

## THOMAS ~~PAIN~~ PAINE



All men being originally equals, no one by birth could have a right to set up his own family in perpetual preference to all others for ever.

— COMMON SENSE

According to no less an authority than Elbert Hubbard's *LITTLE JOURNEYS TO THE HOMES OF THE GREAT*, "Thomas Paine was the legitimate ancestor of Hosea Ballou who founded the Universalist church, and of Theodore Parker who made Unitarianism in America an intellectual torch. Channing, Ripley, Bartol, Martineau, Frothingham, Hale, Curtis, Collyer, Swing, Thomas, Conway, Leonard, Savage, Crapsey, yes — even Emerson, and Thoreau, were spiritual children, all, of Thomas Paine. He blazed the way and made it possible, for men to preach the sweet reasonableness of reason. He was the pioneer in a jungle of superstition."

## THOMAS PAINE

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1737

January 29: [Thomas Paine](#) was born in Thetford in County Norfolk, England to an Anglican mother (Frances Cocke Pain, born 1697, the daughter of an attorney) and a Quaker father (Joseph Pain, 1708-1786, a corset maker) who would be disowned by the [Religious Society of Friends](#) for having married outside his faith community — but who would nevertheless continue to attend silent worship regularly at the local Friends Meetinghouse.



At the time Thetford could care less about young Tom of course, but nowadays of course, as is the way of the world, Thetford seems to have grown rather fond of its gilt favorite son:






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1743

 A young [Thomas Paine](#) began attending the grammar school at Thetford, England.

There had been a town school in Acton a couple of years earlier, but in this year a more substantial one was being established.

The first town *School* [in Acton] was kept in 1741, when it was voted to have a "reading, writing, and moving school for six months." In 1743 a similar one was established and £18 old tenor, equal to about £3 lawful money, was raised for its support. Whether this afforded the only means of education does not appear. It is probable some schools might have been supported by private subscription. Several youth, as was then customary, resorted to the clergyman, for their education. People, however, enjoyed few other opportunities than were afforded in their own families. In 1760, the town [of Acton] was divided into six school districts, and in 1771 into seven. In 1797 the town [of Acton] was divided into four districts, East, West, South, and Middle, and several new houses were built. This division has since been continued. The money is divided among the districts in proportion to the taxes. From the return made to the state in 1826, it appears, that the aggregate time of keeping the schools was 28 months, and that they were attended by 412 pupils, of whom 227 were males, and 185 females. 139 were under 7 years of age, 160 from 7 to 14, and 113 from 14 upwards.<sup>1</sup>

1750

[Thomas Paine](#) left school at the age of thirteen with only a basic education, to begin an apprenticeship with his father in the fabrication of the sort of fabric-covered whalebone stays that were used in the construction of women's girdles.

1757

[Thomas Paine](#) went to sea for six months on the [privateer](#) *King of Prussia*.<sup>2</sup>

1. [Lemuel Shattuck's](#) 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: John Stacy, 1835  
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study. On July 16, 1859 he would correct a date mistake buried in the body of the text.)
2. (This is Tom Pain the English lad, rather than Thomas Paine the Rhode Island pirate.)  
"Stack of the Artist of Kouroo" Project



THOMAS PAINE

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1758

[Thomas Paine](#) settled at Dover in Kent, and began work as a corset maker.

1759

April: [Thomas Paine](#) decided to stay at Sandwich, England to become a master stay-maker, with his own shop, and would begin to court Mary Lambert, an orphan who was working in that town as a maid.

September 27: [Thomas Paine](#) and Mary Lambert were wed.

1760

Shortly after [Thomas Paine](#) and his wife Mary Lambert Paine moved from Sandwich to Margate, his wife died in childbirth.

1762

[Thomas Paine](#) took work in the excise tax collection office of the British government, and would be assigned to Grantham in Lincolnshire, but would be twice fired from his positions.

1765

August: [Thomas Paine](#) was fired from his excise position, and would return to the making of corsets, at Diss in Norfolk.



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1766

[Thomas Paine](#) relocated to London to teach at a private academy.

[William Hayley](#) was admitted at the Middle Temple, London (his connection there, however, was nominal).

1767

[Thomas Paine](#) was teaching at a school in Kensington.

1768

After winning an appeal of his August 1765 dismissal from the excise tax service of England, [Thomas Paine](#) was reappointed as a collections officer and posted to Lewes in Sussex.

1769

While continuing in his duties as an English excise tax collector, on the side [Thomas Paine](#) began running the [tobacco](#) shop of the deceased Samuel Ollive, his former landlord.

Moses Michael Hays, a brother-in-law of Rabbi [Isaac Touro](#), was a merchant. It was he who would introduce the Scottish Rite Masonic Order to America. As the head of the only [Jewish](#) family in [Boston](#), he would be Grand Master of the Massachusetts Masonic Lodge that included Paul Revere, and a friend of [Thomas Paine](#). In this year he helped organized the King David Lodge.

1771

March 26: [Thomas Paine](#) got married with Elizabeth Ollive, about 22 years of age, daughter of his deceased landlord.

1772

Winter: [Thomas Paine](#) wrote a small pamphlet, THE CASE OF THE OFFICERS OF EXCISE, that discussed the evils of tax collection and suggested higher wages for the excise officers, and spent this winter in London distributing his pamphlet to members of Parliament. Parliament would take no action, and this pamphleteering would probably be the cause of his 2nd dismissal from the excise office of the government in 1774. His wife left him.

1774

April 8, day: [Thomas Paine](#) was dismissed for the 2nd time from his function as an excise tax collection officer. The official reason was that he had been absent from his assigned position in Lewes without obtaining prior permission.

June 4, day: Jobless, his [tobacco](#) shop having failed, [Thomas Paine](#) signed formal separation papers from his wife Elizabeth Ollive Paine and relocated to London.

Early October: Having obtained a letter of introduction from [Benjamin Franklin](#), [Thomas Paine](#) sailed for the New World.

November 30, day: At the age of 37, in London, [Thomas Paine](#) had met an American, [Benjamin Franklin](#), who had suggested that he try life in the colonies. On this day he landed at Philadelphia with letters of recommendation from Franklin.<sup>3</sup>



3. At the time he was spelling his name "Pain."



THOMAS PAINE

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1775

Thomas Paine and Robert Aitken worked together on a new publication, the Pennsylvania Magazine; or, American Monthly Museum. The motto they selected was *Juvat in sylvis habitare* meaning “It is pleasing to live in the woods” and their emblem included a book, a plough, a lyre, an anchor, and a shield. Presumably such a naming was due to Pennsylvania being “Penn’s Woods.”<sup>4</sup> (Paine would leave this job, dissatisfied with its financial prospects, in September, and begin writing COMMON SENSE.)

January: Thomas Paine was a writer for the 1st issue of the Pennsylvania Magazine; or, American Monthly Museum, published in Philadelphia. He would become the editor.

April 14, day: Friend Anthony Benezet called together a group of seven Quakers, Thomas Paine, Dr. Benjamin Rush, and, one source alleges, Benjamin Franklin (Franklin would indeed, in 1787 after the death of Benezet, become the president of a successor organization), at the Rising Sun tavern in Philadelphia, to form the Society for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage. This would grow into a group of 24 of whom 17 were Quakers, before being disbanded in the following year.

SLAVERY

Spring: In his AFRICAN SLAVERY IN AMERICA, Thomas Paine criticized slavery as inhumane. He was also acting as co-editor of the Pennsylvania Magazine; or, American Monthly Museum (he would quite over inadequate pay in September, and begin the writing of COMMON SENSE).

SLAVERY

**1776**

January 10: [Thomas Paine](#) wrote out his 50-page pamphlet *COMMON SENSE* (it would not see publication until February 14th). On this same date an absolutist speech by the British monarch was, by chance, being distributed in the colony. Those Americans who opposed independence from Britain were monarchists, and monarchists were like Jews. Although the British soldiers should be treated decently, as prisoners of war, and incarcerated for the duration, when these traitorous Jew-like Americans were captured and identified they should lose not only their property but also their heads. Paine's anti-Semitism was not limited to Jews, whom God had marked out for punishment, but extended also to Moslems, that is, the followers of "Mahomet." Not to leave anybody out, he also hated Catholics, under the rubric Papists. In fact he condemned virtually every group other than his own sort of patriotic full-blooded American warrior. He believed that we ought to have a truly permanent peace, and he believed that the way to obtain perpetual peace later was through maximal belligerence now. It should come as no surprise that this pamphlet would sell half a million copies within only a few months, for Paine truly had a genius for zeroing in on the lowest common denominator for an audience and then giving this audience precisely what they were eager to receive.



Paine espoused the idea of informing the common citizenry in general. To insure that the populace was adequately informed for responsible participation in political affairs, the American revolutionaries would be concurring on the necessity not only for a free press but also for a national post office. —This would make them in favor, also, as the idea worked out all of its implications, of establishing some vehicle for publicly funded formal education.



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January 20: A pamphlet, entitled “THE ANCIENT TESTIMONY AND PRINCIPLES OF THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS RENEWED, WITH RESPECT TO THE KING AND GOVERNMENT, AND TOUCHING THE COMMOTIONS NOW PREVAILING IN THESE AND OTHER PARTS OF AMERICA ADDRESSED TO THE PEOPLE IN GENERAL,” in response to [Thomas Paine](#)’s COMMON SENSE, was issued by a general meeting of Pennsylvania and New Jersey [Quakers](#) held in Philadelphia.



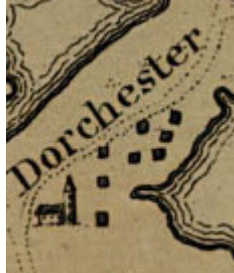
Costumes of Philadelphia Quakers

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February 14: The slave poet [Phillis Wheatley](#) wrote from [Providence, Rhode Island](#) to her friend Obour Tanner, a slave in [Newport](#), the topic of discussion evidently being the British occupation: "I doubt not that your present situation is extremely unhappy. Even I a mere spectator am in anxious suspense concerning the fortunes of this unnatural civil contest."

In Massachusetts, people were trying to kill each other at Dorchester Neck.



The Council of Massachusetts appointed Captain Eleazer Brooks of Lincoln a Colonel of the 3d regiment.

[Thomas Paine](#) revised his pamphlet COMMON SENSE to include an appendix responding to a [Quaker](#) non-violence pamphlet:

To the Representatives of the Religious Society of the People called Quakers, or to so many of them as were concerned in publishing the late piece, entitled "THE ANCIENT TESTIMONY AND PRINCIPLES OF THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS RENEWED, WITH RESPECT TO THE KING AND GOVERNMENT, AND TOUCHING THE COMMOTIONS NOW PREVAILING IN THESE AND OTHER PARTS OF AMERICA ADDRESSED TO THE PEOPLE IN GENERAL."

Basically his argument, insofar as it was coherent and intelligible, amounted to the attitude that any Friendly witness to non-violence was hypocrisy, in that it pretended to be a religious position entirely separate from politics while, by urging nonresponsiveness to governmental violence, amounting to a sponsorship of the political status quo, it was actually religion dabbling all of its toes in the political mainstream.

Such a crowdpleaser of an argument would sell 500,000 copies.

March 28, day: [Thomas Paine](#) wrote the 1st of his "Forester's Letters."

April 3, day: Publication of the 1st of [Thomas Paine](#)'s "The Forester's Letters."

The Continental Congress resolved (but not for the reasons that you'd suppose) "That no slave be imported into any of the thirteen United Colonies."

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

SLAVERY

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: The strain of war at last proved too much for this voluntary blockade, and after some hesitancy Congress, April 3, 1776, resolved to allow the importation of articles not the growth or manufacture of Great Britain, except tea. They also voted "That no slaves be imported into any of the thirteen United Colonies."<sup>5</sup> This marks a noticeable change of



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attitude from the strong words of two years previous: the former was a definitive promise; this is a temporary resolve, which probably represented public opinion much better than the former. On the whole, the conclusion is inevitably forced on the student of this first national movement against the slave-trade, that its influence on the trade was but temporary and insignificant, and that at the end of the experiment the outlook for the final suppression of the trade was little brighter than before. The whole movement served as a sort of social test of the power and importance of the slave-trade, which proved to be far more powerful than the platitudes of many of the Revolutionists had assumed.

