to take any notice of it. The Government of England honored me with a thousand martyrdoms, by burning me in effigy in every town in that country, and their hirelings in America may do the same."† The remnant of his public life is soon told. In the close of 1802, and in the beginning of 1803, he wrote his *Letters to the Citizens of the United States of America, after an absence of fifteen years:* seven letters, chiefly in opposition to the Federal, or English-assimilation party, written at Washington, at New York, and at Bordentown,

* Vale. † No. 1 of the Letters to the Citizens of the United States.

and published in the Aurora newspaper. In June, 1803, he forwarded to Congress an account *of the Construction of Iron Bridges;* and presented to them his models, which, we believe, have been much followed. He also busied himself in electioneering proceedings, exposing the mal-practices of the Federalists; and he appears to have made some attempts to establish the "Deistical Church." In September, 1804, he wrote an article against the French inhabitants of Louisiana, (then just incorporated with the United States) who, in a memorial to Congress, petitioned among other rights, for the "right" of importing negroes; and in August, 1805, we find him addressing a paper *to the Citizens of Pennsylvania, on the proposal for calling a Convention.* In June, 1806, he published an inquiry into *the Cause of the Yellow Fever, and the Means of preventing it;* and in the latter part of that year, and in the course of the next, he wrote various papers, on political *Emissaries, the Liberty of the Press, Affairs of Europe, Gunboats, Fortifications,* &c., &c. In 1807, he published the *Third Part of the* AGE OF REASON—*an examination of the Prophecies, an Essay on Dreams, and an Appendix, with "My private Thoughts on a future State."* Some of his papers are dated as late as 1808. The *Essay on the Origin of Freemasonry,* and his *Reply to the Bishop of Llandaff,* were not published till after his death. These last writings are written with unabated vigor, and well sustain his literary reputation.

He appears to have been continually assailed by the hirelings of the press; but he was well able to defend himself from the rancor of these reptiles. The assaults of age were not so easily repelled. He suffered from epilepsy, and from the abscess in his side; and, though his mind still burned brightly, his body was fast wearing out. In June, 1803, he left New York for New Rochelle, and boarded with the occupant of his farm, for some

CHARLOTTE CORDAY.

CHARLOTTE CORDAY.

CHARLOTTE CORDAY d' Armont was born in a cottage called le Rodceray, in the village of Ligneries, of a noble family in humble circumstances. After the death of her mother, she entered a monastery at Caen. For some years she dreamed of ending her life in this living tomb. At the period when monasteries were suppressed, she was nineteen years of age, and went to reside with her aunt, Madame de Bretteville, whom she assisted in her domestic duties.

"The grand-daughter of the great French tragedy writer, Pierre Corneille," says Lamartine, "inherited the poetry, heroism, and love of her race. At twenty-four years of age she was celebrated for her remarkable beauty Tall and well proportioned, her natural grace and dignity, like the rhythm of poetry, displayed itself in all her movements.

"From reading the account of the struggles of the Girondists and Jacobins in the Convention, she had conceived the idea of immolating herself for the sake of liberty and humanity. She only awaited the occasion—it came, and she thought to seize it. She felt all the blows directed against her country concentrate themselves in anguish and despair in her stricken heart. She saw the loss of France, saw the victims, and believed she discovered the tyrant. She swore an oath to avenge the one, punish the other, and save all. She pondered many days over the vague determination of her heart without clearly resolving on what deed her country required at her hands, which link of crime it was most urgent to cut through. She considered things, men, circumstances in order that her courage might not be fruitless, nor her blood spilled in vain.

"The gravity of her countenance alone, and some tears, ill concealed from the eyes of her relatives, revealed the voluntary agony of her self-immolation. Interrogated by her aunt: 'I weep' said she, 'over the misfortunes of my country, over those of my relatives, and over yours. Whilst Marat lives, no one can be sure of a day's existence.'

"After her departure her aunt found an old bible open at the book of Judith, in which she had read this verse, underlined with a pencil:

"Judith went forth from the city, adorned with a marvellous beauty, which the Lord had bestowed on her to deliver Israel."

"After some difficulty in gaining admission to Marat's residence, Charlotte found him in his bath covered with a cloth filthy with dirt and spotted with ink, with only his head, shoulders, the upper part of his chest, and his right arm out of the water. There was nothing in the features of this man to affect a woman's eye with tenderness, or give pause to a meditated blow. His matted hair, wrapped in a dirty handkerchief, with receding forehead, protruding eyes, prominent cheek-bones, vast and sneering mouth, hairy chest, shrivelled limbs, and livid skin—such was Marat.

"Charlotte took care not to look him in the face, for fear her countenance might betray the horror she felt at his sight. With downcast eyes, and her arms hanging motionless by her side, she stood close to the bath, awaiting until Marat should inquire as to the state of Normandy. She replied with brevity, giving to her replies the sense and tone likely to pacify the demagogue's wishes. He then asked the name of the deputies who had taken refuge at Caen. She gave them to him, and he wrote them down, and when he had concluded, said, in the voice of a man sure of his vengeance, 'Well, before they are a week older, they shall have the guillotine!'

"At these words, as if Charlotte's mind had awaited a last offence before it could resolve on striking the blow, she drew the knife from her bosom, and, with superhuman force, plunged it to the hilt in Marat's heart. She then drew the bloody weapon from the body of the victim, and let it fall at her feet.

"Such was the death of Marat; such were the life and death of Charlotte Corday. In the face of murder history dares not praise, and in the face of heroism, dares not condemn her. Had we to find for this sublime liberatrix of her country, and generous murderess of a tyrant, a name which should at once convey the enthusiasm of our feelings towards her and the severity of our judgment on her action, we would coin a phrase combining the extreme of admiration and horror, and term her the Angel of Assassination."—E.

weeks, when he again returned to the city. His tenant left in the spring of the following year, and Paine went again to the farm, taking with him Madame Bonneville's two children; but as he did not intend to attend to farming himself, he hired a person for that purpose, and, for the sake of greater comfort, took lodgings in the neighborhood.* On the Christmas Eve of 1804, he narrowly escaped a bullet fired through his window by a man who was considerably in his debt. He seems to have resided at New Rochelle, probably occasionally visiting Bordentown and New York, till the summer of 1806, when he went to reside with Mr. Jarvis, a portrait painter, in Church Street, New York. He was now very infirm, and this seems to have been the signal for religious bigots of all denominations to begin to worry him, in hopes of a recantation. The following is a specimen of their kindly endeavors. He usually took a short nap after dinner, and would not be disturbed by any one. "One afternoon, a very old lady, in a large scarlet cloak, knocked at the door, and inquired for Thomas Paine. Mr. Jarvis told her he was asleep. 'I am very sorry for that,' said she, 'for I want to see him very particularly.' Thinking it a pity to make an old woman call twice, Mr. Jarvis waked him. He arose upon one elbow, and with an expression of eye that staggered the old woman, asked, 'What do you want?'—'Is your name Paine?'—'Yes'—'Well, then, I come from Almighty God to tell you, that if you do not repent of your sins, and believe in our blessed Saviour, Jesus Christ, you will be damned.'—'Poh, poh, it is not true. You were not sent with any such impertinent message. Jarvis, make her go away. Pshaw! he would not send such a foolish, ugly old woman about with his messages. Go away; go back; shut the door!' The old lady retired in mute astonishment." †

Paine resided with Mr. Jarvis till the end of 1808.

* Sherwin, p. 212. † Rickman, p. 182; Sherwin, p. 214.

His continued illness rendering boarding troublesome, he then removed to a small house, in Columbia Street, Greenwich, about two miles from New York, which Madame Bonneville took for him.* This lady also engaged a Mrs. Hadden (or Hedden,) a "religious" woman as his nurse, as he was too feeble to do anything for himself. His bodily sufferings were great; and he often expressed his wish to die, as there was no other chance of getting rid of them. He also seems to have been solicitous about his burial, and desirous of a place in the Quaker burial-ground. Mr. Willet Hicks, a member of the Society of Friends, who had shown him much kindly attention during his illness, called upon him, at his request, to confer upon the subject. Paine told him that he desired to be buried among the Quakers, as he preferred their principles to those of any other Christian sect, and approved their mode of burial; his father, also, was a Quaker. Mr. Hicks conveyed his request to the committee who superintend the Quaker cemetery and funerals, but they refused to comply with his solicitation.

"About the 4th of May, symptoms of approaching dissolution became very evident to himself, and he soon fell off his milk-punch, and became too infirm to take any thing; complaining of much bodily pain."† "For the last three weeks before his death, he suffered the most excruciating pain. His body was in many places covered with ulcers, and his feet with discolored blisters, which baffled every effort to arrest their progress. He was at the same time laboring under a confirmed dropsy, attended with frequent cough and vomiting, and his decease was every day expected by those about him. In this deplorable situation, Mrs. Hedden *frequently read the Bible to him*—"‡ in hopes of easing his pain by a pleasant belief in damnation. In her most Christian en-

* Vale. Sherwin says he boarded at a Mr. Ryder's, in Burrow Street, Greenwich.
† Rickman, p. 186. ‡ Sherwin, p. 222.

deavors she was aided by the charity of the Rev. Mr. Milledollar, a Presbyterian minister, and the Rev. Mr. Cunningham, who visited him about a fortnight before his death. "The latter gentleman said—'Mr. Paine, we visit you as friends and neighbors. You have now a full view of death; you cannot live long, and whosoever does not believe in Jesus Christ will assuredly be damned.'—'Let me have none of your popish stuff,' replied Paine. 'Get away with you. Good morning, good morning.' Mr. Milledollar attempted to address him, but he was interrupted with the same language. When they were gone, he said to Mrs. Hedden, 'Don't let 'em come here again; they trouble me.' Their pious anxiety soon prompted them to renew their visit, but Mrs. Hedden told them that they could not be admitted, and that she thought the attempt useless, for if God did not change his mind, she was sure no human power could."* Even his medical attendant, Dr. Manley, must needs so far forget his office as to join in these cold-blooded attempts to torture the mighty mind which it was vainly hoped physical decay had reduced to the miserable level of his tormentors. "The day before he died, Dr. Manley says he purposely paid him a very late visit with a view to ascertain the true state of his mind. After asking him several questions about his belief, without receiving any answer, he endeavored to qualify the subject by saying—'Do you *wish* to believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God?' He answered, 'I have no wish to believe on the subject.'"† These, Dr. Manley believes, were the last words he uttered. On the 8th of June, 1809, about nine in the morning, "placidly and almost without a struggle,"‡ died Thomas Paine, aged seventy-two years and five months; preserving to the last his intellectual power—his hostility to the Christian faith.

* Sherwin, p. 220. † Ibid, p. 223; see also Vale, and Cheetham. ‡ Cheetham, &c.

On the day after his decease, his body was removed, attended by seven persons, to New Rochelle, where he was interred upon his own farm. A stone was placed at the head of his grave,* according to the direction in his will, bearing the following inscription :—

THOMAS PAINE,
Author of
COMMON SENSE.
Died June 8th, 1809, aged 72 years and 5 months.

Few writers have contributed so much as Paine has, toward the enfranchisement of man from the hereditary thraldom. Let the immediate effects of COMMON SENSE, now matter of history ; let the wide and ever-increasing circulation of the RIGHTS OF MAN, the continual reference thereto, attest the worth of his political works. Of his theological, let priestcraft speak, and own that scarcely any deadlier, and, assuredly, no directer, blow than the AGE OF REASON, has been aimed against the stability of the Cross. And of the Man what shall we say ? He seems to have been especially what Cobbett styles him, "a true Englishman ;" a fine specimen of the national character : clear-headed, honest in the fullest meaning of the word, active, energetic, and persevering, sturdy, and inflexible, but generous with "naturally warm feelings, which could ill-brook any slight."† A truer Englishman than Cobbett, for Paine was consistent ; *he* never swerved : there was no fickleness in him, nor the appearance of turning. The real John-Bull spirit of antagonism was in him : but of that his writings are themselves the best defence. What did he assail that did not deserve assault? If his innate hatred of wrong was at times too severely expressed, if

* The grave has since been allowed to go to decay. Cobbett, resenting the indifference of the Americans, exhumed the bones of Paine, and took them to England. They are still, we believe, in England, and above ground. A handsome monument is now erected near the place where his bones should be, at New Rochelle.

† Rickman.

M. De LAFAYETTE.

THOMAS PAINE TO M. DE LA FAYETTE.

AFTER an acquaintance of nearly fifteen years, in difficult situations in America, and various consultations in Europe, I feel a pleasure in presenting you this small treatise* in gratitude for your services to my beloved America, and as a testimony of my esteem for the virtues, public and private, which I know you to possess.

The only point upon which I could ever discover that we differed, was not as to principles of government, but as to time. For my own part, I think it equally as injurious to good principles to permit them to linger, as to push them on too fast. That which you suppose accomplishable in fourteen or fifteen years, I may believe practicable in a much shorter period. Mankind, as it appears to me, are always ripe enough to understand their true interest, provided it be presented clearly to their understanding, and that in a manner not to create suspicion by any thing like self-design, nor to offend by assuming too much. Where we would wish to reform we must not reproach.

When the American revolution was established, I felt a disposition to sit serenely down and enjoy the calm. It did not appear to me that any object could afterwards arise great enough to make me quit tranquillity, and feel as I had felt before But when principle, and not place, is the energetic cause of action, a man, I find, is every where the same.

I am now once more in the public world ; and as I have not a right to contemplate on so many years of remaining life as you have, I am resolved to labor as fast as I can ; and as I am anxious for your aid and your company, I wish you to hasten your principles and overtake me.

Your sincere, affectionate friend,

THOMAS PAINE.

* *Rights of Man.*

his sarcasms were bitter, and his denunciations fierce, let his earnestness excuse him. No politic, mere self-loving prize-fighter was he; but combatted for principles: and if, in the conflict for more than life, he dealt some awkward blows, there was no ungenerous purpose; the fault was in the position of his adversary. His irritability of temperament, and some roughness of demeanor when offended (and little opportunity for annoyance did his dastardly enemies forego,) the obstinacy into which his inflexibility sometimes rankly grew, were more than redeemed by his uniform benevolence. He was gentlemanly at the core, nor ever, save when grossly insulted, threw off the rind of gentlemanly manners. He only took off his coat when compelled to fight it out. But he could forgive and assist his declared foe, though he refused to pardon the treachery of a "friend." In his worst rudeness was a well-meaning sincerity, rendering it far more tolerable than that formal politeness, but too commonly a masking-word for hypocrisy, not a whit more careful of offence-giving than the rough frankness so fashionably condemned. He was religious! a steady Theist, not without faith in "things hoped for," but not evidenced: witness his *Age of Reason*, his "Thoughts on a future state," and his directions in his last will, that his adopted children be instructed "in their duty to God." "He was always charitable to the poor beyond his means."* Few public characters would pass unscathed through the ordeal to which suspicious tyranny and the frenzy of fanaticism have subjected him. Malice has here done its worst; working like Sisyphus, but not eternally. History holds not many names of such integrity. No insufficient occasion might he have pleaded for the self-esteem, the "tincture of vanity" (by no means the worst of human failings) which is manifest in his writings. How should he be blind to his own great-

* Letter from Joel Barlow to Cheetham.

ness, whose living monument filled a thousand square miles? What Mirabeau said of Robespierre, might be said of him: "This man believes all he says." And let it not be forgotten that Paine was one of the People, of the hand-laboring class, of the men without political existence, with whom, in the day of his high advancement, he never ceased to sympathize; that, save a little grammar-school ploughing, he was self-taught. Let the Serf bear this in mind; and let the Nobly-born pay homage to this "Son of the lower orders"—the outlawed Stay-maker.

"Paine was about five feet ten inches high, and rather athletic; he was broad-shouldered, and latterly stooped a little. His eye was full, brilliant, and singularly piercing; it had in it the 'muse of fire.' In his dress and person he was generally very cleanly, though careless, and wore his hair queued, with side curls, and powdered, like a gentleman of the old French school.

"His manners were easy and gracious, his knowledge was universal; among friends his conversation had every fascination that anecdote, novelty and truth could give it. In mixed company and among strangers he said little, and was no public speaker."* The power of his memory was so great that he could repeat at will any passage from any of his writings. The only book that he had studied was the Bible, with every part of which he was familiar.

And now, most discriminating reader, what wilt thou say of Paine? "Wilt thou address him—'Thou art a troubler of privileged orders; we will tar and feather thee: the nobles abhor thee, and kings think thee mad!' or wilt thou rather put on thy spectacles, study his physiognomy, purchase his portrait, hang it over thy chimney-piece, and, pointing to it, say—'This is no common man. This is THE POOR MAN'S FRIEND.'"

* Rickman.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SLANDERERS.

WE dedicate this chapter to the envious and the malignant; to the depreciator and the libeller; to the snarling, ill-natured critic and the censorius "Christian." We need not answer the calumnious "lives" of "Oldys" and Cheetham. They carry abundant proof of their own falsity. The poisonous lie may be its own antidote. But we desire to disabuse the public mind of certain slanders still palmed upon its uninquiring credulity. Paine was the enemy of abuses: therefore has he been reviled. Of what is he accused? Of *coarseness—intemperance—licentiousness*—and *recantation* of his published religious opinions.

The charge of *coarseness* includes also "want of cleanliness and absence of gentlemanly manners." You may know a man by his companions. Paine was intimate with Franklin;* was the welcome guest of Washington and his officers during the American war.† In London he visited, and was visited by Priestley, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Burke, Horne Tooke, and other leading men of the liberal party:‡ dined at the Duke of Portland's;§ in France, with Dr. Moore and the Earl of Lauderdale, with Bonaparte and his generals;‖ enjoyed the friendship of La Fayette; associated occasionally with Volney, Condorcet, &c., &c.;¶ and after his imprisonment resided a year and a half with Monroe, the American ambassador,

* Dr. Rush's Letters to Cheetham, &c., &c. † Ibid.

‡ Rickman. § Ibid. ‖ Ibid. ¶ Ibid.

afterwards president of the United States. Redhead Yorke attests his "affability,"* and Col. Burr, who knew him after his return to America, thus replied to a query concerning the alleged vulgarity, intemperance, and want of cleanliness—"Sir, he dined at my table:"† and added—"I always considered Mr. Paine a gentleman, a pleasant companion, and a good-natured and intelligent man; decidedly temperate, with a proper regard to his personal appearance, whenever I saw him." Similar testimonials are given by all who were personally acquainted with him.

For his *intemperance*—drunkenness, if it please the world's charity—much might be said in extenuation, even were it a proved thing. Small marvel were it, nor meriting the extreme of censure, if a man, exiled and almost universally shunned, homeless, wifeless, and childless, and latterly nearly friendless, should attempt even such escape from the iron discipline of toil and excessive pain, the sorrow of disappointment, and grey-haired, unaccustomed solitude. What if he did indulge more freely than is consistent with the temperate morality of those who know not how to pity him? May not the sorrow-goaded sleep even for a moment? What if the habit had grown upon him (as all habits will grow,) until he became a confirmed drunkard? Even this might only prove that he was not so hard-headed as some of the uncondemned, of the condemners. In his days it was deemed gentlemanly, hospitable, sociable, to drink deeply. Is Charles James Fox branded as a drunkard? Is Sheridan? Do the church-and-state worshippers who would stigmatize Paine, write the name of beast on the front of George the Fourth? What "vision of judgment" had they for him? Verily, the soul of that monstrous tun, the "halfpennyworth of bread to this intolerable deal of

* Letter from Paris in 1802.

† The inquirer was Mr. Vale of New York, editor of the Beacon. See No. 30 of the Beacon, May, 1837.

Allons, enfans de la Patrie ! le jour de gloire est ar ri vé Contre nous de la ty ran nie L'étendar
sanglant est le vé. L'éten dard san-glant est le vé ; Ent ten dez vous dans les Campagnes Mugir ces
fé ro ces Soldats ? Ils viennent jusques dans nos bras E gor ger nos fils, nos Compa gnes ! Aux Armes Cito-
yens ! formez vos bataillons : marchez, marchez, qu'un Sang impur Abreuve nos Sillons.

ROUGET DE LISLE.

THE MARSEILLAISE HYMN.

*Written by Rouget de Lisle, who also composed the air.**

I.

Allons, enfants de la patrie,
Le jour de gloire est arrivé!
Contre nous, de la tyrannie
L'étendart sanglant est levé.
Entendez vous dans ces campagnes
Mugir ces féroces soldats!
Ils viennent jusque dans vos bras
Egorger vos fils et vos compagnes!—
Aux armes, citoyens! formez vos bataillons!
Marchons! qu'un sang impur abreuve nos sillons!

II.

Que veut cette horde d'esclaves,
De traîtres, de rois conjurés?
Pour qui ces ignobles entraves
Ces fers dès longtemps preparés?
Francais, pour vous ah! quel outrage,
Quels transports il doit exciter!
C'est vous qu'on ose méditer
De rendre à l'antique esclavage;
Aux armes, &c.

III.

Quoi! ces cohortes étrangères
Feraient la loi dans nos foyers?
Quoi! ces phalanges mercenaires
Terrasseraient nos pères guerriers?
Grand Dieu! par des mains enchainées,
Nos fronts sous le joug se ploieraient;
De vils despotes deviendraient
Les maîtres de nos destinées!
Aux armes, &c.

IV.

Tremblez, tyrans! et vous, perfides,
L'opprobre de tous les partis!
Tremblez, vos projets parricides
Vent enfin recevoir leur prix!
Tout est soldat pour vous combattre:
S'ils tombent nos jeunes héros,
La France en produit les nouveaux,
Contre vous tout prêts à se battre.
Aux armes, &c.

V.

Francais, en guerriers magnanimes,
Portez ou retenez vos coups;
Epargnes ces tristes victimes
A regret s'armant contre vous.
Mais ces despotes sanguinaires,
Mais les complices de Bouillé,
Tous ces tigres sans pitié
Déchirent le sein de leur mère.
Aux armes, &c.

VI.

Amour sacré de la patrie,
Conduis, soutiens nos bras vengeurs!
Liberté, liberté chérie,
Combats avec tes défenseurs!
Sous nos drapeaux que la Victoire
Accoure à tes mâles accents;
Que tes ennemis expirants
Voient ton triomphe et notre gloire!
Aux armes, &c.

VERSE SUNG BY CHILDREN.

Novs entrerons dans la carrière,
Quand nos aînés n'y seront plus:
Nous y trouverons leur poussière,
Et la trace de leurs vertus!
Bien moins jaloux de leur survivre
Que de partager leur cercueil,
Nous aurons le sublime orgueil
De les venger ou de les suivre!
Aux armes, &c.

"The notes of this air," says Lamartine, "rustled like a flag dipped in gore, still reeking in the battle plain. It made one tremble — but it was the shudder of intrepidity which passed over the heart, and gave an impulse — redoubled strength — veiled death. It was the 'fire water' of the Revolution, which instilled into the senses and the soul of the people the intoxication of battle. There are times when all people find thus gushing into their national mind accents which no man hath written down, and which all the world feels. All the senses desire to present their tribute to patriotism, and eventually to encourage each other. The foot advances — gesture animates — the voice intoxicates the ear — the ear shakes the heart. The whole being is inspired like an instrument of enthusiasm. Art becomes divine; dancing, heroic; music, martial; poetry, popular. The hymn which was at that moment in all mouths will never perish. It is not profaned on common occasions. Like those sacred banners suspended from the roofs of holy edifices, and which are only allowed to leave them on certain days, we keep the national song as an extreme arm for the great necessities of the country. Ours was illustrated by circumstances, whence issued a peculiar character, which made it at the same time more solemn and more sinister: glory and crime, victory and death, seemed intertwined in its chorus. It was the song of patriotism, but it was also the imprecation of rage. It conducted our soldiers to the frontier, but it also accompanied our victims to the scaffold. The same blade defends the heart of the country in the hand of the soldier, and sacrifices victims in the hand of the executioner."—E.

"* Rouget de Lisle was an officer of engineers in 1790, and in spite of his republican opinions, incarcerated during the reign of terror and only saved by the 9th Thermidor, or he would assuredly have been accompanied to the guillotine by the music of his own song."

sack" anointed with sacramental oil, sleeps sweetly in Abraham's bosom, assoiled of all its foulness. He was indeed a drunkard: lying History cannot deny that. But no drunkard was Paine. Col. Burr's statement is before us:—He was "decidedly temperate." His friend Rickman, too, shall speak for him, "nothing extenuate." "During his residence with me in London, in and about the year 1792, and in the course of his life previous to that time, he was not in the habit of drinking to excess; he was clean in his person, and in his manners polite and engaging; and ten years after this, when I was with him in France, he did not drink spirits, and wine he took moderately; he even objected to any spirits being laid in as a part of his sea stock, observing to me, that though sometimes, borne down by public and private affliction, he had been driven to excesses in Paris, the cause and effect would cease together, and that in America he should live as he liked, and as he ought to live."* So did he live: witness the following, published by Mr. Vale, in New York, in July, 1837:—"Mr. John Fellows, who knew Mr. Paine during the whole period of his residence in this country, thus speaks of his habits. He was cleanly in his person, but careless or easy in his dress. He lived plainly, but took a glass of sweetened rum and water after dinner, and another after supper: he limited not only himself, but his friends. Mr. Fellows never saw him drunk during the six months he boarded in the same house with him; but he was once a little excited with liquor, and then he had been to dinner with an Irish friend, remarkable for his hospitality, which at that period sanctioned excess. We could repeat here a long list of respectable names, who knew Mr. Paine socially, or were in the frequent habit of seeing him, who confirm this testimony. But it will be said, Did not Cheetham refer to living witnesses? Yes, he did—

* Rickman, p. 11-12.

he referred to Mr. Jarvis; and tells anecdotes in relation to Mr. Paine's filthy habits, and in support of his excesses; and *Mr. Jarvis tells us that Cheetham lied*, and we are authorized to say so. *Carver** has marked his copy of the life by Cheetham with similar expressions throughout the margin: and this copy we have had the use of, by favor of Mr. Parkins, ex-sheriff of London, whose property it has become.—But there are persons who say they knew Mr. Paine, and say that he was drunken. Mr. Daniel Ward, of Gold Street, near Frankfort, who lived at Rochelle, has mentioned the son of a man who lived on Paine's farm, one Mr. Purdy, who has since kept a school, and who is a religious man; this individual told Mr. Ward, that Paine did get drunk every evening: in the same conversation, however, he told Mr. Ward, that he was in the habit of generally reading manuscript to Mr. Paine of an evening, thus disproving his drunken situation: but Mr. Ward adds, (which is of more consequence) that he and others knew Purdy to be subject to mis-statements, notwithstanding his religious character."† "Mr. Holden, with whom I am well acquainted," says Mr. Clark, writing to Sherwin, "informs me that he lived close to Mr. Paine for several months, and never saw him intoxicated; in fact, to use his own expression, 'It was a lie to say he is a drunkard.' Dr. Manley says, 'While I attended him, he never was inebriated.'"‡ Here are references to *reliable* witnesses; yet more, if necessary, could give their evidence in his favor. But enough, perhaps more than enough, has been already adduced to refute this "weak invention of the enemy," long industriously propagated in the pages of "Religious Tracts," for the promotion of Christian truth and charity. Pass we to the next count in the indictment.

The charge of *licentiousness* alludes solely to an accusation of *illict* intercourse with Madame Bonneville;

*See his name in the accusation of Paine's licentiousness.

† Beacon, No. 35. ‡ Sherwin, p. 226.

and is unsupported by *any* evidence: resting on the same authority that originated the foregoing calumnies, the authority of Mr. Carver, of New York, with whom Paine at one time boarded, and who, in consequence of a miserable money-quarrel, wrote a hasty and scurrilous letter to Paine, wherein he indulged in several gross aspersions, which he afterwards was ashamed of and explained away. This letter was invidiously laid hold of by Cheetham, and amplified in his "Life." Madame Bonneville prosecuted Cheetham for the libel, and obtained damages. The following gives some insight into Cheetham's character:—

"*October 27, 1807.*

"MR. CHEETHAM:

"Unless you make a public apology for the abuse and falsehood in your paper of Tuesday, October 27, respecting me, I will prosecute you for lying.

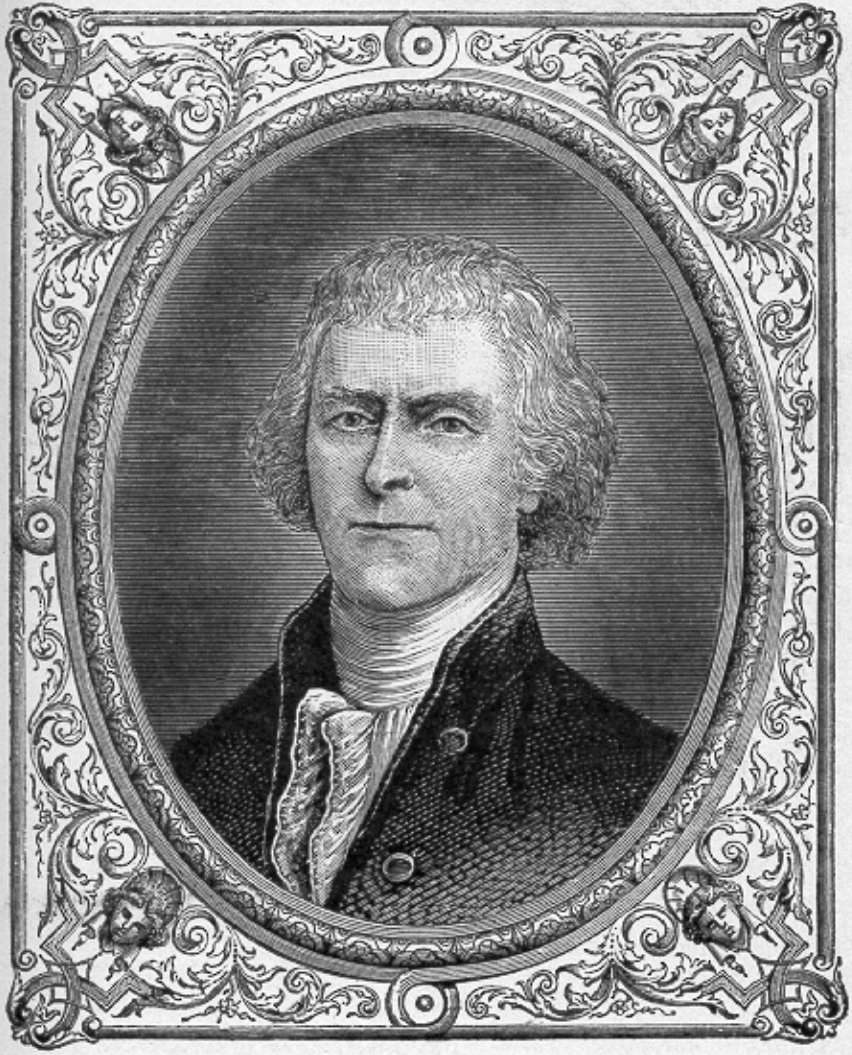
"It is by your talent for abuse and falsehood, that you have brought so many prosecutions on your back. You cannot even state truth without running it to falsehood.

"THOMAS PAINE."

Cheetham was in the first instance an admirer of Paine, and was present at the dinner given to him in New York. Afterwards he became a rancorous opponent, and was strongly suspected of being bought by Pitt. Paine exposed his baseness; and hence the libeller's hatred. Cheetham could not bring the shadow of evidence in support of his assertions: but were the libel true, it is no proof of licentiousness. By what law, human or divine, was Paine bound to celibacy? That, whatever the nature of his intimacy with Madame Bonneville, the public had nothing to do with it, is shown by the conduct of the husband. Bonneville and his wife lived together after the libel, in the very house in which Paine had boarded. In all such cases the world's

interference (and begging the world's pardon, however clean-handed it may be, it is not pure-hearted enough to throw stones, even at those *taken in adultery*), public prosecution, or persecution, is as indecent as it is useless and mischievous. Bonneville, his wife, and his two sons, are all included in Paine's will.

It remains for us to notice the weakest "invention" —the fanatics' lie, that on his death-bed Paine renounced his published opinions of Christianity. It is difficult to discover what could be gained for truth by the clearest proof of such a recantation. Is the utterance of a feverish fear, when a man's mind is enfeebled by disease and confused by pain, to be more regarded than the calm and healthful voice of undisturbed and ripe reflection? or, is it imagined that the dying sees through the grave, and, looking in the face of eternity, dares not lie. What then? How seldom shall we be able to distinguish the inspirations of the far-world vision from the ravings of delirium. An unstable religion that, which needs so often appeal to the disordered and impressible imaginations of diseased men whose constancy has been worn out by the repeated droppings of priestly venom. It is time this death-bed cant should be exploded. The blasphemous absurdity (if anything is blasphemous) of sinners, terrified into a false and foolish repentance, carried by angels from the deserved gallows to undesired glory, the outcasts of human justice gemming the diadem of Mercy—even this is less offensive than the hateful exultation of lying priests, and sectarians possessed by piety, over the supposed and prayed-for agonies of high-souled men who never flinched or feared, who loved truth better than "belief," inquiry more than authority, and good works rather than damning and unholy words. A recent work, highly spoken of by the press (the *Diary of a Physician*,) furnishes us with the following piece of ludicrous solemnity. A dying student wildly exclaims



THOMAS JEFFERSON

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THOMAS PAINE.

YOU express a wish in your letter to return to America in a national ship; Mr. Dawson, who brings over the treaty, and who will present you with this letter, is charged with orders to the captain of the Maryland to receive and accommodate you back, if you can be ready to depart at such a short warning. You will in general find us returned to sentiments worthy of former times; *in these it will be your glory to have steadily labored and with as much effect as any man living.* That you may live long to continue your useful labors, and reap the reward in the *thankfulness of nations*, is my sincere prayer. Accept the assurances of my high esteem and affectionate attachment.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

to his medical attendant—"Doctor, keep them off!" to which the pious practitioner appends this interesting note:—"I once before heard these strange words fall from the lips of a dying patient, a lady. To me they suggest very unpleasant, I may say, fearful thoughts—What is to be kept off?" What, indeed? Had the exclaimer been in sound health, the physician would have *suggested* a strait waistcoat; but in the frenzy of a pain-enfeebled mind he beheld the Glorious Majesty of Superstition's God, the Devil. But Paine gave no opportunity for the reveries of the faithful. He retained his intellectual faculties to the last. His eye was not dim, nor the natural force of his mind abated. In the midst of keen bodily pangs, and heartless annoyance, his spirit was unshaken. "He died, as he lived, an enemy to the Christian Religion," placidly, and unhaunted by unnatural apprehensions of a priest-ordered eternity. Even Cheetham (whose word may be taken against himself, if for nothing else) is compelled to acknowledge this. Paine was too clear-headed, and too clear-hearted withal, to dread damnation. He had thought himself dying, in his captivity, in the Luxembourg; and felt then as little inclined to recantation. "It was then," he says, "that I remembered with satisfaction, and congratulated myself most sincerely, on having written the former part of the AGE OF REASON. I had then but little expectation of surviving. I know, therefore, by experience, the conscientious trial of my principles."*

Mr. Bond, an English surgeon of the suite of General O'Hara, was at that time in the Luxembourg. Let us hear him. "Mr. Paine, while hourly expecting to die, read to me parts of his AGE OF REASON; and every night when I left him to be separately locked up, and expected not to see him alive in the morning, he always expressed his firm belief in the principles of that book,

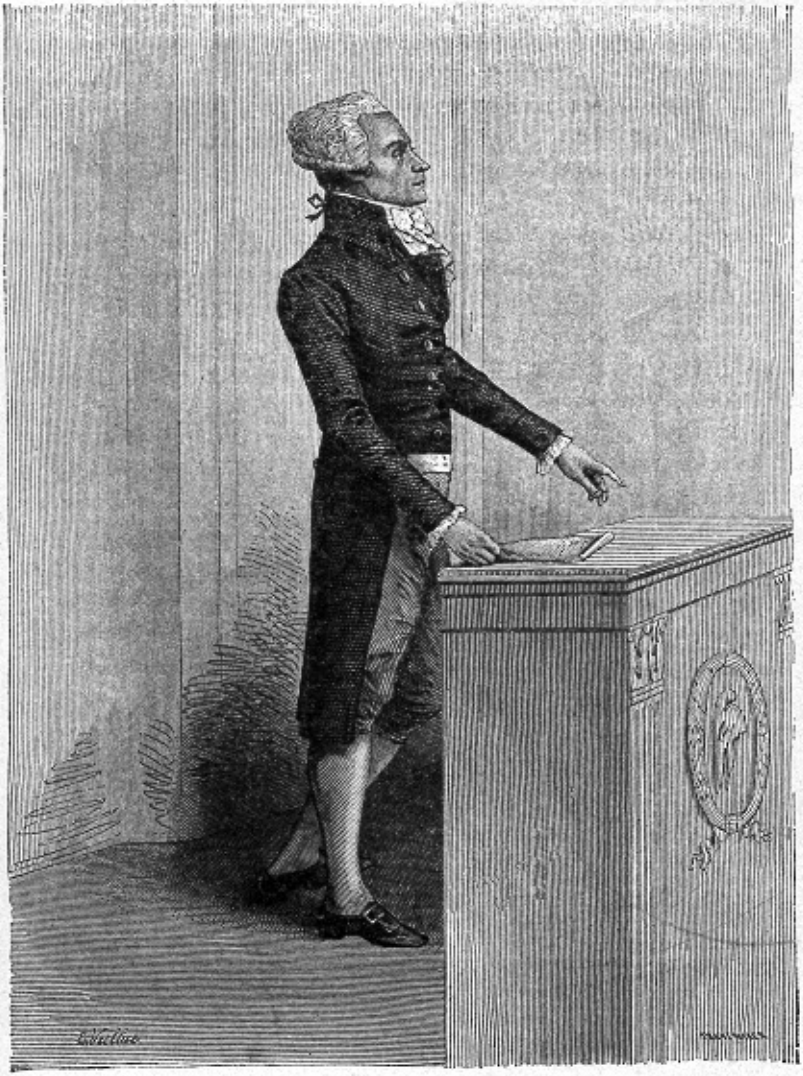
* Preface to the second part of the *Age of Reason*.

and begged I would tell the world such were his dying opinions."† Such *were* his dying opinions. Dr. Manley, his intimate friends—Mr. Pelton and Mr. Fellows, Mr. Jarvis—with whom he lived, and every other intimate, without exception, testify to his adherence to his published faith.‡ Yet further corroboration has just reached us from New York. Mr. Vale says—"We have just returned from Boston. One object of our visit to that city, was to see a Mr. Amasa Woodsworth, an engineer, now retired in a handsome cottage and garden at East Cambridge, Boston. This gentleman owned the house rented by Mrs. Bonneville for Mr. Paine at his death; while he lived next door. As an act of kindness, Mr. Woodsworth visited Mr. Paine every day for six weeks before his death; he frequently sat up with him, and did so on the two last nights of his life. He was present when Dr. Manley asked Mr. Paine 'if he wished to believe that Jesus Christ was the Son of God,' and he describes Mr. Paine's answer as animated. He says, that lying on his back, he used some action, and with much emphasis replied, 'I have no wish to believe on that subject.' He lived a short time after this, but was not known to speak; for he died tranquilly. He accounts for the insinuating style of Dr. Manley's letter, by stating, that that gentleman just after its publication *joined a church.* He informs us that he has openly reproved the Doctor for the falsity contained in the *spirit* of that letter, boldly declaring before Dr. Manley, who is yet living, that nothing which he saw justified his (the Doctor's) insinuations.*

Mr. Woodsworth assures us, that he neither heard nor saw anything to justify the belief of any mental change in the opinions of Mr. Paine previous to his death: but that being very ill, and in pain, chiefly arising from the

† Rickman, p. 194. ‡ No 34 of the Beacon, June, 1837.

* The Doctor *thought* "that had Mr. Paine not been a conspicuous character, it is *likely* he would have changed his opinions." Letter from Mr. Clarke to Sherwin.



ROBESPIERRE.

MAXIMILIEN ROBESPIERRE.

ROBESPIERRE was the Luther of politics, says Lamartine. "He was of no party, but of all parties which in their turn served his ideal of the Revolution. In this his power consisted, for parties paused but he never did. He placed his ideal as an end to reach in every new revolutionary movement, and advanced towards it with those who sought to attain it; then, this goal reached, he placed it still further off, and again marched forward with other men, continually advancing without ever deviating, ever pausing, ever retreating. The Revolution, decimated in its progress, must one day or other inevitably arrive at a last stage, and he desired it should end in himself. He was the entire incarnation of the Revolution — principles, thoughts, passions, impulses.

"The Revolution was in Robespierre's eyes not so much a political cause, as a religion of the mind. Deprived of the external requisites and the sudden inspirations of natural eloquence, he had cultivated his mind, he had meditated, written, erased so much, so long braved the inattention and sarcasms of his auditory, that he had at last given grace and persuasion to his language, and made his whole person, spite of his stiff and thin figure, his feeble voice and strange gestures, an instrument of eloquence, conviction, and passion.

He had decreed: "*Art. 1st.* The French people recognize the existence of a Supreme Being, and the immortality of the soul. Frenchmen, republicans, (said he on the day appointed for the festival of the Supreme Being,) at length has arrived the day which the French people have consecrated to thee. Never did the world which he has created offer to its author a spectacle more worthy of his regard. He has seen reigning over the earth tyranny, crime, imposture. He sees at this moment an entire nation contending against all the oppressors of the human race.

"Being of Beings! we have not to address to thee unjust prayers; thou knowest the creatures sent forth from thy hands; their wants do not escape thine eyes, no more than do their most secret thoughts. The hatred of hypocrisy and tyranny burns in our hearts, with the love of justice and our country. Our blood flows for the cause of humanity! This is our prayer — our sacrifice — this the worship we offer unto thee!

"There is a design in Robespierre's life, and this design is vast — the reign of reason by the medium of democracy. There is a momentum, and that momentum is supreme — it was a thirst after the truth and justice in the laws. There is an action, and that action is meritorious — it is the struggle for life and death against vice, lying and despotism. There is a devotion, and this devotion is as constant, absolute, as an antique immolation — it was the sacrifice of himself, of his youth, his repose, his happiness, his ambition, his life, his memory, and his work. Finally, there is a means, and that means is, in turns, execrable or legitimate — it is popularity. He caressed the people by its ignoble tendencies, he exaggerated suspicion, excited envy, sharpened anger, envenomed vengeance. He opened the veins of the social body to cure the disease; but he allowed life to flow out, pure or impure, with indifference, without casting himself between the victims and the executioners. He did not desire evil, and yet accepted it. He surrendered to what he believed the pressure of situation, the king, the queen, their innocent sister. He yielded to pretended necessity the head of Vergniaud: to fear and domination the head of Danton. He allowed his name to serve, for eighteen months, as the standard of the scaffold, and the justification of death. He hoped subsequently to redeem that which is never redeemed — present crime, through the purity, the holiness of future institutions. He was intoxicated with the perspective of public felicity, whilst France was palpitating on the block. He desired to extirpate, with the iron blade, all the ill-growing roots of the social soil. He desired to be the exterminating and creative genius of the Revolution. He forgot that if every man thus made a deity of himself, there could only remain one man on the globe at the end of the world, and that this last man would be the assassin of all the others! He besmeared with blood the purest doctrines of philosophy. He inspired the future with a dread of the people's reign, repugnance to the institution of the republic, a doubt of liberty. He fell at last in the first struggle with the Terror, because he did not acquire, by resisting it, the right of power to quell it. His principles were sterile and fatal like his proscriptions, and he died exclaiming (with the despondency of Brutus), 'the republic perishes with me!' His memory is an enigma of which history trembles to pronounce the solution, fearing to do him injustice if she brand it as a crime, or to inspire horror if she should term it virtue!"— E.

skin being removed in some parts, by long lying, he was generally too uneasy to enjoy conversation on abstract subjects. This, then, is the best evidence that can be procured on this subject; and we publish it while the contravening parties are yet alive, and with the authority of Mr. Woodsworth."†

Needs there more satisfactory refutation? Let the following relation, exemplifying the usual method in which "death-bed confessions" are fabricated, supply the place of further argument. It is an answer, by William Cobbett, to a recantation-story that was widely distributed by a "Religious Tract Society," and copied into most of the newspapers.