The effect of the movement on the slave-trade in general was to begin, possibly a little earlier than otherwise would have been the case, that temporary breaking up of the trade which the war naturally caused. "There was a time, during the late war," says Clarkson, "when the slave trade may be considered as having been nearly abolished."<sup>6</sup> The prices of slaves rose correspondingly high, so that smugglers made fortunes.<sup>7</sup> It is stated that in the years 1772-1778 slave merchants of Liverpool failed for the sum of £710,000.<sup>8</sup> All this, of course, might have resulted from the war, without the "Association;" but in the long run the "Association" aided in frustrating the very designs which the framers of the first resolve had in mind; for the temporary stoppage in the end created an extraordinary demand for slaves, and led to a slave-trade after the war nearly as large as that before.

April 8, day: Commander in Chief of the Fleet of the United Colonies [Esek Hopkins](#) brought his prizes to New London, Connecticut.

[Thomas Paine](#) wrote the 2d of his "Forester's Letters."

April 10, day: Publication of the 2d of [Thomas Paine](#)'s "The Forester's Letters."

April 28, day: Publication of the 3d of [Thomas Paine](#)'s "The Forester's Letters."

May 8, day: Publication of the 4th of [Thomas Paine](#)'s "The Forester's Letters."

August: From this point until January 1777, [Thomas Paine](#) would be a volunteer in the Continental Army (between 1776 and 1783 he would be authoring 16 "THE AMERICAN CRISIS" papers).

**READ THE FULL TEXT**

5. JOURNALS OF CONGRESS, II. 122.

6. Clarkson, IMPOLICY OF THE SLAVE-TRADE, pages 125-8.

7. Clarkson, IMPOLICY OF THE SLAVE-TRADE, pages 25-6.

8. Clarkson, IMPOLICY OF THE SLAVE-TRADE, pages 25-6.



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December 19, day: Captain Hoysted Hacker's [USS Providence](#), troubled by persistent leaks, arrived at [Newport](#) harbor in the [Narragansett Bay](#) to find that the island was under the control of British forces. Together with other American vessels, it would retire up the [Providence](#) River.

[Thomas Paine](#) prepared his 1st "American Crisis" essay, the one in which he wrote that "These are the times that try men's souls."

**READ THE FULL TEXT**

December 23, day: [Thomas Paine](#) published his CRISIS.

**1777**

[Thomas Paine](#) was named Secretary of the Committee of Foreign Affairs in Congress (in 1779 he would be forced to resign when discovered to have disclosed secret information).

January 13, day: Publication of [Thomas Paine](#)'s THE AMERICAN CRISIS, No. 2.

**READ THE FULL TEXT**

April 19, day: Publication of [Thomas Paine](#)'s THE AMERICAN CRISIS, No. 3.

People were trying to kill each other at Woodbridge, New Jersey.

September 12, day: Publication of [Thomas Paine](#)'s THE AMERICAN CRISIS, No. 4.

October: [Thomas Paine](#) was appointed as Pennsylvania's observer with Colonel George Washington's army.

**1778**

March 21, day: Publication of [Thomas Paine](#)'s THE AMERICAN CRISIS, No. 5.

**READ THE FULL TEXT**

People were trying to kill each other at Hancock's Bridge, New Jersey.



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October 20, day: Publication of [Thomas Paine](#)'s THE AMERICAN CRISIS, No. 6.

**READ THE FULL TEXT**

November 21, day: Publication of [Thomas Paine](#)'s THE AMERICAN CRISIS, No. 7.

**READ THE FULL TEXT**

**1779**

[Thomas Paine](#) was discovered to have disclosed secret information and was forced to resign as Secretary of the Committee of Foreign Affairs in Congress.

November: [Thomas Paine](#) became a clerk in the Pennsylvania Assembly and continued to work on his writings. He became a publicist.

**1780**

March 1, day: Pennsylvania began a gradual process of emancipation by decreeing that no child born in Pennsylvania after March 1, 1780 should be a slave. It had been [Thomas Paine](#) who had authored the preamble on emancipation to Pennsylvania's "An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery."

**READ THE FULL TEXT**

It would be during this month that Paine's THE AMERICAN CRISIS, No. 8 would be published.

**READ THE FULL TEXT**

"An Act for the gradual abolition of slavery."

§ 5. All slaves to be registered before Nov. 1.

§ 10. None but slaves "registered as aforesaid, shall, at any time hereafter, be deemed, adjudged, or holden, within the territories of this commonwealth, as slaves or servants for life, but as free men and free women; except the domestic slaves attending upon Delegates in Congress from the other American States," and those of travellers not remaining over six months, foreign ministers, etc., "provided such domestic slaves be not aliened or sold to any inhabitant," etc.

§ 11. Fugitive slaves from other states may be taken back.

§ 14. Former duty acts, etc., repealed. Dallas, LAWS, I. 838. Cf.



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PENN. ARCHIVES, VII. 79; VIII. 720.

SLAVERY

June 9, day: [Thomas Paine](#)'s THE AMERICAN CRISIS, No. 9 was published.

**READ THE FULL TEXT**

October 4, day: [Thomas Paine](#)'s THE AMERICAN CRISIS, THE CRISIS EXTRAORDINARY was published.

**READ THE FULL TEXT**

**1781**

[Thomas Paine](#) and John Laurens sailed to France to arrange further loans and war supplies.

August 25, day: [Thomas Paine](#) returned to America after going to France to negotiate a loan of 6,000,000 livres for the newly formed United States federal government.

**1782**

February: [Thomas Paine](#) took a job with the Secretary of Foreign Affairs at a salary of \$800 a year, a quite high salary for the time.

March 5, day: [Thomas Paine](#)'s THE AMERICAN CRISIS, No. 10 was published.

**READ THE FULL TEXT**

May 22, day: [Thomas Paine](#)'s THE AMERICAN CRISIS, No. 11 was published.

May 31, day: [Thomas Paine](#)'s THE AMERICAN CRISIS, A SUPERNUMERARY CRISIS - I was published.

October 29, day: [Thomas Paine](#)'s THE AMERICAN CRISIS, No. 12 was published.



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November 23, day: The politicians of [Rhode Island](#) had been resisting the funding of the new federal government of the United States of America. They had, for instance, refused to join in imposing a continental duty upon imports. The 1st of [Thomas Paine](#)'s "Six Letters to Rhode Island" arguing the necessity of such funding, "In Answer To the Citizen of Rhode Island / On the Five Per Cent. Duty," appeared in the [Providence Gazette](#). Paine criticized the Rhode Islanders for their unwillingness to work within the federal union and to contribute their fair share to the conduct of the revolution. He feared that England was going to monopolize American commerce through the subornation of disunity among the states of the new union.

December 4, day: The 2d of [Thomas Paine](#)'s "Six Letters to [Rhode Island](#)," arguing the necessity of funding for the new federal government of the United States of America, appeared in the [Providence Gazette](#).

1783

January 1, day: [Thomas Paine](#) wrote the 3d of his "Six Letters to [Rhode Island](#)," arguing the necessity of funding for the new federal government of the United States of America (it would appear in the [Providence Gazette](#) on January 4th).

The Reverend Ebenezer Hubbard was ordained in Marblehead.

EBENEZER HUBBARD [of [Concord](#)], son of Ebenezer Hubbard, was graduated [at Harvard College] in 1777, ordained at Marblehead, January 1, 1783, and died December 15, 1800, aged 43.<sup>9</sup>

January 4, day: The 3d of [Thomas Paine](#)'s "Six Letters to [Rhode Island](#)," arguing the necessity of funding for the new federal government of the United States of America, appeared in the [Providence Gazette](#).

January 9, day: [Thomas Paine](#) wrote the 4th of his "Six Letters to [Rhode Island](#)," arguing the necessity of funding for the new federal government of the United States of America (it would appear in the [Providence Gazette](#) on January 11th).

January 11, day: The 4th of [Thomas Paine](#)'s "Six Letters to [Rhode Island](#)," arguing the necessity of funding for the new federal government of the United States of America, appeared in the [Providence Gazette](#).

January 16, day: [Thomas Paine](#) wrote the 5th of his "Six Letters to [Rhode Island](#)," arguing the necessity of funding for the new federal government of the United States of America (it would appear in the [Providence Gazette](#) on January 18th).

9. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: John Stacy, 1835  
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



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January 18, day: The 5th of [Thomas Paine](#)'s "Six Letters to [Rhode Island](#)," arguing the necessity of funding for the new federal government of the United States of America, appeared in the [Providence Gazette](#). By this point Paine had been in Providence long enough to begin to suspect the motivation of his opponents (whom he did not name), and wrote about this suspect motivation, accusing them of self-interest and a lack of patriotism. The persons he was attacking included [John Brown](#) and [Nicholas Brown](#) and they of course knew it:

The objectors to the measure, not choosing to begin the question where it ought to be begun, have formed into an ambuscade to attack it in disguise ... this ambuscade consists originally of about ten or a dozen merchants, who have self-interest in the matter, and who, with a very profitable trade pay very little taxes in proportion ... and who likewise, by their present opposition, are drawing themselves away from the common burdens of the country, and throwing themselves upon the shoulders of others. And this, forsooth, they call patriotism.... Be ashamed, gentlemen, to put off the payment of your just debts, the payment of your suffering army, and the support of your national honor, upon such illiberal and unbelieved pretenses.

THE BROWN BROTHERS

January 31, day: [Thomas Paine](#) wrote the 6th of his "Six Letters to [Rhode Island](#)," arguing the necessity of funding for the new federal government of the United States of America (it would appear in the [Providence Gazette](#) on February 1st).

THE BROWN BROTHERS

February 1, day: The 6th of [Thomas Paine](#)'s "Six Letters to [Rhode Island](#)," arguing the necessity of funding for the new federal government of the United States of America, appeared in the [Providence Gazette](#). He reacted to the criticisms that had been levied against him by his local critics, criticisms such as that he had once declared bankruptcy, and that he had a fondness for alcoholic beverages:

I have heard a great deal of the angry dislike of a few men, whose niggardly souls, governed only by the hope of the high price which their next or present cargoes may bring.

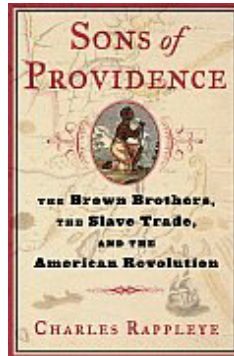
Charles Rappleye has commented on this, in his *SONS OF PROVIDENCE: THE BROWN BROTHERS, THE SLAVE TRADE, AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 2006, page 221):

... almost single-handedly, at a critical juncture in the life of the new nation, [John Brown](#) had derailed the momentum for establishing a central government and thrown the faltering



federal leadership into disarray.

THE BROWN BROTHERS



April 19, day: On the 8th anniversary of the battle of Lexington and [Concord](#), cessation of hostilities was proclaimed and [Thomas Paine](#) issued THE LAST CRISIS.

1784

[Francis Faulkner](#) again represented the town of Acton in the Massachusetts Legislature.

The US army of the revolution was disbanded. The State of New York awarded former army member [Thomas Paine](#) a house and 277 acres of land in New Rochelle. Presumably this had been the home and estate of a local Tory who had been forced to flee the new country, for the long-term residents of this Tory enclave would diss their new neighbor, preventing him from voting there and continually derogating him as “an atheist” until, finally, he would be driven out and would complete his life instead on Manhattan Island.

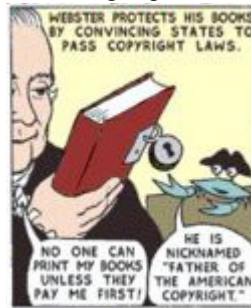
1785

In this year [Thomas Paine](#) was working on development of a smokeless candle, and on his design for a long, single-span bridge fabricated out of wrought iron. He was elected to membership in the American Philosophical Society, a Philadelphia group of similarly preoccupied people.

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[Noah Webster, Jr.](#) fulminated in defense of the western land claims of Connecticut, in a contest with Pennsylvania. The state lost this particular contest but would, eventually, win some “Western Reserve” lands. He declined an offer from George Washington that he tutor his stepchildren, explaining that writing was his “principal pleasure.” During this year and the following one he would be traveling extensively to further copyright legislation, while lecturing and selling copies of his publications to make money.



His travels would take him to New Haven, New-York, Baltimore, Virginia, and South Carolina. He would meet not only Washington but also Mrs. Aaron Burr, [Thomas Paine](#), and [Benjamin Franklin](#). While in New-York he perfected his scheme for a phonetic alphabet — Franklin in particular would be enthusiastic about this.

October: Already [Thomas Paine](#) had received £500 sterling from Pennsylvania. At the point the Congress instantly transformed him into an independently wealthy man by granted him an additional \$3,000.

1787

The emigrant to America [Thomas Paine](#) exhibited a model of his long, single-span wrought-iron bridge in Philadelphia and then sailed back to England to raise funds to attempt a full-scale construction. With the outbreak of the French Revolution, he would become a citizen of France and be elected to the National Assembly.



The radical bookseller Joseph Johnson introduced [William Blake](#) to the circle of [Mary Wollstonecraft](#), [William Godwin](#), the [Reverend Joseph Priestley](#), and [Thomas Paine](#). Blake began to experiment with a new method of engraving in which the drawings were done in reverse in an impervious liquid on copper plates, and then the unprotected parts eaten away with acid.

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April 26, day: [Thomas Paine](#) sailed from England for France.

May 26, day: [Thomas Paine](#) landed in France and headed for Paris, where he would present a model of his long, single-span wrought-iron bridge to the French Academy of Sciences. While in Paris he would meet and begin an association with Thomas Jefferson.

DATE?: [Thomas Paine](#) traveled from Paris to London to seek an endorsement for his long, single-span wrought-iron bridge by the Royal Society.

December: [Thomas Paine](#) returned from London to Paris.

1788

[Thomas Paine](#) returned from France to England to patent an iron bridge, proposing a longer span than ever before. When his design had been reviewed favorably by the French Academy of Sciences, he would go on to construct a demonstration prototype with a 90-foot arch on Paddington Green in London.<sup>10</sup>



[William Blake](#) had begun to experiment with a new method of engraving. Using an impervious liquid, the poetry and their illustrations were drawn in reverse on copper plates, and then the plain parts were eaten away with acid. The resultant prints were then colored by hand. At this point the first of his illuminated works, NATURAL RELIGION, appeared.

1789

[Thomas Paine](#) returned from England to Paris.

10. You didn't know he was involved in stuff like this?



THOMAS PAINE

TOM PAIN

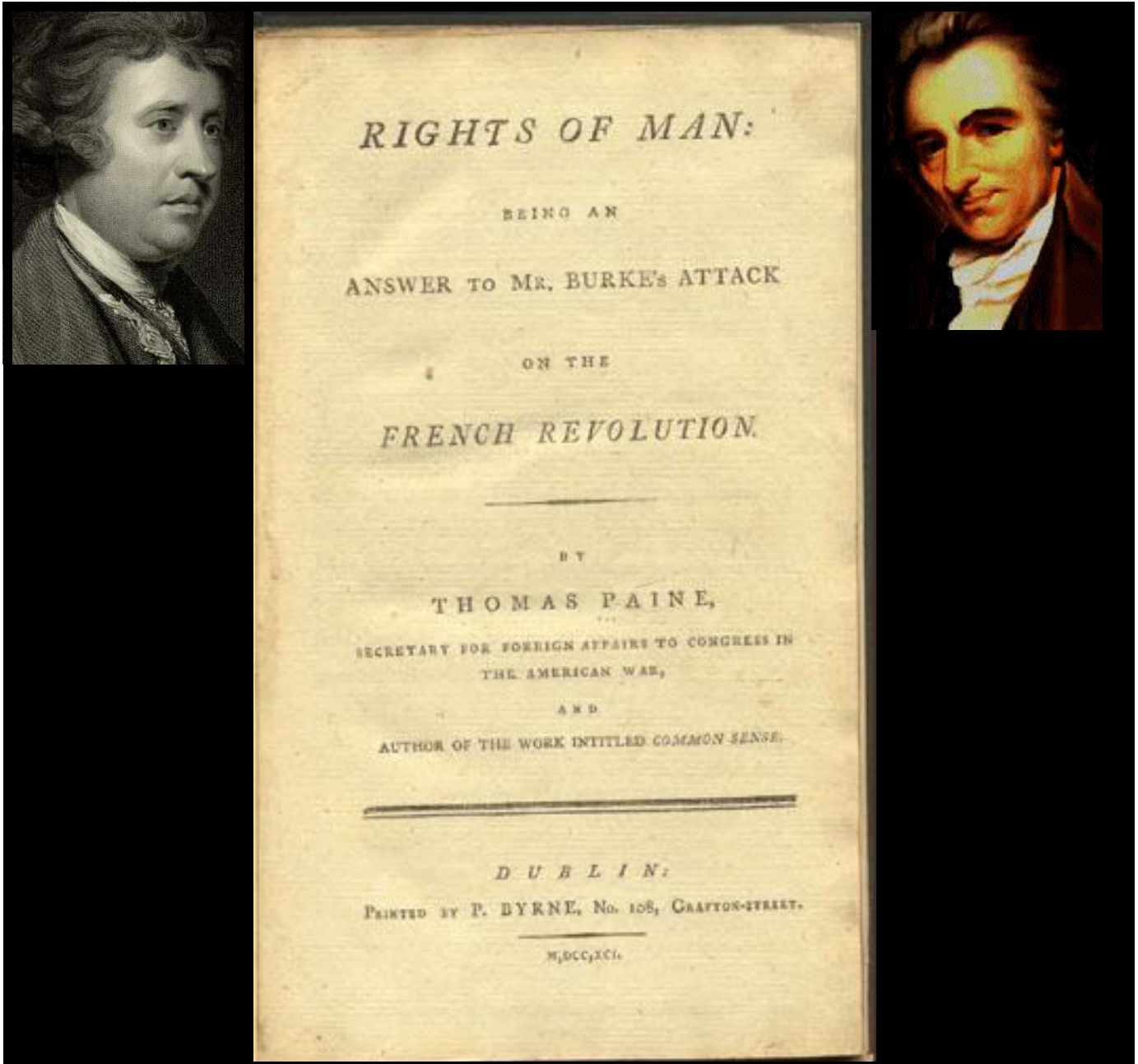
1791

The British government encouraged George Chalmers (1742-1825) to write and publish, pseudonymously, LIFE OF THOMAS PAIN, THE AUTHOR OF RIGHTS OF MEN. WITH A DEFENCE OF HIS WRITINGS, BY FRANCIS OLDYS. (Just about everything we suppose we now know about [Thomas Paine](#)'s early life, we have obtained by a process of determinedly squeezing the invective out of this publication and then reprocessing the dry residue of specific names and places and dates.)

## THOMAS PAINE

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March 13, day: Publication of Part I of RIGHTS OF MAN: BEING AN ANSWER TO MR. BURKE'S ATTACK ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION,<sup>11</sup> as [Thomas Paine](#)'s response to [Edmund Burke](#)'s derogation in the previous year of the French Revolution, REFLECTIONS ON THE REVOLUTION IN FRANCE.



From this month until during February 1792, Paine would be working on a Part II for this RIGHTS OF MAN. In this new part he would defend the French Revolution and, as in the colonies, would be against a strong government. Since this writing would oppose monarchy, it would of course be banned in England.

11. Actually the material had already been published by another publisher in London on February 22d — but then this publisher, fearful of a charge of treason, had withdrawn it.



THOMAS PAINE

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April 13, day: [William Godwin](#) met [Mary Wollstonecraft](#) at a diner at which [Thomas Paine](#) was also a guest.

1792

Hannah More's VILLAGE POLITICS constituted a response to [Thomas Paine](#)'s THE RIGHTS OF MAN:

Jo wrote no more sensational stories, deciding that the money did not pay for her share of the sensation, but going to the other extreme, as is the way with people of her stamp, she took a course of Mrs. Sherwood, Miss Edgeworth, and Hannah More, and then produced a tale which might have been more properly called an essay or a sermon, so intensely moral was it. She had her doubts about it from the beginning, for her lively fancy and girlish romance felt as ill at ease in the new style as she would have done masquerading in the stiff and cumbrous costume of the last century. She sent this didactic gem to several markets, but it found no purchaser, and she was inclined to agree with Mr. Dashwood that morals didn't sell.



THOMAS PAINE

TOM PAIN

February 17, day: [Edmund Burke](#) had replied to the attack on his ideas in [Thomas Paine](#)'s THE RIGHTS OF MAN, and so Paine was able to publish in London a “part two,” RIGHTS OF MAN: BEING AN ANSWER TO MR. BURKE'S ATTACK ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. [PRICE THREE SHILLINGS.] (Printed for J.S. Jordan, No. 166. Fleet-street. MDCCXCI), in which he expanded his defense of the French Revolution into a general proposal for the elimination of poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, and war.

**READ THE FULL TEXT**

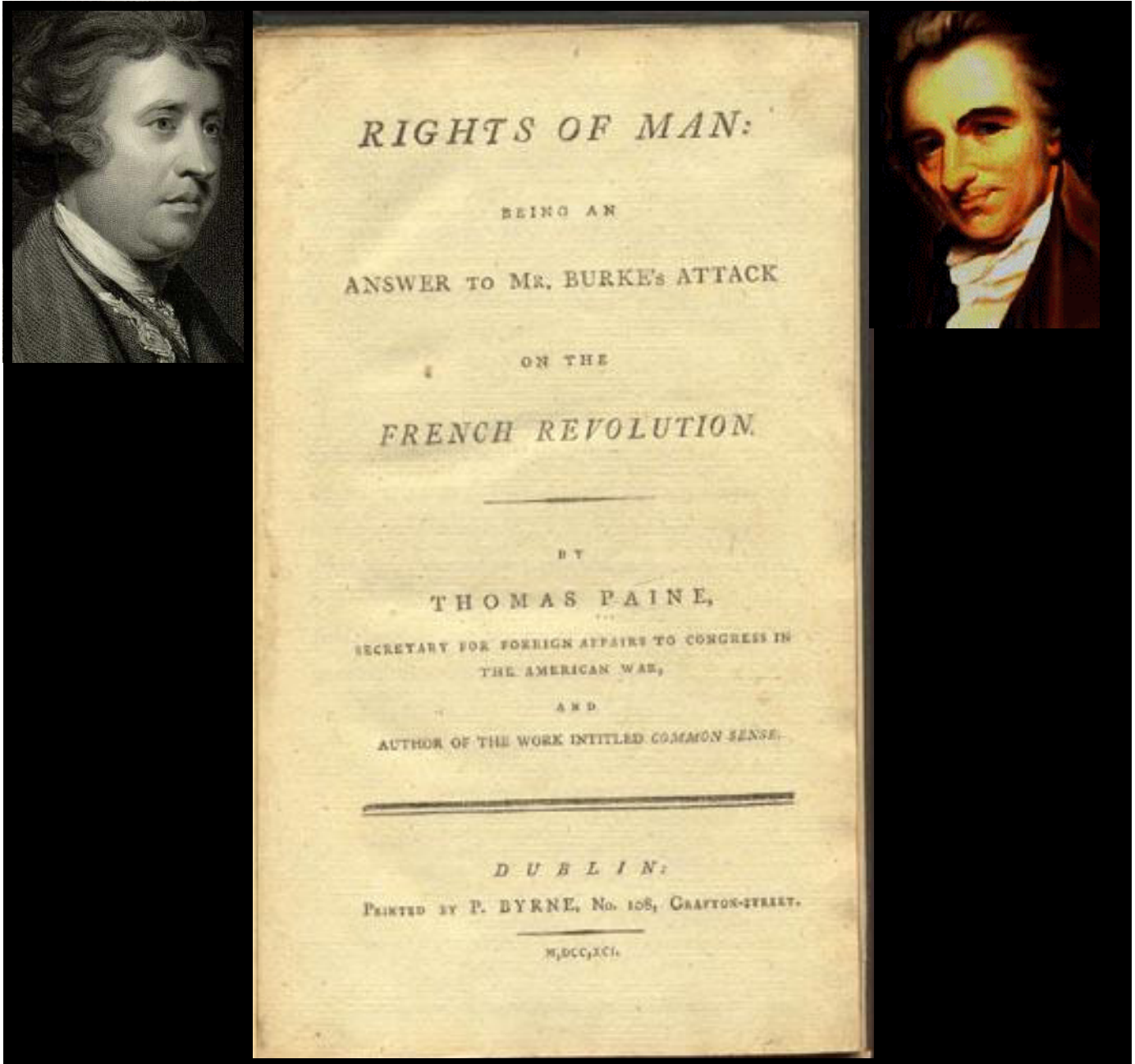
The specific proposals he made would be considered quite mundane today: for instance he proposed the replacement of monarchy by republicanism and the levying of a progressive income tax, with the moneys obtained from the income tax to be used to extend the benefits of education to everyone who could be educated, to provide welfare for the poor, to provide pensions for the aged, and to provide public works for the unemployed. These are, of course, what today are referred to as “entitlements” and make up the bulk of our governmental budget. The French elected Paine to a seat in their National Convention and, while Paine was in transit out of England, he was indicted in England for being in favor of “bloody revolution,” and especially for the “treason” of favoring France — but despite being hanged and burned in effigy in London he would make



THOMAS PAINE

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it across the English Channel without arrest and take his seat in the assembly.