"I happen to know the origin of this story; and I possess the real, original document, whence have proceeded the divers editions of the falsehood, of the very invention of which I was, perhaps, myself, the innocent cause.

"About two years ago, I, being then on Long Island, published my intention of writing an account of the life, labors, and death of Paine. Soon after this, a Quaker at New York, named Charles Collins, made many applications for an interview with me, which, at last, he obtained. I found that his object was to persuade me, that Paine had recanted. I laughed at him, and sent him away. But, he returned again and again to the charge. He wanted me to promise, that I would say, 'that it was said,' that Paine recanted. 'No,' said I; 'but, I will say, that you say it, and that you tell a lie, unless you prove the truth of what you say; and, if you do that, I shall gladly insert the fact.' This posed 'friend Charley,' whom I suspected to be a most consummate hypocrite. He had a sodden face, a simper, and manœuvred his features, precisely like the most perfidious wretch that I have ever known or read or heard of. He was precisely the reverse of my honest,

† New York Beacon, June 15, 1839.

open and sincere Quaker friends, the Pauls of Pennsylvania. Friend Charley plied me with remonstrances and reasonings; but I always answered him—'Give me proof, name persons, state times, state *precise words;* or I denounce you as a *liar.*' Thus put to his trumps, friend Charley resorted to the aid of a person of his own stamp; and, at last he brought me a paper, containing matter, of which the above statement of Mr. Burke's is a *garbled edition!* This paper, very cautiously and craftily drawn up, contained only the *initials* of names. This would not do. I made him, at last, put down the full name and address of the *informer*, 'Mary Hinsdale, No. 10 Anthony Street, New York.' I got this from friend Charley, some time about June last; and had no opportunity of visiting the party till late in October, just before I sailed.

"The informer was a Quaker woman, who, at the time of Mr. Paine's last illness, was a servant in the family of Mr. Willet Hicks, an eminent merchant, a man of excellent character, a Quaker, and even, I believe, a Quaker preacher. Mr. Hicks, a kind and liberal and rich man, visited Mr. Paine in his illness, and, from his house, which was near that of Mr. Paine, little nice things (as is the practice in America) were sometimes sent to him; of which this servant, friend Mary, was the bearer: and this was the way in which the lying cant got into the room of Mr. Paine.

"To 'friend Mary,' therefore, I went, on the 26th of October last, with friend Charley's paper in my pocket. I found her in a lodging in a back room up one pair of stairs. I knew that I had no common cunning to set my wit against. I began with all the art I was master of. I had got a prodigiously broad-brimmed hat on; I patted a little child that she had sitting beside her; I called her *friend;* and played all the tricks of an undisciplined wheedler. But, I was compelled to come quickly to

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO THOMAS PAINE.

Rocky Hill, Sept. 10, 1783.

I HAVE learned since I have been at this place, that you are at Bordentown.—Whether for the sake of retirement or economy I know not. Be it for either or both, or whatever it may, if you will come to this place and partake with me I shall be exceedingly happy to see you at it. Your presence may remind Congress of your past services to this country; and if it is in my power to impress them, command my best exertions with freedom, as they will be rendered cheerfully by one who entertains a lively sense of the importance of your works, and who with much pleasure subscribes himself,

Your sincere friend,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

business. She asked, 'What's thy name, friend?' and, the moment I said William Cobbett, up went her mouth as tight as a purse! Sack-making appeared to be her occupation; and that I might not extract through her eyes that which she was resolved I should not get out of her mouth, she went and took up a sack, and began to sew; and not another look or glance could I get from her.

"However, I took out my paper, read it, and, stopping at several points, asked her if it was *true*. Talk of the Jesuits, indeed! The whole tribe of Loyola, who have shaken so many kingdoms to their base, never possessed a millionth part of the cunning of this drab-colored little woman, whose face simplicity and innocence seemed to have chosen as the place of their triumph. She shuffled; she evaded; she equivocated; she warded off; she affected not to understand me, not to understand the paper, not to remember; and all this with so much seeming simplicity and single-heartedness, and in a voice so mild, so soft, and so sweet, that, if the Devil had been sitting where I was, he would certainly have jumped up and hugged her to his bosom!

"The result was: that it was *so long ago*, that she could not speak *positively* to any part of the matter; that she *would not say that any part of the paper was true;* that she *had never seen the paper;* and, that she had never given 'friend Charley,' (for so she called him) authority to say *anything about the matter in her name.* I pushed her closely upon the subject of the 'unhappy French female;'* asked her whether she should know her again:—'Oh, no! friend: I tell thee that I have *no recollection of any person or thing* that I saw at Thomas Paine's house.' The truth is, that the cunning little thing knew that the French lady was at hand; and that detection was easy, if she had said that she should know her upon sight!

* Madame Bonneville.

"I had now nothing to do but to bring friend Charley's nose to the grindstone. But Charley, who is a grocer, living in Cherry Street, near Pearl Street, though so pious a man, and, doubtless, in great haste to get to everlasting bliss, had *moved out of the city for fear of the fever*, not liking, apparently, to go off to the next world in a yellow skin. And thus he escaped me, who sailed from New York in four days afterwards: or, Charley should have found that there was something else, on this side the grave, pretty nearly as troublesome and as dreadful as the yellow fever.

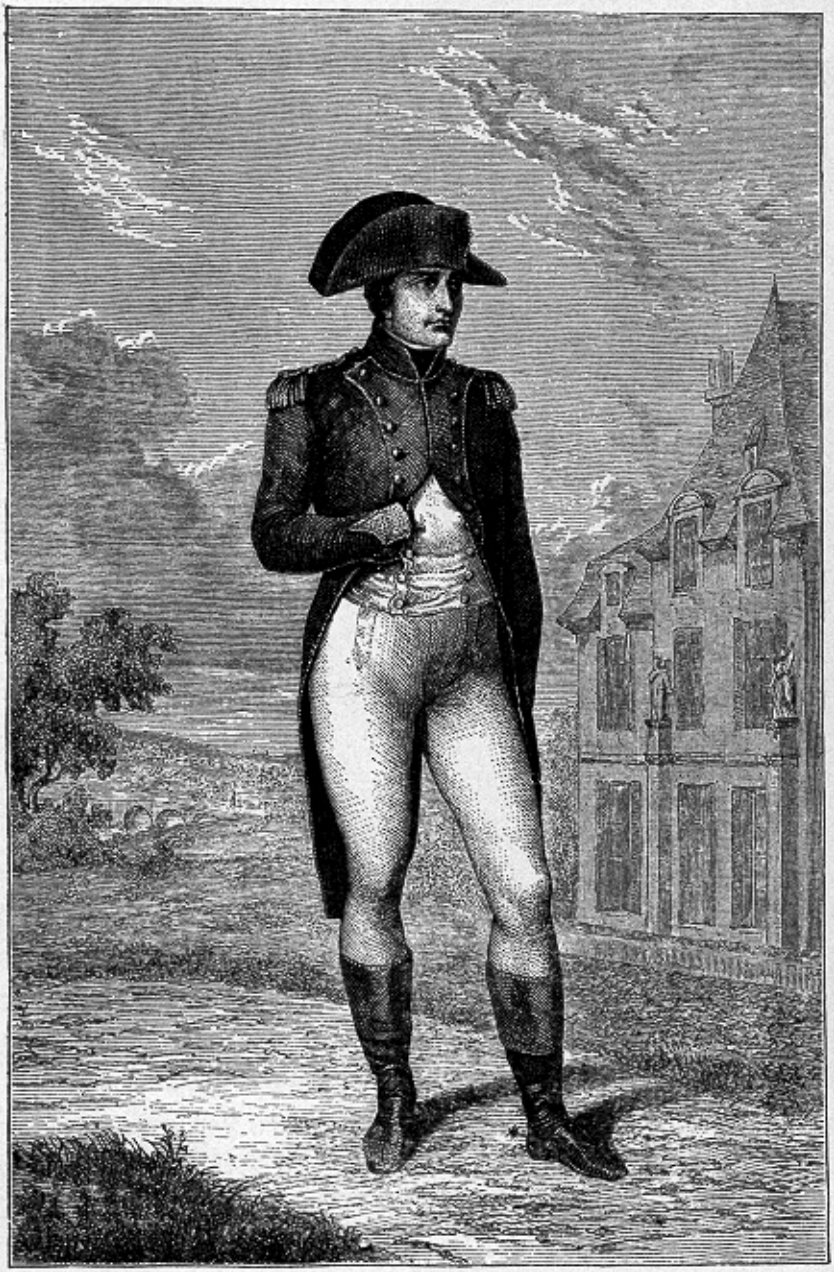
"This is, I think, a pretty good instance of the lengths to which hypocrisy will go. The whole, as far as relates to *recantation* and to the '*unhappy French female*,' is a lie, from the beginning to the end. Mr. Paine declares, in his last will, that he retains all his publicly expressed opinions as to religion. His executors, and many other gentlemen of undoubted veracity, had the same declaration from his dying lips. Mr. Willet Hicks visited him to nearly the last. This gentleman says, that there was no change of opinions intimated *to him:* and, will any man believe, that Paine would have withheld from Mr. Hicks, that which he was so forward to communicate to Mr. Hicks' servant-girl?"†

The sequel of the story is worth recording.

"For some time a division has existed among the Society of Friends, respecting some opinions advanced by Elias Hicks, one of their principal preachers. Among those who adopted and openly maintained his views, was a young woman, lately deceased, named Mary Lockwood, possessing talents and education which qualified her to become a teacher of the children of Friends. In this dispute, Mary Hinsdale, the calumniator of Paine, avowed herself an opponent of Elias Hicks. Finding of late that her party were losing ground, and recollect-

† Republican, February 13th, 1824. vol. ix, p. 221, &c.

DEATH OF MARAT.



NAPOLEON.

ing the success of her former scheme to destroy the reputation of Paine, she appears to have calculated on a similar result by pursuing the same course as to Mary Lockwood. Accordingly, on the decease of that young woman, she openly declared, that, on her death-bed, she had recanted her former opinions, and expressed the deepest penitence for the countenance she had given to Elias Hicks, whom she reprobated as an enemy to truth, and an artful deceiver.

"The reverse of these representations as to Mary Lockwood, being perfectly known to many of the Friends, it was considered necessary that the matter should be investigated; when evidence was brought forward which clearly convicted Mary Hinsdale of deliberate falsehood, and that all she had said respecting the recantation of Mary Lockwood, was a wicked fabrication."—*

Paine died, as he lived, an enemy to the "established" religion. Follower of the establishment! what hast thou to do with that? Art thou justified in violently assailing either the man or his works? Let a Christian answer; even the worthy Gilbert Wakefield, who wrote against the *Age of Reason*, but wrote thus of public prosecutions:—†

"What right, I wish to be informed, can one man claim, distinct from power and tyranny, and usurpation, to dictate creeds, and to prescribe sentiments, for another? Let us put an extreme case upon this question, which will abundantly elucidate, and indubitably decide the controversy: I mean the publication of Paine's *Age of Reason.*

"I would not forcibly suppress this book; much less would I punish, by fine or imprisonment, from any possible consideration, the publisher or author of these pages.

"*Prudential motives* would prevent me: because such interdiction serves only to excite the restless curiosity of

* New York Correspondent; Lion, August first, 1828, vol. ii. p. 141.
† Letter from Gilbert Wakefield to Sir John Scott, afterwards Lord Eldon.

mankind; and the restraints of law give fresh vigor to circulation.

"*Motives of Philosophy* would prevent me: because inquiry and discussion are hereby provoked; and sparks of truth, which would otherwise have been concealed for ever, are elicited by the collision of debate; to the unspeakable emolument and illumination of mankind, in the promotion of mutual forbearance and esteem, in the furtherance of valuable knowledge, and in the consequent propagation of all happiness and virtue. Truth can never suffer from argument and inquiry; but may be essentially injured by the tyrannous interference of her pretended advocates."

"*Motives of Justice* would deter me. Why should I refuse another that privilege of thinking and writing, which I claim and exercise myself?

"*Motives of Humanity* would deter me. I should think with horror on the punishment of any man for his belief, in which he has no discretionary power, but is necessarily swayed by the controlling depotism of arguments and reasons; and at what licence or patent shop shall I purchase a gag to silence him? Or, what shall hinder him from forming the same unfavorable judgment of my opinions, and pursuing in his turn the same measures of intimidation and coercion with myself?

"Lastly, *Motives of Religion* would deter me from molesting any writer for the publication of his sentiments."

"Who, then, art Thou, vain dust and ashes! by whatever name thou art called, whether a King, a Bishop, a Church, or a State, a Parliament, or any thing else, that obtrudest thine insignificance between the soul of man and its Maker? MIND THINE OWN CONCERNS. IF HE BELIEVES NOT AS THOU BELIEVEST, IT IS A PROOF THAT THOU BELIEVEST NOT AS HE BELIEVETH, AND THERE IS NO EARTHLY POWER CAN DETERMINE BETWEEN YOU."

APPENDIX.

IN Moore's *Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald*, fifth son of the Duke of Leinster, and nephew to the Duke of Richmond; in a letter from Fitzgerald to his mother, dated "Paris, October 30th, 1792, the following passage occurs, throwing light on the high character of Paine:—

"I lodge with my friend Paine,—we breakfast, dine, and sup together. The more I see his interior, the more I like and respect him. I cannot express how kind he is to me; there is a simplicity of manner, a goodness of heart, and a strength of mind in him, that I never knew a man before possess."

Dr. Walker was a great enemy to slavery under all its forms. He, one day, inquired of Thomas Paine how it was to be accounted for, that he had not taken up the pen to advocate the cause of the blacks. The answer offers as great a testimony to his judgment, as it does honor to his feelings. "An unfitter person," said he "for such a work could hardly be found. The cause would have suffered in my hands. I could not have treated it with any chance of success; for I could never think of their condition but with feelings of indignation."

"The counsel, that Thomas Paine had the courage to offer, in the French National Convention, on attempting to save the life of Louis the XVIth, must be approved and admired by every liberal mind. He proposed that the fallen king should be sent to the United States, where he would find many friends, not forgetful of the

aid which he had rendered them in days of need, when striving to shake off the British yoke. On this dreadful occasion, Lord Edward Fitzgerald was his interpreter." —*Dr. Epps' Life of Dr. Walker*, pp. 140, 141.

[The following extract is taken from a private letter of Mr. Paine's, dated July 31st, 1805, and addressed to Mr. John Fellows, of New York. It is quoted mainly to show the plain and quiet manner in which Mr. Paine lived; and to destroy the attempts so often made by the self-styled and exclusively religious people, that he was an intemperate man. A copy of the entire letter is in the hands of the publisher. It was given by Mr. Fellows to Mr. William Clark, of London.]

"I am master of an empty house, or nearly so. I have six chairs and a table, a straw bed, a feather bed, and a bag of straw for Thomas, a tea kettle, an iron pot, an iron baking pan, a frying pan, a gridiron, cups, saucers, plates and dishes, knives and forks, two candlesticks and a pair of snuffers.

"I have a fine pair of oxen and an ox-cart, a good horse, a chaise, and a one horse-cart; a cow, and a sow and nine pigs. When you come you must take such fare as you meet with, for I live upon tea, milk, fruit, pies, plain dumplings, and a piece of meat when I get it; but I live with that retirement and quiet that suits me.

"If you can make yourself up a straw bed, I can let you have blankets, and you will have no occasion to go over to the tavern to sleep.

"Yours in friendship,

"THOMAS PAINE."

THE WILL OF THOMAS PAINE.

The people of the State of New York, by the Grace of God, Free and Independent, to all to whom these presents shall come or may concern, Send Greeting:

Know ye, that the annexed is a true copy of the will of THOMAS PAINE, deceased, as recorded in the office of our surrogate, in and for the city and county of New York. In testimony whereof, we have caused the seal of office of our said surrogate to be hereunto affixed.—Witness, Silvanus Miller, Esq., surrogate of said county, at the city of New York, the twelfth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and nine, and of our Independence the thirty-fourth.

SILVANUS MILLER.

THE last will and testament of me, the subscriber, THOMAS PAINE, reposing confidence in my Creator God, and in no other being, for I know of no other, nor believe in any other, I, Thomas Paine, of the state of New York, author of the work entitled *Common Sense*, written in Philadelphia, in 1775, and published in that city the beginning of January, 1776, which awaked America to a Declaration of Independence on the fourth of July following, which was as fast as the work could spread through such an extensive country; author also of the several numbers of the American *Crisis*, thirteen in all, published occasionally during the progress of the revolutionary war—the last is on the peace; author also of the *Rights of Man*, parts the first and second, written and published in London, in 1791, and

1792; author also of a work on religion, *Age of Reason*, parts the first and second. N. B. I have a third part by me in manuscript and an answer to the Bishop of Llandaff; author also of a work, lately published, entitled *Examination of the passages in the New Testament quoted from the Old, and called Prophecies concerning Jesus Christ*, and showing there are no prophecies of any such person; author also of several other works not here enumerated, *Dissertations on the first Principles of Government—Decline and Fall of the English System of Finance—Agrarian Justice*, &c., &c., make this my last will and testament, that is to say: I give and bequeath to my executors hereinafter appointed, Walter Morton and Thomas Addis Emmet, thirty shares I hold in the New York Phœnix Insurance Company, which cost me 1470 dollars, they are worth now upwards of 1500 dollars, and all my moveable effects, and also the money that may be in my trunk or elsewhere at the time of my decease, paying thereout the expenses of my funeral, IN TRUST as to the said shares, moveables and money, for Margaret Brazeir Bonneville, wife of Nicholas Bonneville, of Paris, for her own sole and separate use, and at her own disposal, notwithstanding her coverture. As to my farm in New Rochelle, I give, devise, and bequeath the same to my said executors, Walter Morton and Thomas Addis Emmet, and to the survivor of them, his heirs and assigns forever, IN TRUST, nevertheless, to sell and dispose of the north side thereof, now in the occupation of Andrew A. Dean, beginning at the west end of the orchard and running in a line with the land sold to——Coles, to the end of the farm, and to apply the money arising from such sale as hereinafter directed. I give to my friends, Walter Morton, of the New York Phœnix Insurance Company, and Thomas Addis Emmet, counsellor at law, late of Ireland, two hundred dollars each, and one hundred dollars to Mrs. Palmer, widow of

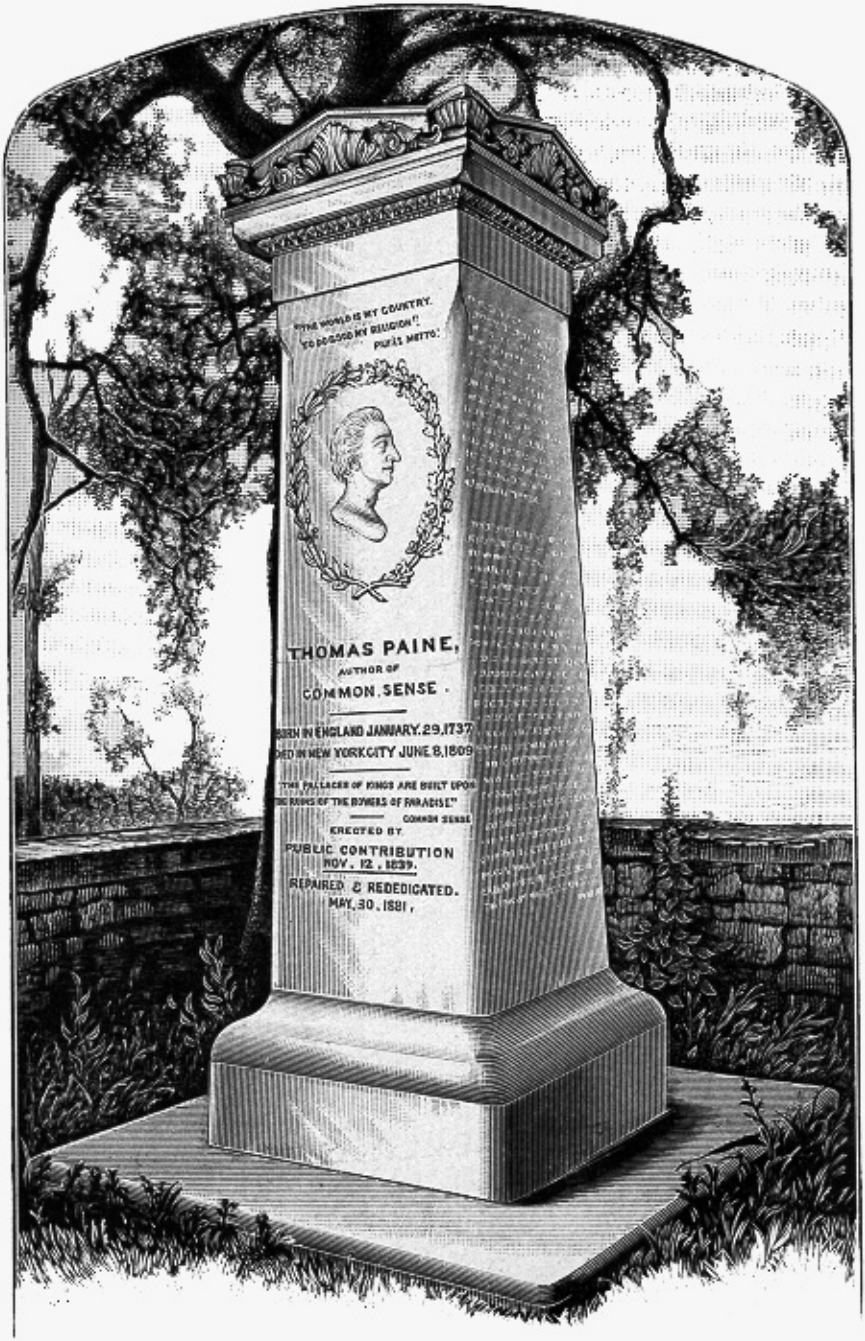
Elihu Palmer, late of New York, to be paid out of the money arising from said sale, and I give the remainder of the money arising from that sale, one half thereof to Clio Rickman, of High or Upper Mary-la-Bonne street, London, and the other half to Nicholas Bonneville, of Paris, husband of Margaret B. Bonneville aforesaid: and as to the south part of the said farm, containing upwards of one hundred acres, in trust, to rent out the same or otherwise put it to profit, as shall be found most advisable, and to pay the rents and profits thereof to the said Margaret B. Bonneville, in trust for her children, Benjamin Bonneville and Thomas Bonneville, their education and maintenance, until they come to the age of twenty-one years, in order that she may bring them well up, give them good and useful learning, and instruct them in their duty to God, and the practice of morality, the rent of the land or the interest of the money for which it may be sold, as hereinafter mentioned, to be employed in their education. And after the youngest of the said children shall have arrived at the age of twenty-one years, in further trust to convey the same to the said children share and share alike in fee simple. But if it shall be thought advisable by my executors and executrix, or the survivor or suvivors of them, at any time before the youngest of the said children shall come of age, to sell and dispose of the said south side of the said farm, in that case I hereby authorize and empower my said executors to sell and dispose of the same, and I direct that the money arising from such sale be put into stock, either in the United States bank stock, or New York Phœnix Insurance Company stock, the interest or dividends thereof to be applied as is already directed for the education and maintenance of the said children; and the principal to be transferred to the said children or the survivor of them on his or their coming of age. I know not if the society of people called Quakers admit a

person to be buried in their burying ground, who does not belong to their society, but if they do, or will admit me, I would prefer being buried there, my father belonged to that profession, and I was partly brought up in it. But if it is not consistent with their rules to do this, I desire to be buried on my farm at New Rochelle. The place where I am to be buried, to be a square of twelve feet, to be enclosed with rows of trees, and a stone or post and rail fence, with a head stone with my name and age engraved upon it, author of *Common Sense.* I nominate, constitute, and appoint Walter Morton, of the New York Phœnix Insurance Company, and Thomas Addis Emmet, counsellor at law, late of Ireland, and Margaret B. Bonneville, my executors and executrix to this my last will and testament, requesting them the said Walter Morton and Thomas Addis Emmet, that they will give what assistance they conveniently can to Mrs. Bonneville, and see that the children be well brought up. Thus placing confidence in their friendship, I herewith take my final leave of them and of the world. 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. Dated this eighteenth day of January, in the year one thousand eight hundred and nine, and I have also signed my name to the other sheet of this will in testimony of its being a part thereof.

THOMAS PAINE. [L. S.]

Signed, sealed, published and declared by the testator, in our presence, who, at his request, and in the presence of each other, have set our names as witnesses thereto, the words "published and declared" first interlined.

WM. KEESE,
JAMES ANGEVINE,
CORNELIUS RYDER.


"THE WORLD IS MY COUNTRY.
TO DO GOOD MY RELIGION!!"
PAIN'S MOTTO!
THOMAS PAINE,
AUTHOR OF
COMMON SENSE
BORN IN ENGLAND JANUARY. 29. 1737
DIED IN NEW YORK CITY JUNE 8. 1809
"THE PALLACES OF KINGS ARE BUILT UPON
THE RUINS OF THE BOWERS OF PARADISE"
COMMON SENSE
ERECTED BY
PUBLIC CONTRIBUTION
NOV. 12. 1839.
REPAIRED & REDEDICATED.
MAY. 30. 1881.

THE

LIFE OF THOMAS PAINE

AUTHOR OF

Common Sense, Rights of Man, Age of Reason, Letter to the Addressers, etc., etc.,

BY

THOMAS CLIO RICKMAN.

To counteract foul SLANDER'S lies, and vindicate the good, and wise,
Has been my only aim;
If skilless I've perform'd my part, the error lies not with my HEART,
My HEAD'S alone to blame.

Reprinted from the London edition of 1819.

NEW YORK,
Reproduced in electronic form
1998
Bank of Wisdom
P.O. Box 926
Louisville, KY 40201
U.S.A.

My dear friend.

* * * * * * * * * * *

* * * * * * * * * * *

I remain with
affection to you, your wife
and family – your friend.

Thomas Paine,

New York July. 12. '06.

Clio Rickman,

London.

DEDICATION.

BY THOMAS CLIO RICKMAN.

Celestial TRUTH! (the guider of his pen
Whose life I sketch,) to THEE devoted solely
I dedicate my work; for who 'mongst men
Merits pre-eminence so pure and holy?

O THOU! whose light enlarges every day,
May on the world thy full effulgence beam;
So PUBLIC RECTITUDE shall make its way,
So PRIVATE VIRTUE be no idle dream.

ORDER AND BEAUTY follow in thy train,
And TASTE and HAPPINESS await on THEE;
Lift up thy voice aloud and all the VAIN,
And all the WRONG and all the FALSE shall flee.

CELESTIAL TRUTH! thy blessings I implore,
Thy bright reward I seek, and seek no more.

PREFACE.

THE two following letters are explanatory of the reasons why the publication of the life of Mr. PAINE has been so long delayed, and are so well calculated to excite the candor of the reader towards the work, that no apology is offered for making them a part of the preface.

"*To the Editor of the Universal Magazine:*

[November, 1811.]

"ON MR. CLIO RICKMAN'S SUPPOSED UNDERTAKING OF THE "LIFE OF THOMAS PAINE.

"SIR, The public has been, within the last year or two, led to expect a Life of the celebrated THOMAS PAINE, from the pen of Mr. CLIO RICKMAN, well known, on various accounts, to be more thoroughly qualified for that task than any other person in this country.

"This information, however, I repeat as I received it, uncertain whether it came abroad in any authenticated shape; and can only add, that no doubt need be entertained of sufficient attention from the public in times like the present, to a well-written life of that extraordinary character, whose principles and precepts are at this moment in full operation over the largest and richest portion of the habitable globe, and which in regular process of time may, from the efficacious influence of the glorious principles of freedom, become the grand theatre of civilization.

"I have often desired to make a communication of this kind to your magazine, but am particularly im-

pelled thereto at this moment, from observing in some periodical publications devoted to political and religious bigotry, a sample of their usual sophistical accounts of the last moments of men who have been in life eminent for the independence and freedom of their opinions; but the whole that the bigot to whom I allude has been able to effect in the case of Mr. Paine, amounts to an acknowledgment that the philosopher died steadfast to those opinions of religion in which he had lived; and the disappointment is plain enough to be seen, that similar forgeries could not, with any prospect of success, be circulated concerning Paine's tergiversation and death-bed conversion, which were so greedily swallowed for a length of time by the gulls of fanaticism respecting Voltaire, D'Alembert, and others, until the *Monthly Review*, in the real spirit of philosophy, dispelled the imposition.

"The late *Life of Thomas Paine* by Cheetham of New York, gave rise to the above magazine article. Cheetham, humph! Now should it not rather be spelled CHEAT'EM, as applicable to every reader of that farrago of imposition and malignity, miscalled the *Life of Paine.*

"Probably it may be but a travelling name in order to set another book a-travelling, for the purpose of scandalizing and maligning the reputation of a defunct public man, instead of the far more difficult task of confuting his principles.

"Nothing can be more in course than this conjecture, authorized indeed by the following fact, with which I believe the public is, to this day, unacquainted; namely, that Mr. Chalmers publicly at a dinner acknowledged himself the author of that very silly and insipid catchpenny, formerly sent abroad under the misnomer of a '*Life of Thomas Paine*, by F. Oldys, of America.'

"The chief view of this application is to ascertain whether or not Mr. Rickman really intends to undertake the work in question. "I am, Sir, &c., &c.

"POLITICUS."

Universal Magazine, December, 1811.

"MR. CLIO RICKMAN'S REPLY TO POLITICUS.

"Sir, If you had done me the favor of a call, I would readily have satisfied all your inquiries about the Life of Mr. Paine.

"It is true I had the memoirs of that truly wise and good man in a great state of forwardness about a year ago; but a series of the most severe and dreadful family distresses since that time have rendered me incapable of completing them.

"Though an entire stranger to me (for I have not the least idea from whom the letter I am replying to came,) I feel obliged to you for the liberal opinion therein expressed of me and of my fitness for the work.

"I have taken great pains that the life of my friend should be given to the world as the subject merits; and a few weeks, whenever I can sit down to it, will complete it.

"Unhappily, Cheetham is the real name of a real apostate. He lived, when Mr. Paine was my inmate in 1792, at Manchester, and was a violent and furious idolater of his.

"That Mr. Paine died in the full conviction of the truth of the principles he held when living I shall fully prove, and should have answered the contemptible trash about his death, so industriously circulated, but that the whole account exhibited on the face of it fanatical fraud; and it was pushed forward in a mode and manner so ridiculous and glaringly absurd, as to carry with it its own antidote.

"Such Christians would be much better employed in mending their own lives, and showing in them an example of good manners and morals, than in calumniating the characters and in detailing silly stories of the deaths of those deists who have infinitely outstripped them, in their journey through life, in every talent and virtue, and in diffusing information and happiness among their fellowmen.

"I again beg the favor of a call, as the circumstances attached to the query of your's, and the delays and hindrances, which are of a family and distressing nature, to the publication of Mr. Paine's life, are better adapted for private than for public discussion.

"I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,
"CLIO RICKMAN."

It may not be necessary for me to promise anything further than to say, that I affect not to rank with literary men, nor, as they rise, do I wish it; that authorship* is neither my profession nor pursuit; and that, except in an undeviating attention to truth, and a better acquaintance with Mr. Paine and his life than any other man, I am perhaps the most unfit to arrange it for the public eye.

What I have hitherto written and published has arisen out of the moment, has been composed on the spur of the occasion, inspired by the scenery and circumstances around me, and produced abroad and at home, amid innumerable vicissitudes, the hurry of travel, business, pleasure, and during a life singularly active, eventful and chequered.

Latterly too that life has been begloomed by a train of ills which have trodden on each other's heel, and

* See Preface to my *Poetical Scraps*, 2 vols., where this subject is further enlarged on.

which, added to the loss of my inspirer, my guide, my genius, and my muse; of HER, the most highly qualified and best able to assist me, have rendered the work peculiarly irksome and oppressive.

In the year 1802, on my journey from France, I had the misfortune to lose my desk of papers;—a loss I have never lamented more than on the present occasion. Among these were Mr. Paine's letters to me, particularly those from France in the most interesting years to Europe, 1792, 1793. Not a scrap of these, together with some of his poetry, could I ever recover. By this misfortune the reader will lose much entertaining and valuable matter.

1819.

These memoirs have remained untouched from 1811 till now, and have not received any addition of biographical matter since. They were written by that part of my family who were at hand, as I dictated them; by those loved beings of whom death has deprived me, and from whom other severe ills have separated me. The manuscript, on these and many other accounts, awakens "busy meddling MEMORY," and tortures me with painful remembrances; and save that it is a duty I owe to the public and to the memory and character of a valued friend, I should not have set about its arrangement.

My heart is not in it. There are literary productions, which like some children, though disagreeable to everybody else, are still favorites with the parent: this offspring of mine is not of this sort, it hath no such affection.

Thus surrounded, and every way broken in upon by the most painful and harassing circumstances, I claim the reader's candor; and I now literally force myself

to the publication of Mr. Paine's Life, lest it should again be improperly done, or not be done at all, and the knowledge of so great and good a man be thereby lost to the world.

The engraving of Mr. Paine, by Mr. Sharp, prefixed to this work, is the only true likeness of him; it is from his portrait by Romney, and is perhaps the greatest likeness ever taken by any painter: to that eminent artist I introduced him in 1792, and it was by my earnest persuasion that he sat to him.*

Mr. Paine in his person was about five feet ten inches high; and rather athletic; he was broad-shouldered, and latterly stooped a little.

His eye, of which the painter could not convey the exquisite meaning, was full, brilliant, and singularly piercing; it had in it the "muse of fire." In his dress and person he was generally very cleanly, and wore his hair cued, with side curls, and powdered, so that he looked altogether like a gentleman of the old French school.

His manners were easy and gracious; his knowledge was universal and boundless; in private company and among friends his conversation had every fascination that anecdote, novelty and truth could give it. In mixed company and among strangers he said little, and was no public speaker.

Thus much is said of him in general, and in this place, that the reader may the better bear us company in his Life.

* The large proofs of Mr. Paine sell at one guinea, and the large prints at half a guinea, to be had of the publisher. The small ones, proofs at three and sixpence; and prints, at two and sixpence.

LIFE OF THOMAS PAINE.

THE following memoirs of Mr. PAINE, if they have no other merit, at least have that of being true.

Europe and America have for years been in possession of his works: these form the most important part of his life, and these are publicly sold and generally read; nor will the spirit of enquiry and sound reasoning, which the publication of them is so well calculated to promote, be long confined to any part of the world; for, to use his own words, "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."

"What manner of man" Mr. Paine was, his works will best exhibit, and from these his public, and much of his private character, will be best ascertained. But, as solicitude about the life of a great man and an extraordinary writer is common to all, it is here attempted to be gratified.

The Life of Mr. Paine by Francis Oldys* was written

* "The Life of Thomas Paine, the Author of *Rights of Man*, with a Defense of his Writings, by Francis Oldys, A. M. of the University of Pennsylvania:—Dublin printed." This silly and contemptible book against Mr. Paine and his writings, which was calculated every way to injure him and them, tells a falsehood in the title page to secure its sale, by inserting in it, "with a Defense of his Writings."

seventeen years before Mr. Paine's death; and was in fact, drawn up by a person employed by a certain lord, and who was to have five hundred pounds for the job, if he calumniated and belied him to his lordship's and the ministry's satisfaction.

A continuation of this Life, printed at Philadelphia in 1796, is in the same strain as the above, and equally contemptible.

A most vile and scandalous memoir of Paine, with the name of William Cobbett as the author, though we hope he was not so, appeared in London about the year 1795 with this motto:

> "A life that 's one continued scene
> Of all that 's infamous and mean."

Mr. James Cheetham's Life of Mr. Paine, published at New York after Mr. Paine's death in 1809, is a farrago of still more silly, trifling, false, and malicious matter. It is an outrageous attack upon Paine which bears, upon the face of it, idle gossiping and gross misrepresentation.

The critique of this Life, in the *British Review* for June, 1811, consists of more corrupt trash about Mr. Paine than even Cheetham's book, and is in its style inflated and bombastic to a laughable excess. Whence this came, and for what purpose published, the candid will readily discern, and cannot but lament the too frequent abuse, both by the tongue and by the pen, of characters entirely unknown to those who libel them, and by whom, if they were known, they would be approved and esteemed.

Indeed the whole of these works are so ridiculously overstrained in their abuse that they carry their own antidote with them.

The Life by Cheetham is so palpably written to dis-

tort, disfigure, mislead, and vilify, and does this so bungingly, that it defeats its own purposes, and becomes entertaining from the excess of its labored and studied defamation.

It is indeed "guilt's blunder," and subverts all it was intended to accomplish. It is filled with long details of uninteresting American matter, bickering letters of obscure individuals, gossiping stories of vulgar fanatics, prejudiced political cant, and weak observations on theology.

It may be supposed, from my long and affectionate intercourse with Mr. Paine, that these memoirs will have an opposite bias, and portray a too flattering and exalted character of him.

To this I reply, that I am not disposed to advocate the errors or irregularities of any man, however intimate with him, nor to suffer the partialities of friendship to prevent the due appreciation of character, or induce me to disregard the hallowed dictates of truth.

Paine was of those—

> Who, wise by centuries before the crowd,
> Must by their novel systems, 'though correct,
> Of course offend the wicked, weak and proud,—
> Must meet with hatred, calumny, neglect.

In his retirement to America, towards the close of his life, Mr. Paine was particularly unfortunate; for, as the author of the *Age of Reason*, he could not have gone to so unfavorable a quarter of the world.

A country abounding in fanatics, could not be a proper one for him whose mind was bold, enquiring, liberal and soaring, free from prejudice, and who from principle was a deist.

Of all wrath, fanatical wrath is the most intense;

nor can it be a matter of surprise that Mr. Paine received from great numbers in America, an unwelcome reception, and was treated with neglect and illiberality.

It is true on his return to that country in 1802, he received great attention from many of those who remembered the mighty influence of his writings in the gloomy period of the Revolution; and from others who had since embraced his principles; but these attentions were by many not long continued.

Thousands, who had formerly looked up to Mr. Paine as the principal founder of the Republic, had imbibed a strong dislike to him on account of his religious principles; and thousands more, who were opposed to his political principles, seized hold of the mean and dastardly expedient of attacking those principles through the religious feelings and prejudices of the people. The vilest calumnies were constantly vented against him in the public papers, and the weak-minded were afraid to encounter the popular prejudice.

The letter he wrote to General Washington also estranged him from many of his old friends, and has been to his adversaries a fruitful theme of virulent accusation, and a foundation on which to erect a charge of ingratitude and intemperance. It must certainly be confessed that his naturally warm feelings, which could ill brook any slight, particularly where he was conscious he so little deserved it, appear to have led him to form a somewhat precipitate judgment of the conduct of the American president, with regard to his (Mr. Paine's) imprisonment in France, and to attribute to design and willful neglect what was probably only the result of inattention or perhaps of misinformation; and under the influence of this incorrect impression he seems to have indulged, rather too hastily, suspicions of Washington's political

conduct with respect to England. But surely some little allowance should be made for the circumstances under which he wrote; just escaped from the horrors of a prison where he had been for several months confined under the sanguinary reign of Robespierre, when death strode incessantly through its cells, and the guillotine floated in the blood of its wretched inhabitants; and if, with the recollection of these scenes of terror fresh in his memory, and impressed with the idea that it was by Washington's neglect that his life had been thus endangered, he may have been betrayed into a style of severity which was perhaps not quite warranted, we can only lament, without attaching blame to either, that anything jarring should have occurred between two men who were both staunch supporters of the cause of freedom, and thus have given the enemies of liberty occasion to triumph because its advocates were not more than mortal.

The dark and troublous years of the revolution having passed away, and a govenment being firmly established, wealth possessed more influence than patriotism; and, a large portion of the people consisting of dissenters, fanaticism was more predominant than toleration, candor and charity.

These causes produced the shameful and ungrateful neglect of Mr. Paine in the evening of his days; of that Paine who by his long, faithful, and disinterested services in the Revolution, and afterwards by inculcating and enforcing correct principles, deserved, above all other men, the most kind and unremitting attention from, and to be held in the highest estimation by, the American people.

There were indeed a chosen and enlightened few, who, like himself "bold enough to be honest and honest

enough to be bold," feeling his value, continued to be his friends to his last hour.

Paine was not one of the great men who live amid great events, and forward and share their splendor; he created them; and, in this point of view, he was a very superior character to Washington.

Far be it from me to derogate from the value of that great man; but it is presumed that he is more justly appreciated in the following epitaph, than in some longer essays towards characterizing him:

> Important periods mark'd thy splendid life,
> With tyrant men and tyrant means at strife;
> 'Tho' ne'er in Europe, yet thy well earn'd fame
> Throughout all Europe made revered thy name.
> Thus far is true, but truth must further tell,
> That lucky hits thy bright career befell;
> Nor will thy shade this portraiture condemn,
> That great events made thee, and not thou them.

Mr. Paine having ever in his mind the services he had rendered the United States, of whose independence he was the principal author and means, it cannot be a matter of wonder that he was deeply hurt and affected at not being recognized and treated by the Americans as he deserved, and as his labors for their benefit merited.

Shunned where he ought to have been caressed, coldly neglected where he ought to have been cherished, thrown into the back-ground where he ought to have been prominent, and cruelly treated and calumniated by a host of ignorant and canting fanatics, it cannot be a subject of surprise, though it certainly must of regret, that he sometimes, towards the close of his life, fell into the too frequent indulgence of stimulants, neglected his appearance, and retired, mortified and disgusted, from an ill-judging, unkind, unjust world, into ob-

security, and the association of characters in an inferior social position.

In this place it is absolutely necessary to observe, that during his residence with me in London, in and about the year 1792, and in the course of his life previous to that time, he was not in the habit of drinking to excess; he was clean in his person, and in his manners polite and engaging; and ten years after this, when I was with him in France, he did not drink spirits, and wine he took moderately; he even objected to any spirits being laid in as a part of his sea stock, observing to me, that though sometimes, borne down by public and private affliction,* he had been driven to excesses in Paris, the cause and effect would cease together, and that in America he should live as he liked, and as he ought to live.

That Mr. Paine had his failings is as true as that he was a man, and that some of them grew on him at a very advanced time of life, arising from the circumstances before detailed, there can be no doubt: but to magnify these, to give him vices he had not, and seek only occasions of misrepresenting and vilifying his character, without bringing forward the great and good traits in it, is cruel, unkind, and unjust.

"Let those who stand take heed lest they fall."—They too, when age debilitates the body and mind, and unexpected trials and grievances assail them, may fall into errors that they now vauntingly value themselves in not having. Singularly blest are they who are correct in their conduct; they should be happy and thankful that they are so; and instead of calumniating and being hard upon, should compassionate those who are not.

* Referring, probably, to his imprisonment in the Luxembourg prison, while in the power of Robespierre, and where he daily saw some of his fellow prisoners led forth to the guillotine.—*Pub.*

The throwers of the first stone would indeed be few if the condition were complied with on which it should be cast. That Mr. Paine in his declining years became careless of his personal appearance, and may be, somewhat parsimonious, is in some measure true; but, to these errors of his old age, we ought to oppose his being the principal agent in creating the government of the American States; and that through his efforts millions have now the happiness of sitting at ease under their own vines and their own fig trees; his fair and upright conduct through life, his honest perseverance in principles which he might have had immense sums for relinquishing, or for being silent about, his never writing for money or making his works matter of pecuniary advantage to himself, but, on the contrary, as will be exemplified in these memoirs, his firmness in resisting all such emolument and in not listening to the voice of the briber.