**THOMAS PAINE**

**TOM PAIN**

December 18, day: When, a month after [Ludwig van Beethoven](#) arrived in Vienna, he learned that his father had died in Bonn, he made no attempt to return home.

In London, [Thomas Paine](#) was convicted, in absentia, of violating the June proclamation against seditious writings. Associated with this trial were hangings and burnings of effigies of this author in the streets, and prosecutions by the English government of both printers and sellers of RIGHTS OF MAN.

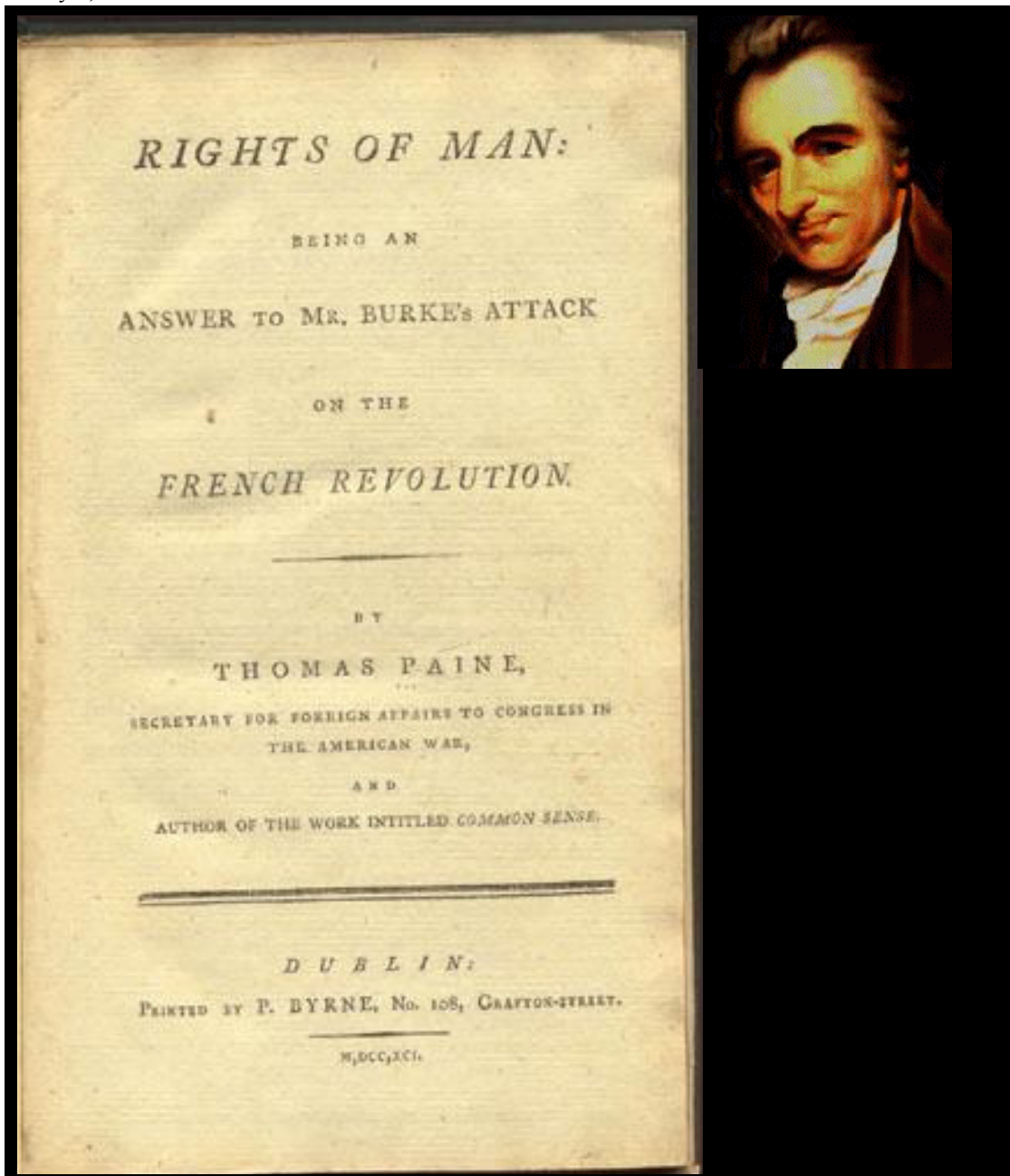
**READ THE FULL TEXT**

## THOMAS PAINE

## TOM PAIN

1793

Benjamin Tappan, Jr., eldest son of Sarah Tappan and Benjamin Tappan, Sr., came away from college with a bachelor's degree in his pocket, with Voltaire as his theologian, and with [Thomas Paine](#)'s THE RIGHTS OF MAN as his credo. —He would be the last son the Tappans would offer to any institution of higher education. He would study art for a while with Gilbert Stuart and learn the dangers of alcohol, then become an Ohio lawyer, then become a merchant.



## THOMAS PAINE

## TOM PAIN

December 28, day: During the administration of Robespierre, until November 4, 1794, [Thomas Paine](#) would be kept in prison in Luxembourg, for having declared in favor of banishment rather than beheading and quickliming for Louis XVI.



During his prison time he would be working over his AGE OF REASON. He would be building up a colossal grudge over the fact that the federal government of the United States of America was doing nothing to get him sprung out of this French lockup.

1794

January: While [Thomas Paine](#) was in prison on the continent, the first part of THE AGE OF REASON; BEING AN INVESTIGATION OF TRUE AND FABULOUS THEOLOGY, a work setting out his views on deistic religion at which he had been at work when arrested, was published in Paris.

## THOMAS PAINE

## TOM PAIN

November 4, day: Russian forces demolished all Polish resistance in the “Massacre at Praga” in which somewhere between 10,000 and 15,000 Polish civilians were slaughtered. Maastricht surrendered to the French.

Giovanni Paisiello’s dramma per musica *Didone abbandonata* to words of Metastasio was performed for the initial time, in the Teatro San Carlo of [Naples](#).

Upon the fall of Robespierre, in response to a belated appeal by American minister to France James Monroe, [Thomas Paine](#) was released from French prison — but he would go back to America harboring an enormous grudge against President George Washington for having previously neglected to intercede in France at a diplomatic level on his behalf, when he had the status of an American citizen being endangered by a foreign government.<sup>12</sup>



The understanding of Colonel Timothy Pickering, commissioner to the Native Americans, was that he had succeeded in soothing Indian feelings over the issues of Presque Isle and land along the [Niagara River](#) in upstate New York.

1795

September 6, day: In Dundee, Fanny Wright was born into a wealthy merchant family. Her father, a political radical, had circulated the works of [Thomas Paine](#).

October 25, day: Publication of the 2d part of [Thomas Paine](#)’s THE AGE OF REASON.

Under the amnesty of 4 Brumaire an IV, acts against the French Revolution prior to October 4th were forgiven and the Place de la Revolution in Paris, where the headchoppings had been taking place, was redesignated as the Place de la Concorde. Those who still have their heads can come back and commit treason no more! [Baron Joseph-Marie de Gérando](#) would consider it safe under these new rules to venture from Naples into his homeland.

12. Because he would go public with his complaint about the unfaithful conduct of the “father of our country,” who was because the ceremonial head of the nation was immune to all possibility of censure, Paine would be roundly excoriated and condemned by the American news media, for the remainder of his life, as a “dirty little atheist” —he was not, nor had he ever been, an atheist— and in fact he would be shot at in his own home in the countryside, from which danger and exposure he would need to flee to the anonymity of a city-flat hideout in New-York.



THOMAS PAINE

TOM PAIN

1796

July 20, day: [Thomas Paine](#)'s initial over-the-top letter to President George Washington, describing how he had been left to rot, an American citizen, in a French prison. (The American people would never forgive Paine for this offense against the august dignity of their fatherly leader.)

Mungo Park reached Ségou (which is presently in Mali) on the Niger, which he would follow downstream for 80 miles to Silla. Eventually he would arrive at Kamalia in Mandingo country, where he would lie for seven months dangerously ill with fever.

1798

By early in this year 69 "[Nicholites](#)" had applied to become members of the [Religious Society of Friends](#).

Friend [Elias Hicks](#), attempting to deal with some [Quakers](#) in a little town near Goose Creek in the Blue Ridge region of northern Virginia (people who had been reading [Thomas Paine](#)'s THE AGE OF REASON) became distressed at their spiritual condition, at this "darkness spreading over the minds of many as a thick veil." That night, after his testimony, he had the third of the three visions of his life. In this vision he saw that the earth was shrouded in darkness, but then there came a bright rainbow which spanned the heavens from northwest to southwest.

1801



March: The new American president, [Thomas Jefferson](#), wrote to [Thomas Paine](#) in France, offering to bring him back to America on an American warship.

THOMAS PAINE

TOM PAIN

1802

→ September 1, day: Upon the invitation of [Thomas Jefferson](#), [Thomas Paine](#) sailed aboard an American warship from Europe for the United States of America.



→ October 30, day: [Thomas Paine](#) arrived back in America, landing aboard an American warship in the port of [Baltimore](#). His friends had taken good care of his property and he was still considered very wealthy. People had forgotten his work as a revolutionist and because of his AGE OF REASON he came to be regarded as an atheist, and nevertheless President [Thomas Jefferson](#) (who had personally arranged the free passage aboard that warship) would invite Paine to the White House. Paine would live in seclusion in his cottage in New Rochelle NY,<sup>13</sup> concentrating on his writings against the Federalists (such as several attacks upon the deceased George Washington) and against religious superstitions.

13. The cottage is now occupied by the Huguenot and New Rochelle Historical Association, and the Thomas Paine National Historical Association has a museum nearby at which if you should for some reason want to, you can view Paine's wallets, his glasses, his watch, and his gloves.

THOMAS PAINE

TOM PAIN



November 25, day: The gazettes were carrying the news of [Thomas Paine](#)'s return to the United States of America:

*From the National Intelligencer.*


**THOMAS PAINE,**  
TO THE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES.  
*Letter the First.*

AFTER an absence of almost 15 years, I am again returned to the Country, in whose dangers I bore my share, and to whose greatness I contributed my part.

When I sailed for Europe in the Spring of 1787 it was my intention to return to America the next year, and enjoy, in retirement, the esteem of my friends, and the repose I was entitled to. I had stood out the storm of one revolution, and had no wish to embark in another. But other scenes and circumstances than those of contemplated ease were allotted me. The French revolution was beginning to germinate when I arrived in France. The principles of it were good, they were copied from America, and the men who conducted it were honest. But the fury of faction soon extinguished the one, and sent the other to the scaffold. Of those who began that revolution I am almost the only survivor, and that through a thousand dangers. I owe this, not to the prayers of Priests, nor the piety of hypocrites, but to the continued protection of Providence.

But while I beheld with pleasure the dawn of liberty rising in Europe, I saw, with regret, the lustre of it fading in America. In less than two years...

1805

 **Christmas** Eve: An odd-jobs man, disgruntled over something or other and well aware that **Thomas Paine** was generally condemned as “that atheist who had criticized President George Washington,” took a shot at him through a window of his rural cottage — and like Lee Harvey Oswald trying to pot-shot the ex-general, narrowly missed.



This “atheist” accusation would be one that would persist. For instance, Theodore Roosevelt, in an adversarial conversation with John L. Lewis, would term Paine a dirty little atheist.



The fact is, however, that Paine was no more an atheist than he was dirty or little.<sup>14</sup> Had President Roosevelt known anything about Paine, he would not have made such a judgment. Had Franklin Delano Roosevelt, however, known anything about Thoreau, had he understood anything about the “fear of fear” sound byte that he lifted from Waldo Emerson’s ill-considered gloss of Thoreau’s JOURNAL, he might well have termed Thoreau a dirty little atheist. He would have been right about one of the three epithets at least: Thoreau was indeed of smaller than average stature, for an American. Now, you may wonder how it was that Thomas Paine acquired the reputation he acquired, as an atheist, since he was the son not only of an Anglican mother but also of a

<sup>14</sup>.Consult Robin McKown’s THOMAS PAINE, published in 1962.



## THOMAS PAINE

## TOM PAIN

[Quaker](#) father,

My father being of the quaker profession, it was my good fortune to have an exceedingly good moral education.



and since as a Deist he could repeatedly and loudly proclaim his belief in God:

I believe in one God and no more; and I hope for happiness beyond this life. I believe in the equality of man; and I believe that religious duties consist in doing justice, loving mercy, and endeavoring to make our fellow creatures happy.... My own mind is my own church.



The answer is that this came about in the public reaction of 1794-1796 to his *THE AGE OF REASON*, which he wrote while in prison in Luxembourg — imprisoned because he had urged the French to reason with their king, Louis XIV, rather than merely off with his head. He had sided with the Girondists, the party of moderation at that time, and had been excused for this by the more extreme French politicians on the grounds that, a known [Quaker](#), he must be considered to be opposed in principle to any use of violence — but then he had passed utterly out of bounds even for a non-violenter, by trying to intercede for their king. (During the revolution of the American colonies of England, also, he had tried to persuade Americans to attempt to reason with their British monarch, at a time when it was not really in anyone's agenda to be reasonable.)

It is true that [Thomas Paine](#) never joined the Quakers, and that in fact he criticized the Quakers. As a Deist, he said that

The religion that approaches the nearest of all others to true Deism, in the moral and benign part, thereof, is that professed by the quakers; but they have contracted themselves too much by leaving the works of God out of their system.



Now, this sounds very Thoreauvian. Thoreau never charged the Quakers with contracting themselves too much by leaving the works of God out of their system, but he might well have had he thought it, and might well have said it had the occasion presented itself. Also, it is true that Paine did not really think that [Quakerism](#) was a *bona fide* part of that nasty thing, Christianity:

The only sect that has not persecuted are the Quakers; and the only reason that can be given for it is, that they are rather Deists than Christians.





THOMAS PAINE

TOM PAIN

1806

➡ The election officials of New Rochelle, New York challenged the citizenship credentials of the despised [Thomas Paine](#), and refused to count his ballot. Having recently been shot at and, fortunately, missed, Paine relocated to the anonymity of a Greenwich Village apartment on the island of Manhattan.

1808

➡ [Thomas Paine](#), who had for years been drinking heavily, in this year lost the use of his legs.

1809

➡ January: [Thomas Paine](#) made out his will. At this point he had entirely lost the use of his legs due to his drinking, and was receiving constant medical attention. Although he made a request that he be buried as a [Quaker](#), this request would ultimately be rejected by the [Religious Society of Friends](#).

➡ June 8, Thursday: The first ocean-going steamboat, the *Phoenix*, left New York for Philadelphia (but hadn't yet arrived in the open ocean).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 8 of 6 Mo // Silent & perhaps not quite as barran a meeting as at sometimes. Some friends have arrived that expect to attend our Anual Sacrifice but none that are in the Ministry that I have heard of - In the Afternoon engaged at the meeting house in making arrangements of the Seats to accommodate our Meeting next first day -*

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RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



THOMAS PAINE

TOM PAIN

[Thomas Paine](#) died in New-York (well, we all must die somewhere). His request that he be buried as a [Quaker](#) had been refused by the [Religious Society of Friends](#). His age (72) would be incorrectly registered on what is said to be his gravestone on his farm in New Rochelle, New York (a stone which neglects to mention the interesting fact that although it is stating the truth when it states that he was buried there, in fact his body is no longer in the vicinity). An obituary notice published throughout the United States would sum up his life in the phrase “He had lived long, did some good and much harm.” What was this man’s offense, that had called forth such a bitter dismissal in an obituary? Well, it seems that when this citizen’s country had fucked him over, while he had been serving it selflessly at great personal risk and loss during the period of its greatest difficulties, **he had noticed and he had objected**. A word to the wise chauvinist: when your country eventually fucks you over, **you aren’t to notice** — no, that’d be very disloyal of you. You’re supposed to just grin and grit your teeth, and go on playing the patriot.

(AWTTW.)

THOMAS PAINE

TOM PAIN



## Famous Last Words:



"What school is more profitably instructive than the death-bed of the righteous, impressing the understanding with a convincing evidence, that they have not followed cunningly devised fables, but solid substantial truth."

— A COLLECTION OF MEMORIALS CONCERNING DIVERS DECEASED MINISTERS, Philadelphia, 1787




"The death bed scenes & observations even of the best & wisest afford but a sorry picture of our humanity. Some men endeavor to live a constrained life — to subject their whole lives to their will as he who said he might give a sign if he were conscious after his head was cut off — but he gave no sign Dwell as near as possible to the channel in which your life flows."

—Thoreau's JOURNAL, March 12, 1853

1794	George Jacques Danton	he had been convicted of not having made adequate use of the guillotine	<i>"Show my head to the people. It is worth seeing."</i>
1798	Giovanni Casanova	having spent his life collecting sequentially and in tandem 132 pubic scalps	<i>"I have lived as a philosopher and died as a Christian."</i>
1799	George Washington	fearing being buried alive (a common fear for that period), he was being heartily reassured by his physician	<i>"'Tis well."</i>
1806	Charles Dickinson	he was dueling with Andrew Jackson	<i>"Why have you put out the lights?"</i>
1809	Thomas Paine	his physician asked whether he wished to believe Jesus to be the son of God	<i>"I have no wish to believe on that subject."</i>
... other famous last words ...			

1819

 October: One night an English detractor of [Thomas Paine](#), William Cobbett, a political journalist, who had inverted his thinking and become a Paine disciple (!), disinterred Paine's earthly remains to transport them to England because he was supposing that here in the United States, his service to the revolution had been forgotten and he was being remembered only as that atheist who attacked organized religion. Cobbett's idea was that in London, where there were people who more fairly recognized Paine's general contributions and knew he had not been a mere "filthy little atheist," his bones would be awarded a funeral of state, worthy of them.

I shall gather together the people of Liverpool and Manchester in one assembly with those of London, and those bones will effect the reformation of England in Church and State.<sup>15</sup>

Cobbett would prove, however, in this to be utterly mistaken, and the remains would be stored in a trunk in Cobbett's attic and then lost, and have never been recovered.<sup>16</sup>


DIGGING UP THE DEAD

15. Cobbett would prove to be rather mistaken in his appreciation of people's appreciation of decaying corpses, and the remains would be pretty much lost and not recovered. (There are some who do know where [Paine](#)'s brain stem is buried, somewhere secret on the grounds of the Thomas Paine Museum in New Rochelle NY, and they also have there some odd snippets of his hair.)

16. Never mind, there's a gilt statue of him at the town of his birth, Thetford. He's pretending to be a lawn jockey, or something:



1820

 [Zachariah Allen](#) began, on a worn-out plot of 40 acres in [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#) which he was unable to lease any longer even as pasture, an experiment in silviculture that now seems to us to have been the first such attempt in New England and perhaps in the entire United States (this woodlot has become part of the present-day Lincoln Woods State Park). He planted trees and began a 67-year period of keeping careful track of expenses. The cost of planting these trees was \$45 and the plot had been appraised to have a value of \$600.

At about this time, the American potato and eggplant members of the nightshade family (*Solanacea*) already having gained a widespread acceptance, the [tomato](#) (*Lycopersicon esculentum*) member of that family was also beginning to gain acceptability in the USA as a food for civilized people. In [Newport, Rhode Island](#) Michel Felice Corne again attempted to grow the tomato in his garden – and this time, unlike in his Salem MA garden in 1802, the plant would grow very well and produce a succulent harvest. Soon his neighbors would be planting tomatoes as well! During this decade, several cookbooks would be including tomatoes in recipes. William Cobbett, your originary journalist with a penchant for fighting lost battles, having lost the bones of Tom Paine (!), decided to warn against the influence of the [potato](#). Nobody, of course, paid the slightest attention, not because he had lost his hero's bones, nor because over-reliance on a single staple crop can't be an exceedingly risky business proposition — but because you've got to join them you simply can't fight them.


FAMINE

THOMAS PAINE

#### THE NIGHTSHADES (SOLANACEAE)

- — [Solanum tuberosum](#)
- — [Tomato Lycopersicon esculentum](#)
- — chili peppers
- — eggplant
- — deadly nightshade
- — [Nicotiana tabacum](#)
- — henbane
- — Jimson weed
- — petunia
- — plus some 2,000 other species grouped into 75 genera

1822

 A death mask had been made when [Thomas Paine](#) had died in 1809. At this point William Cobbett even made a particularly gruesome “grave mask” off the decomposed corpse.



THOMAS PAINE

TOM PAIN

1825



A SERIES OF EXTEMPORANEOUS DISCOURSES: DELIVERED IN THE SEVERAL MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, IN PHILADELPHIA, GERMANTOWN, ABINGTON, BYBERRY, NEWTOWN, FALLS, AND TRENTON. BY ELIAS HICKS, A MINISTER IN SAID SOCIETY. TAKEN IN SHORT HAND BY M.T.C. GOULD (Philadelphia: Joseph & Edward Parker):

"It is only a light from heaven that can show us the way to heaven."

Also, an interesting anti-[Elias Hicks](#) pamphlet, comparing him with "that arch-infidel [Thomas Paine](#)," was anonymously published during this year:





**THOMAS PAINE**

**TOM PAIN**

**A LETTER  
FROM  
ANNA BRAITHWAITE  
TO  
ELIAS HICKS,  
ON THE  
NATURE OF HIS DOCTRINES.  
BEING  
A REPLY  
TO HIS  
LETTER TO DR. EDWIN A. ATLEE;  
TOGETHER WITH  
NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS.  
  
PHILADELPHIA:  
PRINTED FOR THE READER.  
1825.**



Note. - The conduct of Anna Braithwaite towards [Elias Hicks](#) has already been so fully and ably vindicated, and her amiable character rescued from the illiberal and unjust aspersions of her accusers, that the publication of the following letter seems almost superfluous.

We present it to the public, not because we deem it needful to say any thing more in her defence, but because it is her own reply to the letter of [Elias Hicks](#) to Dr. E.A. Atlee.

A perusal of her letter must satisfy every unprejudiced person of the rectitude of the motives which induced her to make a visit to [Elias Hicks](#), and subsequently to pen the notes of the conversation which passed between them. The correctness of these notes is confirmed (though further confirmation is unnecessary) by the reference she makes in this letter to the statements which E.H. has declared to be "false and unfounded," and by the accuracy with which she repeats the conversation which passed upon those topics.

The explanation which she gives respecting the expression attributed to her by E.H. that "she did not want to see better," is peculiarly satisfactory, and completely dissipates the construction which he has attempted to give it. It is not surprising that she did not wish to attain that further degree of illumination which was to produce in her mind opinions coincident with his; for if "to be brought to see better" includes the adoption of his creed, we should suppose that no person endued with a rational understanding would wish "to see better."