Even amidst the violent party abuse of the day there were contemporary writers who knew how to appreciate Mr. Paine's talents and principles, and to speak of him as he deserved.*

* There were also public meetings held, and addresses to him from Nottingham, Norwich, &c., &c., from the Constitutional Society in London, to which belonged persons of great affluence and influence, and some of the best informed, best intentioned, and most exalted characters. From these and from many other bodies of men were published the highest testimonies of thanks and approbation of Mr. Paine and his political works. These addresses and the resolutions of the public meetings may be seen in the papers and hand bills of the day.—We subjoin two from Manchester and Sheffield.

"MANCHESTER.—At a Meeting of the Manchester Constitutional Society, held this day, it was unanimously resolved,

"That the thanks of this Society are due to Mr. Thomas Paine, for the publication of '*his* Second Part *of the* RIGHTS OF MAN, *combining Principle and Practice*,'—a work of the highest importance to every nation under heaven; but particularly to this, as containing excellent

"We are now," says one of these, "to treat of a real great man, a noble of nature, one whose mind is en-

and practicable plans for an immediate and considerable reduction of the public expenditure; for the prevention of wars; for the extension of our manufactures and commerce; for the education of the young; for the comfortable support of the aged; for the better maintenance of the poor of every description; and, finally, for lessening *greatly*, and *without delay*, the enormous load of taxes under which this country at present labors.

"That this Society congratulate their countrymen at large on the influence which Mr. Paine's publications appear to have had, in procuring the repeal of some oppressive taxes in the present session of parliament; and they hope that this adoption of a small part of Mr. Paine's ideas *will be followed by the most strenuous exertions to accomplish a complete reform in the present inadequate state of the representation of the people*, and that the other great plans of public benefit, which Mr. Paine has so powerfully recommended, will be speedily carried into effect.

"THOMAS WALKER, President.
"*March 13, 1792.*" "SAMUEL JACKSON, Secretary.

"SHEFFIELD SOCIETY for Constitutional Information.

"This Society, composed chiefly of the Manufacturers of Sheffield, began about four months ago, and is already increased to nearly TWO THOUSAND Members, and is daily increasing; exclusive of the adjacent towns and villages, who are forming themselves into similar societies.

"Considering, as we do, that the want of knowledge and information in the general mass of the people, has exposed them to numberless impositions and abuses, the exertions of this society are directed to the acquirement of useful knowledge, and to spread the same, as far as our endeavors and abilities can extend.

"We declare that we have derived more true knowledge from the two works of Mr. THOMAS PAINE, entitled RIGHTS OF MAN, Part the *First* and *Second*, than from any other author on the subject. The practice as well as the principle of government is laid down in those works, in a manner so clear and irresistibly convincing, that this Society do hereby resolve to give their thanks to Mr. Paine for his two said publications entitled *Rights of Man*, Part 1st and 2d. Also,

"Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Society be given to Mr. Paine for the affectionate concern he has shown in his second

larged and wholly free from prejudice; one who has most usefully and honorably devoted his pen to support the glorious cause of general liberty and the rights of man. In his reply to Mr. Burke's miserable rhapsody in favor of oppression, popery, and tyranny, he has urged the most lucid arguments, and brought forward truths the most convincing. Like a powerful magician he touches with his wand the hills of error and they smoke; the mountains of inhumanity and they melt away."

"Had Thomas Paine," says another most enlightened writer in 1795, in reply to Cheetham, Cobbett, Oldys, &c., "been nothing superior to a vagabond seaman, a bankrupt stay maker, a discarded exciseman, a porter in the streets of Philadelphia, or whatever else the

work in behalf of the poor, the infant, and the aged; who, notwithstanding the opulence which blesses other parts of the community, are, by the grievous weight of taxes rendered the miserable victims of poverty and wretchedness.

"Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Society be given to J. HORNE TOOKE, Esq., for his meritorious support of our lawful privileges, as a firm advocate of our natural and just rights, the establishment of an equal representation of the people.

"Resolved unanimously, That this Society, disdaining to be considered either of a ministerial or an opposition party (names of which we are tired, having been so often deceived by both) do ardently recommend it to all their fellow citizens, into whose hands these resolutions may come, to confer seriously and calmly with each other, on the subject alluded to; and to manifest to the world, that the spirit of true liberty is a spirit of order; and that to obtain justice, it is consistent that we be just ourselves.

"Resolved unanimously, That these resolutions be printed, and that a Copy thereof be transmitted to the 'Society for Constitutional Information in London,' requesting their approbation for twelve of our friends to be entered into their Society, for the purpose of establishing a connection and a regular communication with that and all other similar societies in the kingdom.

"By order of the Committee,

"DAVID MARTIN, Chairman.

"*March 14, 1792.*"

insanity of Grub-street chooses to call him, hundreds of thousands of copies of his writing had never announced his name in every village on the globe where the English language is spoken, and very extensively where it is not; nor would the rays of royal indignation have illuminated that character which they cannot scorch."

The following are the observations of Mr. Erskine, now Lord Erskine, when counsel for Paine on the prosecution against him for his work *Rights of Man.** "Upon

*John Lord Campbell, LL.D., F. R. S. E., in *The Lives of the Lord Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal of England, from the earliest times times till the reign of King George IV.*, vol. vi, page 357, gives the following account of the efforts made by those high in authority to prevent Lord Chancellor Erskine from defending Thomas Paine for publishing the *Rights of Man.*

"We must again," says Lord Campbell, "attend Erskine to the Forum. His firmness was put to a severe trial—and he gave a memorable example of what may be expected from an English advocate. Wisely the Government had taken no notice of the First Part of Paine's *Rights of Man*, and it had attracted little notice; but the Second Part, containing some offensive aspersions upon the monarchial and aristocratic branches of our government, its circulation was infinitely increased by the Attorney General filing an *ex-officio* information against the author. A retainer for the defendant [Paine] was sent to Erskine, and the question was, 'whether he should accept it?' He himself did not hesitate one moment. * * * The cause was to be tried in the Court in which he practised as a barrister; and he was bound, when called upon, to defend the party accused to the best of his ability by all legal and honorable means.

"However, several of his friends earnestly persuaded him to refuse the retainer, and among these was Lord Loughborough, who ought to have known better. Erskine, himself, many years after, gave the following amusing account of this interview:

"In walking home one dark November evening across Hamstead Heath, I met Loughborough coming in an opposite direction, apparently with the intention of meeting me. He was also on foot. 'Erskine,' he said, 'I was seeking you, for I have something important to communicate to you.' There was an unusual solemnity in his manner, and a deep hollowness in his voice. We were alone. The place was solitary. The dusk was gathering around us, and not a

the matter, which I hasten to lay before you, can you refuse in justice to pronounce, that from his education, from the accidents and habits of his life, from the time and circumstances attending it, and from every line and letter of the work itself and all his other writings before

voice—not a footstep—was within hearing. I felt as Hubert felt when John half opened, half suppressed, the purpose of his soul in that awful conference which Shakespeare has so finely imagined.

"After a portentious pause he began :—'Erskine, you must not take Paine's brief.' 'But I have been retained, and I will take it, by G–d,' was my reply. Messages to the same effect were brought to him from the Prince of Wales ; but he was inexorable. By many well-meaning people, ignorant of professional etiquette, and of what is required by a due regard for the proper administration of criminal justice, his obstinacy was much condemned, and scurrilous attacks were made upon him in the government newspapers.

"As a reward for the brave and honest defence which his duty compelled him to make for his client, he was, to the lasting disgrace of those from whom the measure proceeded, removed from his office of Attorney General to the Prince of Wales. He thus adverted to the fact in his defence of Horne Tooke :

"Gentlemen, Mr. Tooke had an additional and a generous motive for appearing to be the supporter of Mr. Paine ; the Constitution was wounded through his sides. I blush, as a Briton, to recollect that a conspiracy was formed among the highest orders to deprive this man of a British trial. This is the clue to Mr. Tooke's conduct, and to which, if there should be no other witnesses, I will step forward to be examined. I assert that there was a conspiracy to shut out Mr. Paine from the privilege of being defended : he was to be deprived of counsel, and I, who now speak to you, was threatened with the loss of office if I appeared as his advocate. I was told in plain terms that I must not defend Mr. Paine. I did defend him, and I did lose my office."

On the day of the trial Erskine was at his post, prepared to defend his client ; but when the Attorney General produced a letter from Paris, recently written by Thomas Paine, in which that honest and fearless writer proudly acknowledged himself to be the author of the *Rights of Man*, and satirically referred to the King and Prince of Wales in language more forcible than elegant, Erskine stood almost appalled, and he refers in his address to the painful embarrassment he experienced. And yet, under such adverse circumstances, which would have disconcerted a less resolute mind, Erskine made a most eloquent defence, which has been referred to by an English author as being perhaps "the noblest specimen of English forensic oratory."—*Pub.*

and ever since, his conscience and understanding (no matter whether erroneously or not) were deeply and solemnly impressed with the matters contained in his book; that he addressed it to the reason of the nation at large, and not to the passions of individuals; and that in the issue of its influence he contemplated only what appeared to him (though it may not to us) to be the interest and happiness of England, and of the whole human race? In drawing the one or other of these conclusions, the book stands first in order, and it shall speak for itself.

"Gentlemen, the whole of it is in evidence before you, the particular parts arranged having only been read by my consent upon the presumption that on retiring from the court you would carefully compare them with the context, and all the parts with the whole viewed together.

"You cannot indeed do justice without it. The most common letter, even in the ordinary course of business, cannot be read in a cause to prove an obligation for twenty shillings without the whole being read, that the writer's meaning may be seen without deception.

"But in a criminal charge only of four pages and a half, out of a work containing nearly two hundred, you cannot, with even the appearance of common justice, pronounce a judgment without the most deliberate and cautious comparison. I observe that the noble and learned judge confirms me in this observation. But if any given part of a work be legally explanatory of every other part of it, the preface, à fortiori, is the most material, because the preface is the author's own key to his writing; it is there that he takes the reader by the hand and introduces his subject; it is there that the spirit and intention of the whole is laid before him by

way of prologue. A preface is meant by the author as a clew to ignorant or careless readers; the author says by it to every man who chooses to begin where he ought, look at my plan, attend to my distinctions, mark the purpose, and limitations of the purpose, I lay before you. Let them, the calumniators of Thomas Paine, now attend to his preface, where, to leave no excuse for ignorance or misrepresentation, he expresses himself thus: 'I have differed from some professional gentlemen on the subject of prosecutions, and I since find they are falling into my opinion, which I will here state as fully but as concisely as I can. I will first put a case with respect to my law, and then compare it with a government, or with what in England is, or has been called, a constitution.'

"It would be an act of despotism, or what in England is called arbitrary power, to make a law to prevent investigating the principles, good or bad, on which such a law or any other is founded. If a law be bad, it is one thing to oppose the practice of it, but it is quite a different thing to expose its errors, to reason on its defects, and to show cause why it should be repealed, or why another ought to be substituted in its place.

"I have always held it an opinion (making it also my practice) that it is better to obey a bad law, making use at the same time of every argument to show its errors and produce its repeal, than forcibly to violate it; because the precedent of breaking a bad law might weaken the force, and lead to a discretionary violation, of those which are good.

"The case is the same with principles and forms of a government, or of what are called constitutions, and the parts of which they are composed.

"It is for the good of nations, and not for the emolu-

ment or aggrandizement of particular individuals, that government ought to be established, and that mankind are at the expense of supporting it. The defects of every government and constitution, both as to principle and form, must, on a parity of reasoning, be as open to discussion as the defects of a law; and it is a duty every man owes to society to point them out: When those defects and the means of remedying them are generally seen by a nation, that nation will reform its government or its constitution in the one case, as the government repealed or reformed the law in the other."

Mr. Erskine further says, "In that great and calamitous conflict, the American war, Mr. Burke and Mr. Paine fought on the same field of reason together, but with very different success. Mr. Burke spoke to a parliament in England such as Sir G. Saville describes it, that had no ears but for sounds that flattered its corruptions; Mr. Paine, on the other hand, spoke to a people, reasoned with them, that they were bound by no subjection to any sovereignty further than their own benefits connected them; and by these powerful arguments prepared the minds of the American people for their glorious, just, and happy revolution."

After this he very properly replies to those silly, heated people, who object to Mr. Paine's discussing the subject he so ably handles.

"A subject which, if dangerous to be discussed, he, Mr. Burke, should not have led to the discussion: for surely it is not to be endured that any private man is to publish a creed for a whole nation, to tell us we are not to think for ourselves, to oppose his own fetters on the human mind, to dogmatize at discretion, and that no man shall sit down to answer him without being guilty of a libel; I assert, that, if it be a libel to mistake our

constitution, to support it by means that tend to destroy it, and to choose the most dangerous season for the interfe ence, Mr. Burke is that libeller, but not therefore the object of a criminal prosecution; for whilst I am defending the motives of one man I have neither right nor disposition to criminate the motives of others. All I contend for is a fact that cannot be controverted, viz. that this officious interference was the origin of Mr. Paine's book. I put my cause upon its being the origin of it, the avowed origin of it, as will abundantly appear from the introduction and preface to both parts, and throughout the whole body of the work; nay from the work of Mr. Burke himself, to which both of them are answers."

Even Mr. Burke, writing on one of Mr. Paine's works, *Common Sense*, says, "that celebrated pamphlet, which prepared the minds of the people for independence."

The following extract is from Mrs. Charlotte Smith's *Desmond*, a novel, for matter and manner, equalled by few, and which for the excellent sentiments it inculcates is worthy the reader's attention.

"In reading the book you sent me, which I have yet had only time to do superficially, I am forcibly struck by truths that either were not seen before, or were by me who did not wish to acknowledge them, carefully repressed; they sometimes are bluntly delivered, but it is often impossible to refuse immediate assent to those which appear the boldest, impossible to deny that many others have been acceded to, when they were spoken by men to whose authority we have paid a kind of prescriptive obedience, though they now have called forth such clamor and abuse against the author of the *Rights of Man.* My other letters from England are filled with accounts of the rage and indignation which this publication has

excited; I pique myself, however, on having, in my former letter, cited against Burke, a sentence of Locke which contradicts, as forcibly as Paine has contradicted, one of his most absurd positions. I know that, where sound argument fails, abusive declamation is always substituted, and that it often silences where it cannot convince. I know too that where the politics are obnoxious, recourse is always had to personal detraction; therefore wonder not that, on your side of the water, those who are averse to the politics of Paine will declaim instead of arguing, and those who feel the force of his abilities will villify his private life, as if that was anything to the purpose. I do, however, wonder that these angry antagonists do not recollect that the clamor they raise serves only to prove their fears, and that if the writings of this man are, as they would represent, destitute of truth and sound argument, they must be quickly consigned to contempt and oblivion, and could neither be themselves the subject of alarm, or render their author an object of investigation and abhorrence; but the truth is, whatever may be his private life (with which I cannot understand that the public have any concern) he comes, as a political writer, under the description given of a controvertist by the acute author to whom Monsieur D'Hauteville has so terrible an aversion:—'Was there ever so abominable a fellow? He exposes truth so odiously, he sets before our eyes the arguments on both sides with horrible impartiality; he is so intolerably clear and plain, that he enables people who have only common sense, to doubt and even to judge.'—*Voltaire.*"

It would be unjust to omit the testimony of so great a man as Mr. Monroe* in Mr. Paine's favor, especially as

* Elected President of United States of America in 1817.

he knew our author through many years, and was incapable of anything else than a due appreciation of his character.

"It is necessary for me to tell you how much all your countrymen, I speak of the great mass of the people, are interested in your welfare; they have not forgotten the history of their own revolution, and the difficult scenes through which they passed; nor do they review its several stages without reviving in their bosoms a due sensibility of the merits of those who served them in that great and arduous conflict. The crime of ingratitude has not yet stained, nor I trust ever will stain, our national character. You are considered by them as not only having rendered important services in our own revolution, but as being on a more extensive scale the friend of human rights, and a distinguished and able advocate in favor of public liberty. To the welfare of Thomas Paine the Americans are not, nor can they be, indifferent."

But Paine is now dead, the test of time must prove him, and the reader will I hope be gratified that I add the elegant and very appropriate language of my brother-in law, Mr. Capel Lofft.

"I have learnt that on the writings of men the grave is a severe and impartial critic; what deserves disesteem will have no long celebrity, but what has truth and social good for its principle, and has been the emanation of a powerful mind under the influence of these motives, has the germ of immortality; whatever of perishable frailty may adhere to it will soon drop into oblivion. The fleeting forms of error change in every generation; a wrong is ever a confined and a capricious taste. Nothing will generally and permanently please that does not derive itself from an higher origin. It is needless there-

fore to inveigh against the dead, those especially who have been poor, and persecuted, and traduced through life. Such, if they merit shame and neglect with posterity, must of course meet it. These are no imposing circumstances to create a false homage. But if they have deserved the esteem, the gratitude, the affectionate veneration of succeeding ages, no satire, no invidious exaggerated selection of their faults will check their career. The licensed cry that marks the commencement of their triumph will be hourly fainter, and its last hollow murmurs will have expired without ever reaching that temple in which their fame, its solemn progress completed, must reside, while aught of human glory beams on the earth from the awful shrine. If men, in other respects of wisdom and virtue, have so far forgotten themselves as to aid the cry, those tutelary powers leave at such a moment the side of those whom at other times they have most favored. They add force to the sacred sound of just praise; the din of their constant enemies, the hasty and eager clamor of their erring friends sink, lost and undistinguished, in the full harmonious acclaim."

In the year 1795, in a letter to me Mr. Lofft thus writes, after objecting to the first part of the *Age of Reason;* "I am glad Paine is living: he cannot be even wrong without enlightening mankind; such is the vigor of his intellect, such the acuteness of his research, and such the force and vivid perspicuity of his expressions."

It has been a fashion among the enemies of Mr. Paine, when unable to cope with his arguments, to attack his style, which they charge with inaccuracy and want of elegance; and some, even of those most friendly to his principles have joined in this captious criticism. It had

not, perhaps, all the meretricious ornaments and studied graces that glitter in the pages of Burke, which would have been so many obscurities in the eyes of that part of the community for whose perusal his writings were principally intended, but it is singularly nervous and pointed; his arguments are always forcibly stated, nor does a languid line ever weary the attention of the reader. It is true, he never studied variety of phrase at the expense of perspicuity. His object was to enlighten, not to dazzle; and often, for the sake of more forcibly impressing an idea on the mind of the reader, he has made use of verbal repetitions which to a fastidious ear may perhaps sound unmusical. But although, in the opinion of some, his pages may be deficient in elegance, few will deny that they are copious in matter; and, if they sometimes fail to tickle the ear, they will never fail to fill the mind.

Distinctness and arrangement are the peculiar characteristics of his writings: this reflection brings to mind an observation once made to him by an American girl, "that his head was like an orange—it had a separate apartment for everything it contained."

Notwithstanding this general character of his writings, the bold and original style of thinking which everywhere pervades them often displays itself in a luxuriance of imagery, and a poetic elevation of fancy, which stand unrivalled in the pages of our English classics.

Thomas Paine was born at Thetford in the county of Norfolk in England, on the 29th of January, 1736. His father, Joseph Paine, who was the son of a reputable farmer, followed the trade of a stay maker, and was by religious profession a Quaker. His mother's maiden name was Francis Cocke, a member of the church of England, and daughter of an attorney at Thetford.

They were married at the parish church of Euston, near Thetford, the 20th of June, 1734.

His father, by this marriage out of the society of Quakers, was disowned by that community.

Mr. Paine received his education at the grammar school at Thetford, under the Rev. Wm. Knowles, master; and one of his schoolmates at that time was the late counsellor Mingay.

He gave very early indication of talents and strong abilities, and addicted himself when a mere boy, to reading poetical authors; but this disposition his parents endeavored to discourage.

When a child he composed some lines on a fly being caught in a spider's web, and produced when eight years of age, the following epitaph on a crow which he buried in the garden :—

Here lies the body of John Crow,
Who once was high but now is low:
Ye brother Crows take warning all,
For as you rise, so must you fall.

At this school his studies were directed merely to the useful branches of reading, writing, and arithmetic, and he left it at thirteen years of age, applying, though he did not like it, to his father's business for nearly five years.

In the year 1756, when about twenty years of age, he went to London, where he worked some time in Hanover Street, Long Acre, with Mr. Morris, a noted stay maker.

He continued but a short time in London, and it is probable about this time made his seafaring adventure of which he thus speaks: "At an early age, raw and adventurous, and heated with the false heroism of a master [Rev. Mr. Knowles, master of the grammar

school at Thetford] who had served in a man of war, I began my fortune, and entered on board the Terrible, Captain Death. From this adventure I was happily prevented by the affectionate and moral remonstrances of a good father, who from the habits of his life, being of the Quaker profession looked on me as lost; but the impression, much as it affected me at the time, wore away, and I entered afterwards in the King of Prussia privateer, Captain Mender, and went with her to sea."

This way of life Mr. Paine soon left, and about the year 1758, worked at his trade for near twelve months at Dover. In April, 1759, he settled as a master stay maker at Sandwich; and the 27th of September following married Mary Lambert, the daughter of an exciseman of that place. In April, 1760, he removed with his wife to Margate, where she died shortly after, and he again mingled with the crowds of London.

In July, 1761, disgusted with the toil and little gain of his late occupation, he renounced it for ever, and determined to apply himself to the profession of an exciseman, towards which, as his wife's father was of that calling, he had some time turned his thoughts.

At this period he sought shelter under his father's roof at Thetford, that he might prosecute, in quiet and retirement, the object of his future course. Through the interest of Mr. Cocksedge, the recorder of Thetford, after fourteen months of study, he was established as a supernumerary in the excise, at the age of twenty-five.

In this situation at Grantham and Alford, &c., he did not continue more than two or three years, when he relinquished it in August, 1765, and commenced it again in July, 1766.

In this interval he was teacher at Mr. Noble's academy in Leman Street, Goodman's Fields, at a salary of £25

a year. In a similar occupation he afterwards lived for a short time, at Kensington, with a Mr. Gardner.

I remember when once speaking of the improvement he gained in the above capacities and some other lowly situations he had been in, he made this observation. "Here I derived considerable information; indeed I have seldom passed five minutes of my life, however circumstanced, in which I did not acquire some knowledge."

During this residence in London, Mr. Paine attended the philosophical lectures of Martin and Ferguson, and became acquainted with Dr. Bevis of the Temple, a great astronomer. In these studies and in the mathematics he soon became a proficient.

In March, 1768, he was settled as an exciseman at Lewes, in Sussex, and there, on the 26th of March, 1771, married Elizabeth Ollive, shortly after the death of her father, whose trade of a tobacconist he entered into and carried on.

In this place he lived several years in habits of intimacy with a very respectable, sensible, and convivial set of acquaintance, who were entertained with his witty sallies, and informed by his more serious conversations.

In politics he was at this time a Whig, and notorious for that quality which has been defined perseverance in a good cause and obstinacy in a bad one. He was tenacious of his opinions, which were bold, acute, and independent, and which he maintained with ardor, elegance, and argument.

At this period, at Lewes, the White Hart Evening Club was the resort of a social and intelligent circle who, out of fun, seeing that disputes often ran very warm and high, frequently had what they called the "Headstrong Book." This was no other than an old Greek Homer which was sent the morning after a debate vehemently

maintained, to the most obstinate haranguer of the club: this book had the following title, as implying that Mr. Paine the best deserved and most frequently obtained it.

THE

HEADSTRONG BOOK,

OR

ORIGINAL BOOK OF OBSTINACY,

WRITTEN BY

***** *****, OF LEWES, IN SUSSEX,

AND REVISED AND CORRECTED BY

THOMAS PAINE.

EULOGY ON PAINE.

Immortal PAINE, while mighty reasoners jar,
We crown thee General of the Headstrong War;
Thy logic vanish'd error, and thy mind
No bounds, but those of right and truth, confined.
Thy soul of fire must sure ascend the sky,
Immortal PAINE, thy fame can never die;
For men like thee their names must ever save
From the black edicts of the tyrant grave.

My friend Mr. Lee, of Lewes, in communicating this to me in September, 1810, said: "This was manufactured nearly forty years ago, as applicable to Mr. Paine, and I believe you will allow, however indifferent the manner, that I did not very erroneously anticipate his future celebrity."

During his residence at Lewes, he wrote several excellent little pieces in prose and verse, and among the rest the celebrated song on the death of General Wolfe, beginning

"In a mouldering cave where the wretched retreat."

It was about this time he wrote *The Trial of Farmer*

Carter's Dog Porter, in the manner of a drama, a work of exquisite wit and humor.

In 1772 the excise officers throughout the kingdom formed a design of applying to parliament for some addition to their salaries. Upon this occasion Mr. Paine, who, by this time, was distinguished among them as a man of talent, was fixed upon as a fit person, and solicited to draw up their case, and this he did in a very succinct and masterly manner. This case makes an octavo pamphlet, and four thousand copies were printed by Mr. William Lee, of Lewes. It is entitled *The Case of the Salary of the Officers of Excise, and Thoughts on the Corruption arising from the Poverty of Excise Officers.* No application, however, notwithstanding this effort, was made to parliament.

In April, 1774, the goods of his shop were sold to pay his debts. As a grocer, he trafficked in exciseable articles, and being suspected of unfair practices, was dismissed the excise after being in it twelve years. Whether this reason was a just one or not never was ascertained; it was, however, the ostensible one. Mr. Paine might perhaps have been in the habit of smuggling, in common with his neighbors. It was the universal custom along the coast, and more or less the practice of all ranks of people, from lords and ladies, ministers and magistrates, down to the cottager and laborer. I cannot, while upon this subject, resist the republication of a letter of mine in October, 1807:

"To the Editor of the *Independent Whig*."

"Sir:—If there are any characters more to be abhorred than others, it is those who inflict severe punishments against offenders and yet themselves commit the same crimes. If any characters more than others deserve execration, exposure, and to be driven from among mankind, it is those governors of the people who

break the laws they themselves make, and punish others for breaking. Suffer me, Mr. Editor, thus to preface the following fact; fact I say, because I stand ready to prove it so.

"When Admiral Duncan rendezvoused in the Downs with his fleet on the 8th of January, 1806, the Spider lugger, Daniel Falara, master, was sent to Guernsey to smuggle articles for the fleet, such as wine, spirits, hair powder, playing cards, tobacco, etc., for the supply of the different ships. At her arrival in the Downs, the ships' boats flocked around her to unload her and her contraband cargo. A custom house extra boat, commanded by William Wallace, seeing the lugger, followed and took her, in doing which he did his duty.

"On his inspecting the smuggled articles with which she was laden, he found a number of cases directed to Admiral Duncan, the Right Honorable William Pitt, the heaven-born minister to England, and to the Right Honorable Henry Dundas. In a few days, Wallace, the master of the custom house cutter, received orders from the government to give the lugger and her smuggled cargo up, on penalty of being dismissed from the service, and these cases of smuggled goods were afterwards delivered at the prime minister's, Mr. Pitt's, at Walmer Castle.

"Mr. Editor, read what follows, and repress your indignation if you can:

"There are now in Deal jail fourteen persons for trifling acts of smuggling compared to the above of the Right Honorable William Pitt and the now Right Honorable Lord Melville. The former were poor, and knew not how to live, the latter were most affluently and splendidly supported by the people; that is, they were paupers upon the generous public, towards whom they thus scandalously and infamously conducted themselves.

"I am, sir, Your Humble Servant, CLIO RICKMAN."

As Mr. Paine's being dismissed the excise has been a favorite theme with his abusers it may be necessary here to relate the following fact:

At the time he was an exciseman at Lewes, he was so approved for doing his duty that Mr. Jenner, principal clerk in the excise office, London, had several times occasion to write letters from the Board of Excise, thanking Mr. Paine for his assiduity in his profession, and for his information and calculations forwarded to the office.

In May following Mr. Paine and his wife separated by mutual agreement, articles of which were finally settled on the 4th of June. Which of them was in this instance wrong, or whether either of them was so, must be left undetermined, as on this subject no knowledge or judgment can be formed. They are now both removed, where, as we are told, none "are either married or given in marriage," and where, consequently, there can be no disagreements on this score. This I can assert, that Mr. Paine always spoke tenderly and respectfully of his wife, and several times sent her pecuniary aid, without her knowing even whence it came.

So much has, however, been said, on Mr. Paine having never cohabited with Miss Ollive, whom he married at Lewes, that if I were entirely to omit any mention of it, I might be charged with doing so because afraid to meet the subject, which forms, indeed, a very singular part of Mr. Paine's history. That he did not cohabit with her from the moment they left the altar till the day of their separation, a space of three years, although they lived in the same house together, is an indubitable truth. It is also true that no physical defect on the part of Mr. Paine, can be adduced as a reason for such conduct. I have in my possession the letters and documents on this subject,—Mr. Francis Wheeler's letters from Lewes of

April 16, 1774, to Mr. Philip Moore, proctor in the Commons, and his reply of April 18, 1774, and from Dr. Manning, of Lewes, I have frequently heard a candid detail of the circumstances.

Well, of this curious fact in Mr. Paine's life, what is to be said? To make use of it as a subject of reproach, abuse and calumny, is absurd; it is one of those things in human life upon which we cannot come to any decision, and which might have been honorable as well as dishonorable to Mr. Paine, I think most probably the former, could every why and wherefore be known. But as this cannot be, the fact, for fact it is, must be left for the reader's reflection, and I dare say if he is a candid one, it is not the only circumstance in life which he cannot understand, and upon which, therefore, he should not decide uncharitably. Mr. Paine's answer upon my once referring to this subject was, "It is nobody's business but my own; I had cause for it, but I will name it to no one."

Towards the end of the year 1774, he was strongly recommended to the great and good Dr. Franklin, "the favor of whose friendship," he says, "I possessed in England, and my introduction to this part of the world [America] was through his patronage."*

Mr. Paine now formed the resolution of quitting his native country, and soon crossed the Atlantic; and, as he himself relates, arrived in Philadelphia in the winter, a few months before the battle of Lexington, which was fought in April, 1775.

It appears that his first employment in the new world was with Mr. Aitken, a book-seller, as editor of the *Pennsylvanian Magazine*; and his introduction to that work, dated January 24, 1775, is thus concluded: "Thus encompassed with difficulties, this first number

*Crisis, No. 3.

of the *Pennsylvanian Magazine* entreats a favorable reception, of which we shall only say, that like the early snow-drop it comes forth in a barren season, and contents itself with foretelling the reader that choicer flowers are preparing to appear."

The following letter from Dr. Rush, of Philadelphia, it is presumed may not improperly be given here, but it should be remarked that this letter was written as late as July, 1809, on purpose to be inserted in Cheetham's infamous Life of Mr. Paine, and under some prejudice, as appears on the face of it, as well as at a period when every misrepresentation and calumny had been excited against him:

"Philadelphia, July 17, 1809.

"Sir :—In compliance with your request I send you herewith answers to your questions relative to the late Thomas Paine.

"He came to Philadelphia in the year 1772* with a short letter of introduction from Dr. Franklin to one of his friends. His design was to open a school for the instruction of young ladies in several branches of knowledge, which at that time was seldom taught in the schools of our country.

"About the year 1773† I met him accidentally in Mr. Aitkin's book-store, and was introduced to him by Mr. Aitkin. We conversed a few minutes, when I left. Soon afterwards I read a short essay, with which I was much pleased, in one of Bradford's papers, against the slavery of the Africans in our country, and which I was informed was written by Mr. Paine. This excited my desire to be better acquainted with him. We met soon after this in Mr. Aitkin's book-store, where I did homage to his principles and pen, upon the subject of the enslaved Africans. After this, Mr. Aitkin employed

* Dr. Rush is mistaken—it was 1774. † 1775.

him as editor of his magazine, with a salary of £25 currency a year. This work was well supported by him. His song upon the death of General Wolfe, and his reflections upon the death of Lord Clive, gave it a sudden currency which few works of that kind have since had in our country.

"When the subject of American independence began to be agitated in general conversation, I observed the public mind to be loaded with an immense mass of prejudice and error relative to it. Something appeared to be wanting to move them, beyond the ordinary short and cold addresses of newspaper publications. At this time I called upon Mr. Paine, and suggested to him the propriety of preparing our citizens for a perpetual sepation of our country from Great Britain, by means of a work of such length as would obviate all the objections to it.* He seized the idea with avidity, and immediately began his famous pamphlet in favor of that measure. He read the sheets to me at my house, as he composed them. When he had finished them, I advised him to put them into the hands of Dr. Franklin, Samuel Adams, and the late Judge Wilson, assuring him at the same time that they held the same opinion that he had defended.

"The first of those gentlemen, and I believe the second, saw the manuscript, but Judge Wilson being from home when Mr. Paine called upon him, it was not subjected to his inspection. No addition was made to it by Dr. Franklin, but a passage was struck out, or omitted in the printing of it, which I conceived to be

*I have always understood and still believe that this suggestion came origanally from Mr. Paine himself; indeed, Doctor Rush's letter is all through a little egotistical, and from the close of it, it may be seen he was also a man of prejudice.

one of the most striking in it; it was the following: 'A greater absurdity cannot be conceived than three millions of people running to their sea-coast every time a ship arrives from London, to know what portion of liberty they should enjoy.'

"A title only was wanted for this pamphlet before it was committed to press. Mr. Paine proposed to call it *Plain Truth.* I objected to it, and suggested the title of *Common Sense.* This was instantly adopted, and nothing now remained but to find a printer who had boldness enough to publish it. At that time there was a certain Robert Bell, an intelligent Scotch printer and book-seller in Philadelphia, whom I knew to be as high-toned as Mr. Paine upon the subject of American independence. I mentioned the pamphlet to him, and he at once consented to run the risk of publishing it. The author and the printer were immediately brought together, and *Common Sense* burst from the press of the latter in a few days with an effect which has rarely been produced by type and paper in any age or country. Between the time of the publication of this pamphlet and the 4th of July, 1776, Mr. Paine published a number of essays in Mr. Bradford's paper under the signature of *The Forester*, in defence of the opinions contained in his *Common Sense.*

"In the summer and autumn of 1776 he served as a volunteer in the American war under General Washington. Whether he received pay and rations I cannot tell. He lived a good deal with the officers of the first rank in the army, at whose tables his *Common Sense* always made him a welcome guest. The legislature of Pennsylvania gave Mr. Paine £500 as an acknowledgment of the services he had rendered the United States by his publications.

"He acted as clerk to the legislature of Pennsylvania about the year 1780. I do not know the compensation he received for his services in that station. He acted awhile as Secretary of the Secret Committee of Congress, but was dismissed by them for publishing some of their secrets relative to Mr. Deane.

"Mr. Paine's manner of life was desultory; he often visited in the families of Dr. Franklin, Mr. Ritterhouse, and Mr. G. Clymer, where he made himself acceptable by a turn he discovered for philosophical as well as political subjects.

"After the year 1776 my intercourse with Mr. Paine was casual. I met him now and then at the tables of some of our Whig citizens, where he spoke but little, but was always inoffensive in his manner and conversation.

"I possess one of his letters written to me from France upon the subject of the abolition of the slave trade. An extract from it was published in the *Columbian Magazine.*

"I did not see Mr. Paine when he passed through Philadelphia a few years ago. His principles avowed in his *Age of Reason* were so offensive to me that I did not wish to renew my intercourse with him.

"I have thus briefly and in great haste endeavored to answer your questions. Should you publish this letter, I beg my testimony against Mr. Paine's infidelity may not be omitted in it. From, sir,

"Yours respectfully,

"BENJAMIN RUSH."

One cannot read the close of this letter without lamenting to see this hackneyed word "infidelity" so everlastingly misapplied to injure and vilify those against whom it is hurled. The word "infidelity" means only a disbelief of any opinion or anything advanced, and

may be with propriety applied to Christians as not believing in Deism, as well as to Deists as not believing in Christianity, so that all sectarians and all believers are infidels to their opposing doctrines.

As it may amuse the reader to see Mr. Paine's style while editor of the *Pennsylvanian Magazine*, the following extract is given from one of his essays on the riches of the earth and the diligence necessary to discover them :

"Though Nature is gay, polite and generous abroad, she is sullen, rude and niggardly at home. Return the visit, and she admits you with all the suspicion of a miser, and all the reluctance of an antiquated beauty retired to replenish her charms. Bred up in antideluvian notions, she has not yet acquired the European taste of receiving visits in her dressing room ; she locks and bolts up her private recesses with extraordinary care, as if not only determined to preserve her hoards, but to conceal her age, and hide the remains of a face that was young and lovely before the days of Adam. He that would view Nature in her undress, and partake of her internal treasures, must proceed with the resolution of a robber, if not a ravisher ; she gives no invitations to follow her to the cavern. The external earth makes no proclamation of the interior stores, but leaves to chance and industry the discovery of the whole. In such gifts as nature can annually recreate she is noble and profuse, and entertains the whole world with the interests of her fortunes, but watches over the capital with the care of a miser. Her gold and jewels lie concealed in the earth, in caves of utter darkness ; the hoards of wealth moulder in the chests, like the riches of a necromancer's cell. It must be very pleasant to an adventurous speculatist to make excursions into these Gothic regions ; in his travels he may possibly come to

a cabinet locked up in some rocky vault whose treasures might reward his toil and enable him to shine on his return as splendidly as Nature herself."

Soon after his return to America, as foreign supplies of gunpowder were stopped, he turned his attention to chemistry, and set his fertile talents to work in endeavoring to discover some cheap and expeditious method of furnishing Congress with saltpetre, and he proposed, in the *Pennsylvanian Journal*, November 2, 1775, the plan of a saltpetre association for voluntarily supplying the national magazines with gunpowder.

His popularity in America now increased daily, and from this era he became a great public character and an object of interest and attention in the world. In 1776, on the 10th of January, he published the celebrated and powerfully discriminating pamphlet, *Common Sense*. Perhaps the greatest compliment that can be paid to this work is the effect it so rapidly had on the people, who had before no predisposition towards its principles, as may be gathered from Mr. Paine's own words:

"I found the disposition of the people such that they might have been led by a thread and governed by a reed. Their attachment to Britain was obstinate, and it was at that time a kind of treason to speak against it. They disliked the ministry, but they esteemed the nation. Their idea of grievance operated without resentment, and their single object was reconciliation." —*Crisis*, *No. 7*.

"Independence was a doctrine scarce and rare, even towards the conclusion of the year 1775. All our politics had been founded on the hope or expectation of making the matter up, a hope which, though general on the side of America, had never entered the head or heart of the British court."—*Crisis*, *No. 3*.

Even Mr. Cheetham, whom no one will suspect of

flattering Mr. Paine, thus forcibly describes the effects of *Common Sense* on the people of America:

"This pamphlet of forty octavo pages, holding out relief by proposing independence to an oppressed and despairing people, was published in January, 1776, speaking a language which the colonists had felt, but not thought of. Its popularity, terrible in its consequences to the parent country, was unexampled in the history of the press.* At first involving the colonists, it was thought, in the crime of rebellion, and pointing to a road leading inevitably to ruin, it was read with indignation and alarm, but when the reader, and everybody read it, recovering from the first shock, re-perused it, its arguments nourishing his feelings, and appealing to his pride, re-animated his hopes and satisfied his understanding, that *Common Sense*, backed up by the resources and force of the colonies, poor and feeble as they were, could alone rescue them from the unqualified oppression with which they were threatened. The unknown author, in the moments of enthusiasm which succeeded, was an angel sent from heaven to save from all the horrors of slavery by his timely, powerful and

* "Nothing could be better timed than this performance; in union with the feelings and sentiments of the people it produced surprising effects—many thousands were convinced, and led to approve, and long for separation from the mother country; though that measure was not only a few months before foreign to their wishes, but the object of their abhorrence, the current suddenly became so much in its favor that it bore down all before it."—*Rumsay's Rev., vol. 1, page 367, London, 1793.*

"The publications which have appeared, have greatly promoted the spirit of independency, but no one so much as the pamphlet under the signature of *Common Sense*, written by Thomas Paine, an Englishman. Nothing could have been better timed than this performance; it has produced most astonishing effects."—*Gordon's Rev., vol. 2, page 78, New York, 1794.*

unerring councils, a faithful but abused, a brave but misrepresented people."—*Cheetham's Life of Paine.**

Common Sense, it appears, was universally read and approved; the first edition sold almost immediately, and the second with very large additions was before the public soon after. On this production and some others, and his motives for writing, Mr. Paine thus remarks:

"Politics and self-interest have been so uniformly connected that the world, from being so often deceived, has a right to be suspicious of public characters. But with regard to myself I am perfectly easy on this head. I did not at my first setting out in public life nearly seventeen years ago, turn my thoughts to subjects of government from motives of interest, and my conduct from that moment to this proves the fact. I saw an opportunity in which I thought I could do some good, and I followed exactly what my heart dictated; I read neither books, nor studied other people's opinions—I thought for myself. The case was this:

"During the suspension of the old goverment in America, both prior to and at the breaking out of hostilities, I was struck with the order and decorum with which everything was conducted, and impressed with the idea that a little more than what society naturally performed was all the government that was necessary.

* When *Common Sense* arrived at Albany the Convention of New York was in session; General Scott, a leading member, alarmed at the boldness and novelty of its arguments, mentioned his fears to several of his distinguished colleagues, and suggested a private meeting in the evening, for the purpose of writing an answer. They accordingly met, and Mr. M'Kesson read the pamphlet through. At first it was deemed both necessary and expedient to answer it immediately, but casting about for the necessary arguments they concluded to adjourn and meet again. In a few evenings they assembled, but so rapid was the change of opinion in the colonies at large in favor of independence that they ultimately agreed not to oppose it.

On these principles I published the pamphlet *Common Sense*. The success it met with was beyond anything since the invention of printing. I gave the copyright up to every State in the Union, and the demand run to not less than one hundred thousand copies, and I continued the subject under the title of *American Crisis* till the complete establishment of the American revolution."

Further he says: "It was the cause of America that made me an author. The force with which it struck my mind made it impossible for me, feeling as I did, to be silent; and if, in the course of seven years, I have rendered her any service, I have added likewise something to the reputation of literature by freely and disinterestedly employing it in the service of mankind, and showing there may be genius without prostitution."

Owing to this disinterested conduct of Mr. Paine, it appears that though the sale of *Common Sense* was so great, he was in debt to the printer £29. 12*s*. 1*d*. This liberality and conscientious discharge of his duty with respect to his serviceable writings, as he called them, he adopted through life. "When I bring out my poetical and anecdotical works," he would often say to me, "which will be little better than amusing, I shall sell them; but I must have no gain in view, must make no traffic of my political and theological writings. They are with me a matter of principle and not a matter of money; I cannot desire to derive benefit from them or make them the subject to attain it."

And twenty-seven years after the publication of *Common Sense*, he thus writes to a friend: "As the French revolution advanced it fixed the attention of the world, and drew from the pen of Edmund Burke a furious attack. This brought me once more on the public theatre of public politics, and occasioned my writing a

work that had the greatest run of any ever published in the English language. The principles in it were the same as those in my former one. As to myself I acted in both cases alike.

"I relinquished to the people of England all profit, as I had done to those of America, from the work; my reward existed in the ambition of doing good, and in the independent happiness of my own mind. In my publications I follow the rule I began, that is to consult with nobody, nor let anybody see what I write till it appears publicly;* were I to do otherwise the case would be that between the timidity of some who are so afraid of doing wrong that they never do right, the puny judgment of others, and the despicable craft of preferring expedient to right, as if the world was a world of babies in leading strings, I should get forward with nothing.

"My path is a right line, as straight and clear to me as a ray of light. The boldness (if they will have it so)

* A ridiculous notion has been often broached, that Mr. Paine wrote not the works attributed to him; or if he did, that he was greatly assisted. This silly stuff has been generally urged by his opponents, as if, even supposing it was so, it invalidated their matter, or in any way rendered them less true; the contrary is the fact. Mr. Paine was so tenacious on this subject that he would not alter a line or word, at the suggestion even of a friend.