His assertions that the account of the creation of the world was an allegory, and that this had been specially revealed to him - that he considered Jesus to be the son of Joseph, and no more than a prophet - and his asking A.B. the question respecting the fall of Adam, are so accurately related, and with circumstances so strongly corroborating as must place the correctness of her former statements beyond doubt.

She has very properly remarked upon his failing to prove that her notes are incorrect or inconsistent; since his letter to Dr. Atlee, so far from making this appear, furnishes sufficient evidence from his own pen that they are substantially correct. The matter in the notes is certainly very inconsistent, but the fault of this must rest upon himself, since they are merely a repetition of the substance of his own expressions. Had he condescended to tell Dr. Atlee what he did say, or to avow the sentiments to him which he had done to Anna Braithwaite, we should have needed no further evidence of the correctness of her statements. If he believed these to be incorrect, he could at once have proved it, and done away with any impression which they might have produced, by stating explicitly what it was he did say, and what are his real sentiments upon the disputed points of doctrine. But the truth is, that it is not so much the incorrectness of her statements which has given offence to him, as the disclosure of his doctrines, before he had disciplined the minds of the people to receive them.

Her intention of furnishing him with a copy of her notes before she left America, and the fact that his friends dissuaded her from it - her stay in New York for six weeks after the yearly



meeting, perfectly disposed to meet such inquiries as her friends might wish to have answered - clearly evince the integrity and conscious uprightness with which she acted, and her being wholly unacquainted with E.H. previous to the select quarterly meeting, so that she did not even know that it was he who spoke, when he made his singular remarks upon the appointment of representatives, proves that it was not personal prejudice against him which induced her objections to the sentiments he then expressed.

Her letter is remarkable for the good temper and forbearance with which it is written. There is neither reviling nor recrimination; nor any impeachment of his motives - indeed it contains nothing but what is kind and respectful, and in full accordance with a spirit truly Christian. In all these respects it presents a striking contrast with the one to which it is a reply.

It is proper to state that none of the following notes are from the pen of Anna Braithwaite, except the two to which the initials of her name are affixed.

### TO ELIAS HICKS.

In reading the first and second edition of thy Letter to Dr. Atlee, respecting the notes made by me of the conference at thy house, though neither printed nor circulated at my request, I am at a loss to find a refutation of my assertions.<sup>17</sup>

Before I enter into any pointed allusions to this part of the subject, I may acknowledge, that I do regret not having done what it was my wish to do, previous to leaving America, and that is, write to thee, enclosing these notes, and requesting any remarks thou might have to make; but several of thy friends assured me, thou wast perfectly aware of my sentiments respecting thy views on the doctrines of the Gospel; that it had been more than once proposed to thee, though not from me, to meet me, and thou hadst declined it. I remained near six weeks after the yearly meeting in the city of New-York, perfectly disposed to meet with, in the ability that might be afforded, such inquiries as my friends might wish to have answered.

It is well known to my friends in this country, and to many in America, that I went there in great ignorance of the state of things; many proofs could readily be obtained to substantiate

17. During the last few weeks of A.B.'s visit to America, she was subjected to much incivility, which she freely forgives, for steadily adhering to fundamental Gospel truths, which were known to be opposed to the views of [Elias Hicks](#); and in uniformly avowing to those whom she thought it best to converse with on the subject, that she considered his to be deistical opinions, accompanied by a belief in what he termed the Spirit; at the same time expressing her wish that the subject should be coolly and impartially considered, without the least disposition to personal invective or party spirit, that she believed truth should stand upon its own foundation, and needed none of these carnal weapons to support it. She repeatedly told his friends, when they accused her of error in calling Elias Hicks' views doctrines of infidelity, that if he had any thing to object to in the charge, she was perfectly willing to meet him in the presence of few or many, as he might think fit, and that she was entirely willing if they thought it desirable, that her doctrine should be tried before a legitimate body of the Society; and she thought it was due to her, and to the Society to which they belong, that she, in common with her dear English friends, should have the opportunity of thus pleading the cause of truth, rather than that their labours should be clandestinely undermined: she wishes also to state, that no person could be further than herself, from wishing to inquire into the opinions of private individuals upon these subjects, as she considers them of a peculiarly delicate nature, but she holds herself, in common with all in the station of ministers, and all who try to influence others, as cognizable to the Society to which they belong, for doctrines preached and propagated by them. - [See Note A, appendix.]

A.B.



this assertion, and I do particularly wish thee to inquire of those who were my most constant companions, what was the path I pursued in reference to existing trials in your land. I avoided every channel of information respecting individuals, and I had rarely heard thy name mentioned in any way, until my visit at Jericho.

No disposition, comparable to watching for evil, was in my heart, this all my friends well know. I hoped the little I had heard was exaggerated, and I went to see thee, as my manner indicated, in a friendly disposition.

Allow me to state what I believe to have been thy remarks in the select meeting. - "I think there must be something wrong in the present instance, for as we profess to believe in the guidance of the Spirit of Truth, as an unerring Spirit, we have a right to expect, especially in a meeting of ministers and elders, that if each friend attended to his or her proper gift, as this spirit is endued with prescience, that no friend would be named for any appointment but such as would attend, and during my long course of experience I have never appointed any one who was prevented attending, either by illness or otherwise." [See note B.] I did not, at the time, suppose thee to be the friend who spoke,<sup>18</sup> but was surprised at the remark, and being informed it was thee, I remember asking thee, if thou would be so kind as to explain this a little further, and expressed my opinion that it was carrying the matter too far. I never said that I did not want to see better, but I did say, in reply to thy remark, and it was what thou several times repeated, that I wanted experience, and thou believed I should live to think as thou didst upon doctrinal subjects, &c. that I hoped I never should.<sup>19</sup>

In reply to the following, "as to her charge against me in regard to the Scriptures, it is generally incorrect, and some of it is false," I may state that I cannot in any degree, retract it, for I was much surprised at the pains thou took to convince me, that we should do better without the Bible, and with thy remarks as stated in my notes, also with thy objections to the Scriptures as a rule of faith and practice, as they have ever been held to be by our friends. The inference from thy remarks is, that those who believe in the Scriptures as a rule, believe in them as the primary and only rule, and avoiding the path which our early friends walked in, and which, in the present day, they fully approve, of a belief in the Spirit, and in the Scriptures as a secondary rule or test, &c. agreeably to the following from Barclay.<sup>20</sup> "In this respect above mentioned then, we have shewn

18. Not having seen E.H. before, she was unacquainted with his person.

19. E.H. says in his letter to Dr. Atlee, "But she replied she did not want to see better," and adds, "this manifestation of her self-importance, lowered her character, as a gospel minister, very much in my view, and her subsequent conduct while she was with us, abundantly corroborated and confirmed this view concerning her." It would appear from this, that his estimation of the characters of ministers, is graduated in proportion to their readiness to acquiesce with his dogmas, since her dissent from his belief, and her expression that she hoped never to think as he did on doctrinal points, &c. lowered her character so very much in his view. We apprehend, however, that in the estimation of most pious christians, her dissent will form a strong evidence of her being a real gospel minister, and we would ask whether it be not a mark of self-importance in him, to brand a conscientious disapproval of his principles with this epithet. The attitude in which he has placed her words, and the inference drawn from them, certainly are not in consonance with that "charity which thinketh no evil."

20. Edition 1765, page 64.



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what service and use the Holy Scriptures, as managed in and by the Spirit, are of to the Church of God. Wherefore we do account them a secondary rule. Moreover, because they are commonly acknowledged by all to have been written by the dictates of the Holy Spirit, and that the errors which may be supposed by the injury of time, to have slipt in, are not such but that there is a sufficient clear testimony left, to all the essentials of the Christian Faith, we do look upon them as the only fit outward judge of controversies among Christians; and that whatsoever doctrine is contrary unto their testimony, may therefore justly be rejected as false. And for our parts we are very willing that all our doctrines and practices be tried by them, which we never refused, nor ever shall in all controversies with our adversaries, as the judge and test: we shall also be very willing to admit it as a positive certain maxim, that whatsoever any do, pretending to the Spirit, which is contrary to the Scriptures, be accounted and reckoned a delusion of the Devil." Thou states in thy letter to Dr. Atlee, "I have convinced divers of the soundness of our doctrine in this respect, that not the Scriptures, but the Spirit of Truth, which Jesus commanded his disciples to wait for, as their only rule that would teach them all things, and guide them into all truth, is the primary and only rule of faith and practice, and is the only means by which our salvation is effected." [See Note C.]

In reference to the account of the Creation being an allegory, thou entered into a long explanation how it was opened to thy mind in the meeting alluded to in my notes; thou stated that a minister of some other society had been present, then, or on some other occasion when the subject was alluded to, and had been rather surprised at the first, but was fully convinced of thy assertions by a subsequent conversation, and thou ranked the belief in the existence of the Garden of Eden, with that of a belief in any such places as Heaven and Hell, which thou spoke of as equally erroneous, but didst not explain thy views so as to give me a correct idea of thy meaning.

I well remember thy asking me the question respecting Adam, and the answer as stated. I wish thou would endeavour to call to mind what pains thou took to convince me that Jesus was no more than a Prophet, and that he was the son of Joseph. On the latter point, these were, I believe, thy words: "Thou canst not surely be so foolish as to believe Jesus to be the son of the Virgin Mary - he was called the carpenter's son - he frequently alludes to himself as the son of man;" and thou quoted many texts to prove it to me; and could I be likely to doubt my memory on this subject, when I heard thee publicly declare in a meeting for worship, "God is a Spirit, and it is impossible He could beget a son, save in His own likeness."

Thou speaks of my notes containing so much inconsistency, and being so incorrect, that as thou proceeds, they appear less and less worthy of a reply; but saving for the denial of the above as having been stated by thee, thou dost not make this appear; and even in reference to the above, thou dost not say such are



not thy sentiments. Thou admits thy opinion that we cannot believe what we do not understand, or, as thou said to me, comprehend; and I refer thee to my answers in reply to this, and several other things; and may further state that I consider this the foundation upon which infidelity stands; and that whilst I hope ever to be preserved from exalting one part of the glorious Gospel plan of Christian Redemption to the subversion of the rest, yet I do consider a denial of the propitiatory sacrifice of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to be infidelity: nor do I look upon it as detraction to bear my testimony against opinions publicly advocated. [See note D.] It may be proper to state, that in my notes, there is no allusion to thy motives, nor any comment upon thee as a man, but the attention is called solely to opinions which many have believed thee to hold, not from private conversation only, but from thy communications in meetings, and if they are not thy sentiments, a very erroneous impression has been made upon the minds of thy hearers. [See note E.] Some of thy friends, to whom my notes were read, recognised thy views in them without hesitation, and endeavoured to vindicate them as truths, without even expressing a doubt of their correctness.<sup>21</sup>

I refer thee to my replies in further refutation of thy views, and I may now conclude with observing, that it was currently reported in Philadelphia, and other places which I visited, that in the conferences at thy house, thou hadst entirely converted me to thy opinions. After deliberately considering the subject, I concluded to leave a copy of the notes, which I fully believe to be correct, that they might be referred to in case of any misrepresentation.

I remain thy sincere friend and well-wisher,  
(Signed) ANNA BRAITHWAITE.  
Lodge-Lane, near Liverpool, 11th mo. 13th, 1824.

NOTE. - When I reflect upon the pains not only [Elias Hicks](#), but many others took to convince me of his views, and that the doctrines of the Gospel are mere opinions, and abstract points, and that if we believe in the Spirit, it is of no consequence whether we believe in these doctrines or not, I am wholly at a loss to conceive why there should be so great an anxiety to evade the avowal of them.

21. We cannot suppose that [Elias Hicks](#), when he declared to Dr. Atlee that Anna Braithwaite's notes were incorrect, had any serious intention of denying that he held the doctrines which she attributes to him. Regard for his own character would, we should think, deter him from hazarding an assertion, which would be proved to be untrue by his own letters and from his public preaching. When he speaks, therefore, of parts being "false and unfounded," we are to understand him as alluding to mere literal inaccuracies, in noticing which he has heretofore allowed himself great latitude of speech, as in the case of Joseph Whitall. Every article of christian faith which she has charged him with denying, we ourselves, and hundreds more, have heard him deny many times over, and adduce arguments to support his denial; and it is well known that those of his followers who are thoroughly initiated into the mysteries of his creed, (for even E.H. has his creed,) make the same open denial, and contend for the propriety of doing so. That he cautiously avoids reducing his belief, (or rather unbelief) to the tangible and permanent form of written declaration, is by no means mysterious - he must have abundant proof that the people are not yet prepared to deny the christian faith, and that his open rejection of it would be turned from with disgust. It is, therefore, policy to confine himself to oral declarations, which may be evaded by telling us we do not understand them - to use ambiguous expressions - to invalidate the authority of the Scriptures - to destroy the respect and veneration which sensible and learned men have long entertained for them - to cloak his views under pretensions to revelation and greater light, and thus to lead the people on by degrees, and become, in some sense, all things to all men, if by any means, he may eventually gain some.



[See note F.]

I have nothing in my heart but good will to all, and sincere desires for their welfare; this, I hope my conduct, whilst among my friends in America, unequivocally proved; but the doctrines held by our ancient Friends, and maintained by the Society to the present day, are so opposed to such views, that as one who is concerned, to declare at times, under the constraining influence of Gospel Love, the glad tidings of Salvation, as believed in by the Society to which I belong,<sup>22</sup> I dare not, in any degree, sanction such unsound principles, though many who hold them will ever retain a place in my affectionate remembrance.

A.B.

## APPENDIX.

### NOTE A.

It is a regulation indispensably necessary to the peace of society, and to the preservation of order, consistency, and harmony among Christians, that the members of every religious body, and especially those who assume the office of teachers or ministers, should be responsible to the authorities established in the church, for the doctrines which they hold and promulgate.

To admit the contrary position would be to destroy the basis upon which all religious compacts are founded, to frustrate the objects and benefits of social worship, and to introduce anarchy and confusion into our religious assemblies. In fact, it would be equivalent to a renunciation of that essential and primary requisition of the gospel, which enjoins "repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ." It would be to grant full licence to unbelief, and to sanctuarize it, by an admission to all the privileges of christian communion.

When associated for the sacred employ of waiting upon God, and offering him the tribute of gratitude and praise, we should be subjected to the painful necessity of hearing sentiments avowed and defended from the pulpit or the gallery, which were repugnant to our conscientious belief, - calculated to poison the innocent and tender minds of our offspring, to seduce them from the paths of virtue, and lead them into the dark and bewildering mazes of scepticism, - our devotions would be liable to continual interruption, and our religious feelings to outrage and violation by preachers setting forth strange notions, subversive of the most solemn articles of christian faith, and inculcating practices directly at variance with the precepts of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

This state of things must be the necessary result of such indiscriminate licence; since every man, however shallow his experience, or however absurd or pernicious his principles,

22. If there be any persons who doubt the assertion that the doctrines of [Elias Hicks](#), are entirely repugnant to those held by the Society of Friends from its commencement, we would recommend to them the careful perusal of his letters to Dr. Shoemaker, Dr. Atlee and Thomas Willis, with the reviews of them, also Barclay's Catechism and Apology — Joseph Phipps's original and present state of man — Tuke's principles of "Friends," and Jesse Kersey's recent treatise on the doctrines of Friends.





would be perfectly at liberty to impose them upon the assembled audience. It would be well, therefore, if those who are contending for the privilege of preaching what they please, uncontrolled by any restraints, and subject to no test, would reflect upon the latitude which the recognition of such a right must unavoidably introduce; and consider whether there are not some doctrines which even they would dislike to hear from their teachers. Would they be willing, for instance, that preachers should be tolerated in their religious assemblies, who publicly advocated the propriety of war, of slavery, or oaths; of pecuniary recompense for preaching the gospel, or the absolute necessity of observing the ordinances; and who as publicly denied the sensible influences of the Holy Spirit? Certainly they would not, because such sentiments would be contrary to their religious principles and practices. There are then other sentiments which they may deem correct, but which are equally as repugnant to the sincere conscientious belief of their christian neighbours, as the encouragement of war, oaths, or slavery, would be to them, and consequently can no more be tolerated in their assemblies; and we should remember, that while we claim liberty of conscience and of thought for ourselves, we should be as ready to grant it to others.

The necessity, therefore, of exercising discrimination, and even inhibition, in reference to the ministry, is at once obvious, and has been fully recognized by the Society of Friends, both in their discipline and practice, from their earliest institution. This society, although they have never required of their members a subscription to any prescribed formula of faith, nevertheless consider it necessary to the enjoyment of membership in their communion, that the party should unfeignedly and unequivocally assent to the great fundamental truths of the gospel of Christ. The excellent and learned Barclay, who was intimately acquainted with those views which first induced friends to associate in religious fellowship, as well as with those great principles which formed the bond of their union and the terms of their compact, has the following observations in his Apology.

"For as we believe all those things to have been certainly transacted, which are recorded in the Holy Scriptures concerning the birth, life, miracles, sufferings, resurrection, and ascension of Christ, so we do also believe that it is the duty of every one to believe it, to whom it pleases God to reveal the same, and to bring them to the knowledge of it; yea we believe it were damnable unbelief not to believe it when so declared, but to resist that holy seed which as minded, would lead and incline every one to believe it as it is offered unto them." - Apology, Lond. Ed. 141.

If therefore consistency of belief in these great fundamental truths be required of every member of the society, as is clearly proved to be the case by their discipline, which makes unbelief cause of disownment, how much more shall it be demanded of those, who take upon them to be mouth to the people, and for whose





doctrines the society is held accountable in the eyes of the world?

But unhappily it has become a favorite notion with some, that doctrines are of no importance; and that if we conduct ourselves with propriety, it is indifferent what opinions we hold; - and yet, with a strange inconsistency, these very persons anathematize with implacable virulence, those who conscientiously differ from what they have been pleased to establish as articles of faith. What epithet is there too hard for them to bestow upon those who believe in the scripture doctrine of Three that bear record in heaven, and of the atonement; upon such as think it their duty to receive the ordinances and to support their ministers, or who are members of Bible or missionary societies?

We consider the notion that doctrines are of no importance to be dangerous in the extreme. Belief certainly produces a powerful influence upon both moral and religious practice. There are certain principles which, if adopted, have a direct tendency to lower the standard of morality, to destroy the force of all religious obligations in the mind, and to reconcile it to the indulgence of thoughts, and the commission of acts, which under the influence of christian doctrines and principles, it would have turned away from with horror or disgust. A man who does not believe in the existence of a heaven or a hell, - in a day of righteous retribution hereafter, according to the deeds done in the body; who discards all external tests, and makes the impulse of his own mind the sole arbiter of right and wrong; who believes that he can repent when he pleases, and that God cannot refuse him pardon, - such a man will be much less likely to abstain from evil, than one who steadily abides under a firm belief in the doctrines of Christ and his apostles. The deist can find many palliatives to sooth the compunctions of conscience, and many subterfuges to lessen the sinfulness of sin; and when he believes that every day as it passes, judges his actions, atones for his failures, and settles his account in the celestial register, he may soon reconcile himself to the commission of almost any sin, provided secrecy will only screen him from public censure. But even this check is often soon removed; so that it may be said "he neither feareth God nor regardeth man."

If we "search the Scriptures," we shall find from the highest authority, that faith, or belief, in the fundamental doctrines of the gospel, is an indispensable preliminary to becoming real christians. Thus our blessed Lord told Nicodemus - "He that believeth on him (viz. Jesus Christ,) is not condemned, but he that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only begotten Son of God." When the Jews asked him "what they should do that they might work the works of God," he replied, "This is the work of God, that ye believe on him whom God hath sent." And on another occasion he told them, "If ye believe not that I am he, ye shall die in your sins." Again, to Martha he says, "He that believeth in me, though he were dead yet shall he live, and whosoever liveth and



believeth in me shall never die." When he sent forth his eleven disciples to preach his gospel to every creature in all the world, he solemnly declared, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not, shall be damned." We have then the most conclusive testimony from the mouth of Him who could not lie, who came to be our Saviour, and who will be our judge, that a belief in the doctrines of that gospel which he sealed with his blood, is essentially and indispensably necessary to our salvation. Let us not, therefore, deceive ourselves with the presumptuous idea, that we may deny with impunity, or that we are at liberty to choose and carve for ourselves, and say we will believe a part and deny a part.

An assent to certain doctrines was the basis upon which the Society of Friends was founded, and upon which only it can exist. It was conscientious dissent from the faith of the societies to which they respectively belonged, that induced the worthy founders of this sect to forsake their families and friends, and join in communion and fellowship with those few despised individuals, whose doctrinal views were coincident with their own. And if the society continues to exist as a distinct body of christian professors, it must be by a strict adherence to the same principles which they professed.

Robert Barclay, in his excellent "Treatise on Church Government," the perusal of which we would earnestly recommend, speaking of the authority of the church in matters of conscience, says, "As to the first, whether the church of Christ hath power in any cases that are matters of conscience, to give positive sentence and decision which may be obligatory upon believers? I answer affirmatively, she hath, and shall prove it from divers instances both from Scripture and reason." - He then goes into the argument at large, from which we extract the following pertinent and forcible remarks. "Now I say, we being gathered together into the belief of certain principles and doctrines, without any constraint or worldly respect, but by the mere force of truth upon our understanding, and its power and influence upon our hearts, these principles and doctrines, and the practices necessarily depending upon them, are as it were the terms that have drawn us together, and the bond by which we became centred into one body and fellowship, and distinguished from others. Now if any one, or more, so engaged with us, should arise to teach any other doctrine or doctrines contrary to those which were the ground of our being one; who can deny but the body hath power in such a case to declare, "This is not according to the truth we profess, and therefore we pronounce such and such doctrines to be wrong, with which we cannot have unity, nor yet any more spiritual fellowship with those that hold them, and so cut themselves off from being members, by dissolving the very bond by which they were linked to the body?" "Suppose a people really gathered unto a belief of the true and certain principles of the gospel, if any of these people shall arise, and contradict any of those fundamental truths, whether have not such as stand, good right to cast such an one out from among them, and to pronounce positively, This is contrary to the truth we profess



and own, and therefore ought to be rejected and not received, nor yet he that asserts it as one of us." "If the apostles of Christ of old, and the preachers of the everlasting gospel in this day, had told all people, however wrong they found them in their faith and principles, Our charity and love is such, we dare not judge you, nor separate from you, but let us all live in love together, and every one enjoy his own opinion, and all will do well, - how should the nations have been, or what way can they be brought to truth and righteousness? Would not the devil love this doctrine well, by which darkness and ignorance, error and confusion, might still continue in the earth unreprieved and uncondemned." - "If God has gathered a people by this means, into the belief of one and the same truth, must not they, if they turn and depart from it, be admonished, reprieved and condemned, (yea rather than those that are not yet come to the truth,) because they crucify afresh unto themselves the Lord of glory, and put him to open shame? It seems the apostle judged it very needful they should be so dealt with, Tit. 1 c. 10 v. when he says, There are many unruly and vain talkers, and deceivers, especially they of the circumcision, whose mouths must be stopped, &c. Were such a principle to be received or believed, that in the church of Christ no man should be separated from, no man condemned or excluded the fellowship or communion of the body, for his judgment or opinion in matters of faith, then what blasphemies so horrid, what heresies so damnable, what doctrines of devils, but might harbour itself in the church of Christ? What need then of sound doctrine, if no doctrine make unsound? What need of convincing and exhorting gainsayers, if to gainsay be no crime? Where should the unity of the faith be? Were not this an inlet to all manner of abomination, and to make void the whole tendency of Christ and his apostles' doctrine, and render the gospel of none effect, and give a liberty to the unconstant and giddy will of man to innovate, alter and overturn it at his pleasure."

As then the system of faith adopted by the Society of Friends in the beginning, is the badge whereby they are contradistinguished from other denominations of professors, and is the cement or outward bond which unites them in religious fellowship, so it is essential to their existence, that they preserve the bond unbroken, and carefully guard against all mutilation. And there is no means whereby it would be more readily demolished, than by permitting ministers to promulgate whatever sentiments they may please, uncontrolled by any restraints, and amenable to no tribunal.