I remember when he read me his letter to Dundas in 1792, I objected to the pun, Madjesty, as beneath him. "Never mind," he said, "they say Mad Tom of me, so I shall let it stand Madjesty." I say not that his tenacity on this subject was not absurd, but it affords the fullest contradiction to the opinion that he never had the least aid or assistance in his writings, or suffered the smallest alteration to be made in them by others.

If the reader will refer to the period in which Mr. Paine made use of this pun he will find that it could not have any allusion to the king's melancholy infirmity—he was one of the last men in the world to be guilty of anything of the kind; nor can it be supposed it is now brought forward but for the reason stated.

with which I speak on any subject is a compliment to the person I address. It is like saying to him, I treat you as a man and not as a child. With respect to any worldly object, as it is impossible to discover any in me, therefore what I do, and my manner of doing it, ought to be ascribed to a good motive. In a great affair, where the good of man is at stake, I love to work for nothing, and so fully am I under the influence of this principle, that I should lose the spirit, the pride, and the pleasure of it, were I conscious that I looked for reward."

In the course of this year, 1776, Mr. Paine accompanied the army with General Washington, and was with him in his retreat from the Hudson River to the Delaware. At this period our author stood undismayed, amid a flying Congress, and the general terror of the land. The Americans, he loudly asserted, were in possession of resources sufficient to authorize hope, and he labored to inspire others with the same sentiments which animated himself. To effect this, on the 19th of December he published *The Crisis*, wherein, with a masterly hand, he stated every reason for hope, and examined all the motives for apprehension. This work he continued at various intervals, till the revolution was established. The last number appeared on the 19th of April, 1783, the same day a cessation of hostilities was proclaimed.

In 1777, Congress unanimously, and unknown to Mr. Paine, appointed him secretary in the foreign department, and from this time a close friendship continued between him and Dr. Franklin. From his office went all letters that were officially written by Congress, and the correspondence of Congress rested afterwards in his hands. This appointment gave Mr. Paine an opportunity of seeing into foreign courts, and their manner of

doing business and conducting themselves. In this office, which obliged him to reside with Congress wherever it fled, or however it was situated, Mr. Paine deserved the highest praise for the clearness, firmness and magnanimity of his conduct. His uprightness and entire fitness for this office did not, however, prevent intrigue and interestedness, or defeat cabal; for a difference being fomented between Congress and him, respecting one of their commissioners then in Europe (Mr. Silas Deane), he resigned his secretaryship on the 8th of January, 1779, and declined, at the same time, the pecuniary offers made him by the ministers of France and Spain, M. Gerrard and Don Juan Mirralles.

This resignation of, or dismissal from his situation as secretary for foreign affairs, has been so variously mentioned and argued upon, that the reader is referred to the tedious detail of it in the journals of the day, if he has patience to wade through so much American temporary and party political gossip. Mr. Paine's own account in his letter to Congress shortly is, "I prevented Deane's fraudulent demand being paid, and so far the country is obliged to me, but I became the victim of my integrity."

The party junto against him say he was guilty of a violation of his official duty, etc.

And here I shall leave it, as the bickerings of parties in America, in the year 1779, cannot be worth an European's attention; and as to the Americans themselves they have various means, by their legislatural records, registers of the day, and pamphlets, then and since, to go into the subject if they think it of importance enough.

About this time Mr. Paine had the degree of Master of Arts conferred on him by the University of Philadelphia, and in 1780 was chosen a member of the Ameri-

can Philosophical Society, when it was revived by the legislature of the province of Pennsylvania.

In February, 1781, Colonel Laurens, amidst the financial distress of America, was sent on a mission to France in order to obtain a loan, and Mr. Paine, at the solicitation of the Colonel, accompanied him.

Mr. Paine, in his letter to Congress, intimates that this mission originated with himself, and takes upon himself the credit of it.

They arrived in France the following month, obtained a loan of ten millions of livres and a present of six millions, and landed in America the succeeding August with two millions and a half in silver. His value, his firmness, his independence, as a political character, were now universally acknowledged; his great talents, and the high purposes to which he devoted them, made him generally sought after and looked up to, and General Washington was foremost to express the great sense he had of the excellence of his character and the importance of his services, and would himself have proposed to Congress a great remuneration of them, had not Mr. Paine positively objected to it as a bad precedent and an improper mode.

In August, 1782, he published his spirited letter to the Abbé Raynal; of this letter a very sensible writer observes, "that it displays an accuracy of judgment and strength of penetration that would do honor to the most enlightened philosopher. It exhibits proofs of knowledge so comprehensive, and discrimination so acute, as must in the opinion of the best judges place the author in the highest ranks of literature."

We shall here make a few extracts from this work, which will fully refute the malignant insinuations of his enemies, who represent him as totally destitute of the benefits resulting from a liberal education. The

impartial reader need only attend to the ensuing extracts, which will abundantly convince him of the futility of such assertions, and prove our author's judgment as a critic, and his acquaintance with polite learning.

In the introduction to this letter are the following expressions: "There are few men in any country who can at once, and without the aid of reflection and revisal, combine warm passions with a cool temper, and the full expansion of imagination with the natural and necessary gravity of judgment, so as to be rightly balanced within themselves, and to make a reader feel, fancy and understand justly at the same time. To call these powers of the mind into action at once, in a manner that neither shall interrupt, and that each shall aid and invigorate the other, is a talent very rarely possessed."

"It often happens that the weight of an argument is lost by the wit of setting it off, or the judgment disordered by an intemperate irritation of the passions, yet a certain degree of animation must be felt by the writer, and raised in the reader, in order to interest the attention, and a sufficient scope given to the imagination to enable it to create in the mind a sight of the persons, characters, and circumstances of the subject, for without these, the judgment will feel little or no excitement to office, and its determination will be cold, sluggish and imperfect. But if either or both of the two former are raised too high, or heated too much, the judgment will be jostled from its seat, and the whole matter, however perfect in itself, will diminish into a pantomime of the mind, in which we create images that promote no other purpose than amusement."

"The Abbe's writings bear evident marks of that extension and rapidity of thinking and quickness of sensation, which above all others require revisal."

In the course of the letter we find the following admirable remarks on the Abbé Raynal's writings: "In this paragraph the conception is lofty and the expressions elegant, but the coloring is too high for the original, and the likeness fails through an excess of graces."

"To fit the powers of thinking and the turn of language to the subject, so as to bring out a clear conclusion that shall hit the point in question and nothing else, is the true criterion of writing. But the greater part of the Abbé's writings, if he will pardon me the remark, appear to me uncentral, and burthened with variety. They represent a beautiful wilderness without paths, in which the eye is diverted by everything, without being particularly directed to anything, in which it is agreeable to be lost and difficult to find the way out."

The following luminous passage on prejudice, and the comparison drawn to illustrate it, exhibit at once the eloquence of the orator and the judgment of the philosopher:

"There is something exceedingly curious in the constitution and operation of prejudice; it has the singular ability of accommodating itself to all the possible varieties of the human mind. Some passions and vices are but thinly scattered among mankind, and find only here and there a fitness of reception. But prejudice, like the spider, makes everywhere its home. It has neither taste nor choice of place, and all that it requires is room. There is scarcely a situation except fire and water, in which a spider will not live, so let the mind be as naked as the walls of an empty and forsaken tenement, gloomy as a dungeon, or ornamented with the richest abilities of thinking, let it be hot, cold, dark or light, lonely or inhabited, still prejudice, if undisturbed, will fill it with cobwebs, and live, like the spider, where there seems nothing to live on. If the one prepares her poisoning

to her palate and her use, the other does the same, and as several of our passions are strongly characterized by the animal world, prejudice may be denominated the spider of the mind."

On the 29th of October he brought out his excellent letter to the Earl of Shelburne, on his speech in the House of Lords, July the 10th, 1782.

To get an idea of the speech of this earl it may not be necessary to quote more than the following sentence: "When Great Britain acknowledges American independence the sun of Britain's glory is set forever."

"When the war ended," says Mr. Paine, "I went from Philadelphia to Bordentown on the east end of the Delaware, where I have a small place. Congress was at this time at Prince Town, fifteen miles distant, and General Washington had taken his headquarters at Rocky Hill, within the neighborhood of Congress, for the purpose of resigning his commission, the object for which he had accepted it being accomplished, and of retiring to private life. While he was on this business he wrote me the letter which I here subjoin:"

"Rocky Hill, Sept. 10, 1763.

"I have learned since I have been at this place that you are at Bordentown. Whether for the sake of retirement or economy I know not; be it for either, for both, or whatever it may, if you will come to this place and partake with me, I shall be exceedingly happy to see you at it. Your presence may remind Congress of your past services to this country, and if it is in my power to impress them, command my best services with freedom; as they will be rendered cheerfully by one who entertains a lively sense of the importance of your works, and who with much pleasure, subscribes himself,

"Your sincere friend,

"G. WASHINGTON."

In 1785, Congress granted Mr. Paine three thousand dollars for his services to the people of America, as may be seen by the following document:

"Friday August 26, 1785.

"On the report of a committee consisting of Mr. Gerry, Mr. Petet and Mr. King, to whom was referred a letter of the 13th from Thomas Paine,

"*Resolved*, That the early, unsolicited, and continued labors of Mr. Thomas Paine, in explaining the principles of the late revolution, by ingenious and timely publications upon the nature of liberty and civil government, have been well received by the citizens of these states, and merit the approbation of Congress; and that in consideration of these services, and the benefits produced thereby, Mr. Paine is entitled to a liberal gratification from the United States."

"Monday, October 3, 1785.

"On a report of a committee consisting of Mr. Gerry, Mr. Howell and Mr. Long, to whom were referred sundry letters from Mr. Thomas Paine, and a report on his letter of the 14th of September,

"*Resolved*, That the Board of Treasury take order for paying to Mr. Thomas Paine, the sum of three thousand dollars, for the considerations of the 23d of August last."—*Journals of Congress.*

The state of Pennsylvania, in which he first published *Common Sense* and *The Crisis*, in 1785, presented him, by an act of legislature, £500 currency. New York gave him the estate at New Rochelle, in the county of Westchester, consisting of more than three hundred acres of land in high cultivation. On this estate was an elegant stone house, 125 by 28 feet, besides outhouses; the latter property was farmed much to his advantage, during his long stay in Europe, by some friends, as will hereafter be more fully noticed.

Mr. Monroe, when ambassador in England, once speaking on this subject at my house, said that Mr. Paine would have received a very large remuneration from the state of Virginia, but that while the matter was before the Assembly, and he was extremely popular and in high favor, he published reasons against some proceedings of that state which he thought improper, and thereby lost, by a majority of one, the high reward he would otherwise have received;*—a memorable instance of the independence of his mind, and of his attachment to truth and right above all other considerations. A conduct exactly opposite to that of the pensioned Burke, whose venality cannot be better pointed out than in the following conversation with Mr. Paine, after dining together at the Duke of Portland's at Bulstrode.

Burke was very inquisitive to know how the Americans were disposed toward the king of England, when Mr. Paine, to whom the subject was an ungracious one, and who felt teased, related the following anecdote:

At a small town, in which was a tavern bearing the sign of the king's head, it was insisted on by the inhabitants that a memento so odious should not continue up, but there was no painter at hand to change it into General Washington, or any other favorite, so the sign was suffered to remain, with this inscription under it:

This is the sign of the Loggerhead!

Burke, who at this moment was a concealed pensioner, though a public oppositionist, replied, peevishly: "Loggerhead or any other head, he has many good things to give away, and I should be glad of some of them."

This same Mr. Burke, in one of his speeches in the

* This work was entitled *Public Good, being an Examination of the Claim of Virginia to Vacant Western Territory.*

House of Commons, said, "kings were naturally fond of low company," and "that many of the nobility act the part of flatterers, parasites, pimps and buffoons, etc.," but his character will be best appreciated by reading Mr. Paine's *Letter to the Addressers.*

In 1786 he published in Philadelphia *Dissertation on Government, the Affairs of the Bank, and Paper Money*, an octavo pamphlet of sixty-four pages. The bank alluded to is the Bank of North America, of which he thus speaks :

"In the year 1780, when the British army, having laid waste the southern states, closed its ravages by the capture of Charleston, when the financial sources of Congress were dried up, when the public treasury was empty, and the army of independence paralyzed by want, a voluntary subscription for its relief was raised in Philadelphia. This voluntary fund, amounting to three hundred thousand pounds, afterwards converted into a bank by the subscribers, headed by Robert Morris, supplied the wants of the army ; probably the aids which it furnished enabled Washington to carry into execution his well-concerted plan against Cornwallis. Congress, in the year 1781, incorporated the subscribers to the fund, under the title of the Bank of North America. In the following year it was further incorporated by an act of the Pennsylvanian Assembly. Mr. Paine liberally subscribed five hundred dollars to this fund.

After the establishment of the independence of America, of the vigorous and successful exertions to attain which glorious object he had been the animating principle, soul and support ; feeling his exertions no longer requisite in that country, he embarked for France, and arrived in Paris early in 1787, carrying with him his fame as a literary man, an acute philosopher, and most profound politician.

At this time he presented to the Academy of Science the model of a bridge which he invented, the principle of which has been since so highly celebrated and approved.

From Paris he arrived in England the third of September, just thirteen years after his departure for Philadelphia. Prompted by that filial affection which his conduct had ever manifested, he hastened to Thetford to visit his mother, on whom he settled an allowance of nine shillings a week. Of this comfortable solace she was afterwards deprived by the bankruptcy of the merchant in whom the trust was vested.

Mr. Paine resided at Rotherham in Yorkshire during part of the year 1788, where an iron bridge upon the principle alluded to was cast and erected, and obtained for him among the mathematicians of Europe a high reputation. In the erection of this, a considerable sum had been expended, for which he was hastily arrested by the assignees of an American merchant, and thrown into confinement. From this, however, and the debt, he cleared himself in about three weeks.*

The publication of Mr. Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution*, produced in reply from Mr. Paine his great, universally known, and celebrated work, *Rights of Man.* The first part of this work was written partly at the Angel, of Islington, partly in Harding Street, Fetter Lane, and finished at Versailles. In February, 1791, this book made its appearance in London, and many hundred thousand copies were rapidly sold. In May following he went again to France, and was at Paris at the time of the flight of the king, and also on his return. On this memorable occasion he made this

* More or less upon this plan of Mr. Paine's, the different iron bridges in Europe have been constructed.

observation: "You see the absurdity of your system of government; here will be a whole nation disturbed by the folly of one man." Upon this subject also he made the following reply to the Marquis Lafayette, who came into his bedroom before he was up, saying, "The birds are flown." "'Tis well; I hope there will be no attempt to recall them."

On the 13th of July he returned to London, but did not attend the celebration of the anniversary of the French revolution the following day, as has been falsely asserted.

On the 20th of August he drew up the address and declaration of the gentlemen who met at the Thatched House Tavern. This address is so replete with wisdom and moderation that it is subjoined:

"*Address and Declaration** of the Friends of Universal Peace and Liberty, held at the Thatched House Tavern, St. James' Street, August 20, 1791, by Thomas Paine, Author of the Works entitled *Common Sense* and *Rights of Man.*

"*Friends and Fellow-Citizens:*

"At a moment like the present, when willful misrepresentations are industriously spread by partisans of arbitrary power and the advocates of passive obedience and court government, we think it incumbent upon us to declare to the world our principles, and the motives of our conduct.

"We rejoice at the glorious event of the French revolution. If it be asked, 'What is the French revolution to us?' we answer as has been already answered in another place.† It is much—much to us as men; much to us as Englishmen. As men, we rejoice in the

* Vide Appendix to second part of *Rights of Man.*

† Declaration of the volunteers of Belfast.

freedom of twenty-five millions of men. We rejoice in the prospect which such a magnificent example opens to the world.

"We congratulate the French nation for having laid the axe to the foot of tyranny, and for erecting government on the sacred hereditary rights of man; rights which appertain to all, and not to any one more than another.

"We know of no human authority superior to that of a whole nation, and we profess and proclaim it as our principle that every nation has at all times an inherent indefeasible right to constitute and establish such government for itself as best accords with its disposition, interest and happiness.

"As Englishmen, we also rejoice, because we are immediately interested in the French revolution.

"Without inquiring into the justice on either side, of the reproachful charges of intrigue and ambition which the English and French courts have constantly made on each other, we confine ourselves to this observation, that if the court of France only was in fault, and the numerous wars which have distressed both countries are chargeable to her alone, that court now exists no longer, and the cause and the consequence must cease together. The French, therefore, by the revolution they have made, have conquered for us as well as for themselves, if it be true that this court only was in fault, and ours never.

"On this state of the case the French revolution concerns us immediately; we are oppressed with a heavy national debt, a burthen of taxes, an expensive administration of government, beyond those of any people in the world.

"We have also a very numerous poor, and we hold that the moral obligation of providing for old age, help-

less infancy, and poverty, is far superior to that of supplying the invented wants of courtly extravagance, ambition and intrigue.

"We believe there is no instance to be produced but in England, of seven millions of inhabitants, which make but little more than one million families, paying yearly seventeen millions of taxes.*

"As it has always been held out by the administrations that the restless ambition of the court of France rendered this expense necessary to us for our own defence, we consequently rejoice as men deeply interested in the French revolution, for that court, as we have already said, exists no longer, and consequently the same enormous expenses need not continue to us.

"Thus rejoicing, as we sincerely do, both as men and Englishmen, as lovers of universal peace and freedom, and as friends to our national prosperity and reduction of our public expenses, we cannot but express our astonishment that any part of any members of our own government should reprobate the extinction of that very power in France, or wish to see it restored, to whose influence they formerly attributed (whilst they appeared to lament) the enormous increase of our own burthens and taxes. What, then, are they sorry that the pretence for new, oppressive taxes, and the occasion for continuing many old taxes, will be at an end? If so, and if it is the policy of courts and court government to prefer enemies to friends, and a system of war to that of peace, as affording more pretences for places, offices, pensions, revenue and taxation, it is high time for the people of every nation to look with circumspection to their own interest.

"Those who pay the expenses, and not those who participate in the emoluments arising from them, are

* Now nearly seventy millions!

the persons immediately interested in inquiries of this kind. We are a part of that national body on whom this annual expense of seventeen millions falls; and we consider the present opportunity of the French revolution as a most happy one for lessening the enormous load under which this nation groans. If this be not done we shall then have reason to conclude that the cry of intrigue and ambition against other courts is no more than the common cant of all courts.

"We think it also necessary to express our astonishment that a goverment desirous of being called FREE, should prefer connections with the most despotic and arbitrary powers in Europe. We know of none more deserving this description than those of Turkey and Prussia, and the whole combination of German despots.

"Separated as we happily are by nature from the tumults of the continent, we reprobate all systems and intrigues which sacrifice (and that, too, at a great expense) the blessings of our natural situation. Such systems cannot have a natural origin.

"If we are asked what government is, we hold it to be nothing more than a national association, and we hold that to be the best which secures to every man his rights and promotes the greatest quantity of happiness with the least expense. We live to improve, or we live in vain; and therefore we admit of no maxims of government or policy on the mere score of antiquity or other men's authority, the old Whigs or the new.

"We will exercise the reason with which we are endued, or we possess it unworthily. As reason is given at all times, it is for the purpose of being used at all times.

"Among the blessings which the French revolution has produced to that nation we enumerate the abolition of the feudal system, of injustice, and of tyranny, on the 4th of August, 1789. Beneath the feudal system all

Europe has long groaned, and from it England is not yet free. Game laws, borough tenures, and tyrannical monopolies of numerous kinds still remain amongst us; but rejoicing, as we sincerely do, in the freedom of others till we shall haply accomplish our own, we intended to commemorate this prelude to the universal extirpation of the feudal system by meeting on the anniversary of that day (the 4th of August) at the Crown and Anchor; from this meeting we were prevented by the interference of certain unnamed and skulking persons with the master of the tavern, who informed us that on their representation he would not receive us. Let those who live by or countenance feudal oppressions take the reproach of this ineffectual meanness and cowardice to themselves: they cannot stifle the public declaration of our honest, open, and avowed opinions. These are our principles, and these our sentiments; they embrace the interest and happiness of the great body of the nation of which we are a part. As to riots and tumults, let those answer for them who by willful misrepresentations endeavor to excite and promote them; or who seek to stun the sense of the nation, and lose the great cause of public good in the outrages of a misinformed mob. We take our ground on principles that require no such riotous aid.

"We have nothing to apprehend from the poor, for we are pleading their cause; and we fear not proud oppression for we have truth on our side.

"We say and we repeat it, that the French revolution opens to the world an opportunity in which all good citizens must rejoice, that of promoting the general happiness of man, and that it moreover offers to this country in particular an opportunity of reducing our enormous taxes; these are our objects, and we will pursue them."

JOHN HORNE TOOKE, Chairman.

The language of this address is bold and free, but not more so than that of the late Lord Chatham, or of that once violent advocate of reform, the late Mr. Pitt, better known by the title of the "Enemy of the Human Race."

"There is a set of men" (says the Earl of Chatham) "in the city of London, who are known to live in riot and luxury, upon the plunder of the ignorant, the innocent and the helpless, upon that part of the community which stands most in need of, and best deserves the care and protection of the legislature. To me, my lords, whether they be miserable jobbers of 'Change Alley, or the lofty Asiatic plunderers of Leadenhall Street, they are equally detestable. I care but little whether a man walks on foot, or is drawn by eight horses, or by six horses; if his luxury be supported by the plunder of his country, I despise and abhor him. My lords, while I had the honor of serving His Majesty, I never ventured to look at the treasury but from a distance; it is a business I am unfit for, and to which I never could have submitted. The little I know of it, has not served to raise my opinion of what is vulgarly called the monied interest; I mean that blood-sucker, that muckworm, which calls himself the friend of government; which pretends to serve this or that administration, and may be purchased on the same terms by any administration. Under this description I include the whole race of commissioners, jobbers, contractors, clothiers and remitters."*

"No one, Mr. Speaker," says Mr. Pitt, "knows better than I do the decencies that are due to the sovereign from this house; but at the same time, I am not ignorant of the duty I owe to my country: I scorn to ap-

* Vide Earl of Chatham's speech, in the debate on Falkland's Island.

proach the crown with servility and adulation; and I cannot countenance or cherish the determined spirit breathed in the speech, without betraying my duty to my constituents. The country is almost drained of men and money,* blood is shed in profusion, and millions squandered, only to purchase disasters and disgrace. I really cannot tell how the state can be retrieved, its situation is desperate, and it is this circumstance alone that makes me have recourse to the expedient I am going to adopt. It is not a change of ministers that I look for, I do not want to see the present servants of the crown out of office, or the persons who sit near me appointed in their room; it is a total change of system and measures that I look for; and till I can have some pledge that in this my wishes shall be gratified I will oppose privilege to prerogative, and vote that not a shilling be given from the people to the crown until they shall first have received an earnest that ministers feel a thorough conviction of past errors, and are determined to do everything to correct them. When this shall be done no one shall surpass me in cheerfulness in granting ample supplies; but I must pause before I can think of voting away the money of the people with no probability of national advantage, but with almost moral certainty of ruin to their affairs."—*Mr. Pitt's Speech on Friday, Nov. 30, 1781.*

On the subject of the address at the Thatched House Tavern, which Mr. Paine did write, it is impossible not to quote *Cheetham's Life*, just to exhibit his blindness and ignorance, and to show how prejudice had warped this once idolizer of Mr. Paine.—"Horne Tooke, perhaps the most acute man of his age, was at this meet-

* The national debt was then £251,000,000: under the management of this same Pitt, it is now (1811) nearly £600,000,000; and now (1819) nearly one thousand millions.

ing; and as it was rumored, Paine observes, that the great grammarian was the author of the address, he takes the liberty of mentioning the fact, that he wrote it himself. I never heard of the rumor, which was doubtless a fiction formed and asserted by Paine merely to gratify his egotism. No one could mistake the uncouth and ungrammatical writings of one, for the correct and elegant productions of the other." But what can be expected from him who calls *Common Sense* a wretched work; *The Rights of Man* a miserable production; and *Burke's Reflections* a book of the proudest sagacity?

What can be expected from him who a few years before writing the above, in England deified Mr. Paine, and called his writings immortal? And who says "Fox was vehemently adverse, and in this he was right, to universal suffrage;" who further says of the American government,—

"I hazard nothing in remarking, unless it be hazardous to state the truth, that however excellent the system of our government may be in theory, the whole operation of our system of politics in practice, with the chiefs who lead the two parties, and who, by hook or by crook, govern the nation, is one of mystery, craft, and imposition. In these articles, which abound amongst us, no nation can vie with the United States. That I hold to be impossible.

"This prodigy of human intellect, Paine, or rather, this sediment of ever-renewed intoxication, was presented to the convention on the 15th of February, 1798. In this disproportioned thing, this dream of well-meaning fanatics or deliberate act of cool dilapidators, universal suffrage was laid down to perfection.

"May not Paine's constitution of Pennsylvania have been the cause of the tyranny of Robespierre?

"Paine was always an advocate either of democratic anarchy or of imperial despotism, there was no medium with him.

"They talk," he said to a friend of mine, "of the tyranny of the Emperor of France. I know Bonaparte, I have lived under his government, and he allows as much freedom as I wish or as anybody ought to have. With Napoleon's invasion of Spain he was enraptured, and of course wished him success! Could such a man be a friend of freedom?"*

What can be expected from that Cheetham, whose book is filled with such matter as the above, who was a worshipper of this very Paine in England, and the most violent disseminator of his writings, and who, in his *Life* of him has such trash as the following? and which I know to be false:

"When the *Rights of Man* reached Lewes, where Paine married Miss Ollive, the women as with one voice said, 'Od rot 'im, let 'im come 'ear if he dust, an' we'll tell 'im what the rights of women is; we'll toss 'im in a blanket, and ring 'im out of Lewes wi' our frying pans.'"

Mr. Paine's life in London was a quiet round of philosophical leisure and enjoyment. It was occupied in writing, in a small epistolary correspondence, in walking about with me to visit different friends, occasionally lounging at coffee-houses and public places, or being visited by a select few. Lord Edward Fitzgerald; the French and American ambassadors, Mr. Sharp the engraver, Romney the painter, Mrs. Woolstonecraft, Joel

* Of the infamous falsehood of this assertion I am a complete witness, being with him when he left France, and knowing how truly he appreciated and disliked the character of Bonaparte and his government, and how fervent his wishes were to leave that country, which he emphatically called Golgotha!

Barlow, Mr. Hull, Mr. Christie, Dr. Priestley, Dr. Towers, Colonel Oswald, the walking Stewart, Captain Sampson Perry, Mr. Tuffin, Mr. William Choppin, Captain DeStark, Mr. Horne Tooke, etc., etc., were among the number of his friends and acquaintance ; and of course, as he was my inmate, the most of my associates were frequently his. At this time he read but little, took his nap after dinner, and played with my family at some game in the evening, as chess, dominos, and drafts, but never at cards ; in recitations, singing, music, etc., or passed it in conversation ; the part he took in the latter was always enlightened, full of information, entertainment and anecdote. Occasionally we visited enlightened friends, indulged in domestic jaunts, and recreations from home, frequently lounging at the White Bear, Piccadilly, with his old friend, the walking Stewart, and other clever travellers from France, and different parts of Europe and America.

When by ourselves we sate very late, and often broke in on the morning hours, indulging the reciprocal interchange of affectionate and confidential intercourse. "Warm from the heart and faithful to its fires," was that intercourse, and gave to us the "feast of reason and the flow of soul."

It was at the Mr. Christie's before mentioned, at a dinner party with several of the above, and other characters of great interest and talent, that Horne Tooke happened to sit between Mr. Paine and Madame D'Eon ; for this character was, at this time, indisputably feminine. Tooke, whose wit and brilliant conversation was ever abundant, looking on each side of him, said, "I am now in the most extraordinary situation in which ever man was placed. On the left of me sits a gentleman, who, brought up in obscurity, has proved himself the greatest political writer in the world, and has made

more noise in it, and excited more attention and obtained more fame, than any man ever did. On the right of me sits a lady who has been employed in public situations at different courts; who had high rank in the army, was greatly skilled in horsemanship, who has fought several duels, and at the small sword has no equal; who, for fifty years past, all Europe has recognized in the character and dress of a gentleman."—"Ah!" replied Madame D'Eon, "These are very extraordinary things indeed, Monsieur Tooke, and proves you did not know what was at the bottom."

If this same Chevalier D'Eon had been lost at sea, burnt, or had in any way left the world, unknown and unnoticed, all Europe would have believed he was a woman, as really as any creed in their religion; and yet this was not so. In 1810, soon after his death, I saw and examined this mysterious character; and that he was incontestibly a man, a chevalier, and not a madame, is most certain. So that what everybody says is not always true; and this is an instance to be added to the many thousands of the truth of the sailor's adage, "Seeing is believing," and should warn us not to give credence hastily to anything that does not fall under our own immediate experience, knowledge and observation.

The second part of *Rights of Man*, which completed the celebrity of its author, and placed him at the head of political writers, was published in February, 1792. Never had any work so rapid and extensive a sale; and it has been calculated that near a million and a half of copies were printed and published in England.

From this time Mr. Paine generally resided in London, and principally with me, till the 12th of September, 1792, when he sailed for France with Mr. Achilles Audibert, who came express from the French conven-

tion to my house to request his personal assistance in their deliberations.

On his arrival at Calais a public dinner was provided, a royal salute was fired from the battery, the troops were drawn out, and there was a general rejoicing throughout the town. He has often been heard to remark that the proudest moment of his life was that in which, on this occasion, he set foot upon the Gallic shore.

In his own country he had been infamously treated, and at the time of his quitting Dover most rudely dealt with both by the officers who ransacked his trunks, and a set of hirelings who were employed to hiss, hoot and maltreat, and it is strongly suspected, to destroy him.

It depressed him to think that his endeavors to cleanse the Augæan stable of corruption in England should have been so little understood, or so ill appreciated as to subject him to such ignominious, such cowardly treatment. Yet seven hours after this, those very endeavors obtained him an honorable reception in France, and on his landing he was respectfully escorted, amidst the loud plaudits of the multitude, to the house of his friend, Mr. Audibert, the chief magistrate of the place, where he was visited by the commandant and all the municipal officers in form, who afterwards gave him a sumptuous entertainment in the town hall.

The same honor was also paid him on his departure for Paris.*

About the time of his arrival at Paris the national convention began to divide itself into factions; the king's friends had been completely subdued by the sup-

* The reader is referred to Brissot's paper, *Le Patriot Francois*, and *Le Journal de Gorsas*, for minute particulars of Mr. Paine's introduction to the president of the convention, to the ministers, and different committees; his being appointed a deputy, a member of the committee of constitution, etc., etc., etc.

pression of the Feuillans, the affair of the 10th of August, and the massacre of the second and third of September; while the jacobins, who had been hitherto considered as the patriotic party, became in their turns divided into different cabals, some of them wsihing a federative government, others, the enragès, desiring the death of the king, and of all allied to the nobility; but none of those were republicans.

Those few deputies who had just ideas of a commonwealth, and whose leader was Paine, did not belong to the jacobin club.

I mention this, because Mr. Paine took infinite trouble to instill into their minds the difference between liberty and licentiousness, and the danger to the peace, good order, and well-doing of society, that must arise from letting the latter encroach upon the prerogatives of the former.

He labored incessantly to preserve the life of the king, and he succeeded in making some converts to his opinions on this subject; and his life would have been saved but for Barrere, who, having been appointed by Robespierre to an office he was ambitious of obtaining, and certainly very fit for, his influence brought with it forty votes; so early was corruption introduced into this assembly. For Calais, Mr. Paine was returned deputy to the convention; he was elected as well for Versailles, but as the former town first did him the honor he became its representative. He was extremely desirous and expected to be appointed one of the deputies to Holland; a circumstance that probably would have taken place had not the committee of constitution delayed so long the production of the new form that the jacobins anticipated them, and published proposals for a new constitution before the committee.

This delay was owing to the jealousy of Condorcet,

who had written the preface, part of which some of the members thought should have been in the body of the work. Brissot and the whole party of the Girondites lost ground daily after this; and with them died away all that was national, just and humane: they were, however, highly to blame for their want of energy.

In the beginning of April, 1793, the convention received the letter from Dumourier that put all France in a panic: in this letter he mentioned the confidence the army had in him, and his intention of marching to Paris to restore to France her constitutional king: this had the strongest effect, as it was accompanied by an address from the prince of Coburg, in which he agreed to coöperate with Dumourier.

Mr. Paine, who never considered the vast difference between the circumstances of the two countries, France and America, suggested an idea that Dumourier might be brought about by appointing certain deputies to wait on him coolly and dispassionately, to hear his grievances, and armed with powers to redress them.

On this subject he addressed a letter to the convention, in which he instanced the case of an American general who receded with the army under his command in consequence of his being dissatisfied with the proceedings of Congress. The Congress were panic-struck by this event, and gave up all for lost; and when the first impression of alarm subsided they sent a deputation from their own body to the general, who with his staff gave them the meeting; and thus matters were again reinstated. But there was too much impetuosity and faction in the French convention to admit of such temperate proceedings.

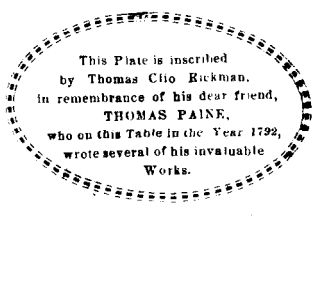
Mr. Paine, however, had written the letter, and was going to Brissot's in order to meet Barrere for the purpose of proposing an adjustment, when he met a friend

who had that moment left the convention, who informed him that a decree had been passed offering one hundred thousand crowns for Dumourier's head, and another making it high treason to propose anything in his favor.

What the consequence of Mr. Paine's project might have been I do not know, but the offer of the convention made hundreds of desperate characters leave Paris as speedily as possible, in hopes of the proffered reward; it detached the affection of the soldiers from their general, and made them go over to the enemy.

Towards the close of 1792 his *Letter to the Addressers* was published, which was sought after with the same avidity as his other productions.

Of this letter, which, with many other things, he wrote at my house, I have the original manuscript, and the table on which they were written is still carefully preserved by me. It has a brass plate in the centre with this inscription, placed there by my direction on his quitting England—



The *Letter to the Addressers* possesses all Mr. Paine's usual strength of reasoning, and abounds also in the finest strokes of genuine satire, wit, and humor. About this time a prosecution took place against the publishers of *Rights of Man.*

How this was managed, and Mr. Paine's opinion of it, will be best understood by the following letter, never before published :

"To Sir Archibald Macdonald,
"Attorney General.

"Sir :—Though I have some reasons for believing that you were not the original promoter or encourager of the prosecution commenced against the work entitled *Rights of Man*, either as that prosecution is intended to affect the author, the publisher, or the public ; yet as you appear the official person therein, I address this letter to you, not as Sir Archibald Macdonald, but as attorney general.

"You began by a prosecution against the publisher, Jordan, and the reason assigned by Mr. Secretary Dundas, in the House of Commons in the debate on the proclamation, May 25, for taking that measure, was, he said, because Mr. Paine could not be found, or words to that effect. Mr. Paine, sir, so far from secreting himself, never went a step out of his way, nor in the least instance varied from his usual conduct, to avoid any measure you might choose to adopt with respect to him. It is on the purity of his heart, and the universal utility of the principles and plans which his writings contain, that he rests the issue ; and he will not dishonor it by any kind of subterfuge. The apartments which he occupied at the time of writing the work last winter he has continued to occupy to the present hour, and the solicitors to the prosecution knew where to find him ; of

which there is a proof in their own office as far back as the 21st of May, and also in the office of my own attorney.

"But admitting, for the sake of the case, that the reason for proceeding against the publisher was, as Mr. Dundas stated, that Mr. Paine could not be found, that reason can now exist no longer.

"The instant that I was informed that an information was preparing to be filed against me as the author of, I believe, one of the most useful and benevolent books ever offered to mankind, I directed my attorney to put in an appearance, and as I shall meet the prosecution fully and fairly and with a good and upright conscience, I have a right to expect that no act of littleness will be made use of on the part of the prosecution towards influencing the future issue with respect to the author. This expression may perhaps appear obscure to you, but I am in the possession of some matters which serve to show that the action against the publisher is not intended to be a *real* action. If, therefore, any persons concerned on the prosecution have found their cause so weak as to make it appear convenient to them to enter into a negotiation with the publisher, whether for the purpose of his submitting to a verdict, and to make use of the verdict so obtained as a circumstance, by way of precedent, on a future trial against myself; or for any other purpose not fully made known to me; if, I say, I have cause to suspect this to be the case, I shall most certainly withdraw the defence I should otherwise have made or promoted on his (the publisher's) behalf, and leave the *negotiators* to themselves, and shall reserve the whole of the defence for the *real* trial.

"But, sir, for the purpose of conducting this matter with at least that appearance of fairness and openness that shall justify itself before the public, whose cause it

really is (for it is the right of public discussion and investigation that is questioned), I have to propose to you to cease the prosecution against the publisher; and as the reason or pretext can no longer exist for continuing it against him because Mr. Paine could not be found, that you would direct the whole process against me, with whom the prosecuting party will not find it possible to enter into any private negotiation.

"I will do the cause full justice, as well for the sake of the nation, as for my own reputation.

"Another reason for discontinuing the process against the publisher is, because it can amount to nothing. First, because a jury in London cannot decide upon the fact of publishing beyond the limits of the jurisdiction of London, and therefore the work may be re-published over and over again in every county in the nation, and every case must have a separate process; and by the time that three or four hundred prosecutions have been had the eyes of the nation will then be fully open to see that the work in question contains a plan the best calculated to root out all the abuses of government, and to lessen the taxes of the nation upwards of *six millions annually.*

"Secondly, because though the gentlemen of London may be very expert in understanding their particular professions and occupations, and how to make business contracts with governments beneficial to themselves as individuals, the rest of the nation may not be disposed to consider them sufficiently qualified nor authorized to determine for the whole nation on plans of reforms, and on systems and principles of government. This would be in effect to erect a jury into a national convention, instead of electing a convention, and to lay a precedent for the probable tyranny of juries, under the pretence of supporting their rights.

"That the possibility always exists of packing juries will not be denied; and therefore in all cases where government is the prosecutor, more especially in those where the right of public discussion and investigation of principles and systems of government is attempted to be suppressed by a verdict, or in those where the object of the work that is prosecuted is the reform of abuse, and the abolition of sinecure places and pensions, in all these cases the verdict of a jury will itself become a subject of discussion; and therefore it furnishes an additional reason for discontinuing the prosecution against the publisher, more especially as it is not a secret that there has been a negotiation with him for secret purposes, and for proceeding against me only. I shall make a much stronger defence than what I believe the treasury solicitor's agreement with him will permit him to do.

"I believe that Mr. Burke, finding himself defeated, and not being able to make any answer to the *Rights of Man*, has been one of the promoters of this prosecution; and I shall return the compliment to him by showing, in a future publication, that he has been a masked pensioner at £1,500 per annum for about ten years.

"Thus it is that the public money is wasted, and the dread of public investigation is produced.

"I am, sir,

"Your obedient, humble servant,

"THOMAS PAINE.

"To Sir A. Macdonald, Atty-Gen."

This letter was written previous to Mr. Paine's quitting England, and is, the writer believes, the only letter he ever wrote to Sir Archibald Macdonald.

It is the more necessary to state this as a letter, said to be Mr. Paine's, was read on his trial; a letter calculated to make much against him, and which was, no

doubt, as Mr. Erskine asserted, a forged one. This letter, even if genuine, was not evidence, was not charged in the information, and ought not to have made any part in the trial.

Of this letter Mr. Erskine, now Lord Erskine, thus remarked on Mr. Paine's trial:

"I consider that letter, and indeed, have always heard it treated as a forgery, contrived to injure the merits of the cause, and to embarrass me personally in its defence: I have a right so to consider it, because it is unsupported by anything similar at an earlier period. The defendant's whole deportment previous to the publication has been wholly unexceptionable: he properly desired to be given up as the author of the book if any inquiry should take place concerning it; and he is not affected in evidence, directly or indirectly, with any illegal or suspicious conduct, not even with uttering an indiscreet or taunting expression, nor with any one matter or thing inconsistent with the best subject in England.

"His opinions, indeed, were adverse to our system, but I maintain that opinion is free, and that conduct alone is amenable to the law.* As the proclamation which gave rise to the *Letter to the Addressers* is a curious document, and evinces the temper of the powers that were of that day, it is for the entertainment of the reader here inserted:

"The *London Gazette*, published by authority, from Saturday, May 19th, to Tuesday, May 22nd.

"By the King, a Proclamation.

"George R.

"*Whereas*, Divers wicked and seditious writings have been printed, published, and industriously dis-

* The reader is referred to Mr. Erskine's speech on Mr. Paine's trial, as a most luminous exhibition of just reasoning, sound argument, interesting quotations and manly eloquence.

persed, tending to excite tumult and disorder, by endeavoring to raise groundless jealousies and discontents in the minds of our faithful and loving subjects respecting the laws and happy constitution of government, civil and religious, established in this kingdom, and endeavoring to vilify, and bring into contempt, the wise and wholesome provisions made at the time of the glorious revolution, and since strengthened and confirmed by subsequent laws for the preservation and security of the rights and liberties of our faithful and loving subjects: and whereas divers writings have also been printed, published, and industriously dispersed, recommending the said wicked and seditious publications to the attention of all our faithful and loving subjects: and whereas we have also reason to believe that correspondencies have been entered into with sundry persons in foreign parts with a view to forward the criminal and wicked purposes above mentioned: and whereas the wealth, happiness and prosperity of this kingdom do, under Divine Providence, chiefly depend upon a due submission to the laws, a just confidence in the integrity and wisdom of parliament, and a continuance of that zealous attachment to that government and constitution of the kingdom which has ever prevailed in the minds of the people thereof: and whereas there is nothing which we so earnestly desire as to secure the public peace and prosperity, and to preserve to all our loving subjects the full enjoyment of their rights and liberties, both religious and civil: We, therefore, being resolved, as far as in us lies, to repress the wicked and seditious practices aforesaid, and to deter all persons from following so pernicious an example, have thought fit, by the advice of our privy council, to issue this our Royal Proclamation, solemnly warning all our loving subjects, as they tender their own happi-

ness, and that of their posterity, to guard against all such attempts, which aim at the subversion of all regular government within this kingdom, and which are inconsistent with the peace and order of society: and earnestly exhorting them at all times, and to the utmost of their power, to avoid and discourage all proceedings, tending to produce tumults and riots: and we do strictly charge and command all our magistrates in and throughout our kingdom of Great Britain, that they do make diligent inquiry, in order to discover the authors and printers of such wicked and seditious writings as aforesaid, and all others who shall disperse the same: and we do further charge and command all our sheriffs, justices of the peace, chief magistrates in our cities, boroughs and corporations, and all other our officers and magistrates throughout our kingdom of Great Britain, that they do, in their several and respective stations, take the most immediate and effectual care to suppress and prevent all riots, tumults and other disorders, which may be attempted to be raised or made by any person or persons, which, on whatever pretext they may be grounded, are not only contrary to law, but dangerous to the most important interests of this kingdom: and we do further require and command all and every our magistrates aforesaid that they do from time to time transmit to one of our principal secretaries of state due and full information of such persons as shall be found offending as aforesaid, or in any degree aiding or abetting therein; it being our determination, for the preservation of the peace and happiness of our faithful and loving subjects, to carry the laws vigorously into execution against such offenders as aforesaid.—Given at our Court at the Queen's House, the twenty-first day of May, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two, in the thirty-second year of our reign.—God save the king."

Soon after this, Mr. Paine's excellent *Letters* to Lord Onslow, to Mr. Dundas, and the sheriff of Sussex were published.

Mr. Paine's trial for the second part of *Rights of Man** took place on the 18th of December, 1792, and he being found guilty, the booksellers and publishers who were taken up and imprisoned previously to this trial forebore to stand one themselves, and suffered judgment to go by default, for which they received the sentence of

* The following reference to the publication of the *Rights of Man* is from vol. 1, page 69, of a work entitled *William Godwin, his Friends and Contemporaries* by C. Kegan Paul; republished in Boston, Mass., by Roberts Brothers, 1876.

"In the spring of 1791, Thomas Paine, whose acquaintance Godwin had made at the house of Mr. Brand Hollis, published his celebrated pamphlet, *The Rights of Man*, in answer to Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution*. Godwin and Holcroft had both seen much of this in MS., and the former wrote of it in terms of great though measured praise. Holcroft—never so cautious—addressed to Godwin a little twisted note, worth insertion here as some evidence of the fervor of spirit which animated men in days when such eager utterances escaped from a press, over which hung the terrors of the pillory, and of prosecutions for high treason.

"*Thomas Holcroft to William Godwin.* [*No date.*]

"'I have got it— * * * —The pamphlet— * * * —Verbatim, except the addition of a short preface, which, as you have not seen, I send you my copy—not a single castration * * * can I discover—Hey for the New Jerusalem! The millennium! And peace and eternal beatitude be unto the soul of Thomas Paine.'

"The pamphlet had been originally printed for Johnson, of St. Paul's Churchyard, who, on seeing it in print, declined to publish it. The unexpected refusal caused a month's delay. A few copies, however, got into private hands, one of which, bearing Johnson's name as publisher, is in the British Museum. Some of those most anxious for the appearance of the tract urged the excision of certain passages, and it was commonly believed that it was not issued after all in its original form. * * * Holcroft, however, was quite right; he and Godwin were members of the Committee, of which Mr. Brand Hollis was the leading spirit, to whom had been entrusted the revisal of the work."—*Pub.*

three years' imprisonment each. Of these booksellers and publishers I was one, but by flying to France I eluded this merciful sentence.

On the subject of these prosecutions I wrote to Mr. Fox, whom I well knew, and my intimate friend for years, Lord Stanhope, as I was myself the subject of two of them, and was well acquainted with the party factions of the day, and the iniquitous intrigues of the opposing leaders, in and out of office; for the writings of Mr. Paine, which were as broad as the universe, and having nothing to do with impure elections and auger-hole politics, gave equal offence to all sides.

In the course of these letters, which are still extant, it was impossible not to dwell on the absurdity of trial by jury in matters of opinion, and the folly of any body of men deciding for others in science and speculative discussion, in politics and religion. Is it not applying the institution of juries to purposes for which they were not intended, to set up twelve men to judge and determine for a whole nation on matters that relate to systems and principles of government? A matter of fact may be cognizable by a jury, and certainly ascertained with respect to offences against common law and in the ordinary intercourses of society; but on matters of political opinion, of taste, of metaphysical inquiry, and of religious belief, every one must be left to decide as his inquiries, his experience, and his conviction impel him.

If the arm of power in every country and on every doctrine could have enforced its tyranny, almost all we now possess, and that is valuable, would have been destroyed; and if all the governments and factions that have made the world miserable could have had their way, everything desirable in art, science, philosophy, literature, politics and religion, would have been by turns obliterated, and the Bible, the Testament, the Alcoran, the

writings of Locke, Erasmus, Helvetius, Mercier, Milton, Shakespeare, Voltaire, Montesquieu, Swift, Bolanger, Hume, Penn, Tucker, Paine, Bacon, Bolingbroke, and of thousands of others on all sides would have been burnt; nor would there be a printing press in the world.

It has happened happily for many years past, thanks to the art of printing and the means adopted to crush the circulation of knowledge, that the very modes employed to accomplish this end have not only proved abortive, but have given wings to truth, and diffused it into every corner of the universe. The publication of trials containing quotations from the works to be put down have disseminated their contents infinitely wider than they would else have reached, and have excited inquiries that would otherwise have lain dormant.

So ludicrously did this strike Mr. Paine that his frequent toast was, "The best way of advertising good books,—by prosecution."

As the attorney-general's attacks upon prosecuted works of a clever and profound description, and the judges' charges upon them contain nothing like argument or refutation, but follow up the criminating and absurd language of the indictment or *ex-officio* information,* and breathe only declamation and ignorant abuse, they by their weakness expose the cause they espouse, and strengthen the truths they affect to destroy.

I shall close these observations by quoting two old and good-humored lines:

> Treason does never prosper—what's the reason?
> When it prospers—it is never treason!

* The reader is referred to these documents as well worth his notice, and as a proof of the truth of these observations; for instance, these informations state that Thomas Paine, being a wicked, malicious and evil disposed person, hath, with force of arms, and most wicked cunning, written and published a certain false, scandalous, malicious and seditious libel; in one part thereof to the tenor and effect following, that is to say—etc., etc., etc.

This trial of Mr. Paine, and these sentences, subverted of course the very end they were intended to effect.

Mr. Paine was acknowledged deputy for Calais the 21st of September, 1792. In France, during the early part of the revolution, his time was almost wholly occupied as a deputy of the convention and as a member of the committee of constitution. His company was now coveted and sought after universally among every description of people, and by many who for some reasons never chose to avow it. With the Earl of Lauderdale and Dr. Moore, whose company he was fond of, he dined every Friday till Lord Gower's departure made it necessary for them to quit France, which was early in 1793.

About this period he removed from White's Hotel to one near the Rue de Richelieu, where he was so plagued and interrupted by numerous visitors, and sometimes by adventurers, that in order to have some time to himself he appropriated two mornings in a week for his levee days.* To this indeed he was extremely averse, from the fuss and formality attending it, but he was nevertheless obliged to adopt it.

Annoyed and disconcerted with a life so contrary to

* Among these adventurers was a person who called himself Major Lisle: Mr. Paine was at breakfast when he was announced; he stated himself to be lately arrived from Ireland; he was dressed in the Irish uniform, and wore a green cockade; he appeared to be a well-informed man, and was gentlemanly in his manners, but extremely voluble. He ran over the number of sieges and battles he had been at, and ended with professing a zealous desire to serve the republic, wishing Mr. Paine to give him a letter of recommendation to the minister at war. Mr. Paine was extremely observing, shrewd and cautious; he treated him with hospitality and politeness, and inquired after some of the leading characters in Ireland, with whom he found the Major not at all acquainted; he then recommended him to take the credentials of his services to the military committee, but declined every importunity to interfere himself. This adventurer turned out afterwards to be the notorious Major Semple.

his wishes and habits, and so inimical to his views, he retired to the Fauxbourg St. Dennis, where he occupied part of the hotel that Madame de Pompadour once resided in.

Here was a good garden well laid out, and here, too, our mutual friend Mr. Choppin occupied apartments: at this residence, which for a town one was very quiet, he lived a life of retirement and philosophical ease, while it was believed he was gone into the country for his health, which by this time indeed was much impaired by intense application to business, and by the anxious solicitude he felt for the welfare of public affairs.

Here, with a chosen few, he unbent himself; among whom were Brissot, the Marquis de Chatelet le Roi, of the gallerie de honore, and an old friend of Dr. Franklin's, Bançal, and sometimes General Miranda. His English associates were Christie and family, Mrs. Woolstonecraft, Mr. and Mrs. Stone, etc. Among his American friends were Capt. Imlay, Joel Barlow, etc., etc., to these parties the French inmates were generally invited.

It was about this time a gentleman at Paris thus writes of him to his friend:—"An English lady of our acquaintance, not less remarkable for her talents than for her elegance of manners, entreated me to contrive that she might have an interview with Mr. Paine. In consequence of this I invited him to dinner on a day when we were to be favored with her company. For above four hours he kept every one in astonishment and admiration of his memory, his keen observation of men and manners, his numberless anecdotes of the American Indians, of the American war, of Franklin, Washington, and even of His Majesty, of whom he told several curious facts of humor and benevolence. His remarks

on genius and taste can never be forgotten by those present."

Joel Barlow was for many years Mr. Paine's intimate friend, and it was from Mr. Paine he derived much of the great knowledge and acuteness of talent he possessed.

Joel Barlow was a great philosopher, and a great poet; but there are spots in the sun, and I instance the following littleness in his conduct as a warning, and to prove how much of honest fame and character is lost by anything like tergiversation.

Joel Barlow has omitted the name of Mr. Paine in his very fine poem, *The Columbiad;* a name essential to the works, as the principal founder of the American republic and of the happiness of its citizens.

Omitting the name of Mr. Paine in the history of America, and where the amelioration of the human race is so much concerned, is like omitting the name of Newton in writing the history of his philosophy, or that of God when creation is the subject; yet this, Joel Barlow has done, and done so, lest the name of Paine, combined with his theological opinions, should injure the sale of the poem.—Mean and unhandsome conduct!

To remedy this omission, though not in the fine style of Barlow, the following lines are suggested to be placed at the close of the 425th line in the 5th book, page 157 of his *Columbiad:*—

A man who honor'd Albion by his birth,
The wisest, brightest, humblest son of earth;
A man, in every sense that word can mean,
Now started, angel-like, upon the scene,
Drew forth his pen of reason, truth, and fire,
The land to animate, the troops inspire;
And called that independent spirit forth,
Which gives all bliss to man, and constitutes his worth.

'T was he suggested first, 't was he who plann'd
A separation from the mother-land;
His *Common Sense* his *Crisis* led the way
To great Columbia's happy, perfect day,
And all she has of good or ever may!—

As Euclid clear his various writings shone,
His pen inspired by glorious truth alone,
O'er all the earth diffusing light and life,
Subduing error, ignorance and strife;
Raised man to just pursuits, to thinking right,
And will yet free the world from woe—from falsehood's night.
To this immortal man, to Paine 't was given,
To metamorphose earth from hell to heaven.

He usually rose about seven, breakfasted with his friend Choppin, Johnson, and two or three other Englishmen, and a Monsieur La Borde, who had been an officer in the ci-devante garde du corps, an intolerable aristocrat, but whose skill in mechanics and geometry brought on a friendship between him and Paine: for the undaunted and distinguished ability and firmness with which he ever defended his own opinions when controverted, do not reflect higher honor upon him than that unbounded liberality towards the opinions of others which constituted such a prominent feature in his character, and which never suffered mere difference of sentiment, whether political or religious, to interrupt the harmonious intercourse of friendship, or impede the interchanges of knowledge and information.

After breakfast he usually strayed an hour or two in the garden, where he one morning pointed out the kind of spider whose web furnished him with the first idea of constructing his iron bridge; a fine model of which, in mahogany, is preserved at Paris.

The little happy circle who lived with him here will ever remember these days with delight: with these select friends he would talk of his boyish days, play at

chess, whist, piquet, or cribbage, and enliven the moments by many interesting anecdotes: with these he would play at marbles, scotch hops, battledores, etc., on the broad and fine gravel walk at the upper end of the garden, and then retire to his boudoir, where he was up to his knees in letters and papers of various descriptions. Here he remained till dinner time; and unless he visited Brissot's family, or some particular friend in the evening, which was his frequent custom, he joined again the society of his favorites and fellow-boarders, with whom his conversation was often witty and cheerful, always acute and improving, but never frivolous.

Incorrupt, straightforward and sincere, he pursued his political course in France, as everywhere else, let the government or clamor or faction of the day be what it might, with firmness, with clearness, and without a "shadow of turning."

In all Mr. Paine's inquiries and conversations he evinced the strongest attachment to the investigation of truth, and was always for going to the fountain head for information. He often lamented we had no good history of America, and that the letters written by Columbus, the early navigators, and others, to the Spanish court, were inaccessible, and that many valuable documents, collected by Philip the Second, and deposited with the national archives at Simania, had not yet been promulgated. He used to speak highly of the sentimental parts of Raynal's History.

It is not intended to enter into an account of the French revolution, its progress, the different colors it took and aspects it assumed. The history of this most important event may be found at large detailed by French writers as well as those of other nations, and the world is left to judge of it.

It is unfortunate for mankind that Mr. Paine by im-

prisonment and the loss of his invaluable papers, was prevented giving the best, most candid, and philosophical account of these times. These papers contained the history of the French revolution, and were no doubt a most correct, discriminating, and enlightened detail of the events of that important era. For these papers the historian, Gibbon, sent to France, and made repeated application, upon a conviction that they would be impartial, profound, and philosophical documents.

It is well known that Mr. Paine always lamented the turn affairs took in France, and grieved at the period we are now adverting to, when corrupt influence was rapidly infecting every department of the state. He saw the jealousies and animosities that were breeding, and that a turbulent faction was forming among the people that would first enslave and ultimately overwhelm even the convention itself.

Mr. Paine's opinion upon this subject was always the same, and in 1804 he thus speaks it: "With respect to the revolution, it was begun by good men, on good principles, and I have ever believed it would have gone on so had not the provocative interference of foreign powers distracted it into madness and sown jealousies among the leaders. The people of England have now two revolutions, the American and the French, before them. Their own wisdom will direct them what to choose and what to avoid, and in everything which relates to their happiness, combined with the common good of mankind, I wish them honor and success."

Mr. Paine's memorable speech against the death of the king, is, or ought to be, in everybody's hands. It was as follows:

"Citizen President: My hatred and abhorrence of absolute monarchy are sufficiently known; they originate in principles of reason and conviction, nor, except

with life, can they ever be extirpated; but my compassion for the unfortunate, whether friend or enemy, is equally lively and sincere.

"I voted that Louis should be tried, because it was necessary to afford proofs to the world of the perfidy, corruption, and abomination of the French government.

"The infinity of evidence that has been produced exposes them in the most glaring and hideous colors.

"Nevertheless I am inclined to believe that if Louis Capet had been born in an obscure condition, had he lived within the circle of an amiable and respectable neighborhood, at liberty to practice the duties of domestic life, had he been thus situated I cannot believe that he would have shown himself destitute of social virtues; we are, in a moment of fermentation like this, naturally little indulgent to his vices, or rather to those of his government; we regard them with additional horror and indignation; not that they are more heinous than those of his predecessors, but because our eyes are now open, and the veil of delusion at length withdrawn; yet the lamentably degraded state to which he is actually reduced is surely far less imputable to him than to the constituent Assembly which, of its own authority, without consent or advice of the people, restored him to the throne.

"I was present at the time of the flight or abdication of Louis XVI., and when he was taken and brought back. The proposal of restoring to him the supreme power struck me with amazement; and although at that time I was not a citizen, yet as a citizen of the world I employed all the efforts that depended on me to prevent it.

"A small society, composed only of five persons, two of whom are now members of the convention, took at that time the name of the Republican Club (Société Re-

publicaine.) This society opposed the restoration of Louis, not so much on account of his personal offences, as in order to overthrow monarchy, and to erect on its ruins the republican system and an equal representation.

"With this design I traced out in the English language certain propositions which were translated, with some trifling alteration, and signed by Achilles Duchelclet, lieutenant-general in the army of the French republic, and at that time one of the five members which composed our little party; the law requiring the signatnre of a citizen at the bottom of each printed paper.

"The paper was indignantly torn by Malonet, and brought forth in this very room as an article of accusation against the person who had signed it, the author, and their adherents; but such is the revolution of events that this paper is now revived, and brought forth for a very opposite purpose.

"To remind the nation of the error of that unfortunate day, that fatal error of not having banished Louis XVI. from its bosom, the paper in question was conceived in the following terms; and I bring it forward this day to plead in favor of his exile preferably to his death.

"'Brethren, and Fellow-Citizens: The serene tranquillity, the mutual confidence which prevailed amongst us during the time of the late king's escape, the indifference with which we beheld him return, are unequivocal proofs that the absence of the king is more desirable than his presence, and that he is not only a political superfluity but a grievous burden pressing hard on the whole nation.

"'Let us not be imposed on by sophisms: all that concerns this man is reduced to four points. He has abdicated the throne in having fled from his post.

Abdication and desertion are not characterized by length of absence, but by the single act of flight. In the present instance the act is everything and the time nothing.

"'The nation can never give back its confidence to a man who, false to its trust, perjured to his oath, conspires a clandestine flight, obtains a fraudulent passport, conceals a king of France under the disguise of a valet, directs his course towards a frontier covered with traitors and deserters, and evidently meditates a return into our country with a force capable of imposing his own despotic laws. Ought his flight to be considered as his own act, or the act of those who fled with him? Was it a spontaneous resolution of his own, or was it inspired into him by others? The alternative is immaterial: Whether fool or hypocrite, idiot or traitor, he has proved himself equally unworthy of the vast and important functions that had been delegated to him.

"'In every sense that the question can be considered the reciprocal obligations which subsisted between us are dissolved. He holds no longer authority; we owe him no longer obedience; we see in him no more than an indifferent person; we can regard him only as Louis Capet.

"'The history of France presents little else than a long series of public calamity which takes its source from the vices of her kings: we have been the wretched victims that have never ceased to suffer either for them or by them. The catalogue of their oppressions was complete, but to complete the sum of their crimes treason was yet wanting; now the only vacancy is filled up, the dreadful list is full; the system is exhausted; there are no remaining errors for them to commit; their reign is consequently at an end.

"'As to the personal safety of Mr. Louis Capet, it is so much the more confirmed, as France will not stop to

degrade herself by a spirit of revenge against a wretch who has dishonored himself. In defending a just and glorious cause it is not possible to degrade it; and the universal tranquillity which prevails is an undeniable proof that a free people know how to respect themselves.'

"Having thus explained the principles and exertions of the republicans at that fatal period when Louis was reinstated in full possession of the executive power which by his flight had been suspended, I return to the subject, and to the deplorable condition in which the man is now actually involved. What was neglected at the time of which I have been speaking has been since brought about by the force of necessity.

"The willful, treacherous defects in the former constitution have been brought to light, the continual alarm of treason and conspiracy roused the nation and produced eventfully a second revolution. The people have beat down royalty, never, never to rise again; they have brought Louis Capet to the bar, and demonstrated in the face of the whole world the intrigues, the cabals, the falsehood, corruption, and rooted depravity of his government: there remains then only one question to be considered, what is to be done with this man?

"For myself, I freely confess that when I reflect on the unaccountable folly that restored the executive power to his hands, all covered as he was with perjuries and treason, I am far more ready to condemn the constituent Assembly than the unfortunate prisoner, Louis Capet.

"But, abstracted from every other consideration, there is one circumstance in his life which ought to cover, or at least to palliate a great number of his transgressions, and this very circumstance affords the French nation a blessed occasion of extricating itself from the

yoke of its kings without defiling itself in the impurities of their blood.

"It is to France alone, I know that the United States of America owe that support which enabled them to shake off an unjust and tyrannical yoke. The ardor and zeal which she displayed to provide both men and money were the natural consequences of a thirst for liberty. But as the nation at that time, restrained by the shackles of her own government, could only act by means of a monarchical organ, this organ, whatever in other respects the object might be, certainly performed a good, a great action.

"Let, then, these United States be the safeguard and asylum of Louis Capet. There, hereafter, far removed from the miseries and crimes of royalty, he may learn, from the constant aspect of public prosperity, that the true system of government consists in fair, equal, and honorable representation. In relating this circumstance, and in submitting this proposition, I consider myself as a citizen of both countries.

"I submit it as a citizen of America who feels the debt of gratitude which he owes to every Frenchman. I submit it also as a man who cannot forget that kings are subject to human frailties. I support my proposition as a citizen of the French republic, because it appears to me the best, the most politic measure that can be adopted.

"As far as my experience in public life extends I have ever observed that the great mass of the people are invariably just, both in their intentions and in their objects; but the true method of accomplishing that effect, does not always show itself in the first instance. For example, the English nation had groaned under the despotism of the Stuarts. Hence Charles the First lost his life; yet Charles the Second was restored to all the full

plenitude of power which his father had lost. Forty years had not expired when the same family strove to re-establish their ancient oppression ; so the nation then banished from its territories the whole race. The remedy was effectual : the Stuart family sunk into obscurity, confounded itself with the multitude, and is at length extinct.

"The French nation has carried her measures of government to a greater length. France is not satisfied with exposing the guilt of the monarch, she has penetrated into the vices and horrors of the monarchy. She has shown them clear as daylight and forever crushed that system ; and he, whoever he may be, that should ever dare to reclaim those rights, would be regarded not as a pretender, but punished as a traitor.

"Two brothers of Louis Capet have banished themselves from the country, but they are obliged to comply with the spirit and etiquette of the courts where they reside.

"They can advance no pretensions on their own account so long as Louis shall live.

"The history of monarchy in France was a system pregnant with crimes and murders, cancelling all natural ties, even those by which brothers are united. We know how often they have assassinated each other to pave a way to power. As those hopes which the emigrants had reposed in Louis XVI. are fled, the last that remains rests upon his death, and their situation inclines them to desire this catastrophe, that they may once again rally round a more active chief, and try one further effort under the fortune of the ci-devant and Monsieur and d'Artois. That such an enterprise would precipitate them into a new abyss of calamity and disgrace it is not difficult to foresee ; yet it might be attended with mutual loss, and it is our duty as legislators

not to spill a drop of blood when our purpose may be effectually accomplished without it. It has been already proposed to abolish the punishment of death, and it is with infinite satisfaction that I recollect the humane and excellent oration pronounced by Robespierre on that subject in the constituent Assembly. This cause must find its advocates in every corner where enlightened politicians and lovers of humanity exist, and it ought above all, to find them in this Assembly.

"Bad governments have trained the human race and inured it to the sanguinary arts and refinements of punishment; and it is exactly the same punishment that has so long shocked the sight and tormented the patience of the people which now in their turn they practise in revenge on their oppressors.

"But it becomes us to be strictly on our guard against the abomination and perversity of such examples. As France has been the first of European nations to amend her government, let her also be the first to abolish the punishment of death, and to find out a milder and more effectual substitute.

"In the particular case now under consideration, I submit the following propositions.—First, that the national convention shall pronounce the sentence of banishment on Louis Capet and his family. Second, that Louis Capet shall be detained in prison till the end of the war, and then the sentence of banishment to be executed."

His conduct in this instance as well as that towards Captain Grimstone display that humane, charitable, and truly benevolent spirit which uniformly marked his character and influenced his conduct.

On the day of the trial of Marat, Mr. Paine dined at White's Hotel with Mr. Milnes, a gentleman of great hospitality and profusion, who usually gave a public din-

ner to twenty or thirty gentlemen once a week. At table, among many others besides Mr. Paine, was a Captain Grimstone, who was a lineal descendant from Sir Harbottle Grimstone, who was a member of Cromwell's parliament and an officer in his army. This man was a high aristocrat, a great gambler, and it was believed could not quit France on account of his being much in debt. He took little pains to conceal his political principles, and when the glass had freely circulated, a short time after dinner he attempted, loudly and impertinently, to combat the political doctrines of the philosopher; this was, to be sure, the viper biting at the file.

Mr. Paine, in few words, with much acuteness and address, continued exposing the fallacy of his reasoning, and rebutting his invectives.

The Captain became more violent, and waxed so angry, that at length, rising from his chair, he walked round the table to where Mr. Paine was sitting, and here began a volley of abuse, calling him incendiary, traitor to his country, and struck him a violent blow that nearly knocked him off his seat. Captain Grimstone was a stout young man about thirty, and Mr. Paine at this time nearly sixty.

The company, who suspected not such an outrage against everything decent, mannerly, and just, and who had occasion frequently during dinner to call him to order, were now obliged to give him in charge of the national guard. It must be remembered that an act of the convention had made it death to strike a deputy, and every one in company with the person committing the assault refusing to give up the offender was considered as an accomplice.

But a short period before this circumstance happened nine men had been decapitated, one of whom had struck

Bourdeur de L'oise, at Orleans. The other eight were walking with him in the street at the time.

Paine was extremely agitated when he reflected on the danger of his unprovoked enemy, and immediately applied to Barrere, at that time president of the committee of public safety, for a passport for the unhappy man, who must otherwise have suffered death ; and though he found the greatest difficulty in effecting this, he however persevered and at length accomplished it, at the same time sending Grimstone money to defray his travelling expenses ; for his passport was of so short a duration that he was obliged to go immediately from his prison to the messagerie nationale.

Of Mr. Paine's arrest by Robespierre and his imprisonment, etc., we cannot be so well informed as by himself in his own affecting and interesting letters.

"When I was voted out of the French convention the reason assigned for it was that I was a foreigner. When Robespierre had me seized in the night and imprisoned in the Luxembourg (where I remained eleven months) he assigned no reason for it. But when he proposed bringing me to the tribunal, which was like sending me at once to the scaffold, he then assigned a reason ; and the reason was, 'for the interest of America as well as France'—'pour l'intèrêt de l'Amerique autant que de la France.' The words are in his own hand-writing and reported to the convention by the committee appointed to examine his papers, and are printed in their report, with this reflection added to them, 'Why Thomas Paine more than another? Because he contributed to the liberty of both worlds?' There must have been coalition in sentiment, if not in fact, between the terrorists of America and the terrorists of France, and Robespierre must have known it or he could not have had the idea of putting America into the bill of accusation against me.

"Yet these men, these terrorists of the new world, who were waiting in the devotion of their hearts for the joyful news of my destruction, are the same banditti who are now bellowing in all the hackneyed language of hackneyed hypocrisy, about humanity and piety, and often about something they call infidelity, and they finish with the chorus of crucify him, crucify him. I am become so famous among them that they cannot eat or drink without me. I serve them as a standing dish, and they cannot make up a bill of fare if I am not in it.

"Thomas Paine, to their mortification, Providence has protected in all his dangers, patronized him in all his undertakings, and encouraged him in all his ways, and rewarded him at last by bringing him in health and safety to the promised land. This is more than it did by the Jews, the chosen people whom they tell us it brought out of the land of Egypt and out of the house of bondage; for they all died in the wilderness and Moses too. I was one of the nine members that composed the first committee of constitution. Six of them have been destroyed; Siéyès and myself have survived. He by bending with the times, and I by not bending. The other survivor joined Robespierre and signed with him the warrant for my arrestation.

"After the fall of Robespierre he was seized and imprisoned in his turn, and sentenced to transportation. He has since apologized to me for having signed the warrant by saying he felt himself in danger and was obliged to do it.

"Herault Sechelles, an acquaintance of Mr. Jefferson's, and a good patriot, was my suppliant as a member of the committee of constitution; that is, he was to supply my place if I had not accepted or had resigned, being next in number of votes to me. He was imprisoned in

the Luxembourg with me, was taken to the tribunal and to the guillotine, and I, his principal, was left.

"There were but two foreigners in the convention, Anarcharsis Cloots and myself. We were both put out of the convention by the same vote, arrested by the same order, and carried to prison together the same night. He was taken to the guillotine, and I was again left. Joel Barlow was with us when we went to prison. Joseph Leban, one of the vilest characters that ever existed, and who made the streets of Arras run with blood, was my suppliant member of the convention for the department of the Pais de Calais. When I was put out of the convention he came and took my place. When I was liberated from prison and voted again into the convention he was sent to the same prison and took my place there, and he went to the guillotine instead of me. He supplied my place all the way through. One hundred and sixty-eight persons were taken out of the Luxembourg in one night, and a hundred and sixty of them guillotined the next day, of which I know I was to have been one; and the manner I escaped that fate is curious, and has all the appearance of accident. The room in which I was lodged was on the ground floor and one of a long range of rooms under a gallery, and the door of it opened outward and flat against the wall; so that when it was open the inside of the door appeared outward, and the contrary when it was shut: I had three comrades fellow-prisoners with me, Joseph Vanhuile of Bruges, since president of the municipality of that town, Michael Robins, and Bastini of Louvain. When persons by scores and by hundreds were to be taken out of prison for the guillotine it was always done in the night, and those who performed that office had a private mark or signal by which they knew what rooms to go to, and what number to take.

"We, as I said, were four, and the door of our room

was marked, unobserved by us, with that number in chalk ; but it happened, if happening is a proper word, that the mark was put on the door when it was open and flat against the wall, and thereby came on the inside when we shut it at night, and the destroying angel passed it by. A few days after this Robespierre fell, and the American ambassador arrived and reclaimed me, and invited me to his house.

"During the whole of my imprisonment, prior to the fall of Robespierre, there was no time when I could think my life worth twenty-four hours ; and my mind was made up to meet its fate. The Americans in Paris went in a body to the convention to reclaim me, but without success. There was no party among them with respect to me. My only hope then rested on the government of America that it would remember me.

"But the icy heart of ingratitude, in whatever man it is placed, has neither feelings nor sense of honor. The letter of Mr. Jefferson has served to wipe away the reproach, and done justice to the mass of people of America."

While Mr. Paine was in prison he wrote much of his *Age of Reason*, and amused himself with carrying on an epistolary correspondence with Lady S*** under the assumed name of *The Castle in the Air*, and her ladyship answered under the signature of *The Little Corner of the World*. This correspondence is reported to be extremely beautiful and interesting.

At this period a deputation of Americans solicited the release of Thomas Paine from prison ; and as this document, and the way in which it is introduced in Mr. Sampson Perry's history of the French revolution, bear much interest, and are highly honorable to Mr. Paine, the deputation, and Mr. Perry, I give it in his own words :

"As an historian does not write in conformity to the humors or caprice of the day, but looks to the mature opinions of a future period, so the humble tracer of these hasty sketches, though without pretensions himself to live in after times, is nevertheless at once desirous of proving his indifference to the unpopularity of the moment, and his confidence in the justice posterity will exercise towards one of the greatest friends of the human race. The author is the more authorized to pass this eulogium on a character already sufficiently renowned, having had the means and the occasion of exploring his mind and his qualities, as well with suspicion as with confidence. The name of Thomas Paine may excite hatred in some, and inspire terror in others. It ought to do neither, he is the friend of all; and it is only because reason and virtue are not sufficiently prevalent, that so many do not love him: he is not the enemy of those even who are eager to have his fate at their disposal. The time may not be far off when they will be glad their fate were at his; but the cowardly as well as the brave have contributed to fill England with dishonor for silently allowing the best friends of the human race to be persecuted with a virulence becoming the darkest ages only.

"The physical world is in rapid movement, the moral advances perhaps as quick; that part of it which is dark now will be light; when it shall have but half revolved, men and things will be seen more clearly, and he will be most esteemed by the good who shall have made the largest sacrifice to truth and public virtue. Thomas Paine was suspected of having checked the aspiring light of the public mind by opinions not suitable to the state France was in. He was for confiding more to the pen, and doubting the effect of the guillotine.

"Robespierre said, that method would do with such a

country as America, but could avail nothing in one highly corrupted like France. To disagree in opinion with a mind so heated was to incur all the resentment it contained. Thomas Paine had preserved an intimacy with Brissot from an acquaintance of long date, and because he spoke the English language; when Brissot fell Paine was in danger, and, as his preface to the second part of the *Rights of Man*, shows, he had a miraculous escape.

"The Americans in Paris saw the perilous situation of their fellow citizen, of the champion of the liberty of more than one-quarter of the world; they drew up an address and presented it at the bar of the convention; it was worded as follows:—

"'Citizens! the French nation had invited the most illustrious of all foreign nations to the honor of representing her.

"'Thomas Paine, the apostle of liberty in America, a profound and valuable philosopher, a virtuous and esteemed citizen, came to France and took a seat among you. Particular circumstances rendered necessary the decree to put under arrest all the English residing in France.

"'Citizens! representatives! we come to demand of you Thomas Paine, in the name of the friends of liberty, in the name of the Americans your brothers and allies; was there any thing more wanted to obtain our demand we would tell you. Do not give to the leagued despots the pleasure of seeing Paine in irons. We shall inform you that the seals put upon the papers of Thomas Paine have been taken off, that the committee of general safety examined them, and far from finding among them any dangerous propositions, they only found the love of liberty which characterized him all his life time, that eloquence of nature and philosophy which made him the

friend of mankind, and those principles of public morality which merited the hatred of kings, and the affection of his fellow-citizens.

"'In short, Citizens! if you permit us to restore Thomas Paine to the embraces of his fellow-citizens we offer to pledge ourselves as security for his conduct during the short time he shall remain in France.'"

After his liberation he found a friendly asylum at the American minister's house, Mr. Monroe, now president of the United States; and for some years before Mr. Paine left Paris, he lodged at M Bonneville's, associating occasionally with the great men of the day, Condorcet, Volney, Mercier, Joel Barlow, &c., &c., and sometimes dining with Bonaparte and his generals.* He now indulged his mechanical turn, and amused himself in bridge and ship modeling, and in pursuing his favorite studies, the mathematics and natural philosophy.—"These models," says a correspondent of that time, "exhibit an extraordinary degree not only of skill but of taste in mechanics, and are wrought with extreme delicacy entirely by his own hands. The largest of these, the model of a bridge, is nearly four feet in length: the iron-works, the chains, and every other article belonging to it were forged and manufactured by himself. It is intended as a model of a bridge which is to be constructed across the Delaware, extending 480 feet with only one arch. The other is to be erected over a narrower river, whose name I forget, and is likewise a single

* When Bonaparte returned from Italy he called on Mr. Paine and invited him to dinner: in the course of his rapturous address to him he delared that a statue of gold ought to be erected to him in every city in the universe, assuring him that he always slept with his book *Rights of Man* under his pillow, and conjured him to honor him with his correspondence and advice.

This anecdote is only related as a fact. Of the sincerity of the compliment, those may judge who know Bonaparte's principles best.

arch, and of his own workmanship excepting the chains, which instead of iron are cut out of pasteboard, by the fair hands of his correspondent, *The Little Corner of the World*, whose indefatigable perseverance is extraordinary. He was offered £3000 for these models and refused it. He also forged himself the model of a crane of a new description, which when put together exhibited the power of the lever to a most surprising degree."

During this time he also published his *Dissertation on first Principles of Government*, his *Essay on Finance*, his first and second part of the *Age of Reason*, his *Letter to Washington*, his *Address to the Theophilanthropists*, *Letter to Erskine*, &c., &c. Poetry too employed his idle hours, and he produced some fine pieces, which the world will probably one day see.

Wearied with the direction things took in France, which he used to say, was "the promised land, but not the land of promise," he had long sighed for his own dear America.

"It is," * he would say, "the country of my heart and the place of my political and literary birth. It was the American revolution made me an author, and forced into action the mind that had been dormant and had no wish for public life, nor has it now." Mr. Paine made many efforts to cross the Atlantic, but they were ineffectual: some of these I state in his own words: "As soon as the American ambassador had made a good standing with the French government, (for the conduct of his predecessor had made his reception as minister

* See *Letters from Thomas Paine to the Citizens of America*, after an absence of fifteen years in Europe, to which are subjoined some letters between him and the late General Washington, Mr. Samuel Adams, and the late President of the United States, Mr. Jefferson; also some original Poetry of Mr. Paine's, and a Fac Simile of his hand-writing in 1803, London: published by and for Clio Rickman, Upper Mary-le-bone-Street, London.

difficult,) he wanted to send dispatches to his own government, by a person to whom he could also confide a verbal communication, and he fixed his choice upon me. He then applied to the committee of public safety for a passport, but as I had been voted again into the convention it was only the convention that could give the passport; and as an application to them for that purpose would have made my going publicly known, I was obliged to sustain the disappointment, and the then ambassador to lose the opportunity.

"When that gentleman left France to return to America, I was to have come with him: it was fortunate I did not. The vessel he sailed in was visited by an English frigate that searched every part of it, and down to the hold, for Thomas Paine. I then went the same year to embark for Havre; but several British frigates were cruising in sight of the port, who knew I was there, and I had to return again to Paris. Seeing myself thus cut off from every opportunity of returning that was in my power to command, I wrote to Mr. Jefferson, requesting that if the fate of the election should put him in the chair of the presidency, and he should have occasion to send a frigate to France, he would give me an opportunity of returning by it, which he did; but I declined coming by the Maryland, the vessel that was offered me, and waited for the frigate that was to bring the new minister, Mr. Chancellor Livingston, to France; but that frigate was ordered to the Mediterranean; and as at that time the war was over, and the British cruisers called in, I could come any way, I then agreed to come with Commodore Barney in a vessel he had engaged. It was again fortunate I did not, for the vessel sunk at sea, and the people were preserved in a boat.

"Had half the number of evils befallen me that the number of dangers amount to through which I have

been preserved, there are those who would ascribe it to the wrath of heaven; why then do they not ascribe my preservation to the protecting favor of heaven? Even in my worldly concerns I have been blessed. The little property I left in America, and which I cared nothing about, not even to receive the rent of it, has been increasing in the value of its capital more than eight hundred dollars every year for the fourteen years and more that I have been absent from it.* I am now in my circumstances independent, and my economy makes me rich.

"As to my health it is perfectly good, and I leave the world to judge of the stature of my mind."

In July 1802, Mr. Jefferson, the then president of America, in a letter to Mr. Paine writes thus:

"You express a wish in your letter to return to America by a national ship.

"Mr. Dawson, who brings over the treaty, and who will present you this letter, is charged with orders to the captain of the Maryland, to receive and accommodate you back if you can be ready to return at such a short warning. You will in general find us returned to sentiments worthy of former times: in these it will be your glory to have steadily labored, and with as much effect as any man living. That you may live long to continue your useful labors, and reap the reward in the thankfulness of nations, is my sincere prayer. Accept the assurance of my high esteem and affectionate attachment.

"THOMAS JEFFERSON."

"Washington, July, 1802."

By the Maryland, as Mr. Paine states, he did not go; and it was not till the first of September, 1802, after

* In the year 1895 the owner of the Paine Homestead at New Rochelle held the land at $1,200 per acre, and since that time many improvements have been made in the immediate vicinity. About the year 1848 Mr. Gilbert Vale, author of *Vale's Life of Paine*, could have purchased the entire tract for $8,500.—*Pub.*

spending some time with him at Havre de Grace, that I took leave of him on his departure for America, in a ship named the London Pacquet, just ten years after his leaving my house in London. This parting gave rise to the following extempore stanzas :

STANZAS,

WRITTEN ON THE BEACH OF HAVRE DE GRACE,

AND ADDRESSED TO THE

SEA.

"A generous friendship no cold medium knows."—POPE.

Thus smooth be thy waves, and thus gentle the breeze,
As thou bearest my PAINE far away ;
O ! waft him to comfort and regions of ease,
Each blessing of friendship and freedom to seize,
And bright be his setting sun's ray.

May AMERICA hail her preserver and friend,
Whose *Common Sense* taught her aright,
How liberty through her domains to extend,
The means to acquire each desirable end,
And fill'd her with reason and light.

One champion of all that is glorious and good
Will greet him sincerely I know ;
No supporter of craft, of oppression, and blood,—
The defender of liberty long he has stood ;
Of tyranny only the foe.

Yes, JEFFERSON ! well in his principles school'd,
Will embrace him with gladness of heart ;
His value he knows and is not to be fool'd,
Nor his wisdom and knowledge one moment o'er ruled,
By falsehood, corruption, and art.

Though bitter, dear PAINE, is this parting to me,
I rejoice that from EUROPE once more,
From FRANCE too, unworthy thy talents and thee,
Thou art hastening to join the happy and free !
May the breezes blow gently, and smooth be the sea
That speed thee to LIBERTY'S shore !

The ardent desire which Mr. Paine ever had to retire to and dwell in his beloved America is strongly portrayed in the following letter to a female friend in that country, written some years before.

"You touch me on a very tender point when you say that my friends on your side of the water cannot be reconciled to the idea of my abandoning America even for my native England.

"They are right, I had rather see my horse Button eating the grass of Bordentown or Morisania, than see all the pomp and show of Europe.

"A thousand years hence, for I must indulge a few thoughts, perhaps in less, America may be what Europe now is. The innocence of her character that won the hearts of all nations in her favor may sound like a romance, and her inimitable virtue as if it had never been.

"The ruins of that liberty for which thousands bled may just furnish materials for a village tale, or extort a sigh from rustic sensibility, whilst the fashionable of that day, enveloped in dissipation, shall deride the principles and deny the fact.

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

freedom, rose and fell! Read this, and then ask if I forget America."

There is so uncommon a degree of interest, and that which conveys an idea of so much heart intercourse in this letter, that the reader may be led to desire some knowledge of the person to whom it was addressed. This lady's name was I believe Nicholson, and afterwards the wife of Colonel Few; between her and Mr. Paine a very affectionate attachment and sincere regard subsisted, and it was no small mortification on his final return to New York to be totally neglected by her and her husband.

But against the repose of Mr. Paine's dying moments there seems to have been a conspiracy, and this lady after years of disregard and inattention sought Mr. Paine on his death bed.

Mr. Few was with her, but Mr. Paine, refusing to shake hands with her, said firmly and very impressively, "You have neglected me, and I beg you will leave the room."

Mrs. Few went into the garden, and wept bitterly.

Of Mr. Paine's reception in America and some interesting account of his own life and its vicissitudes, his *Letters to the Citizens of America*, before noticed, speak better than I can.

These letters, under the care of Mr. Monroe, he sent me in 1804, and I published them, with the following one of his own accompanying them.

"My dear Friend,

"Mr. Monroe, who is appointed minister extraordinary to France, takes charge of this, to be delivered to Mr. Este, banker in Paris, to be forwarded to you.

"I arrived at Baltimore, 30th of October, and you can have no idea of the agitation which my arrival occa-

sioned. From New Hampshire to Georgia, (an extent of 1,500 miles) every newspaper was filled with applause or abuse.

"My property in this country has been taken care of by my friends, and is now worth six thousand pounds sterling; which put in the funds will bring me £400 sterling a year.

"Remember me in friendship and affection to your wife and family, and in the circle of our friends.

"I am but just arrived here, and the minister sails in a few hours, so that I have just time to write you this. If he should not sail this tide I will write to my good friend Col. Bosville, but in any case I request you to wait on him for me.

"Yours in friendship,
"THOMAS PAINE."

What course he meant to pursue in America, his own words will best tell, and best characterize his sentiments and principles: they are these:

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

"I have no occasion to ask, nor do I intend to accept, any place or office in the government.

"There is none it could give me that would in any way be equal to the profits I could make as an author (for I have an established fame in the literary world) could I reconcile it to my principles to make money by my politics or religion; I must be in every thing as I have ever been, a disinterested volunteer. My proper sphere of action is on the common floor of citizenship, and to honest men I give my hand and my heart freely.

"I have some manuscript works to publish, of which I shall give proper notice, and some mechanical affairs to bring forward, that will employ all my leisure time.

"I shall continue these letters as I see occasion, and as to the low party prints that choose to abuse me, they are welcome; I shall not descend to answer them. I have been too much used to such common stuff to take any notice of it.

"THOMAS PAINE.

"City of Washington."

From this period to the time of his death, which was the 9th of June, 1809, Mr. Paine lived principally at New York, and on his estate at New Rochelle; publishing occasionally some excellent things in the Aurora Newspaper, also *An Essay on the Invasion of England*, *On the Yellow Fever*, *On Gun-Boats*, *etc.*, *etc.*, and in 1807, *An Examination of the Passages in the New Testament*, *quoted from the Old*, *and called Prophecies concerning Jesus Christ*, *&c.*

This is a most acute, profound, clear, argumentative, and entertaining work, and may be considered and is now entitled *The Third Part of the Age of Reason.*

In the course of Mr. Paine's life, he was often reminded of a reply he once made to this observation of Dr. Franklin's, "Where liberty is there is my country:" Mr. Paine's retort was, "Where liberty is not, there is my country." And, unfortunately, he had occasion for many years in Europe to realize the truth of his axiom.

Soon after Mr. Paine's arrival in America he invited over Mr. and Mrs. Bonneville and their children. At Bonneville's house at Paris he had for years found a home, a friendly shelter, when the difficulty of getting supplies of money from America, and other and many ills assailed him. Bonneville and his family were poor,

and sunk in the world; Mr. Paine therefore, though he was not their inmate without remuneration, offered them an asylum with him in America. Mrs. Bonneville and her three boys, to whom he was a friend during his life and at his death, soon joined him there. If any part can be marked out as infamous and wicked, (in a book full of what is so,) it is Cheetham's suggestion uponthis just and generous conduct of Mr. Paine to the Bonneville family, which he attributes to the most base and cowardly motives.

Among other things in *Cheetham's Life of Mr. Paine* is the assertion that he wrote *The Commentary on the Eastern Wise Men traveling to Bethlehem guided by a Star, &c.*, and *The Story of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram*, at Mr. Carver's house at New York. This stands among a large catalogue of other falsehoods, for these and other very pointed satirical poems were given to me some years before this by Mr. Paine in France.

The particulars of Mr. Paine being shot at while sitting by his fire-side at New Rochelle is given in his own letters in the appendix, page 224. The bullet from the fire-arm shattered the glass over the chimney-piece very near to him. I find a letter in reply to one of mine, in which he writes, "the account you heard of a man's firing into my house is true—the grand jury found the bill against him, and he lies over for trial."

The latter part of *Cheetham's Life of Mr. Paine* is taken up in giving letters between him and Carver, at whose house he lodged some time at New York, about domestic and pecuniary differences, trifling and local trash, and in detailing the gossip and nonsensical malevolence of the idle, fanatical, and prejudiced.

As the author of these memoirs well knows and corresponds with Mr. Carver, it is very plain to him that Cheetham has supplied much of the style and matter of

Carver's letters, for Mr. Carver was a most strenuous advocate and supporter of Mr. Paine's political and religious principles.

That he and Mr. Paine had some private differences while Mr. Paine was his lodger is true; and it should seem that Cheetham, bent upon giving an erroneous bias to every thing concerning Mr. Paine, stirred up and magnified these differences, and made the letters which Carver really wrote, the vehicle of extraneous, bitter, and false matter, which formed no part of the original disagreement between them; in short, Cheetham's work is filled with abuse of a man whose age, for Paine was then past seventy, ought to have been his protection, and might have been offered as an apology at least for some defects and failings when his mind too was depressed under neglect, abuse and misrepresentation.

In January, 1809, Mr. Paine became very feeble and infirm, so much so, as to be scarcely capable of doing any thing for himself.

During this illness he was pestered on every hand with the intrusive and impertinent visits of the bigoted, the fanatic, and the designing. To entertain the reader, some specimens of the conduct of these intruders are here given.

He usually took a nap after dinner, and would not be disturbed let who would call to see him. One afternoon a very old lady dressed in a large scarlet hooded cloak knocked at the door and enquired for Thomas Paine. Mr. Jarvis, with whom Mr. Paine resided, told her he was asleep.

"I am very sorry," she said, "for that, for I want to see him particularly."

Thinking it a pity to make an old woman call twice, Mr. Jarvis took her into Mr. Paine's bed room, and awoke him. He rose upon one elbow, and then,

with an expression of eye that made the old woman stagger back a step or two, he asked,

"What do you want?"

"Is your name Paine?"

"Yes."

"Well then, I come from Almighty God to tell you that if you do not repent of your sins, and believe in our blessed saviour Jesus Christ, you will be damned, and"—

"Poh, poh, it is not true," replied Paine, "you were not sent with any such impertinent message. Jarvis, make her go away: pshaw! he would not send such a foolish, ugly old woman about with his messages; go away, go back, shut the door."

The old lady retired, raised both her hands, kept them so, and without saying another word walked away in mute astonishment.

The following is a curious example of a friendly, neighborly visit.

About two weeks before his death he was visited by the Rev. Mr. Milledollar, a presbyterian minister of great eloquence, and the Rev. Mr. Cunningham. The latter gentleman said,—

"Mr. Paine, we visit you as friends and neighbors: You have now a full view of death, you cannot live long, and whoever does not believe in Jesus Christ will assuredly be damned."

"Let me," said Paine, "have none of your popish stuff. Get away with you. Good morning, sir, good morning."

The Rev. Mr. Milledollar attempted to address him but he was interrupted in the same language. When they were gone, he said to Mrs. Hedden, his housekeeper, "do not let them come here again, they intrude upon me."

They soon renewed their visit, but Mrs. Hedden told them they could not be admitted, and that she thought

the attempt useless, for if God did not change his mind, she was sure no human power could. They retired.

Among others, the Rev. Mr. Hargrove, minister of a new sect called the New Jerusalemites, once accosted him with this impertinent stuff:

"My name is Hargrove, sir; I am a minister of the New Jerusalem church. We, sir, explain the scripture in its true meaning; the key has been lost these four thousand years, and we have found it."

"Then," said Paine in his own neat way, "it must have been very rusty."

In his last moments he was very anxious to die, and also very solicitous about the mode of his burial; for as he was completely unchanged in his theological sentiments, he would on no account, even after death, countenance ceremonies he disapproved, containing doctrines and expressions of a belief which he conscientiously objected to, and had spent a great part of his life in combating.

He wished to be interred in the Quaker's burying ground, and on this subject he requested to see Mr. Willet Hicks, a member of that society, who called on him in consequence.

Mr. Paine, after the usual salutations, said, "As I am going to leave one place it is necessary to provide another; I am now in my seventy-third year, and do not expect to live long; I wish to be buried in your burying ground."

He said his father was a quaker, and that he thought better of the principles of that society than any other, and approved their mode of burial. This request of Mr. Paine was refused, very much to the discredit of those who did so; and as the Quakers are not unused to grant such indulgencies, in this case it seemed to arise from very little and unworthy motives and prejudices

on the part of those who complied not with this earnest and unassuming solicitation.

The above named Quaker in a conversation of a serious nature with Mr. Paine, a short time before his death, was assured by him that his sentiments respecting the christian religion were now precisely the same as when he wrote the *Age of Reason.*

About the fourth of May, symptoms of approaching dissolution became very evident to himself, and he soon fell off his milk-punch, and became too infirm to take any thing; complaining of much bodily pain.

On the eighth of June, 1809, about nine in the morning, he placidly, and almost without a struggle, died, as he had lived, a deist.

Why so much consequence should be attached to what is called a recantation in a man's last moments of a belief or opinion held through life, a thing I never witnessed nor knew any one who did, it is difficult to say, at least with any credit, to those who harp so much upon it. A belief or an opinion is none the less correct or true even if it be recanted, and I strenuously urge the reader to reflect seriously, how few there are who really have any fixed belief and conviction through life of a metaphysical or religious nature; how few who devote any time to such investigation, or who are not the creatures of form, education, and habit; and take upon trust tenets, instead of inquiring into their truth and rationality. Indeed it appears that those who are so loud about the recantation of philosophers, are neither religious, moral, or correct themselves, and exhibit not in their own lives, either religion in belief, or principle in conduct.

Paine was aged seventy-two years and five months. At nine of the clock in the forenoon of the 9th of June,

the day after his decease, he was taken from his house at Greenwich, attended by seven persons, to New-Rochelle; where he was afterwards interred on his own farm. A stone has been placed at the head of his grave according to the direction in his will, with the following inscription:

THOMAS PAINE,

AUTHOR OF

COMMON SENSE,

Died June 8th, 1809, Aged 72 Years and 5 Months.

There is near the close of Cheetham's *Life of Paine* a letter of a Doctor Manley, descriptive of Mr. Paine's illness, and some of his last hours; but it is too evidently the production of a fanatic, who wished to discredit and traduce Paine, and who also was angry at him for being a deist.

As an instance of the tone of this letter which Cheetham wrote to Manley for, and which was a contrivance between them to slander him, he says, "that his anger was easily kindled, and I doubt not that his resentments were lasting." This libeller of Mr. Paine knew but little of him, and wrote thus on visiting him in a dying state, worn down with age, pain, and feebleness.

O shame! where is thy blush?—The visit of Doctor Manley to Mr. Paine in his last moments looks very like a contrivance to misrepresent and encourage the notion of Paine's recantation.

Manley's letter is evidently written to answer a purpose among the enemies of Mr. Paine, and has been particularly circulated in a mutilated state, in order generally to impose the idea that Mr. Paine renounced his faith before he died; yet even this letter has the following passage:

Again I addressed him, "Mr. Paine, you have not

answered my questions—will you answer them? Allow me to ask again, Do you believe, or let me qualify the question, Do you wish to believe that Jesus Christ is the son of God? After a pause of some minutes he answered, I have no wish to believe on that subject. I then left him, and know not whether he afterwards spoke."

The reader must from the foregoing pages be persuaded how unkindly teased and obtrusively tormented were the closing hours of Mr. Paine's life; hours that always should be soothed by tenderness, quietude, and every kind attention, and in which the mind generally loses all its strength and energy, and is as unlike its former self as its poor suffering companion the body.

> Infirmity doth still neglect all office,
> Whereto our health is bound; we are not ourselves
> When nature, being oppress'd, commands the mind
> To suffer with the body.—SHAKESPEARE.

To a rational man it should seem that a deist, if he be so from principle, and he is as likely to be so as any any other religionist, is no more to be expected to renounce his principles on his death-bed or to abandon his belief at that moment, than the Christian, the Jew, the Mahometan, or any other religionist.

It will be seen that Mr. Paine very early, when a mere child, was inspired as it were with the anti-christian principles which he held religiously through life.*

"From the time I was capable of conceiving an idea and acting upon it by reflection, I either doubted the truth of the Christian system, or thought it to be a strange affair; I scarcely knew which it was, but I well remember, when about seven or eight years of age, hearing a sermon read by a relation of mine who was a

* See *Age of Reason*, pages 48 and 49, Eckler's edition.

great devotee of the church upon the subject of what is called "redemption, by the death of the son of God."

"After the sermon was ended I went into the garden, and as I was going down the garden-steps (for I perfectly recollect the spot) I revolted at the recollection of what I had heard: it was to me a serious reflection arising from the idea I had, that God was too good to do such an action, and also too almighty to be under any necessity of doing it. I believe in the same manner to this moment: and I moreover believe that any system of religion that has any thing in it that shocks the mind of a child cannot be a true system."

His philosophical and astronomical pursuits could not but confirm him in the most exalted, the most divine ideas of a supreme being, and in the purity and sublimity of deism.

A belief in millions of millions of inhabited worlds, millions of millions of miles apart, necessarily leads the mind to the worship of a God infinitely above the one described by those religionists who speak and write of him as they do, and as if he were only the maker of our earth, and as alone being interested in what concerns it. In contemplating the immense works of God, "the creation" is the only book of revelation in which the deist can believe; and his religion consists in contemplating the power, wisdom, and benignity of God in his glorious works, and endeavoring to imitate him in every thing moral, scientific and mechanical. It cannot be urged too strongly, so much wrong headedness if not wrong heartedness is there on this subject, that the religion of the deist no more precludes the blessed hope of salvation than that of the christian or of any other religion.

We see through different mediums, and in our pursuits and experience are unlike. How others have felt after reading maturely the *Age of Reason* and the *Rights of*

Man, and pursuing fairly, cooly, and assiduously the subjects therein treated, I leave to them ; but for myself I must say, these works carried perfect conviction with them to my mind, and the opinions they contain are fully confirmed by much reading, by long, honest, unwearied investigation and observation.

The best and wisest of human beings both male and female that I have known through life have been deists, nor did any thing in the shape of their recantation either in life or death ever come to my knowledge, nor can I understand how a real, serious, and long-adopted belief can be recanted.

That Mr. Paine's religious belief had been long established and was with him a deep rooted principle, may be seen by his conduct when imprisoned and extremely ill in the Luxembourg prison in 1794.*

Mr. Bond, an English surgeon who was confined there at the same time, though by no means a friend to Mr. Paine's political or theological doctrines, gave me the following testimony of Mr. Paine's sentiments :

"Mr. Paine, while hourly expecting to die, read to me parts of his *Age of Reason ;* and every night when I left him to be separately locked up, and expected not to see him alive in the morning, he always expressed his firm belief in the principles of that book, and begged I would tell the world such were his dying opinions. He often said that if he lived he should prosecute further that work, and print it." Mr. Bond's frequent observation when speaking of Mr. Paine was, that he was the most conscientious man he ever knew.

While upon this subject, it will probably occur to the reader, as well as to the writer, how little belief from inquiry and principle there is in the world ; and how much oftener religious profession is adopted from educa-

* See *Age of Reason*, part I.

tion, form, prudence, fear, and a variety of other motives, than from unprejudiced enquiry, a love of truth, of free discussion, and from entire conviction. Reasoning thus, it may fairly be inferred that men like Mr. Paine, a pious deist, of deep research, laborious enquiry, and critical examination, are the most likely from disinterested motives to adopt opinions, and of course the least likely to relinquish them.

Before I quit the subject I give the following authentic document, received in a letter from New York :

"Sir : I witnessed a scene last night which occasioned sensations only to be felt, not to be described ; the scene alluded to was no less extraordinary than the beholding the well-known Thomas Paine struggling to retain a little longer in connection his soul and body. For near an hour I sat by the bedside of that well-known character, to whom I was introduced by one of his friends. Could the memory have retained the suggestions of my mind in the moments when I was reviewing the pallid looks of him who had attempted to overthrow kingdoms and monarchies, of him who had astonished the world with the fruits of a vast mind, whose works have caused a great part of mankind to think and feel as they never did before, such suggestions would not be uninteresting to you. I could not contemplate the approaching dissolution of such a man, see him gasping for breath, without feelings of a peculiar nature. Poor Paine's body has given way before his mind which is yet firm ; mortification seems to have taken up its dwelling in his frame, and he will soon be no more. With respect to his principles he will die as he has lived ; they are unaltered.

"Some methodists went to him a few days ago to endeavor to make a convert of him, but he would not listen to their entreaties."

Soon after Mr. Paine's death the following character of him and his writings appeared in a London newspaper, written by a gentleman well acquainted with him and them :

"He was in his youth of a strong resolution and constant temper. He had from his infancy adopted the opinions he so successfully promulgated in his manhood. All his literary productions evince an acute, profound, and determined mind. His language is simple and nervous, adapted to all capacities, and so pointed and unequivocal that there is no misconceiving it. He is sententious, his axioms are incontrovertible and self-evident, and their impressions are indelible.

"No human being's efforts have done more for liberty. He has made more converts than Sydney and Russell. His *Common Sense* enfranchised America. America was divided between two parties ; the arguments of this little pamphlet decided the contest. His glorious *Rights of Man* had nearly a similar effect in England. Innumerable replies have been made against it, but so weak and futile as to injure the cause they were meant to sustain. He reasoned from facts, and his diction was irresistible.

"He pours down like a torrent and bears every thing before him. He was prosecuted for his works, but they were so admired that they were in every library. He seemed stern and morose, but he was lenient, friendly, and benevolent.

"He instanced his humanity by his resolute vote to save the king of France, and the sanguinary Robespierre never forgave him, and in the reign of terror imprisoned him ; but this apostle of liberty, though in such eminent danger, never retracted his opinions, nor implored mercy. It pleased Providence that he should escape this monster. Bold, manly, and fearless, he never con-

cealed his sentiments; positive and inflexible, they never varied, being founded on conviction and pure principles. He remained in Paris long after Bonaparte rendered himself supreme in the state, and spoke as free as ever. In 1802, he departed from Paris for his admired America; the only true birth-place of liberty, where he finished his days in 1809, June 8th, at New York, aged seventy-three.

"His ashes there,
But his fame every where."

The following advertisement appeared in the *New York Advertiser*, June 9th, 1809:

"MR. THOMAS PAINE.

"Thy spirit, independence, let me share."—SMOLLETT.

"With heartfelt sorrow and poignant regret we are compelled to announce to the world that Mr. Thomas Paine is no more.

"This distinguished philanthropist, whose life was devoted to the cause of humanity, departed this life yesterday morning; and if any man's memory deserved a place in the breast of a freeman, it is that of the deceased, for

"'Take him for all in all
We ne'er shall look upon his like again.'

"The friends of the deceased are invited to attend his funeral by nine o'clock in the morning, from his late residence at Greenwich, from whence his corpse will be conveyed to New Rochelle for interment;

"'His ashes there,
His fame every where.*'"

* This quotation, which is a translation from a Latin epitaph on Frederick III, thus rendered, would serve very well for Mr. Paine.

In this small compass though Paine's ashes lie,
His fame is every where, and ne'er shall die.

It appears by Mr. Paine's will, (published in another part of this volume), that he died worth a considerable property.

Before I take leave of my reader I would press upon his mind the necessity of candor; and if he be a christian I must tell him he will cease to be so the moment he appeals to coercion and resorts to prosecution and to persecution in matters of belief and opinion: such conduct his own *New Testament* is decidedly against. It is better not to believe in a God than to believe unworthily of him, and the less we make him after our image the less we blaspheme him. Let enquiry supercede calumny and censure, and let it be ever remembered that those systems in government and religion which will not bear discussion and investigation are not worth solicitude. Ignorance is the only original sin; spread information and knowledge, and virtue and truth will follow. Read I beg you, reader, Lord Bolingbroke's third and fourth chapters "concerning authority in matters of religion;" read the *Letter of Gilbert Wakefield*, who was a violent christian, to Sir John Scott, then attorney general, about the year 1798, from which this is an extract:

"What right, I wish to be informed, can one man claim, distinct from power and tyranny, and usurpation, to dictate creeds, and to prescribe sentiments, for another?

"Let us put an extreme case upon this question, which will abundantly elucidate, and indubitably decide the controversy: I mean the publication of *Paine's Age of Reason.*

"But I would not forcibly suppress this book; much less would I punish (O! my God! be such wickedness far from me: or leave me destitute of thy favor in the

midst of this perjured and sanguinary generation !) much less would I punish, by fine or imprisonment, from any possible consideration, the publisher, or author, of those pages.

"PRUDENTIAL MOTIVES would prevent me; because such interdiction serves only to excite the restless curiosity of mankind; and the restraints of law give fresh vigor to circulation.

"MOTIVES OF PHILOSOPHY would prevent me; because enquiry and discussion are hereby provoked; and sparks of truth, which would otherwise have been concealed for ever, are elicited by the collision of debate; to the unspeakable emolument and illumination of mankind, in the promotion of mutual forbearance and esteem, in the furtherance of valuable knowledge, and in the consequent propagation of all happiness and virtue. Truth can never suffer from argument and enquiry; but may be essentially injured by the tyrannous interference of her pretended advocates.

"MOTIVES OF JUSTICE would deter me. Why should I refuse another that privilege of thinking and writing, which I claim and exercise myself?

"MOTIVES OF HUMANITY would deter me. I should think with horror on the punishment of any man for his belief; in which he has no discretionary power, but is necessarily swayed by the controlling despotism of arguments and reasons; and at what license or patent shop shall I purchase a gag to silence him? Or, what shall hinder him from forming the same unfavorable judgment of my opinions, and pursuing in his turn the same measures of intimidation and coercion with myself?

"Thus the fair and goodly creation of the Almighty

is to be converted into a howling wilderness of savage beasts, alternately hunting and worrying each other.

"Lastly, MOTIVES OF RELIGION would deter me from molesting any writer for the publication of his sentiments."

Oppose argument to argument, reason to reason, opinion to opinion, book to book, truth must prevail; and that which is of divine origin will bring itself through.

Set not Attorney Generals and human laws at work, nor pay any religion which boasts an heavenly origin so bad a compliment, or libel its founders, by endeavoring to support it by such infamous means.

Suffer me, while on this subject, to re-publish the following

VERSES,

WRITTEN EXTEMPORE

IN THE

CONVENT

AT

MONSERRATE in SPAIN.

1785.

With solemn step, this awful pile I tread,
Nor with indignant eye around me gaze;
Nor view contemptuously the sacred dead,
The bloody cross, and ever burning blaze.

No idle prejudice my soul conceives,
Nor horrid bigotry my bosom feels;
I damn not him, who this or that believes,
Nor care before what saint the good man kneels.

Still to the great Jehovah, Lord of all!
In different ways the pious heave the sigh;
Regardless of the mode, He hears their call,
And dries, in every land, the tearful eye.

The honest mind in every varied clime,
Alike demands the approving smile of heaven ;
Sincere amendment does away the crime,
And mercy to the contrite heart is given.

Is not the God you worship boundless love?
Say then ye sects of every land and name,
How do you dare his dictates disapprove,
And ever seek each other to defame?

Shall you, who boast a Saviour for your head,
A lord who suffered, died, and bled for all,
Still in your actions contradict his creed,
And wanting candor—low as devils fall! *

Hence, ye profane! of whatsoever tribe,
And perish all the systems that you teach!
In vain you talk, if you have priestly pride,
And wanting charity in vain you preach.

What are your forms, ye Christians, Pagans, Turks?
If vehicle to serve your God, 'tis well;
He heeds not what they are, if good your works,
Nor cares if psalms you sing, or beads you tell.

Serve then sincere that Power who reigns above,
O'er all he holds corrective mercy's rod;
On all, by varying means, pours boundless love,
Then work his will, his goodness haste to prove,—
For all the pure in heart shall see their God.

—POETICAL SCRAPS, vol. II., page 135.

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* The author wishes to be understood, that he only uses the word devils figuratively; he has no faith in their existence really, and he believes, that when mankind find that they do not want wars, and taxes, and a religion to underprop the extravagancies of power by extravagancies of its own, they will discover that they can do very well without devils.

CONCLUSION.

How paltry, how detestable, is that criticism which only seeks to find out and dwell on errors and inaccuracies; passing over in silence, what is grand, sublime, and useful! How still more paltry, and detestable, is that disposition, which seeks only to find out and dwell on the defects and foibles of character!

While Mr. Paine's enemies have labored, and are still laboring, to detect vices and errors in his life and manners, shall not his friends dwell on the immense good he has done in public life, on the happiness he has created for myriads, in private? Shall they not point to the abodes of delight and comfort, where live and flourish the blessings of domestic bliss; AFFECTION'S dear intercourses, FRIENDSHIP'S solaces, and LOVE'S sacred enjoyments? and there are millions of such abodes originating in his labors. Why seek occasion, surly critics and detractors! to maltreat and misrepresent Mr. Paine? He was mild, unoffending, sincere, gentle, humble, and unassuming; his talents were soaring, acute, profound, extensive, and original; and he possessed that charity, which covers a multitude of sins: but as the following Elegy, published soon after his death, conveying a just character of him, is considered as a more appropriate channel for doing so than prose, I take the liberty to conclude this Life with transcribing it.

ELEGY

TO THE

MEMORY OF THOMAS PAINE.

The unconquerable mind, and FREEDOM'S holy flame.—GRAY.

Acutely throbb'd my bosom, as I stood
  On GALLIA'S strand, and mark'd, with tearful eye,
Thy lessening bark that plough'd the briny flood,
  Till the last glimpse was lost mid sea and sky.

Yet hope still flutter'd round my aching breast;
  And as along our favorite walks I stray'd,
While the bright sun was sinking in the west,
  And SEINE her matchless prospects wide display'd:

Or while the moon, holding her high career,
  Gleam'd on the sombre woods and glittering main,
While murmuring surges, breaking on the ear,
  With melancholy musings mix'd their strain—

Fondly I sigh'd, alas!—Though here no more
  Mid NATURE'S lovliest scenery we shall prowl,
Nor share again, on HAVRE'S charming shore,
  "The feast of reason and the flow of soul"—

Though here, mid bowers fit for the MUSE'S haunt,
  We ne'er shall shape our devious course again;
Ne'er range the hills, the woods, the fields, that slant
  Where the broad SEINE majestic meets the main—

Yet will I not despair. The time may come,
  When on COLUMBIA'S free and happy coast,
With thee once more at large thy friend shall roam,
  Once more renew the blessings he has lost.

Thus HOPE still flutter'd round my throbbing breast,
  And heal'd the direful wound which parting gave,
Sooth'd each afflictive feeling into rest,
  And like a pitying angel came to save.

And often thus, amid my troublous days—
  A life eventful, and of varied hue—
Has HOPE shone on me with benignant rays,
  And present evils taught me to subdue.

Fallacious CHARMER! long my soul enjoy'd
  The pleasing hope to cross the Atlantic main;
But cruel DEATH the promised bliss destroy'd,
  And snatch'd, with unrelenting hand, my PAINE.

Cast in superior mould, some nobler souls
  Sublimely soar, for great events design'd,
Whom no corruption taints, no vice controls—
  Who live to enlighten—live to bless mankind.

Wise by some centuries before the crowd,
  These, by their systems novel though correct,
Must still offend the wicked, weak, and proud;
  Must meet with hatred, calumny, neglect.

'Twas ever thus; and such has been thy fate—
  The fate of all, pre-eminent like THEE:
But, glory, honor, and renown, though late
  Thy well-deserved, thy sure reward shall be.

Oh! had thy hasty censurers known thee well,
  Unbias'd had they weigh'd thy WORKS and THEE;
Base Calumny had blush'd her tale to tell,
  And thousands from this worst of crimes been free—

This CRIME of CRIMES! to damn unheard, unknown,
  The lives and labors of the great and true:
Here the malicious slanderer stands alone;
  No fouler aim can INFAMY pursue.

What agonies have wrung my indignant breast,
  To hear abused the MAN who proudly stood,
Of every talent, every worth possess'd,
  IMMUTABLE AND JUST, AND WISE AND GOOD!

Is WIT a quality to charm the soul?
  Is GENIUS dear—is SCIENCE to be loved?
Is REASON, of omnipotent control,
  Man's highest, noblest boast, to be approved?

Is all divine PHILOSOPHY, held forth
  As every good dispensing to our race,
Spreading philanthropy and taste on earth,
  And raising man above the vile and base?

Are strong, romantic, rich, poetic powers—
  FANCY, that scatters all the graces round—
And anecdote, that gilds convivial hours—
  Talents ACUTE, IMPRESSIVE, and PROFOUND—

Are THESE held dear, and by the bard and sage
  Reverenc'd, esteem'd, and praised, from pole to pole?
Then PAINE must live to every future age,
  And IMMORTALITY his name enroll.

For ME, who thus portray the man I loved,
  No venal motives guide the ardent quill;
For still to ME the fond attachment proved
  A source of sufferings, calumny and ill.

But not the voice of millions, led astray
  By party, interest, prejudice, and fear,
Can ever waken in my breast dismay,
  Or make me aught but what I am appear.

WORMS OF A DAY! our duty let us do,
  And bow to TRUTH, eternal TRUTH alone;
All pride, and selfishness, and strife subdue,
  Be kind to others' faults, and mend our own.

For ME, I followed where conviction led,
  Sought only peace and right, with even course;
Still labor'd that the HEART might guide the HEAD,
  And hated enmity, cabal, and force.

And for the dear, dear group that crowd my board,
  Celestialize my rambles and fire-side,
For these, my boys and girls, I but implored
  That TRUTH, and only TRUTH, might be their guide.

WORMS OF A DAY! it is not worth our while
  To live to mental lying, vice, and woe:
Since pomp, and splendor deck the paths of guile,
  O! let us pomp and splendor still forego.

I've read their works, and known high-minded men,
  Whose plaudits by the nations have been rung,
Who've woo'd philosophy, or pour'd the strain,
  Or greatly reason'd, or divinely sung.

But these, indeed, to THEE the palm must yield;
  Superior gifts, superior powers were thine;
They fade like stars that quit heaven's azure field,
  When bright the beams of morn begin to shine.

'Twas thine to point the means of human weal,
  To rescue man from slavery and crime;
To all his better passions to appeal,
  His life ennoble, and his thoughts sublime.

'Twas THINE his social happiness to plan,
  His public blessings, private virtues raise;
And teaching REASON, and the RIGHTS OF MAN,
  To all posterity ensure thy praise.

'Twas THINE, by works devoted but to TRUTH,
  WISDOM and LIFE and LIGHT to spread below;
To lead from jarring creeds, and laws uncouth,
  From slavery, superstition, pride, and woe.

Let THESE thy WORKS immortalize thy fame;
  Let these to purer times thy praise extend,
Whose grateful sons will hail thy hallow'd name,
  Which scarcely found, in times corrupt, a friend.

My boast it is to rank with these, though few;
  My pride, this humble tribute to bestow;
To give to WISDOM, VIRTUE, PAINE their due,
  This to MYSELF, to THEE, and TRUTH I owe!

ERSKINE'S DEFENCE OF PAINE.*

GENTLEMEN of the Jury.—The Attorney-General, in that part of his address which referred to a letter supposed to have been written to him from France, exhibited signs of strong sensibility and emotion. I do not, I am sure, charge him with acting a part to seduce you; on the contrary, I am persuaded, from my own feelings, and from my acquaintance with my friend from our childhood upwards, that HE expressed himself as he felt.

But, gentlemen, if he felt those painful embarrassments, you may imagine what MINE must be: he can only feel for the august character whom he represents in this place as a subject for his Sovereign, too far removed by custom from the intercourses which generate affections to produce any other sentiments than those that flow from a relation common to us all: but it will be remembered that I stand in the same relation† towards another great person more deeply implicated by this supposed letter; who, not restrained from the cultivation of personal attachments by those qualifications which must always secure them, has exalted my duty to a Prince into a warm and honest affection between man and man.

Thus circumstanced, I certainly should have been glad to have had an earlier opportunity of knowing

* Lord Erskine's Speech in behalf of Thomas Paine, Court of King's Bench, December 18, 1792.

† Mr. Erskine was then Attorney-General to the Prince of Wales.

correctly the contents of this letter, and whether (which I positively deny) it proceeded from the defendant. Coming thus suddenly upon us, I see but too plainly the impression it has made upon *you*, who are to try the cause, and I feel its weight upon *myself*, who am to conduct it; but this shall neither detach me from my duty, nor enervate me (if I can help it) in the discharge of it.

If the Attorney-General be well founded in the commentaries he has made to you upon the book which he prosecutes; if he be warranted by the law of England in repressing its circulation, from the illegal and dangerous matters contained in it; if that suppression be, as he avows it, and as in common sense it must be, the sole object of the prosecution, the public has great reason to lament that this letter should have been at all brought into the service of the cause. It is no part of the charge upon the record; it had no existence for months after the work was composed and published; it was not written by the defendant, if written by him at all, till after he had been in a manner insultingly expelled from the country by the influence of Government; it was not even written till he had become the subject of another country. It cannot, therefore, by any fair inference, decipher the mind of the author when he composed his work; still less can it affect the construction of the language in which it is written.

The introduction of this letter at all is, therefore, not only a departure from the charge, but a dereliction of the object of the prosecution, which is to condemn *the book:* since, if the condemnation of the author is to be obtained, *not by the work itself*, but by *collateral matter*, not even existing when it was written, nor known to its various publishers throughout the kingdom, how can a verdict upon *such* grounds condemn the work, or crim-

inate *other* publishers, strangers to the collateral matter on which the conviction may be obtained to day?

I maintain, therefore, upon every principle of sound policy, as it affects the interests of the Crown, and upon every rule of justice, as it affects the author of *The Rights of Man*, that the letter should be wholly dismissed from your consideration.

Gentlemen, the Attorney-General has thought it necessary to inform you that a rumor had been spread, and had reached his ears, that he only carried on the prosecution as a *public* prosecutor, but without the concurrence of his own judgment; and, therefore, to add the just weight of his *private* character to his public duty, and to repel what he thinks a calumny, he tells you that he should have deserved to have been driven from society if he had not arrainged the work and the author before you.

Here, too, we stand in situations very different. I have no doubt of the existence of such a rumor, and of its having reached his ears, because he says so; but for the narrow circle in which any rumor, personally implicating my learned friend's character, has extended, I might appeal to the multitudes who surround us, and ask, which of them all, except the few connected in office with the Crown, ever heard of its existence?

But with regard to myself, every man within hearing at this moment—nay, the whole people of England, have been witnesses to the calumnious clamor that, by every art, has been raised and kept up against me: in every place where business or pleasure collect the public together, day after day my name and character have been the topics of injurious reflection. And for what? Only for not having shrunk from the discharge of a duty which no personal advantage recommended, and which a thousand difficulties repelled. But, gentlemen, I have no

complaint to make, either against the printers of these libels, or even against their authors: the greater part of them, hurried perhaps away by honest prejudices, may have believed they were serving their *country* by rendering *me* the object of its suspicions and contempt; and if there has been amongst them others who have mixed in it from personal malice and unkindness, I thank God I can forgive *them* also.

Little, indeed, did they know me, who thought that such calumnies would influence my conduct. I will forever, at all hazards, assert the dignity, independence, and integrity of the ENGLISH BAR, without which impartial justice, the most valuable part of the English constitution, can have no existence.

From the moment that any advocate can be permitted to say that he *will* or will *not* stand between the Crown and the subject in the court where he daily sits to practice, from that moment the liberties of England are at an end.

If the advocate refuses to defend, from what *he may think* of the charge or of the defence he assumes, the character of the Judge; nay, he assumes it before the hour of judgment; and, in proportion to his rank and reputation, puts the heavy influence of, perhaps, a mistaken opinion into the scale against the accused, in whose favor the benevolent principle of English law makes all presumptions, and which commands the very Judge to be his counsel.

Gentlemen, it is now my duty to address myself without disgression to the defence.

The first thing which presents itself in the discussion of any subject is to state distinctly and with precision, what the question is, and, where prejudice and misrepresentation have been exerted, to distinguish it accurately from what it is NOT. The question, then, is NOT whether

the constitution of our fathers—under which we live, under which I present myself before you, and under which alone you have any jurisdiction to hear me—be or be not preferable to the constitution of America or France, or any other human constitution. For upon what principle can a court, constituted by the authority of any Government, and administering a positive system of law under it, pronounce a decision against the constitution which creates its authority, or the rule of action which its jurisdiction is to enforce? The common sense of the most uninformed person must revolt at such an absurd supposition.

I have no difficulty, therefore, in admitting that, if by accident some or all of you were alienated in opinion and affection from the forms and principles of the English Government, and were impressed with the value of that unmixed representative constitution which this work recommends and inculcates, you could not *on that account* acquit the defendant. Nay, to speak out plainly, I freely admit that even if you were avowed enemies to monarchy, and devoted to republicanism, you would be nevertheless bound by your oaths, as a jury sworn to administer justice according to the English law, to convict the author of *The Rights of Man*, if it were brought home to your consciences that he had exceeded those widely-extended bounds which the ancient wisdom and liberal policy of the English constitution have allotted to the range of a free press. I freely concede this, because you have no jurisdiction to judge either the author or the work by any rule but that of English law, which is the source of your authority. But having made this large concession, it follows, by a consequence so inevitable as to be invulnerable to all argument or artifice, that if, on the other hand, you should be impressed (which I know you to be) not only with a dutiful regard,

but with an enthusiasm, for the whole form and substance of your own Government; and though you should think that this work, in its circulation among classes of men unequal to political researches, may tend to alienate opinions; still you cannot, *upon such grounds*, without a similar breach of duty, convict the defendant of a libel—unless he has clearly stepped beyond that extended range of communication which the same ancient wisdom and liberal policy of the British constitution has allotted for the liberty of the press.

Gentlemen, I admit, with the Attorney-General, that in every case where a court has to estimate the quality of a writing, the *mind* and *intention* of the writer must be taken into the account,—the *bona* or *mala fides*, as lawyers express it, must be examined,—for a writing may undoubtedly proceed from a motive, and be directed to a purpose, not to be deciphered by the mere construction of the thing written. But wherever a writing is arraigned as seditious or slanderous, not upon its ordinary construction in language, nor from the necessary consequences of its publication, under *any* circumstances, and at *all* times, but that the criminality springs from some *extrinsic matter*, not visible upon the page itself, nor universally operative, but capable only of being connected with it by evidence, so as to demonstrate the effect of the publication and the design of the publisher; such a writing, libellous PER SE, cannot be arraigned as the author's work is arraigned upon the record before the court.

I maintain, without the hazard of contradiction, that the law of England positively requires, for the security of the subject, that every charge of a libel complicated with *extrinsic facts and circumstances*, *dehors the writing*, must appear literally upon the record by an averment of such extrinsic facts and circumstances, that the

defendant may know what crime he is called upon to answer, and how to stand upon his defence.

What crime is it that the defendant comes to answer for to-day?—what is the notice that I, who am his counsel, have from this parchment of the crime alleged against him?

I come to defend his having written *this book*. The record states nothing else:—the general charge of sedition in the introduction is notoriously paper and packthread; because the innuendoes cannot enlarge the sense or natural construction of the text. The record does not state any one *extrinsic fact or circumstance* to render the work criminal at one time more than *another;* it states no peculiarity of time or season or intention, not provable from the writing itself, which is the naked charge upon record. There is nothing, therefore, which gives you any jurisdiction beyond the construction of the *work itself;* and you cannot be justified in finding it criminal because published at *this* time, unless it would have been a criminal publication under any circumstances, or at *any other* time.

The law of England, then, both in its forms and substance, being the only rule by which the author or the work can be justified or condemned, and the charge upon the record being the naked charge of a libel, the cause resolves itself into a question of the deepest importance to us all—THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF THE LIBERTY OF THE ENGLISH PRESS.

But before I enter upon it, I wish to fulfill a duty to the defendant, which, if I do not deceive myself, is at this moment peculiarly necessary to his impartial trial. If an advocate entertains sentiments injurious to the defence he is engaged in, he is not only justified, but bound in duty, to conceal them; so, on the other hand, if his own genuine sentiments, or anything connected

with his character or situation, can add strength to his professional assistance, he is bound to throw them into the scale. In addressing myself, therefore, to gentlemen not only zealous for the honor of English Government, but *visibly* indignant at any attack upon its principles, and who would, perhaps, be impatient of arguments from a suspected quarter, I give my client the benefit of declaring that I am, and ever have been, attached to the genuine principles of the British Government; and that, however the Court or you may reject the application, I defend him upon principles not only consistent with its permanence and security, but without the establishment of which it never could have had an existence.

The proposition which I mean to maintain as the basis of the liberty of the press, and without which it is an empty sound, is this: that every man, not intending to mislead, but seeking to enlighten others with what his own reason and conscience, however erroneously, have dictated to him as truth, may address himself to the universal reason of a whole nation, either upon the subject of governments in general, or upon that of our own particular country: that he may analyze the principles of its constitution, point out its errors and defects, examine and publish its corruptions, warn his fellow-citizens against their ruinous consequences, and exert his whole faculties in pointing out the most advantageous changes in establishments which he considers to be radically defective, or sliding from their object by abuse.

All this every subject of this country has a right to do, if he contemplates only what he thinks would be for its advantage, and but seeks to change the public mind by the conviction which flows from reasonings dictated by conscience.

If, indeed, he writes *what he does not think;* if, con-

templating the misery of others, he wickedly condemns what his own understanding approves; or, even admitting his real disgust against the Government or its corruptions, if he *calumniates living magistrates*, or holds out to individuals that they have a right to run before the public mind in their *conduct;* that they may oppose by contumacy or force what private reason only disapproves; that they may disobey the law, because their judgment condemns it; or resist the public will, because they honestly wish to change it—he is then a criminal upon every principle of rational policy, as well as upon the immemorial precedents of English justice; because such a person seeks to disunite individuals from their duty to the whole, and excites to overt acts of *misconduct* in a part of the community, instead of endeavoring to change, by the impulse of reason, that universal assent which, in this and in every country, contitutes the law for all.

I have, therefore, no difficulty in admitting that if, upon an attentive perusal of this work, it shall be found that the defendant has promulgated any doctrines which excite individuals to withdraw from their subjection to the law by which the whole nation consents to be governed; if his book shall be found to have warranted or excited that unfortunate criminal who appeared here yesterday to endeavor to relieve himself from imprisonment by the destruction of a prison, or dictated to him the language of defiance which ran through the whole of his defence; if throughout the work there shall be found any syllable or letter which strikes at the security of property, or which hints that anything less than *the whole nation* can constitute the law, or that the law, be it what it may, is not the inexorable rule of action for every individual, I willingly yield him up to the justice of the Court.

Gentlemen, I say, in the name of Thomas Paine, and in his words as author of *The Rights of Man*, as written in the very volume that is charged with seeking the destruction of property—

"The end of all political associations is the preservation of the rights of man, which rights are liberty, property, and security; that the nation is the source of all sovereignty derived from it; the right of property being secured and inviolable, no one ought to be deprived of it, except in cases of evident public necessity, legally ascertained, and on condition of a previous just indemnity."

These are undoubtedly the rights of man—the rights for which all governments are established—and the only rights Mr. Paine contends for; but which he thinks (no matter whether right or wrong) are better to be secured by a republican constitution than by the forms of the English Government. He instructs me to admit that, when government is once constituted, no individual, without rebellion, can withdraw their obedience from it; that all attempts to excite them to it are highly criminal, for the most obvious reasons of policy and justice; that nothing short of the will of a WHOLE PEOPLE can change or affect the rule by which a nation is to be governed; and that no private opinion, however honestly inimical to the forms or substance of the law, can justify resistance to its authority, while it remains in force. The author of *The Rights of Man* not only admits the truth of all this doctrine, but he consents to be convicted, and I also consent for him, unless his work shall be found studiously and painfully to inculate those great principles of government which it is charged to have been written to destroy.

Let me not, therefore, be suspected to be contending that it is lawful to write a book pointing out defects in

the English Government, and exciting individuals to destroy its sanctions, and to refuse obedience. But, on the other hand, I do contend that it is lawful to address the English nation on these momentous subjects; for had it not been for this inalienable right (thanks be to God and our fathers for establishing it!) how should we have had this constitution which we so loudly boast of? If, in the march of the human mind, no man could have gone before the establishments of the time he lived in, how could our establishment, by reiterated changes, have become what it is? If no man could have awakened the public mind to errors and abuses in our Government, how could it have passed on from stage to stage, through reformation and revolution, so as to have arrived from barbarism to such a pitch of happiness and perfection, that the Attorney-General considers it as profanation to touch it further, or to look for any further amendment?

In this manner power has reasoned in every age; Government, in *its own estimation*, has been at all times a system of perfection; but a free press has examined and detected its errors, and the people have from time to time reformed them. This freedom has alone made our Government what it is; this freedom alone can preserve it; and therefore, under the banners of that freedom, to-day I stand up to defend Thomas Paine. But how, alas! shall this task be accomplished? How may I expect from you what human nature has not made man for the performance of? How am I to address your reasons, or ask them to pause, amidst the torrent of prejudice which has hurried away the public mind on the subject you are to judge.

Was any Englishman ever so brought as a criminal before an English court of justice?

If I were to ask you, gentlemen of the jury, what is the choicest fruit that grows upon the tree of English

liberty, you would answer, SECURITY UNDER THE LAW. If I were to ask the whole people of England the return they looked for at the hands of Government for the burdens under which they bend to support it, I should still be answered, SECURITY UNDER THE LAW; or, in other words, an impartial administration of justice. So sacred, therefore, has the freedom of trial been ever held in England; so anxiously does justice guard against every possible bias in her path, that if the public mind has been locally agitated upon any subject in judgment, the forum has either been changed, or the trial postponed. The circulation of any paper that brings, or can be supposed to bring, prejudice, or even well-founded knowledge, within the reach of a British tribunal, *on the spur of an occasion*, is not only highly criminal, but defeats itself, by leading to put off the trial which its object was to pervert. On this principle, the noble and learned Judge will permit me to remind him that on the trial of the Dean of St. Asaph for a libel, or rather when he was brought to trial, the circulation of books by a society favorable to his defence was held by his Lordship, as Chief-Justice of Chester, to be a reason for not trying the cause; although they contained no matter relative to the Dean, nor to the object of his trial; being only extracts from ancient authors of high reputation on the general rights of juries to consider the innocence as well as the guilt of the accused; yet still, as the recollection of these rights was pressed forward *with a view to affect the proceedings*, the proceedings were postponed.

Is the defendant, then, to be the only exception to these admirable provisions? Is the English law to judge *him*, stripped of the armor with which its universal justice encircles *all others?* Shall we, in the very act of judging him for detracting from the English Government, furnish him with ample matter for just reproba-

tion, instead of detraction? Has not his cause been prejudged through a thousand channels? Has not the work before you been daily and publicly reviled, and his person held up to derision and reproach? Has not the public mind been excited by crying down the very phrase and idea of *The Rights of Man?* Nay, have not associations of gentlemen—I speak it with regret, because I am persuaded, from what I know of some of them, that they, amongst them at least, thought they were serving the public—yet have they not, in utter contempt and ignorance of that constitution of which they declare themselves to be the guardians, published the grossest attacks upon the defendant? Have they not, even while the cause has been standing here for immediate trial, published a direct protest against the very work now before you; advertising in the same paper, though under the general description of seditious libels, a reward on the conviction of any person who should dare to sell the book itself, to which their own publication was an answer? The Attorney-General has spoken of a forced circulation of this work; but how have these prejudging papers been circulated? We all know how. They have been thrown into our carriages in every street; they have met us at every turnpike; and they lie in the areas of all our houses. To complete the triumph of prejudice, that high tribunal of which I have the honor to be a member (my learned friends know what I say to be true) has been drawn into this vortex of slander; and some of its members—I must not speak of the House itself—have thrown the weight of their stations into the same scale. By all these means I maintain that this cause has been prejudged.

It may be said that I have made no motion to put off the trial for these causes, and that courts of themselves take no cognizance of what passes elsewhere, without

facts laid before them. Gentlemen, I know that I should have had equal justice from the Court, if I had brought myself within the rule. But when should I have been better in the present aspect of things? And I only remind you, therefore, of all these hardships, that you may recollect that your judgment is to proceed upon that alone which meets you *here*, upon *the evidence* in the cause, and not upon suggestions destructive of every principle of justice.

Having disposed of these foreign prejudices, I hope you will as little regard some arguments that have been offered to you in court. The letter which has been so repeatedly pressed upon you ought to be dismissed even from your recollection. I have already put it out of the question, as having been written long subsequent to the book, and as being a libel on the King, which no part of the information charges, and which may hereafter be prosecuted as a distinct offence. I consider that letter, besides, and indeed has always heard it treated, as a forgery, contrived to injure the merits of the cause, and embarrass *me personally* in its defence. I have a right so to consider it, because it is unsupported by anything similar at an earlier period. The defendant's whole deportment, previous to the publication, has been wholly unexceptionable: he properly desired to be given up as the author of the book if any inquiry should take place concerning it: and he is not affected in evidence, either directly or indirectly, with any illegal or suspicious conduct; not even with having uttered an indiscreet or taunting expression, nor with any one matter or thing inconsistent with the duty of the best subject in England. His *opinions* indeed were adverse to our system; but I maintain that OPINION is free, and that CONDUCT alone is amenable to the law.

You are next desired to judge of the author's mind

and intention by the modes and extent of the circulation of his work.

The FIRST part of *The Rights of Man* Mr. Attorney-General tells you he did not prosecute, although it was in circulation through the country for a year and a half together, because it seems it circulated only amongst what he styles the judicious part of the public, who possessed in their capacities and experience an antidote to the poison; but that, with regard to the SECOND part now before you, its circulation had been forced into every corner of society; had been printed and reprinted for cheapness even upon whited-brown paper, and had crept into the very nurseries of children as a wrapper for their sweetmeats.

In answer to this statement, which after all stands only upon Mr. Attorney-General's own assertion, unsupported by any kind of proof (no witness having proved the author's personal interference with the sale), I still maintain that if he had the most anxiously promoted it, the question would remain exactly THE SAME: the question would still be, whether at the time when Paine composed his work, and promoted the most extensive purchase of it, he believed or disbelieved what he had written?—and whether he contemplated the happiness or the misery of the English nation, to which it is addressed? And whichever of these intentions may be evidenced to your judgments upon reading the book itself, I confess I am utterly at a loss to comprehend how a writer can be supposed to mean something different from what he has written, by proof of an anxiety (common, I believe, to all authors) that his work should be generally read.

Remember, I am not asking your opinions of the *doctrines themselves*,—you have given them already pretty visibly since I began to address you,—but I shall

appeal not only to you, but to those who, without our leave, will hereafter judge, and without appeal, of all that we are doing to-day,—whether, upon the matter which I hasten to lay before you, you can refuse to pronounce that from his education,—from the accidents and habits of his life,—from the time and occasion of the publication,—from the circumstances attending it,—and from every line and letter of the work itself, and from all his other writings, his conscience and understanding (*no matter whether erroneously or not*) were deeply and solemnly impressed with the matters contained in his book?—that he addressed it to the reason of the nation at large, and not to the passions of individuals?—and that, in the issue of its influence, he contemplated only what appeared to *him* (*though it may not to us*) to be the interest and happiness of England, and of the whole human race?

In drawing the one or the other of these conclusions, the book stands first in order, and it shall now speak for itself.

Gentlemen, *the whole of it* is in evidence before you; the particular parts arraigned having only been read by my consent, upon the presumption that, on retiring from the court, you would carefully compare them with the context, and all the parts with the WHOLE VIEWED TOGETHER. You cannot indeed do justice without it. The most common letter, even in the ordinary course of business, cannot be read in a cause to prove an obligation for twenty shillings without THE WHOLE being read, that the writer's meaning may be seen without deception. But in a criminal charge, comprehending only four pages and a half, out of a work containing nearly two hundred, you cannot, with even the appearance of common decency, pronounce a judgment without the most deliberate and cautious comparison. I observe

that the noble and learned Judge confirms me in this observation.

If any given part of a work be legally explanatory of every other part of it, the preface, *à fortiori*, is the most material; because the preface is the author's own key to his writing: it is *there* that he takes the reader by the hand and introduces him to his subject; it is there that the spirit and intention of the whole is laid before him by way of prologue. A preface is meant by the author as a clue to ignorant or careless readers; the author says by it, to every man who chooses to begin where he ought, Look at my plan,—attend to my distinctions,—mark the purpose and limitations of the matter I lay before you.

Let, then, the calumniators of Thomas Paine now attend to his preface, where, to leave no excuse for ignorance or misrepresentation, he expresses himself thus:—

"I have differed from some professional gentlemen on the subject of prosecutions, and I since find they are falling into my opinion, which I will here state as fully but as concisely as I can.

"I will first put a case with respect to any law, and then compare it with a government, or with what in England is or has been called a constitution.

"It would be an act of despotism, or what in England is called arbitrary power, to make a law to prohibit investigating the principles, good or bad, on which such a law, or any other, is founded.

"If a law be bad, it is one thing to *oppose the practice* of it, but it is quite a different thing to *expose its errors*, to *reason* on its defects, and to *show cause* why it should be repealed, or why another ought to be substituted in its place. I have always held it an opinion (making it also my practice), that it is better to obey a bad law,

making use at the same time of every argument to show its errors and procure its repeal, than forcibly to violate it; because the precedent of breaking a bad law might weaken the force, and lead to discretionary violation, of those which are good.

"The case is the same with principles and forms of governments, or to what are called constitutions, and the parts of which they are composed.

"It is for the good of nations, and not for the emolument or aggrandizement of particular individuals, that government ought to be established, and that mankind are at the expense of supporting it. The defects of every government and constitution, both as to principle and form, must, on a parity of reasoning, be as open to discussion as the defects of a law, and it is a duty which every man owes to society to point them out. When those defects and the means of remedying them are generally seen by a NATION, THAT NATION will reform its government or its constitution in the one case as the government repealed or reformed the law in the other."

Gentlemen, you must undoubtedly wish to deal with every man who comes before you in judgment as you would be dealt by; and surely you will not lay it down to-day as a law to be binding hereafter, even upon yourselves, that if you should publish any opinion concerning existing abuses in your country's government, and point out to the whole public the means of amendment, you are to be acquitted or convicted as any twelve men may happen to agree with you in your *opinions*. Yet this is precisely what you are asked to do to another—it is precisely the case before you. Mr. Paine expressly says, I obey a law until it is repealed; obedience is not only my principle but my practice, since my disobedience of a law, from thinking it *bad*, might apply to justify another man in the disobedience of a *good one;* and thus

individuals would give the rule for themselves, and not society for all. You will presently see that the same principle pervades the whole work; and I am the more anxious to call your attention to it, however repetition may tire you, because it unfolds the whole principle of my argument; for, if you find a sentence in the whole book that invests any individual, or any number of individuals, or any community short of the WHOLE NATION, with a power of changing any part of the law or constitution, I abandon the cause,—YES, I freely abandon it, because I will not affront the majesty of a court of justice by maintaining propositions which, even upon the surface of them, are false. Mr. Paine, pages 162-168, goes on thus—

"When a NATION changes its opinion and habits of thinking, it is no longer to be governed as before; but it would not only be wrong, but bad policy, to attempt by force what ought to be accomplished by reason. Rebellion consists in forcibly opposing the general will of a nation, whether by a party or by a government. There ought, therefore, to be, in every nation, a method of occasionally ascertaining the state of public opinion with respect to government.

"There is, therefore, no power but the voluntary will of the people that has a right to act in any matter respecting a general reform; and by the same right that two persons can confer on such a subject, a thousand may. The object in all such preliminary proceedings is to find out what the GENERAL SENSE OF A NATION is, and to be governed by it. If it prefer a bad or defective government to a reform, or choose to pay ten times more taxes than there is occasion for, it has a right so to do; and, so long as the majority do not impose conditions on the minority different to what they impose on themselves, though there may be much error, there is no

injustice; neither will the error continue long. Reason and discussion will soon bring things right, however wrong they may begin. By such a process no tumult is to be apprehended. The poor, in all countries, are naturally both peaceable and grateful in all reforms in which their interest and happiness are included. It is only by neglecting and rejecting them that they become tumultuous."

Gentlemen, these are the sentiments of the author of *The Rights of Man;* and, whatever *his* opinions may be of the defects in our Government, it never can change ours concerning it, if our sentiments are just; and a writing can never be seditious, in the sense of the English law, which states that the Government leans on the UNIVERSAL WILL for its support.

This universal will is the best and securest title which his Majesty and his family have to the throne of these kingdoms; and in proportion to the wisdom of our institutions, the title must in common sense become the stronger. So little idea indeed have I of any other, that in my place in Parliament, not a week ago, I considered it as the best way of expressing my reverence to the constitution, as established at the Revolution, to declare (I believe in the presence of the Heir-Apparent to the Crown, to whom I have the greatest personal attachment), that his Majesty reigned in England by choice and consent, as the magistrate of the English people; not indeed a consent and choice by personal election, like a King of Poland—the worst of all possible constitutions; but by the election of a family for great national objects, in defiance of that hereditary right, which only becomes tyranny, in the sense of Mr. Paine, when it claims to inherit a nation, instead of governing by their consent, and continuing for its benefit. This sentiment has the advantage of Mr. Burke's high authority, who

says with great truth, in a "Letter to his Constituents:"—"Too little dependence cannot be had at this time of day on names and prejudices: the eyes of mankind are opened; and communities must be held together by a visible and solid interest." I believe, gentlemen of the jury, that the Prince of Wales will always render this title dear to the people. The Attorney-General can only tell you what he *believes* of him; I can tell you what I KNOW, and what I am bound to declare, since this Prince may be traduced in every part of the kingdom, without its coming in question, till brought in to load a defence with matter collateral to the charge. I therefore *assert* what the Attorney-General can only *hope*, that whenever that Prince shall come to the throne of this country (which I pray, but, by the course of nature, may never happen), he will make the constitution of Great Britain the foundation of all his conduct.

Having now established the author's general intention by his own introduction, which is the best and fairest exposition, let us next look at the occasion which gave it birth.

The Attorney-General throughout the whole course of his address to you (I knew it would be so), has avoided the most distant notice or hint of any circumstance having led to the appearance of the author in the political world, after a silence of so many years; he has not even pronounced, or even glanced, at the name of Mr. Burke, but has left you to take it for granted that the defendant volunteered this delicate and momentous subject, and, without being led to it by the provocation of political controversy, had seized a favorable moment to stigmatize, from mere malice, and against his own confirmed opinions, the constitution of this country.

Gentlemen, my learned friend knows too well my respect and value for him to suppose that I am charging

him with willful suppression; I know him to be incapable of it; he knew it would come from me. He will permit me, however, to lament that it should have been left for me to inform you, at this late period of the cause, that not only the work before you, but the first part, of which it is a natural continuation, were written, *avowedly and upon the face of them*, IN ANSWER TO MR. BURKE. They were written, besides, under circumstances to be explained hereafter, in the course of which explanation I may have occasion to cite a few passages from the works of that celebrated person. And I shall speak of him with the highest respect; for, with whatever contempt he may delight to look down upon my humble talents, however he may disparage the principles which direct my public conduct, he shall never force me to forget the regard which this country owes to him for the writings which he has left upon record as an inheritance to our most distant posterity. After the gratitude which we owe to God for the divine gifts of reason and understanding, our next thanks are due to those from the fountains of whose enlightened minds they are fed and fructified. But pleading, as I do, the cause of freedom of opinions, I shall not give offence by remarking that this great author has been thought to have changed some of his; and, if Thomas Paine had not thought so, I should not now be addressing you, because the book which is my subject would never have been written. Who may be right and who in the wrong, in the contention of doctrines, I have repeatedly disclaimed to be the question. I can only say that Mr. Paine may be right THROUGHOUT, but that Mr. Burke CANNOT. Mr. Paine has been UNIFORM in *his* opinions, but Mr. Burke HAS NOT. Mr. Burke can only be right in part; but should Mr. Paine be even mistaken in the whole, still I am not removed from the principle of his defence. My

defence has nothing to do with the rectitude of his doctrines. I admit Mr. Paine to be a republican; you shall soon see what made him one. I do not seek to shade or qualify his attack upon our constitution; I put my defence on no such matter. He undoubtedly means to declare it to be defective in its forms, and contaminated with abuses which, in his judgment, will, one day or other, bring on the ruin of us all. It is in vain to mince the matter; this is the scope of his work. But still, if it contain no attack upon the King's Majesty, nor upon any other LIVING MAGISTRATE; if it excite to no resistance to magistracy, but, on the contrary, if it even studiously inculcate obedience, then, whatever may be its defects, the question continues as before, and ever must remain, an unmixed question of the liberty of the press. I have therefore considered it as no breach of professional duty, nor injurious to the cause I am defending, to express my own admiration of the real principles of our constitution,—a constitution which I hope may never give way to any other,—a constitution which has been productive of many benefits, and which will produce many more hereafter, if we have wisdom enough to pluck up the weeds that grow in the richest soils and amongst the brightest flowers. I agree with the merchants of London, in a late declaration, that the English Government is equal to the reformation of its own abuses; and, as an inhabitant of the city, I would have signed it, if I had known, *of my own knowledge*, the facts recited in its preamble. But abuses the English constitution unquestionably has, which call loudly for reformation, the existence of which has been the theme of our greatest statesmen, which have too plainly formed the principles of the defendant, and may have led to the very conjuncture which produced his book.

Gentlemen, we all but too well remember the calam-

itous situation in which our country stood but a few years ago—a situation which no man can look back upon without horror, nor feel himself safe from relapsing into again, while the causes remain which produced it. The event I allude to you must know to be the American War, and the still existing causes of it, the corruptions of this Government. In those days it was not thought virtue by the patriots of England to conceal the existence of them from the people; but then, as now, authority condemned them as disaffected subjects, and defeated the ends they sought by their promulgation.

Hear the opinion of Sir George Saville—not his speculative opinion concerning the structure of our Government in the *abstract*, but his opinion of the settled abuses which prevailed in *his own time*, and which continue at *this moment*. But first let me remind you who Sir George Saville was. I fear we shall hardly look upon his like again. How shall I describe him to you? In my own words I cannot. I was lately commended by Mr. Burke in the House of Commons for strengthening my own language by an appeal to Dr. Johnson. Were the honorable gentleman present at this moment he would no doubt doubly applaud my choice in resorting to *his own works* for the description of Sir George Saville.

"His fortune is amongst the largest; a fortune which, wholly unencumbered as it is, without one single charge from luxury, vanity, or excess, sinks under the benevolence of its dispenser. This private benevolence, expanding itself into patriotism, renders his whole being the estate of the public, in which he has not reserved a *peculium* for himself of profit, diversion, or relaxation. During the session, the first in and the last out of the House of Commons, he passes from the senate to the camp; and seldom seeing the seat of his ancestors, he is

always in Parliament to serve his country, or in the field to defend it."

It is impossible to ascribe to such a character any principle but patriotism, when he expressed himself as follows :—

"I return to you baffled and dispirited, and I am sorry that truth obliges me to add, with hardly a ray of hope of seeing any change in the miserable course of public calamities.

"On this melancholy day of account, in rendering up to you my trust, I deliver to you your share of a country maimed and weakened ; its treasure lavished and misspent ; its honors faded ; and its conduct the laughing-stock of Europe : our nation in a manner without allies or friends, except such as we have hired to destroy our fellow-subjects, and to ravage a country in which we once claimed an invaluable share. I return to you some of your principal privileges impeached and mangled. And, lastly, I leave you, as I conceive, at this hour and moment, fully, effectually, and absolutely under the discretion and power of a military force, which is to act without waiting for the authority of the civil magistrates.

"Some have been accused of exaggerating the public misfortunes, nay, of having endeavored to help forward the mischief, that they might afterwards raise discontents. I am willing to hope that neither my temper nor my situation in life will be thought naturally to urge me to promote misery, discord, or confusion, or to exult in the subversion of order, or in the ruin of property. I have no reason to contemplate with pleasure the poverty of our country, the increase of our debts and of our taxes, or the decay of our commerce. Trust not, however, to my report : reflect, compare and judge for yourselves.

"But, under all these disheartening circumstances, I

could yet entertain a cheerful hope, and undertake again the commission with alacrity, as well as zeal, if I could see any effectual steps taken to remove the original cause of the mischief. 'Then would there be a hope.'

"But till the purity of the constituent body, and thereby that of the representative, be restored, there is NONE.

"I gladly embrace this most public opportunity of delivering my sentiments, not only to all my constituents, but to those likewise not my constituents, whom yet, in the large sense, I represent, and am faithfully to serve.

"I look upon restoring election and representation in some degree (for I expect no miracles) to their original purity, to be that, without which all other efforts will be vain and ridiculous.

"If something be not done, you may, indeed, retain the OUTWARD FORM of your constitution, but not the POWER thereof."

Such were the words of that great, good man, lost with those of many others of his time, and his fame, as far as power could hurt it, put in the shade along with them. The consequences we have all seen and felt: America, from an obedient, affectionate colony, became an independent nation; and two millions of people, nursed in the very lap of our monarchy, became the willing subjects of a republican constitution.

Gentlemen, in that great and calamitous conflict Edmund Burke and Thomas Paine fought in the same field of reason together, but with very different successes. Mr. Burke spoke to a Parliament in England, such as Sir George Saville describes it, having no ears but for sounds that flattered its corruptions. Mr. Paine, on the other hand, spoke TO A PEOPLE, reasoned with them, told them that they were bound by no subjection to any

sovereignty, further than their own benefit connected them; and by these powerful arguments prepared the minds of the American people for that GLORIOUS, JUST, and HAPPY revolution.

Gentlemen, I have a right to distinguish it by these epithets, because I aver that at this moment there is as sacred a regard to property, as inviolable a security to all the rights of individuals, lower taxes, fewer grievances, less to deplore, and more to admire, in the constitution of America, than that of any other country under heaven. I wish indeed to except our own, but I cannot even do that, till it shall be purged of those abuses which, though they obscure and deform the surface, have not as yet, *thank God*, destroyed the vital parts.

Why then is Mr. Paine to be calumniated and reviled, because, out of a people consisting of near three millions, *he alone* did not remain attached *in opinion* to a monarchy? Remember that all the blood which was shed in America, and to which he was for years a melancholy and indignant witness, was shed by the authority of the Crown of Great Britain, under the influence of a Parliament such as Sir George Saville has described it, and such as Mr. Burke himself will be called upon by and by in more glowing colors to paint it. How, then, can it be wondered at that Mr. Paine should return to this country in his heart a republican? Was he not equally a republican when he wrote *Common Sense?* Yet that volume has been sold without restraint or prosecution in every shop in England ever since, and which nevertheless (*I appeal to the book, which I have in Court, and which is in everybody's hands*) contains every one principle of government, and every abuse in the British constitution, which is to be found in *The Rights of Man.* Yet Mr. Burke himself saw no reason to be alarmed at that publication, nor to cry down its contents, even when

America, which was swayed by it, was in arms against the Crown of Great Britain. You shall hear his opinion of it in his Letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol, pages 33 and 34.

"The *Court Gazette* accomplished what the abettors of independence had attempted in vain. When that disingenuous compilation, and strange medley of railing and flattery, was adduced as a proof of the united sentiments of the people of Great Britain, there was a great change throughout all America. The tide of popular affection, which had still set towards the parent country, began immediately to turn, and to flow with great rapidity in a contrary course. Far from concealing these wild declarations of enmity, *the author of the celebrated pamphlet* which prepared the minds of the people for independence*, insists largely on the multitude and the spirit of these addresses; and draws an argument from them which (if the fact were as he supposes) must be irresistible; for I never knew a writer on the theory of government so partial to authority as not to allow that the hostile mind of the rulers to their people did fully justify a change of government; nor can any reason whatever be given why one people should voluntarily yield any degree of pre-eminence to another, but on a supposition of great affection and benevolence towards them. Unfortunately, your rulers, trusting to other things, took no notice of this great principle of connection."

Such were the sentiments of Mr. Burke; but there is a time, it seems, for all things.

Gentlemen, the consequences of this mighty revolution are too notorious to require illustration. No audience would sit to *hear* (what everybody has *seen* and *felt*), how the independence of America notoriously produced,

* *Common Sense*, written by Thomas Paine in America.

not by remote and circuitous effect, but directly and palpably, the revolutions which now agitate Europe, and which portend such mighty changes over the face of the earth. Let governments take warning. The revolution in France was the consequence of her incurably corrupt and profligate Government. God forbid that I should be thought to lean, by this declaration, upon her unfortunate monarch, bending perhaps at this moment under afflictions which my heart sinks within me to think of: when I speak with detestation of the former politics of the French court, I fasten as little of them upon that fallen and unhappy prince, as I impute to our gracious Sovereign the corruptions of our own. I desire, indeed, in the distinctest manner, to be understood that I mean to speak of his Majesty, not only with that obedience and duty which I owe to him as a subject, but with that justice which I think is due to him from all men who examine his conduct either in public or private life.

Gentlemen, Mr. Paine happened to be in England when the French Revolution took place; and notwithstanding what he must be supposed and allowed from his own history to have felt upon such a subject, he remained wholly silent and inactive. The people of this country, too, appeared to be indifferent spectators of the animating scene. They saw, without visible emotion, despotism destroyed, and the King of France, by his own consent, become the first magistrate of a free people. Certainly, at least, it produced none of those effects which are so deprecated by Government at present; nor, most probable, ever would, if it had not occurred to the celebrated person whose name I must so often mention voluntarily to provoke the subject—a subject which, if dangerous to be discussed, HE should not have led to the discussion of; for surely it is not to be endured that any

private man shall publish a creed for a whole nation; shall tell us that we are not to think for ourselves, shall impose his own fetters upon the human mind, shall dogmatize at discretion, and yet that no man shall sit down to answer him without being guilty of a libel. I assert that if it be a libel to mistake our constitution, to attempt the support of it by means that tend to destroy it, and to choose the most dangerous season for doing so, Mr. Burke is that libeller; but not therefore the object of a criminal prosecution: whilst I am defending the motives of one man, I have neither right nor disposition to criminate the motives of another. All I contend for is a fact that cannot be controverted—viz., that *this officious interference was the origin of Mr. Paine's book.* I put my cause upon its being the origin of it—the avowed origin—as will abundantly appear from the introduction and preface to both parts, and from the whole body of the work; nay, from the very work of Mr. Burke himself, to which both of them are answers.

For the history of that celebrated work, I appeal to itself.

When the French Revolution had arrived at some of its early stages, a few, and but a few, persons (not to be named when compared with the nation) took a visible interest in these mighty events—an interest well worthy of Englishmen. They saw a pernicious system of government which had led to desolating wars, and had been for ages the scourge of Great Britain, giving way to a system which seemed to promise harmony and peace amongst nations. They saw this with virtuous and peaceable satisfaction; and a reverend divine,* eminent for his eloquence, recollecting that the issues of life are in the hands of God, saw no profaneness in mixing the subject with public thanksgiving, by reminding the

* Dr. Price.

people of this country of their own glorious deliverance in former ages. It happened, also, that a society of gentlemen, France being then a neutral nation, and her own monarch swearing almost daily upon her altars to maintain the new constitution, thought they infringed no law by sending a general congratulation. Their members, indeed, were very inconsiderable; so much so, that Mr. Burke, with more truth than wisdom, begins his volume with a sarcasm upon their insignificance:—

"Until very lately he had never heard of such a club. It certainly never occupied a moment of his thoughts; nor, he believed, those of any person out of their own set."

Why then make their proceedings the subject of alarm throughout England? There had been no prosecution against them, nor any charge founded even upon suspicion of disaffection against any of their body. But Mr. Burke thought it was reserved for his eloquence to whip these curs of faction to their kennels. How he has succeeded, I appeal to all that has happened since the introduction of his schism in the British Empire, by giving to the King, whose title was questioned by no man, a title which it is his Majesty's most solemn interest to disclaim.

After having, in his first work, lashed Dr. Price in a strain of eloquent irony for considering the monarchy to be elective, which he could not but know Dr. Price, *in the literal sense of election*, neither did nor could possibly consider it, Mr. Burke published a second treatise; in which, after reprinting many passages from Mr. Paine's former work, he ridicules and denies the supposed right of the people to change their governments, in the following words:—

"The French Revolution, *say they*" (speaking of the English societies), was the act of the majority of the

people; and if the majority of any other people, *the people of England for instance*, wish to make the same change, they have the same right; just the same undoubtedly; that is, none *at all.*"

And then, after speaking of the subserviency of will to duty (in which I agree with him), he, in a substantive sentence, maintains the same doctrine, thus:—

"The constitution of a country being once settled upon some compact, tacit or expressed, there is no power existing of force to alter it, without the breach of the covenant, or the consent of all the parties. Such is the nature of a contract."

So that if reason, or even revelation itself, were now to demonstrate to us that our constitution was mischievous in its effects—if, to use Mr. Attorney-General's expression, we had been insane for the many centuries we have supported it; yet that still, if the King had not forfeited his title to the Crown, nor the Lords their privileges, *the universal voice of the people of England* could not build up a new government upon a legitimate basis.

Passing by, for the present, the absurdity of such a proposition, and supposing it could, beyond all controversy, be maintained; for Heaven's sake, let wisdom never utter it! Let policy and prudence for ever conceal it! If you seek the stability of the English Government, rather put the book of Mr. Paine, which calls it bad, into every hand in the kingdom, than doctrines which bid human nature rebel even against that which is the best. Say to the people of England, Look at your constitution, there it lies before you—the work of your pious fathers,—handed down as a sacred deposit from generation to generation,—the result of wisdom and virtue,—and its parts cemented together with kindred blood: there are, indeed, a few spots upon its surface;

but the same principle which reared the structure will brush them all away. You may preserve your Government—you may destroy it. To such an address, what would be the answer? A chorus of the nation—YES, WE WILL PRESERVE IT. But say to the *same* nation, even of the very *same* constitution, It is yours, such as it is, for better or for worse;—it is strapped upon your backs, to carry it as beasts of burden,—you have no jurisdiction to cast it off. Let *this* be your position, and you instantly raise up (I appeal to every man's consciousness of his own nature) a spirit of uneasiness and discontent. It is this spirit alone that has pointed most of the passages arraigned before you.

But let the prudence of Mr. Burke's argument be what it may, the argument itself is untenable. His Majesty undoubtedly was not elected to the throne. No man can be supposed, in the teeth of fact, to have contended it;—but did not the people of England elect King William, and break the hereditary succession?—and does not his Majesty's title grow out of that election? It is one of the charges against the defendant, his having denied the Parliament which called the Prince of Orange to the throne to have been a legal convention of the whole people; and is not the very foundation of that charge that it *was* such a legal convention, and that it was intended to be so. And *if it was so*, did not the people then confer the Crown upon King William without any regard to hereditary right? Did they not cut off the Prince of Wales, who stood directly in the line of succession, and who had incurred no personal forfeiture? Did they not give their deliverer an estate in the Crown totally new and unprecedented in the law or history of the country? And, lastly, might they not, by the same authority, have given the royal inheritance to the family of a stranger? Mr. Justice

Blackstone, in his *Commentaries*, asserts in terms *that they might;* and ascribes their choice of King William, and the subsequent limitations of the Crown, not to want of jurisdiction, but to their true origin, to prudence and discretion in not disturbing a valuable institution further than public safety and necessity dictated.

The English Government stands then on this public consent, the true root of all governments. And I agree with Mr. Burke that, while it is well administered, it is not in the power of factions or libels to disturb it; though, when ministers are in fault, they are sure to set down all disturbances to these causes. This is most justly and eloquently exemplified in his own *Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents*, pages 5 and 6:—

"Ministers contend that no adequate provocation has been given for so spreading a discontent, our affairs having been conducted throughout with remarkable temper and consummate wisdom. The wicked industry of some libellers, joined to the intrigues of a few disappointed politicians, have, in their opinion, been able to produce this unnatural ferment in the nation.

"Nothing, indeed, can be more unnatural than the present convulsions of this country, if the above account be a true one. I confess I shall assent to it with great reluctance, and only on the compulsion of the clearest and firmest proofs; because their account resolves itself into this short but discouraging proposition: 'That we have a very good Ministry, but that we are a very bad people;' that we set ourselves to bite the hand that feeds us; and, with a malignant insanity, oppose the measures and ungratefully vilify the persons of those whose sole object is our own peace and prosperity. If a few puny libelers, acting under a knot of factious politicians, without virtue, parts, or character (for such they are constantly represented by these gentlemen), are

sufficient to excite this disturbance, very perverse must be the disposition of that people amongst whom such a disturbance can be excited by such means."

He says true ; never were serious disturbances excited by such means !

But to return to the argument. Let us now see how the rights of the people stand upon authorities. Let us examine whether this great source of government insisted on by Thomas Paine be not maintained by persons on whom my friend will find it difficult to fasten the character of libelers.

I shall begin with the most modern author on the subject of government—whose work lies spread out before me, as it often does at home for my delight and instruction in my leisure hours. I have also the honor of his personal acquaintance. He is a man, perhaps more than any other, devoted to the real constitution of this country, as will be found throughout his valuable work ; he is a person, besides, of great learning, which enabled him to infuse much useful knowledge into my learned friend now near me, who introduced me to him.* I speak of Mr. Paley, Archdeacon of Carlisle, and of his work *The Principles of Political and Moral Philosophy*, in which he investigates the first principles of all governments—a discussion not thought dangerous *till lately*. I hope we shall soon get rid of this ridiculous panic.

Mr. Paley professes to think of governments what the Christian religion was thought of by its first teachers—"*If it be of God, it will stand;*" and he puts the duty of obedience to them upon free will and moral duty. After dissenting from Mr. Locke as to the origin of governments in compact, he says—

"Wherefore, rejecting the intervention of a compact as unfounded in its principle, and dangerous in the

* Lord Ellenborough, then Mr. Law.

application, we assign for the only ground of the subjects' obligation, THE WILL OF GOD, AS COLLECTED FROM EXPEDIENCY.

"The steps by which the argument proceeds are few and direct. 'It is the will of God that the happiness of human life be promoted;'—this is the first step, and the foundation, not only of this, but of every moral conclusion. 'Civil society conduces to that end;'—this is the second proposition. 'Civil societies cannot be upheld unless in each the interest of the whole society be binding upon every part and member of it;'—this is the third step, and conducts us to the conclusion,—namely, 'That, so long as the interest of the whole society requires it (that is, so long as the established government cannot be resisted or changed without public inconveniency), it is the will of God (which will universally determines our duty) that the established government be obeyed,'—*and no longer.*

"But who shall judge of this? We answer, '*Every man for himself.*' In contentions between the sovereign and the subject, the parties acknowledge no common arbitrator; and it would be absurd to commit the decision to those whose conduct has provoked the question, and whose own interest, authority, and fate are immediately concerned in it. The danger of error and abuse is no objection to the rule of expediency, because every other rule is liable to the same or greater; and every rule that can be propounded upon the subject (like all rules which appeal to or bind the conscience) must, in the application, depend upon private judgment. It may be observed, however, that it ought equally to be accounted the exercise of a man's private judgment, whether he determines by reasonings and conclusions of his own, or submits to be directed by the advice of others, provided he be free to choose his guide."

He then proceeds in a manner rather inconsistent with the principles entertained by my learned friend in his opening to you—

"No usage, law, or authority whatever, is so binding that it need or ought to be continued when it may be changed with advantage to the community. The family of the Prince—the order of succession—the prerogative of the crown—the form and parts of the legislature—together with the respective powers, office, duration, and mutual dependency of the several parts,—are all only so many laws, mutable, like other laws, whenever expediency requires, either by the ordinary act of the legislature, or, if the occasion deserve it, BY THE INTERPOSITION OF THE PEOPLE."

No man can say that Mr. Paley intended to diffuse discontent by this declaration. He must, therefore, be taken to think with me, that freedom and affection, and the sense of advantage, are the best and the only supports of government. On the same principle he then goes on to say—"These points are wont to be approached with a kind of awe; they are represented to the mind as principles of the constitution, settled by our ancestors; and, being settled, to be no more committed to innovation or debate; as foundations never to be stirred; as the terms and conditions of the social compact, to which every citizen of the state has engaged his fidelity by virtue of a promise which he cannot now recall. Such reasons have no place in our system.

These are the sentiments of this excellent author; and there is no part of Mr. Paine's work, from the one end of it to the other, that advances any other proposition.

But the Attorney-General will say these are the grave speculative opinions of a friend to the English Government, whereas Mr. Paine is its professed enemy; what then? The principle is, that every man, while he obeys

the law, is to think for himself, and to communicate what he thinks. The very ends of society exact this license, and the policy of the law, in its provisions for its security, has tacitly sanctioned it. The real fact is, that writings against a free and well-proportioned government need not be guarded against by laws. They cannot often exist, and never with effect. The just and lawful principles of society are rarely brought forward but when they are insulted or denied, or abused in practice. Mr. Locke's Essay on Government we owe to Sir Robert Filmer, as we owe Mr. Paine's to Mr. Burke; indeed, between the arguments of Filmer and Burke I see no essential difference, since it is not worth disputing whether a king exists by *divine* right or by *indissoluble human* compact, if he exists whether we will or no. If his existence be without our consent, and is to continue without benefit, it matters not whether his title be from God or from man.

That his title is from man, and from every generation of man, without regard to the determination of former ones, hear from Mr. Locke:—"*All men*," say they (*i.e.*, Filmer and his adherents), "*are* BORN *under government, and therefore they cannot be at liberty to begin a new one. Every one is born a subject to his father, or his Prince, and is therefore under the perpetual tie of subjection and allegiance.* It is plain mankind never owned nor considered any such natural *subjection that they were born in*, to one or the other, that tied them, without their own consents, to a subjection to them and their heirs.

"It is true that whatever engagements or promises any one has made for himself, he is under the obligation of them, but cannot, by any compact whatsoever, bind his children or posterity; for his son, when a man, being altogether as free as his father, any *act of the*

father can no more give away the liberty of the son than it can of anybody else."

So much for Mr. Locke's opinion of the rights of man. Let us now examine his ideas of the supposed danger of trusting him with them.

"Perhaps it will be said that—the people being ignorant, and always discontented—to lay the foundation of government in the unsteady opinion and uncertain humor of the people is to expose it to certain ruin; and no government will be able long to subsist if the people may set up a new legislature whenever they take offence at the old one. To this I answer, Quite the contrary; people are not so easily got out of their old forms as some are apt to suggest; they are hardly to be prevailed with to amend the acknowledged faults in the frame they have been accustomed to; and if there be any original defects, or adventitious ones, introduced by time or corruption, it is not an easy thing to be changed, even when all the world sees there an opportunity for it. This slowness and aversion in the people to quit their old constitutions has, in the many revolutions which have been seen in this kingdom in this and former ages, still kept us to, or, after some interval of fruitless attempts, still brought us back again, to our old legislative of kings, lords, and commons; and whatever provocations have made the crown be taken from some of our princes' heads, they never carried the people so far as to place it in another line."

Gentlemen, I wish I had strength to go on with all that follows; but I have read enough, not only to maintain the true principles of government, but to put to shame the narrow system of distrusting the people.

It may be said that Mr. Locke went great lengths in his positions to beat down the contrary doctrine of divine right, which was then endangering the new

establishment. But that cannot be objected to David Hume, who maintains the same doctrine. Speaking of the Magna Charta in his History, vol. ii., page 88, he says, "It must be confessed that the former articles of the great charter contain such mitigations and explanations of the feudal law as are reasonable and equitable; and that the latter involve all the chief outlines of a legal government, and provide for the equal distribution of justice and free enjoyment of property; the great object for which political society was founded by men, *which the people have a perpetual and unalienable right to recall; and which no time, nor precedent, nor statute, nor positive institution, ought to deter them from keeping ever uppermost in their thoughts and attention.*"

These authorities are sufficient to rest on; yet I cannot omit Mr. Burke himself, who is, if possible, still more distinct on the subject. Speaking not of the ancient people of England, but of colonies planted almost within our memories, he says, "If there be one fact in the world perfectly clear, it is this, that the disposition of the people of America is wholly averse to any other than a free government; and this is indication enough to any honest statesman how he ought to adapt whatever power he finds in his hands to their case. If any ask me what a free government is, I answer, THAT IT IS WHAT THE PEOPLE THINK SO; AND THAT THEY, AND NOT I, ARE THE NATURAL, LAWFUL, AND COMPETENT JUDGES OF THIS MATTER. If they practically allow me a greater degree of authority over them than is consistent with any correct ideas of perfect freedom, I ought to thank them for so great a trust, and not to endeavor to prove from thence that they have reasoned amiss; and that, having gone so far, by analogy, they must hereafter have no enjoyment but by my pleasure."

Gentlemen, all that I have been stating hitherto has

been only to show that there is not that *novelty* in the opinions of the defendant as to lead you to think he does not *bona fide* entertain them, much less when connected with the history of his life, which I therefore brought in review before you. But still the great question remains unargued; Had he a right to promulgate these opinions? If he entertained them, I shall argue that he had; and although my arguments upon the liberty of the press may not to-day be honored with your or the Court's approbation, I shall retire not at all disheartened, consoling myself with the reflection that a season may arrive for their reception. The most essential liberties of mankind have been but slowly and gradually received; and so very late indeed do some of them come to maturity that, notwithstanding the Attorney-General tells you that the very question I am now agitating is most peculiarly for *your* consideration, AS A JURY under our ANCIENT constitution, yet I must remind both YOU and HIM that your jurisdiction to consider and deal with it at all in judgment is but A YEAR OLD. Before that late period I ventured to maintain this very RIGHT OF A JURY over the question of libel under the same *ancient* constitution (I do not mean before the noble Judge now present, for the matter was gone to rest in the courts long before he came to sit where he does, but) before a noble and reverend magistrate of the most exalted understanding, and of the most uncorrupted integrity.* He treated me not with contempt, indeed, for of that his nature was incapable, but he put me aside with indulgence, as you do a child while it is lisping its prattle out of season; and if this cause had been tried *then*, instead of *now*, the defendant must have been instantly convicted on the proof of the publication, whatever *you* might have thought of his case. Yet I have lived to see it resolved, by an almost

* Earl of Mansfield.

unanimous vote of the whole Parliament of England, that I had all along been in the right. If this be not an awful lesson of caution concerning opinions, where are such lessons to be read?

Gentlemen, I have insisted, at great length, upon the origin of governments, and detailed the authorities which you have heard upon the subject, because I consider it to be not only an essential support, but the very foundation of the liberty of the press. If Mr. Burke be right in HIS principles of government, I admit that the press, in my sense of its freedom, ought not to be free, *nor free in any sense at all;* and that all addresses to the people upon the subject of government, and all speculations of amendment, of what kind or nature soever, are illegal and criminal, since, if the people have, without possible recall, delegated all their authorities, they have no jurisdiction to act, and therefore none to think or write upon such subjects; and it would be a libel to arraign government, or any of its acts, before those who have no jurisdiction to correct them. But, on the other hand, as it is a settled rule in the law of England that the subject may always address a competent jurisdiction, no legal argument can shake the freedom of the press, in my sense of it, if I am supported in my doctrines concerning the great unalienable right of the people, to reform or to change their governments.

It is because the liberty of the press resolves itself into this great issue that it has been, in every country, the last liberty which subjects have been able to wrest from power. Other liberties are held *under* governments but the liberty of opinion keeps GOVERNMENTS THEMSELVES in due subjection to their duties. This has produced the martyrdom of truth in every age, and the world has been only purged from ignorance with the innocent blood of those who have enlightened it.

Gentlemen, my strength and time are wasted, and I can only make this melancholy history pass like a shadow before you.

I shall begin with the grand type and example.

The universal God of nature, the Saviour of mankind, the Fountain of all light, who came to pluck the world from eternal darkness, expired upon a cross—the scoff of infidel scorn; and His blessed apostles followed Him in the train of martyrs. When He came in the flesh, He might have come like the Mahometan prophet, as a powerful sovereign, and propagated His religion with an unconquerable sword, which even now, after the lapse of ages, is but slowly advancing under the influence of reason over the face of the earth; but such a process would have been inconsistent with His mission, which was to confound the pride, and to establish the universal rights of men. He came, therefore, in that lowly state which is represented in the gospel, and preached His consolations to the poor.

When the foundation of this religion was discovered to be invulnerable and immortal, we find political power taking the Church into partnership; thus began the corruptions, both of religion and civil power; and, hand in hand together, what havoc have they not made in the world?—ruling by ignorance and the persecution of truth; but this very persecution only hastened the revival of letters and liberty. Nay, you will find that in the exact proportion that knowledge and learning have been beat down and fettered, they have destroyed the governments which bound them. The Court of Star Chamber, the first restriction of the press of England, was erected previous to all the great changes in the constitution. From that moment, no man could legally write without an imprimatur from the State; but truth and freedom found their way with greater force through secret chan-

nels; and the unhappy Charles, *unwarned by a free press*, was brought to an ignominious death. When men can freely communicate their thoughts and their sufferings, real or imaginary, their passions spend themselves in air, like gunpowder scattered upon the surface; but, pent up by terrors, they work unseen, burst forth in a moment, and destroy everything in their course. *Let reason be opposed to reason, and argument to argument, and every good government will be safe.*

The usurper, Cromwell, pursued the same system of restraint in support of his government, and the end of it speedily followed.

At the restoration of Charles II. the Star Chamber Ordinance of 1637 was worked up into an Act of Parliament, and was followed up during that reign, and the short one that followed it, by the most sanguinary prosecutions. But what fact in history is more notorious than that this blind and contemptible policy prepared and hastened the Revolution? At that great era these cobwebs were all brushed away. The freedom of the press was regenerated, and the country, ruled by its affections, has since enjoyed a century of tranquillity and glory. Thus I have maintained by English history that, in proportion as the press has been free, English government has been secure.

Gentlemen, the same important truth may be illustrated by great authorities. Upon a subject of this kind resort can not be had to law cases. The ancient law of England knew nothing of such libels; they began, and should have ended, with the Star Chamber. What writings are slanderous of *individuals* must be looked for where these prosecutions are recorded; but upon *general* subjects we must go to *general* writers. If, indeed, I were to refer to obscure authors, I might be answered that my very authorities were libels, instead of

justifications or examples; but this cannot be said with effect of great men, whose works are classics in our language, taught in our schools, and repeatedly printed under the eye of Government.

I shall begin with the poet Milton, a great authority in all learning. It may be said, indeed, he was a republican, but that would only prove that republicanism is not incompatible with virtue. It may be said, too, that the work which I cite was written against previous licensing, which is not contended for to-day. But if every work were to be adjudged a libel which was adverse to the wishes of Government, or to the opinions of those who may compose it, the revival of a licenser would be a security to the public. If I present my book to a magistrate appointed by law, and he rejects it, I have only to forbear from the publication. In the forbearance I am safe; and he too is answerable to law for the abuse of his authority. But, upon the argument of to-day, a man must print at his peril, without any guide to the principles of judgment upon which his work may be afterwards prosecuted and condemned. Milton's argument therefore applies, and was meant to apply, to every interruption to writing, which, while they oppress the individual, endanger the State.

"We have them not," says Milton, "that can be heard of, from any ancient state, or policy, or church, nor by any statute left us by our ancestors, elder or later, nor from the modern custom of any reformed city, or church abroad; but from the most anti-christian council, and the most tyrannous inquisition that ever existed. Till *then*, books were ever as freely admitted into the world as any other birth; *the issue of the brain was no more stifled than the issue of the womb.*

"To the pure all things are pure; not only meats and drinks, but all kind of knowledge, whether good or evil.

The knowledge cannot defile, nor consequently the books, if the will and conscience be not defiled.

"Bad books serve in many respects to discover, to confute, to forewarn, and to illustrate. Whereof, what better witness can we expect I should produce than one of your own, now sitting in Parliament, the chief of learned men reputed in this land, *Mr. Selden*, whose volume of natural and national laws proves, not only by great authorities brought together, but by equisite reasons and theorems almost mathematically demonstrative, that all opinions, YEA, ERRORS, known, read, and collated, are of main service and assistance toward the speedy attainment of what is truest.

"Opinions and understanding are not such wares as to be monopolized and traded in by tickets, and statutes, and standards. We must not think to make a staple commodity of all the knowledge in the land to mark and license it like our broadcloth and our woolpacks.

"Nor is it to the common people less than a reproach; for if we be so jealous over them that we cannot trust them with an English pamphlet, what do we but censure them for a giddy, vicious, and ungrounded people; in such a sick and weak estate of faith and discretion as to be able to take nothing down but through the pipe of a licenser? That this is care or love of them we cannot pretend.

"Those corruptions which it seeks to prevent break in faster at doors which cannot be shut. To prevent men thinking and acting for themselves by restraints on the press is like to the exploits of that gallant man who thought to pound up the crows by shutting his park gate.

"This obstructing violence meets, for the most part, with an event utterly opposite to the end which it drives at. Instead of suppressing books, it raises them and

invests them with a reputation. The punishment of wits enhances their authority, saith the Viscount St. Albans, and a forbidden writing is thought to be a certain spark of truth that flies up in the face of them who seek to tread it out."

He then adverts to his visit to the famous Galileo, whom he found and visited in the Inquisition, "for not thinking in astronomy with the Franciscan and Dominican monks." And what event ought more deeply to interest and affect us? THE VERY LAWS OF NATURE were to bend under the rod of a licenser. This illustrious astronomer ended his life within the bars of a prison, because, in seeing the phases of Venus through his newly-invented telescope, he pronounced that she shone with borrowed light, and from the sun as the centre of the universe. This was the *mighty crime*, the placing the sun in the centre: that sun which now inhabits it upon the foundation of mathematical truth, which enables us to traverse the pathless ocean, and to carry our line and rule amongst other worlds, which, but for Galileo, we had never known, perhaps even to the recesses of an infinite and eternal God.

Milton then, in his most eloquent address to the Parliament, puts the liberty of the press on its true and most honorable foundation:—

"Believe it, Lords and Commons, they who counsel ye to such a suppressing of books, do as good as bid you suppress yourselves, and I will soon show how.

"If it be desired to know the immediate cause of all this free writing and free speaking, there cannot be assigned a truer than your own mild, and free, and humane government. It is the liberty, Lords and Commons, which your own valorous and happy counsels have purchased us; liberty, which is the nurse of all great wits. This is that which hath rarefied and enlight-

ened our spirits like the influence of heaven. This is that which hath enfranchised, enlarged, and lifted up our apprehensions degrees above themselves. Ye cannot make us now less capable, less knowing, less eagerly pursuing the truth, unless ye first make yourselves that made us so less the lovers, less the founders, of our true liberty. We can grow ignorant again, brutish, formal, and slavish, as ye found us; but you then must first become that which ye cannot be, oppressive, arbitrary, and tyrannous, as they were from whom ye have freed us. That our hearts are now more capacious, our thoughts now more erected to the search and expectation of greatest and exactest things, is the issue of your own virtue propagated in us. Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely, according to conscience, above all liberties."

Gentlemen, I will yet refer you to another author, whose opinion you may think more in point, as having lived in our own times, and as holding the highest monarchical principles of government. I speak of Mr. Hume, who, nevertheless, considers that this liberty of the press extends not only to abstract speculation, but to keep the public on their guard against all the acts of their Government.

After showing the advantages of a monarchy to public freedom, provided it is duly controlled and watched by the popular part of the constitution, he says, "These principles account for the great liberty of the press in these kingdoms, beyond what is indulged in any other Government. It is apprehended that arbitrary power would steal in upon us were we not careful to prevent its progress, and were there not an easy method of conveying the alarm from one end of the kingdom to the other. *The spirit of the people must frequently be roused in order to curb the ambition of the Court*, and the dread

of rousing this spirit must be employed to prevent that ambition. Nothing is so effectual to this purpose as the liberty of THE PRESS, by which all the learning, wit, and genius of the nation may be employed on the side of freedom, and every one be animated to its defence. *As long, therefore, as the republican part of our Government can maintain itself against the monarchical, it will naturally be careful to keep the press open, as of importance to its own preservation.*"

There is another authority contemporary with the last, a splendid speaker in the Upper House of Parliament, and who held during most of his time high offices under the King. I speak of the Earl of Chesterfield, who thus expressed himself in the House of Lords:—"One of the greatest blessings, my Lords, we enjoy is liberty; but every good in this life has its alloy of evil. Licentiousness is the alloy of liberty, it is——"

Lord KENYON. Doctor Johnson claims to pluck that *feather* from Lord Chesterfield's wing. He speaks, I believe, of the eye of the political body.

Mr. ERSKINE. My Lord, I am happy that it is admitted to be a feather. I have heard it said that Lord Chesterfield borrowed that which I was just about to state, and which his Lordship has anticipated.

Lord KENYON. That very speech which did Lord Chesterfield so much honor is supposed to have been written by Doctor Johnson.

Mr. ERSKINE. Gentlemen, I believe it was so, and I am much obliged to his Lordship for giving me a far higher authority for my doctrine. For though Lord Chesterfield was a man of great wit, he was undoubtedly far inferior in learning and, what is more to the purpose, in *monarchical* opinion, to the celebrated writer to whom my Lord has now delivered the work by his authority. Doctor Johnson then says, "One of the greatest blessings

we enjoy, one of the greatest blessings a people, my Lords, can enjoy, is liberty; but every good in this life has its alloy of evil. Licentiousness is the alloy of liberty. It is an ebullition, an excrescence; it is a speck upon the eye of the political body, but which I can never touch but with a gentle, with a trembling hand, lest I destroy the body, lest I injure the eye upon which it is apt to appear.

There is such a connection between licentiousness and liberty, that it is not easy to correct the one without dangerously wounding the other: it is extremely hard to distinguish the true limit between them: like a changeable silk, we can easily see there are two different colors, but we cannot easily discover where the one ends, or where the other begins."

I confess I cannot help agreeing with this learned author. THE DANGER OF TOUCHING THE PRESS IS THE DIFFICULTY OF MARKING ITS LIMITS. My learned friend, who has just gone out of Court, has drawn no line and unfolded no principle. He has not told us, if *this* book is condemned, *what* book may be written. If I may not write against the existence of a monarchy, and recommend a republic, may I write against any part of the Government? May I say that we should be better without a House of Lords, or a House of Commons, or a Court of Chancery, or any other given part of our establishment? Or if, as has been hinted, a work may be libelous for stating even *legal* matter with *sarcastic* phrase, the difficulty becomes the greater, and the liberty of the press more impossible to define.

The same author, pursuing the subject, and speaking of the fall of Roman liberty, says, "But this sort of liberty came soon after to be called licentiousness; for we are told that Augustus, after having established his empire, restored order in Rome by restraining licentious-

ness. God forbid we should in this country have order restored or licentiousness restrained, at so dear a rate as the people of Rome paid for it to Augustus.

"Let us consider, my Lords, that arbitrary power has seldom or never been introduced into any country at once. It must be introduced by slow degrees, and as it were step by step, lest the people should see its approach. The barriers and fences of the people's liberty must be plucked up one by one, and some plausible pretences must be found for removing or hoodwinking, one after another, those sentries who are posted by the constitution of a free country for warning the people of their danger. When these preparatory steps are once made, the people may then, indeed, with regret, see slavery and arbitrary power making long strides over their land; but it will be too late to think of preventing or avoiding the impending ruin.

"The stage, my Lords, and the press, are two of our out-sentries; if we remove them, if we hoodwink them, if we throw them in fetters, the enemy may surprise us."

Gentlemen, this subject was still more lately put in the justest and most forcible light by a noble person high in the magistracy, whose mind is not at all tuned to the introduction of disorder by improper popular excesses: I mean Lord Loughborough, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. I believe I can answer for the correctness of my note, which I shall follow up with the opinion of another member of the Lords' House of Parliament, the present Earl Stanhope; or rather, I shall take Lord Stanhope first, as his Lordship introduces the subject by adverting to this argument of Lord Loughborough's. "If," says Lord Stanhope, "our boasted liberty of the press were to consist only in the liberty to write *in praise* of the constitution, this is a liberty enjoyed under many *arbitrary* governments. I

suppose it would not be deemed quite an unpardonable offence, even by the Empress of Russia, if any man were to take into his head to write a panegyric upon the Russian form of government. Such a liberty as that might therefore properly be termed the *Russian liberty of the press. But the English liberty of the press* is of a very different description: for, by the law of England, it is not prohibited to publish speculative works upon the constitution, whether *they contain praise or censure.*"—(*Lord Stanhope's Defence of the Libel Bill.*)

You see, therefore, as far as the general principle goes, I am supported by the opinion of Lord Stanhope, for otherwise the noble Lord has written a libel himself, by exciting other people to writ *whatever they may think*, be it good or evil, of the constitution of the country. As to the other high authority, Lord Loughborough, I will read what applies to this subject—"Every man," said Lord Loughborough, "may publish at his discretion his opinions concerning forms and systems of government. If they be wise and enlightening, the world will gain by them; if they be weak and absurd, they will be laughed at and forgotten; and if they be *bona fide*, *they cannot be criminal*, *however* ERRONEOUS. On the other hand, the purpose and the direction may give a different turn to writings whose common construction is harmless, or even meritorious. Suppose men, assembled in disturbance of the peace, to pull down mills or turnpikes, or to do any other mischief, and that a mischievous person should disperse among them an excitation to the planned mischief known to both writer and reader, *To your tents, O Israel;* that publication would be criminal;—not as a libel, not as an abstract writing, but as an act; and the act being the crime, *it must be stated as a fact extrinsic on the record;* for otherwise a Court of Error could have no jurisdiction but over the *natural*

construction of the writing; nor would the defendant have any notice of such matter at the trial, without a charge on the record. To give the jury cognizance of any matter beyond the construction of the writing, the averment should be, in the case as I have instanced, that certain persons were, as I have described, assembled; and that the publisher, intending to excite these persons so assembled, wrote *so and so.* Here the crime is complete, and consists in an *overt act of wickedness evidenced by a writing.*"

In answer to all these authorities, the Attorney-General may say that if Mr. Paine had written his observations with the views of those high persons, and under other circumstances, he would be protected and acquitted;—to which I can only answer, that no facts or circumstances attending his work are either *charged or proved;*—that you have *no* jurisdiction whatever but over the natural construction of the work before you, and that I am therefore brought without a flaw to the support of the passages which are the particular subject of complaint.

Gentlemen, I am not unmindful how long I have already trespassed upon your patience; and, recollecting the nature of the human mind, and how much, for a thousand reasons, I have to struggle against at this moment, I shall not be disconcerted if any of you should appear anxious to retire from the pain of hearing me further. It has been said in the newspapers, that my vanity has forwarded my zeal in this cause;—but I might appeal even to the authors of those paragraphs whether a situation ever existed which vanity would have been fonder to fly from—the task of speaking against every known prepossession—with every countenance, as it were, planted and lifted up against me. But I stand at this bar to give to a criminal arraigned before it the

defence which the law of the country entitles him to. If any of my arguments be indecent, or unfit for the Court to hear, the noble Judge presides to interrupt them; if all, or any of them, are capable of an answer, they will be answered; or if they be so unfounded in your own minds, who are to judge them, as not to call for refutation, your verdict in a moment will overthrow all that has been said. We shall then have all discharged our duties. It is your unquestionable province to judge, and mine not less unquestionably to address your judgments.

When the noble Judge and myself were counsel for Lord George Gordon in 1781, it was not considered by that jury, nor imputed to us by anybody, that we were contending for the privileges of overawing the House of Commons, or recommending the conflagration of this city. *I* am doing the same duty now which *my Lord and I* then did in concert together; and, whatever may become of the cause, *I expect to be heard;* conscious that no just obloquy can be, or will in the end be, cast upon me for having done my duty in the manner I have endeavored to perform it.—Sir, I shall name you presently.*

Gentlemen, I come now to observe on the passages selected by the information; and with regard to the first, I shall dispose of it in a moment.

"All *hereditary* government is in its nature tyranny. An heritable crown, or an heritable throne, or by what other fanciful name such things may be called, have no other significant explanation than that mankind are heritable *property.* To *inherit* a government is to *inherit* the *people* as if they were flocks and herds."

And is it to be endured, says the Attorney-General,

*This expression was provoked by the conduct of one of the jury, which this rebuke put an end to.

that the people of this country are to be told that they are driven like oxen or sheep? Certainly not. I am of opinion that a more dangerous doctrine cannot be instilled into the people of England. But who instills such a doctrine? I deny that it is instilled by Mr. Paine. When he maintains that hereditary monarchy inherits a people like flocks and herds, it is clear from the context (*which is kept out of view*) that he is combatting the proposition in Mr. Burke's book, which asserts that the hereditary monarchy of England is fastened upon the people of England by *indissoluble compact.* Mr. Paine, on the contrary, asserts the King of England to be the *magistrate of the people*, existing by their consent, which is utterly incompatible with their being driven like herds. His argument, therefore, is this, and it retorts on his adversary: he says, Such a king as *you*, Mr. Burke, represents the King of England to be, inheriting the people by virtue of conquest, or of some compact, which, having once existed, cannot be dissolved while the original terms of it are kept, *is an inheritance like flocks and herds.* But I deny that to be the King of England's title. He is *the magistrate of the people*, and that title I respect. It is to your own imaginary King of England, therefore, and not to his Majesty, that your unfounded innuendoes apply. It is the monarchs of Russia and Prussia, and all governments fastened upon unwilling subjects by hereditary indefeasible titles, who are stigmatized by Paine as inheriting the people like flocks. The sentence, therefore, must either be taken in the pure abstract, and then it is not only merely speculative, but the application of it to our own Government fails altogether, or it must be taken connected with the matter which constitutes the application, and then it is MR. BURKE'S KING OF ENGLAND, and NOT his Majesty, whose title is denied.

I pass, therefore, to the next passage, which appears to be an extraordinary selection. It is taken at a leap from page 21 to page 47, and breaks in at the words "This convention." The sentence selected stands thus: "This convention met at Philadelphia in May, 1787, of which General Washington was elected president. He was not at that time connected with any of the State governments, or with Congress. He delivered up his commission when the war ended, and since then had lived a private citizen.

"The convention went deeply into all the subjects; and having, after a variety of debate and investigation, agreed among themselves upon the several parts of a federal constitution, the next question was, the manner of giving it authority and practice.

"For this purpose they did not, like a cabal of courtiers, send for a Dutch stadtholder, or a German elector; but they referred the whole matter to the sense and interest of the country."

This sentence, standing thus by itself, may appear to be a mere sarcasm on King William, upon those who effected the Revolution, and upon the Revolution itself, without any reasoning or deduction; but when the context and sequel are looked at and compared, it will appear to be a serious historical comparison between the Revolution effected in England in 1688 and the late one in America when she established her independence; and no man can doubt that his judgment on that comparison was sincere. But where is the libel on the Constitution? For whether King William was brought over here by the sincerest and justest motives of the whole people of England, each man acting for himself, or from the motives and through the agencies imputed by the defendant, it signifies not one farthing at this time of day to the establishment itself. Blackstone

properly warns us not to fix our obedience or affection to the Government on the motives of our ancestors, or the rectitude of their proceedings, but to be satisfied with what is established. This is safe reasoning, and, for my own part, I should not be differently affected to the constitution of my country, which my own understanding approved, whether angels or demons had given it birth.

Do any of you love the Reformation the less because Henry the Eighth was the author of it? or because lust and poverty, not religion, were his motives? He had squandered the treasures of his father, and he preferred Anne Bullen to his queen: these were the causes which produced it. What then? Does that affect the purity of our reformed religion? Does it undermine its establishment, or shake the King's title, to the exclusion of those who held by the religion it had abolished? Will the Attorney-General affirm that I could be convicted of a libel for a volume of asperity against Henry the Eighth, merely because he effected the Reformation; and if not, why against King William, who effected the Revolution? Where is the line to be drawn? Are one, two, or three centuries to constitute the statute of limitation? Nay, do not our own historians detail this very cabal of courtiers from the records of our own country? If you will turn to Hume's History, volume the eighth, page 188, etc., etc., you will find that he states, at great length, the whole detail of intrigues which paved the way for the Revolution, and the interested coalition of parties which gave it effect.

But what of all this, concerning the motives of parties, which is recorded by Hume? The question is, *What is the thing brought about?—Not,* HOW *it was brought about.* If it stands, as Blackstone argues it, upon the consent of our ancestors, followed up by our own, no

individual can withdraw his obedience. If he dislikes the establishment, let him seek elsewhere for another; I am not contending for uncontrolled *conduct*, but for freedom of *opinion*.

With regard to what has been stated of the *Edwards* and *Henries*, and the other princes under which the author can only discover "*restrictions on power, but nothing of a constitution*," surely my friend is not in earnest when he selects that passage as a libel.

Paine insists that there was no constitution under these princes, and that English liberty was obtained from usurped power by the struggles of the people. So SAY I. And I think it for the honor and advantage of the country that it should be known. Was there any freedom after the original establishment of the Normans by conquest? Was not the MAGNA CHARTA wrested from John by *open force of arms* at Runnymede? Was it not again re-enacted whilst menacing arms were in the hands of the people? Were not its stipulations broken through, and two-and-forty times re-enacted by Parliament, upon the firm demand of the people in the following reigns? I protest it fills me with astonishment to hear these truths brought in question.

I was formerly called upon, under the discipline of a college, to maintain them, and was rewarded for being thought to have successfully maintained that our present Constitution was by no means a remnant of Saxon liberty, nor any other institution of liberty, but the pure consequence of the oppression of the Norman tenures, which, spreading the spirit of freedom from one end of the kingdom to another, enabled our brave fathers, inch by inch, not to reconquer, *but for the first time to obtain* those privileges which are the unalienable inheritance of all mankind.

But why do we speak of the Edwards and Henries,

when Hume himself expressly says, notwithstanding all we have heard to-day of the antiquity of our Constitution, that our monarchy was nearly absolute till the middle of the last century. It is his *Essay on the Liberty of the Press*, vol. i., page 15—

"All absolute governments, and such in a great measure was England till the middle of the last century, *notwithstanding the numerous panegyrics on* ANCIENT *English liberty*, must very much depend on the administration."

This is Hume's opinion; the conclusion of a grave historian from all that he finds recorded as the materials for history; and shall it be said that Mr. Paine is to be punished for writing to-day what was before written by another, who is now a distinguished classic in the language? All the verdicts in the world will not make such injustice palatable to an impartial public or to posterity.

The next passage arraigned is this (page 56): "The attention of the Government of England (for I rather choose to call it by this name than the English Government) appears, since its political connection with Germany, to have been so completely engrossed and absorbed by foreign affairs, and the means of raising taxes, that it seems to exist for no other purposes. Domestic concerns are neglected; and with respect to regular law, there is scarcely such a thing."

That the Government of this country has, in consequence of its connection with the continent, and the continental wars which it has occasioned, been continually loaded with grievous taxes, no man can dispute; and I appeal to your justice whether this subject has not been, for years together, the constant topic of unreproved declamation and grumbling.

As to what he says with regard to there hardly

existing such a thing as regular law, he speaks *in the abstract* of the complexity of our system; he does not arraign the administration of justice *in its practice.* But with regard to criticisms and strictures on the general system of our Government, it has been echoed over and over again by various authors, and even from the pulpits, of our country. I have a sermon in court, written during the American war by a person of great eloquence and piety, in which he looks forward to an exemption from the intolerable grievances of our old legal system in the infant establishment of the New World:—

"It may be in the purposes of Providence, on yon western shores, to raise the bulwark of a purer reformation than ever Britain patronized; to found a less burdensome, more auspicious, stable, and incorruptible government than ever Britain has enjoyed; and to establish there a system of law more just and simple in its principles, less intricate, dubious, and dilatory in its proceedings, more mild and equitable in its sanctions, more easy and more certain in its execution; wherein no man can err through ignorance of what concerns him, or want justice through poverty or weakness, or escape it by legal artifice, or civil privileges, or interposing power; wherein the rule of conduct shall not be hidden or disguised in the language of principles and customs that died with the barbarism which gave them birth; wherein hasty formulas shall not dissipate the reverence that is due to the tribunals and transactions of justice; wherein obsolete prescripts shall not pervert, nor entangle, nor impede the administration of it, nor in any instance expose it to derision or to disregard; wherein misrepresentation shall have no share in deciding upon right and truth; and under which no man shall grow great by the wages of chicanery, or thrive by the quarrels that are ruinous to his employers."

This is ten times stronger than Mr. Paine; but who ever thought of prosecuting Mr. Cappe? *

In various other instances you will find defects in our jurisprudence pointed out and lamented, and not seldom by persons called upon by their situations to deliver the law in the seat of magistracy; therefore, the author's *general* observation does not appear to be that species of attack upon the magistracy of the country as to fall within the description of a libel.

With respect to the two Houses of Parliament, I believe I shall be able to show you that the very person who introduced this controversy, and who certainly is considered by those who now administer the government, as a man usefully devoted to maintain the constitution of the country in the present crisis, has himself made remarks upon these assemblies, that upon comparison you will think more severe than those which are the subject of the Attorney-General's animadversion. The passage in Mr. Paine runs thus—

"With respect to *the two Houses* of which the English Parliament is composed, they appear to be effectually influenced into one, and, as a legislature, to have no temper of its own.

"The minister, whoever he at any time may be, touches it as with an opium wand, and it sleeps obedience.

"But if we look at the distinct abilities of the two Houses, the difference will appear so great as to show the inconsistency of placing power where there can be no certainty of the judgment to use it. Wretched as the state of representation is in England, it is manhood compared with what is called the House of Lords; and so little is this nicknamed House regarded that the people scarcely inquire at any time what it is doing. It appears

* A late eminent and pious minister at York.

also to be most under influence, and the furthest removed from the general interest of the nation."

The conclusion of the sentence, and which was meant by Paine as evidence of the previous assertion, the Attorney-General has omitted in the information and in his speech; it is this: "In the debate on engaging in the Russian and Turkish war, the majority in the House of Peers in favor of it was upwards of ninety, when in the other House, which is more than double its numbers, the majority was sixty-three."

The terms, however, in which Mr. Burke speaks of the House of Lords are still more expressive: "It is something more than a century ago since we voted the House of Lords useless. They have now voted themselves so, and the whole hope of reformation (*speaking of the House of Commons*) is cast upon us." This sentiment Mr. Burke not only expressed in his place in Parliament, where no man can call him to an account; but it has been since repeatedly printed amongst his works. Indeed his opinion of BOTH THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, which I am about to read to you, was originally published as a separate pamphlet, and applied to the settled habitual abuses of these high assemblies. Remember, I do not use them as *argumenta ad hominem*, or *ad invidiam*, against the author; for if I did, it could be no defence of Mr. Paine. But I use them as high authority, the work * having been the just foundation of a substantial and lasting reputation. Would to God that any part of it were capable of being denied or doubted!

"Against the being of Parliament I am satisfied no designs have ever been entertained since the Revolution. Every one must perceive that it is strongly the interest

* Mr. Burke's *Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents*, published in 1775.

of the Court to have some second cause interposed between the ministers and the people. The gentlemen of the House of Commons have an interest equally strong in sustaining the part of that intermediate cause. However they may hire out the *usufruct* of their voices, they never will part with the *fee and inheritance.* Accordingly, those who have been of the most known devotion to the will and pleasure of a Court, have at the same time been most forward in asserting an high authority in the House of Commons. *When they knew who were to use that authority, and how it was to be employed, they thought it never could be carried too far.* It must be always the wish of an unconstitutional statesman, that a House of Commons *who are entirely dependent upon him, should have every right of the people dependent upon their pleasure.* FOR IT WAS DISCOVERED THAT THE FORMS OF A FREE AND THE ENDS OF AN ARBITRARY GOVERNMENT WERE THINGS NOT ALTOGETHER INCOMPATIBLE.

"The power of the Crown, almost dead and rotten as prerogative, has grown up anew, with much more strength and far less odium, under the name of influence. An influence which operates without noise and violence, —which converts the very antagonist into the instrument of power,—which contains in itself a perpetual principle of growth and renovation; and which the distresses and the prosperity of the country equally tend to augment, was an admirable substitute for a prerogative that, being only the offspring of antiquated prejudices, had moulded in its original stamina irresistible principles of decay and dissolution.

"The ignorance of the people is a bottom but for a temporary system; but the interest of active men in the state is a foundation both perpetual and infallible."

Mr. Burke, therefore, in page 66, speaking of the same Court party, says :—

"Parliament was indeed the great object of all these politics, the end at which they aimed, as well as the INSTRUMENT by which they were to operate."

And pursuing the subject in page 70, proceeds as follows :—

"They who will not conform their conduct to the public good, and cannot support it by the prerogative of the Crown, have adopted a new plan. They have totally abandoned the shattered and old-fashioned fortress of Prerogative, and made a lodgment in the stronghold of Parliament itself. If they have any evil design to which there is no ordinary legal power commensurate, they bring it into Parliament. *There the whole is executed from the beginning to the end; and the power of obtaining their object absolute; and the safety in the proceeding perfect; no rules to confine, nor after-reckonings to terrify.* For Parliament cannot with any great propriety punish others for things in which they themselves have been ACCOMPLICES. Thus its control upon the executory power is lost, because it is made to partake in every considerable act of government: *and impeachment, that great guardian of the purity of the constitution, is in danger of being lost even to the idea of it.*

"Until this time, the opinion of the people, through the power of an Assembly, still in some sort popular, led to the greatest honors and emoluments in the gift of the Crown. Now the principle is reversed; and the favor of the Court is the only sure way of obtaining and holding those honors which ought to be IN THE DISPOSAL OF THE PEOPLE."

Mr. Burke, in page 100, observes with great truth that the mischiefs he complained of did not at all arise from the monarchy, but from the Parliament, and that

it was the duty of the people to look to it. He says "The distempers of monarchy were the great subjects of apprehension and redress in the *last century; in this*, the distempers of Parliament."

Not the distempers of Parliament in this year or the last, but in *this century—i.e.*, its settled habitual distemper. "It is not in Parliament alone that the remedy for parliamentary disorders can be completed; and hardly indeed can it begin there. Until a confidence in Government is re-established, the people ought to be *excited* to a more strict and detailed attention to the conduct of their representatives. Standards for judging more systematically upon their conduct ought to be settled in the meetings of counties and corporations, and frequent and correct lists of the voters in all important questions ought to be procured.

"By such means something may be done, since it may appear who those are that, by an indiscriminate support of all administrations, have totally banished all integrity and confidence out of public proceedings; have confounded the best men with the worst; and weakened and dissolved, instead of strengthening and compacting, the general frame of Government."

I wish it was possible to read the whole of this most important volume—but the consequences of these truths contained in it were all eloquently summed up by the author in his speech upon the reform of the household.

"But what I confess was uppermost with me, what I bent the whole course of my mind to, was the reduction of that corrupt influence which is itself the perennial spring of all prodigality and disorder; which loads us more than millions of debt; which takes away vigor from our arms, wisdom from our councils, and every shadow of authority and credit from the most venerable parts of our constitution."

The same important truths where held out to the whole public, upon a still later occasion, by the person now at the head of his Majesty's councils; and so high (as it appears) in the confidence of the nation.* *He*, not in the *abstract*, like the author before you, but upon the *spur of the occasion*, and in the teeth of what had been just declared in the House of Commons, came to, and acted upon, resolutions which are contained in this book†—resolutions pointed to the purification of a Parliament dangerously corrupted into the very state described by Mr. Paine. Remember here, too, that I impute no censurable conduct to Mr. Pitt. It was the most brilliant passage in his life, and I should have thought his life a better one if he had continued uniform in the support of opinions which it is said he has not changed, and which certainly have had nothing to change them. But at all events, I have a right to make use of the authority of his splendid talents and high situation, not merely to protect the defendant, but the public, by resisting the precedent,—that what one man may do in England with approbation and glory, shall conduct another man to a pillory or a prison.

The abuses pointed out by the man before you led that right honorable gentleman to associate with many others of high rank, under the banners of the Duke of Richmond, whose name stands at the head of the list, and to pass various public resolutions concerning the absolute necessity of purifying the House of Commons; and we collect the plan from a preamble entered in the book: "Whereas the life, liberty, and property of every man is or may be affected by the law of the land in which he lives, and every man is bound to pay obedience to the same.

"And whereas, by the constitution of this kingdom,

* Mr. Pitt. † Mr. Erskine took up a book.

the right of making laws is vested in three estates, of King, Lords, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, and the consent of all the three said estates, comprehending the whole community, is necessary to make laws to bind the whole community. And whereas the House of Commons represents all the commons of the realm, and the consent of the House of Commons binds the consent of all the commons of the realm, and in all cases on which the legislature is competent to decide.

"And whereas no man is, or can be, actually represented who hath not a vote in the election of his representative.

"And whereas it is the right of every commoner of this realm (infants, persons of insane mind, and criminals incapacitated by law, only excepted) to have a vote in the election of the representative who is to give his consent to the making of laws by which he is to be bound.

"And whereas the number of persons who are suffered to vote for electing the members of the House of Commons do not at this time amount to one-sixth part of the whole commons of this realm, whereby far the greater part of the said commons are deprived of their right to elect their representatives; and the consent of the majority of the whole community to the passing of laws is given by persons whom they have not delegated for such purposes; and to which the said majority have not in fact consented by themselves or by their representatives.

"And whereas the state of election of members of the House of Commons hath in process of time so grossly deviated from its simple and natural principle of representation and equality, that in several places the members are returned by the property of one man; that the smallest boroughs send as many members as the largest

counties, and that a majority of the representatives of the whole nation are chosen by a number of votes not exceeding twelve thousand."

These, with many others were published, not as *abstract speculative writings*, but within a few days after the House of Commons had declared that no such rights existed, and that no alteration was necessary in the representation. It was *then* that they met at the Thatched House and published their opinions and resolutions to the country at large. Were any of them prosecuted for these proceedings? Certainly not, for they were legal proceedings. But I desire you, as men of honor and truth, to compare all this with Mr. Paine's expression of the minister's touching Parliament with his opiate wand, and let equal justice be done—*that is all I ask*—let all be punished, or none. Do not let Mr. Paine be held out to the contempt of the public upon the score of his observations on Parliament, while others are enjoying all the sweets which attend a supposed attachment to their country, who have not only expressed the same sentiments, but have reduced their opinions to practice.

But *now* every man is to be cried down for such opinions. I observed that my learned friend significantly raised his voice in naming Mr. Horne Tooke, as if to connect him with Paine, or Paine with him. This is exactly the same course of justice; for, after all, he said nothing of Mr. Tooke. What could he have said, but that he was a man of great talents, and a subscriber with the great names I have read in proceedings which they have thought fit to desert?

Gentlemen, let others hold their opinions, and change them at their pleasure; I shall ever maintain it to be the dearest privilege of the people of Great Britain to watch over everything that affects their happiness, either

in the system of their government or in the practice, and that for this purpose THE PRESS MUST BE FREE. It has always been so, and much evil has been corrected by it. If Government finds itself annoyed by it, let it examine its own conduct, and it will find the cause; let it amend it, and it will find the remedy.

Gentlemen, I am no friend to sarcasms in the discussion of grave subjects, but you must take writers according to the view of the mind at the moment; Mr. Burke, as often as anybody, indulges in it. Hear his reason, in his speech on reform, for not taking away the salaries from Lords who attend upon the British Court. "You would," said he, "have the Court deserted by all the nobility of the kingdom.

"Sir, the most serious mischiefs would follow from such a desertion. Kings are naturally lovers of low company; they are so elevated above all the rest of mankind, that they must look upon all their subjects as on a level, they are rather apt to hate than to love their nobility on account of the occasional resistance to their will, which will be made by their virtue, their petulance, or their pride. It must indeed be admitted that many of the nobility are as perfectly willing to act the part of flatterers, tale-bearers, parasites, pimps, and buffoons, as any of the lowest and vilest of mankind can possibly be. But they are not properly qualified for this object of their ambition. The want of a regular education, and early habits, with some lurking remains of their dignity, will never permit them to become a match for an Italian eunuch, a mountebank, a fiddler, a player, or any regular practitioner of that tribe. The Roman emperors, almost from the beginning, threw themselves into such hands; and the mischief increased every day till its decline and its final ruin. It is, therefore, of very great importance (provided the thing is not overdone) to contrive such an

establishment as must, almost whether a prince will or not, bring into daily and hourly offices about his person a great number of his first nobility; and it is rather an useful prejudice that gives them a pride in such a servitude: though they are not much the better for a Court, a Court will be much the better for them. I have therefore, not attempted to reform any of the offices of honor about the King's person."

What is all this but saying that a King is an animal so incurably addicted to low company as generally to bring on by it the ruin of nations; but, nevertheless, he is to be kept as a necessary evil, and his propensities bridled by surrounding him with a parcel of miscreants still worse, if possible, but better than those he would choose for himself. This, therefore, if taken by itself, would be a most abominable and libelous sarcasm on kings and nobility; but look at the whole speech, and you observe a great system of regulation; and no man, I believe, ever doubted Mr. Burke's attachment to monarchy. To judge, therefore, of any part of a writing, THE WHOLE MUST BE READ.

With this same view, I will read to you the beginning of Harrington's *Oceana;* but it is impossible to name this well-known author without exposing to just contempt and ridicule the ignorant or profligate misrepresentations which are vomited forth upon the public, to bear down every man as desperately wicked who in any age or country has countenanced a republic, for the mean purpose of prejudging this trial.

[Mr. Erskine took up a book, but laid it down again without reading from it, saying something to the gentleman who sat near him, in a low voice, which the reporter did not hear?]

Is this the way to support the English constitution? Are these the means by which Englishmen are to be

taught to cherish it? I say, if the man upon trial were stained with blood instead of ink, if he were covered over with crimes which human nature would start at the naming of, the means employed against him would not be the less disgraceful.

For this notable purpose, then, Harrington, *not above a week ago*,* was handed out to us as a low, obscure wretch, involved in the murder of the monarch and the destruction of the monarchy, and as addressing his despicable works at the shrine of an usurper. Yet this very Harrington, this low blackguard, was descended (you may see his pedigree at the Herald's Office for sixpence) from eight dukes, three marquises, seventy earls, twenty-seven viscounts, and thirty-six barons, sixteen of whom were knights of the Garter—a descent which I think would save a man from disgrace in any of the circles of Germany. But what was he besides? A BLOOD-STAINED RUFFIAN? Oh, brutal ignorance of the history of the country! He was the most affectionate servant of Charles the First, from whom he never concealed his opinions; for it is observed by Wood that the King greatly affected his company; but when they happened to talk of a commonwealth, he would scarcely endure it. "I know not," says Toland, "which most to commend: the King, for trusting an honest man, though a republican; or Harrington, for owning his principles while he served a king."

But did his opinions affect his conduct? Let history again answer. He preserved his fidelity to his unhappy prince to the very last, after all his fawning courtiers had left him to his enraged subjects. He stayed with him while a prisoner in the Isle of Wight; came up by stealth to follow the fortunes of his monarch and master;

* A pamphlet had been published just before, putting T. Paine and Harrington on the same footing—as obscure blackguards.

even hid himself in the boot of the coach when he was conveyed to Windsor; and, ending as he began, fell into his arms and fainted on the scaffold.

After Charles' death, the *Oceana* was written, and as if it were written from justice and affection to his memory; for it breathes the same noble and spirited regard, and asserts that it was not CHARLES that brought on the destruction of the *monarchy*, but the feeble and ill-constituted nature of monarchy *itself*.

But the book was a flattery to Cromwell. Once more and finally let history decide. The *Oceana* was seized by the Usuper as a libel, and the way it was recovered is remarkable. I mention it to show that Cromwell was a wise man in himself, and knew on what governments must stand for their support.

Harrington waited on the Protector's daughter to beg for his book, which her father had taken, and on entering her apartment, snatched up her child and ran away. On her following him with surprise and terror, he turned to her and said: "I know what you feel as a mother, feel then for ME; your father has got MY child"—meaning the *Oceana*. The *Oceana* was afterwards restored on her petition; Cromwell answering with the sagacity of a sound politician, "Let him have his book; if my government is made to stand, it has nothing to fear from PAPER SHOT." He said true. NO GOOD government will ever be battered by paper shot. Montesquieu says that "In a free nation it matters not whether individuals reason well or ill; it is sufficient that they *do* reason. Truth arises from the collision, and from hence springs liberty, which is a security from the effect of reasoning." The Attorney-General has read extracts from Mr. Adam's answer to this book. Let others write answers to it, like Mr. Adam; I am not insisting upon the infallibility of Mr. Paine's doctrines; if they are

erroneous, let them be answered, and truth will spring from the collision.

Milton wisely says that a disposition in a nation to this species of controversy is no proof of sedition or degeneracy, but quite the reverse. [I omitted to cite the passage with the others.] In speaking of this subject he rises into that inexpressibly sublime style of writing wholly peculiar to himself. He was indeed no plagiary from anything human; he looked up for light and expression, as he himself wonderfully describes it, by devout prayer to that great Being who is the source of all utterance and knowledge; and who sendeth out His seraphim with the hallowed fire of His altar to touch and purify the lips of whom He pleases. "When the cheerfulness of the people," says this mighty poet, "is so sprightly up as that it has not only wherewith to guard well its own freedom and safety, but to spare and to bestow upon the solidest and sublimest points of controversy and new invention, it betokens us not degenerated nor drooping to a fatal decay, but casting off the old and wrinkled skin of corruption, to outlive these pangs, and wax young again, entering the glorious ways of truth and prosperous virtue, destined to become great and honorable in these latter ages. Methinks I see, in my mind, a noble and puissant nation rousing herself, like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks: methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam; purging and unscaling her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance; while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means, and in their envious gabble would prognosticate a year of sects and schisms."

Gentlemen, what Milton only saw in his mighty

imagination, I see in fact; what he expected, but which never came to pass, I see now fulfilling; methinks I see this noble and puissant nation, not degenerated and drooping to a fatal decay, but casting off the wrinkled skin of corruption to put on again the vigor of her youth. And it is because others as well as myself see this that we have all this uproar!—France and its constitution are the mere pretences. It is because Britons begin to recollect the inheritance of their own constitution, left them by their ancestors;—it is because they are awakened to the corruptions which have fallen upon its most valuable parts, that forsooth the nation is in danger of being destroyed by a single pamphlet. I have marked the course of this alarm; it began with the renovation of those exertions for the public which the alarmists themselves had originated and deserted; and they became louder and louder when they saw them avowed and supported by my admirable friend Mr. Fox, the most eminently honest and enlightened statesman that history brings us acquainted with: a man whom to name is to honor, but whom in attempting adequately to describe, I must fly to Mr. Burke, my constant refuge when eloquence is necessary: a man who, to relieve the sufferings of the most distant nation, "put to the hazard his ease, his security, his interest, his power, even his darling popularity, for the benefit of a people whom he had never seen." How much more then for the inhabitants of his native country!—yet this is the man who has been censured and disavowed in the manner we have lately seen.

Gentlemen, I have but a few more words to trouble you with: I take my leave of you with declaring that all this freedom which I have been endeavoring to assert is no more than the ancient freedom which belongs to our own inbred constitution. I have not asked you to

acquit Thomas Paine upon any new lights, or upon any principle but that of the law, which you are sworn to administer;—my great object has been to inculcate that wisdom and policy, which are the parents of the government of Great Britain, forbid this jealous eye over her subjects; and that, on the contrary, they cry aloud in the language of the poet, adverted to by Lord Chatham on the memorable subject of America, *unfortunately without effect*—

> "Be to their faults a little blind,
> Be to their virtues very kind,
> Let all their thoughts be unconfined,
> And clap your padlock on the mind."

Engage the people by their affections,—convince their reason,—and they will be loyal from the only principle that can make loyalty sincere, vigorous, or rational,—a conviction that it is their truest interest, and that their government is for their good. Constraint is the natural parent of resistance, and a pregnant proof that reason is not on the side of those who use it. You must all remember Lucian's pleasant story: Jupiter and a countryman were walking together, conversing with great freedom and familiarity upon the subject of heaven and earth. The countryman listened with attention and acquiescence, while Jupiter strove only to convince him; but happening to hint a doubt, Jupiter turned hastily round and threatened him with his thunder. "Ah, ah!" says the countryman, "now, Jupiter, I know that you are wrong; you are always wrong when you appeal to your thunder."

This is the case with me—I can reason with the people of England, but I cannot fight against the thunder of authority.

Gentlemen, this is my defence for free opinions. With regard to myself, I am, and always have been, obedient

and affectionate to *the law*—to that rule of action, as long as I exist, I shall ever give my voice and my conduct; but I shall ever do as I have done to-day, maintain the dignity of my high profession, and perform, as I understand them, all its important duties.

[Mr. Attorney-General arose immediately to reply to Mr. Erskine, when Mr. Campbell (the foreman of the jury) said,—My Lord, I am authorized by the jury to inform the Attorney-General that a reply is not necessary for them, unless the Attorney-General wishes to make it, or your Lordship. Mr. Attorney-General sat down, and the jury gave in their verdict,—GUILTY.]

Note.—Lord Erskine, at the commencement of his speech in defence of Thomas Paine for having written the *Rights of Man*, alluded to the "painful embarrassment" under which he labored in consequence of the publication of a letter addressed to the Attorney General by Thomas Paine, who was then in France and a member of the French National Convention.

This letter, (the authenticity of which Mr. Erskine denied, but which sounds nevertheless not unlike the language of the virile author of *Common Sense*,) contained the following pungent passage:

"*But though you may not choose to see it, the people are seeing it very fast, and the progress is beyond what you may choose to believe, or that reason can make any other man believe, that the capacity of such a man as Mr. Guelph, or any of his profligate sons, is necessary to the government of a nation.*"

The full text of the charge against Mr. Paine was "*An Information exhibited* EX OFFICIO, *by the King's Attorney General, against Thomas Paine, for a Libel upon the Revolution and Settlement of the Crown and Regal Government, as by law established; and also upon the Bills of Rights, Legislature, Government, Laws, and Parliament of this Kingdom, and upon the King. Tried by a Special Jury in the Court of King's Bench, Guildhall, on the 18th of December, 1792, before the Right Honorable Lord Kenyon.*"

Erskine maintained in Paine's defence that "opinion is free, and that conduct alone in amenable to the law;" and that, as only his client's opinion and not his conduct was called in question, he ought to be acquitted. He also showed from the writings of Locke, Milton, Burke, and others, that all kinds of speculative opinions on the British system had been expressed which were not libelous. Eloquence and reason, however, could not prevail before a prejudiced jury, and Paine was found guilty. But his great advocate's oration, which has been described as perhaps "the noblest specimen of English forensic oratory," will long be remembered by all enlightened minds."—*Pub.*