In fact, while men continue to differ in religious opinions as they now do, the most likely, nay the only way, for general peace, is for them to class themselves into societies, according to their faith; for no society to exercise dominion over the rest; for their controversies to be managed with good temper and moderation; and for no person to infringe upon the rights and conscientious belief of others, by assuming the liberty of teaching or remaining in a society, the ancient tenets of which



he rejects and denies.

**NOTE B.**

A belief in the sensible influence and guidance of the Holy Spirit, is certainly an important part of christian faith, and is forcibly enjoined upon us in the sacred volume. Its direction in the concerns of salvation, as well as in many important temporal affairs, has been reverently and gratefully acknowledged by an innumerable company of confessors to the true faith.

But while we assent with all cheerfulness to this most precious doctrine, we are far from believing that the "measure of the Spirit which is given to every man to profit withal," necessarily endues its possessor with prescience; or that when an individual is named under its influence, to any particular service, all the common contingencies of human life are averted, and that an absolute and irrevocably fatality binds him to the fulfillment of the appointment. Such a supposition would give to every person so named, an exemption from disease and death until the object of his appointment was accomplished, and would consequently contradict the plainest lessons of experience.

We have instances on record, of men of the greatest piety and holiness, who believed themselves divinely called upon to go forth in the service of their Lord and master, and whose call we cannot doubt was of God, but who were arrested in their career by the unrelenting hand of death, and summoned from their labours on earth, to receive a glorious reward in heaven. We have seen such men making a triumphant exit out of time, in the full assurance of enjoying a blissful eternity through the merits of the crucified Immanuel; and giving the most conclusive evidence that they had really lived under the guidance of the unerring Spirit of God. And are we to fly in the face of these facts, and conclude that because a release from the field of labour was granted them, before their contemplated mission was completed, that their call to the service was mere delusion, when they declared upon a death-bed that their hearts overflowed with peace in consequence of their yielding obedience to that call?

We cannot but consider the pretensions of [Elias Hicks](#) as presumptuous and illusory; and if it be true that "in the course of his long experience he has never named any one, who was prevented from attending by illness or otherwise," he has given abundant proof of his want of prescience on other occasions, equally, if not more important, and more immediately connected with his own religious duties, the proof of which must be fresh in the recollection of most of his friends in this city. One instance we may notice; - it is well known that after he had announced his intention of being at a meeting on the following day, and a large concourse of persons had assembled to hear him, they were disappointed, in consequence of his being confined to his chamber with illness.



The consequences which result from the opinions which he advances on this subject, are really monstrous. It follows from his assertions, that as every man has the Spirit of truth, and this spirit is unerring and endued with prescience, therefore every man who is obedient to it, must be made prescient. But the Spirit of God is endued with all the properties of Deity; and consequently upon his position we "have a right to expect" that all true christians shall be endued likewise with omnipotence, omniscience, and ubiquity; and E.H. may as well pretend to either of these attributes, as to make the claims he does to foreknowledge.

### NOTE C.

[Elias Hicks](#), in his observations upon the Scriptures, in the letter to Dr. Atlee, says that his "views have always been in accordance with our primitive friends on this point." From this expression, some might be induced to conclude that the Society of Friends, in its commencement, did not consider the Scriptures to be a rule of faith or a test of doctrines, and that they denied their authority. That such a conclusion would be very incorrect, the extract given by A.B. from Barclay's Apology fully evinces. The following quotations will confirm the sentiments of Barclay.

George Fox, in his "Answer to all such as falsely say the [Quakers](#) are no Christians," &c. Lond. 1682, says, "We believe concerning God the Father, Son, and Spirit, according to the testimony of the Holy Scriptures, which we receive and embrace as the most authentic and perfect declaration of Christian faith, being indited by the Holy Spirit of God, that never errs," &c.

To the governor of Barbadoes he says, "Concerning the Holy Scriptures, we believe that they were given forth by the Holy Spirit of God, through the holy men of God, who (as the Scripture itself declares,) spoke as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. We believe that they are to be read, believed, and fulfilled, (he that fulfills them is Christ,) and they are profitable for doctrine, for reproof, &c. and able to make us wise unto salvation, through faith in Christ Jesus. And we believe the Holy Scriptures are the words of God, for it is said in Exodus 20 c. 1 v. "God spoke all these words, saying," &c. - meaning the ten commandments given forth upon mount Sinai, - and in Revelation 22 c. 18 v. saith John, "I testify to every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, if any man addeth unto them, or if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, (not the Word,) &c. So in Luke i. 20. "Because those believed not my words." So we call the Holy Scriptures as Christ and his apostles called them, viz. The words of God."

William Penn says, concerning the Scriptures, "we in truth and sincerity believe them to be of divine authority, given by the inspiration of God, through holy men, they speaking or writing them as they were moved by the Holy Ghost; that they are a declaration of those things most surely believed by the



primitive Christians; and that as they contain the mind and will of God, and are his commands to us, so they in that respect are his declaratory word, and therefore are obligatory on us, and are profitable for doctrine, reproof, correction, and instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect and thoroughly furnished to every good work." "We both love, honour, and prefer them before all books in the world, ever choosing to express our belief of the Christian faith and doctrine in the terms thereof, and rejecting all principles or doctrines whatsoever, that are repugnant thereto." - Folio Works, vol. 2, 878.

In his address to Protestants he says, "'Tis great presumption, and a men shelter to ignorance or ambition, to raise a credit to human devices, by beating down the true value of the Scriptures."

Richard Claridge says, "We do sincerely and unfeignedly believe the following propositions:

1st. That the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, were not of any man's private setting forth, but were given by inspiration of God.

2d. That they do contain a clear and sufficient declaration of all doctrines, in common to be believed in order to eternal life and salvation.

3d. That the Holy Scriptures are the best outward rule and standard of doctrine and practice.

4th. That whatsoever either doctrine or practice, though under pretensions to the immediate dictates and teachings of the Spirit, is contrary to the Holy Scriptures, ought to be rejected and disowned as false and erroneous; for whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of faith." In his Journal, page 419, he says, "The Holy Scriptures are the great charter of Christian faith and doctrine, and unto them should all appeals be made in matters relating unto both."

It is unnecessary, though it would be easy, to extend our quotations further, proving to a demonstration that E.H. in denying the authenticity and authority of Holy Scripture, has swerved from the ancient tenets of the society of Friends. - Barclay, in his Apology, page 18, says - "These divine inward revelations, which we make absolutely necessary for the building up of true faith, neither do, nor ever can contradict the outward testimony of the Scriptures, or right and sound reason;" it must therefore be evident that all pretensions to further light, or to the leadings of the Spirit, in denying any doctrine set forth in Holy Scripture, or in any way lessening their value and importance, must be considered as a dangerous delusion and false



pretence.

**NOTE D.**

That it is not detraction to express our dissent from doctrines which are publicly avowed, to discuss them, and to advise our friends against the adoption of them, must be obvious to every person of common sense.

Every man has an undoubted right to enjoy his own opinions, provided they are not opposed to the laws of his Maker, nor injurious to society; and so long as he keeps them to himself, and does not infringe upon the conscientious belief or the rights of his neighbour, he is accountable for them to God only. But when he assumes the office of a teacher, whether public or otherwise, his opinions cease to be private sentiment, and become public property, upon which every man may lawfully converse when and where he pleases, may reflect and decide at his leisure, may approve or condemn, may adopt or reject as is most consistent with the dictates of his best judgment.

When a man attempts to promulgate any new doctrines, we would suppose that he propounds them to the belief of his hearers from the apprehension that they are more worthy of their acceptance than those they have hitherto held; consequently then, he must consider himself to be doing a praiseworthy act in teaching them - and it cannot be detraction to charge a man with doing that which he himself views in the light of a good action.

The speaker communicates his ideas with the design of amending or informing his hearers, and whatever assertions he may make, or whatever sentiments he may avow, they at once become the property of his hearers, and are open to public or private criticism, and to approbation or censure according to their merits. It is not to be supposed that the hearers are blindly and implicitly to adopt them, without exercising any discretion, or inquiring into their correctness, nor yet that they are to be prevented from communicating them to their friends for their judgment and opinion. This would be depriving the hearer of his liberty of conscience and expression, and placing his faith entirely under the domination and control of the ministry, who would have it in their power to force his assent to the most absurd dogmas.

Religious opinions are of infinite importance to man - they are intimately connected with his salvation, and consequently require the most serious consideration - he should have every opportunity and every facility for sober inquiry, and in coming to a decision he should summon to his aid all those helps which the kindness of our Creator has placed within his reach. If upon mature reflection he conscientiously differs from the sentiments preached - if he believes them contrary to Scripture and right reason, and inimical to true religion and to pure morality, it becomes his duty to declare his dissent and disapprobation. If he sees that much ingenuity and pains are taken to disseminate them, that they are disguised under specious and insinuating





forms, calculated to deceive the unwary, he is imperatively called upon by his duty as a Christian, to sound an alarm - to expose them in their real colours - to show their untruth and their pernicious tendency - to warn his fellow men against the adoption of them, and by every lawful means to prevent their propagation.

Elias Hicks appears among us as the declaimer of certain doctrines which he propounds for our belief, and which are easily seen to be contrary to Scripture, to the acknowledged principles of Friends, and to sound reason - and surely he is not so infallible as to have a right to call upon us for our unqualified and servile assent; nor yet to debar us from the liberty of discussing them, of telling them to our friends, nor even publishing if we think proper, what he himself openly proclaims. Such requisitions would be the extreme exercise of ecclesiastical tyranny, and a most conclusive evidence of a consciousness of the weakness of his own cause.

What he openly preaches, and has often preached in the hearing of hundreds of competent witnesses, it cannot be detraction to charge him with holding, else he must himself be his greatest detractor, since the charge is but a repetition of the substance and meaning of his own words. Any man who possesses the art of stenography, may without any violation of gospel order, take down all his discourses, however absurd, print them and publish them to the world - how much more then may an individual converse upon them and tell them to his friends.

The right of absolute dictation on the part of ministers - the inordinate love of popularity and power - a claim for privilege, and for an exemption from the ordinary restraints and regulations of society, are the means by which priestcraft has ever established its dominion, and they continue to be the fruitful sources of religious oppression. So long, therefore, as liberty of conscience and liberty of speech is guaranteed to us, it becomes the duty of every member of every Christian society to exercise them in the fear of God, to watch with a jealous eye every innovation upon the established doctrines and discipline of the church, faithfully to bear a testimony against every approximation to infidelity, however specious its appearance or however sacred the sanctions with which it seeks to clothe itself, and whenever he sees the approach of the enemy, as a vigilant watchman upon the walls of Zion, to sound the awakening alarm among his brethren.

#### NOTE E.

Elias Hicks, in his letter to Dr. Edwin A. Atlee, acknowledges that he has "taken up his pen to state to him the unfriendly and unchristian conduct of Anna Braithwaite to him." It would appear from this, that he considers himself exempted from the observance of that Gospel order, which he charges her with an "open violation of." We would ask whether it was not an "open violation of Gospel order," for Elias Hicks to state the unfriendly and unchristian conduct of Anna Braithwaite to Dr.





Edwin A. Atlee, instead of telling it to her alone?

The religious profession of E. H. is the most exalted that we ever heard from any man - he professes to be continually guided by "an unerring Spirit," consequently his conduct, to be consistent, should be perfectly blameless. But the spirit of the Gospel teaches us meekness, gentleness, and forgiveness - its language is, "Being reviled we bless, being persecuted we suffer it, being defamed we entreat." Can we reconcile with the influence and government of this spirit, his unfounded charges against A.B. of self-importance, of hypocrisy, of falsehood, and deceit; of being actuated by the treachery of Judas - of watching for evil, of straining every nerve in exaggerating his words, of being determined to criminate him at all events, and of feigning or forcing constructions upon his words to suit her own purpose? If these grievous accusations had been true, it was his duty to tell them to Anna Braithwaite alone - not to communicate them to Dr. Atlee, that he might publish them to the world.

The tone of E.H.'s letter, and the language in which it is couched, appear to us to be little accordant with the precepts or example of Him, who when enduring the agonies of a cruel and ignominious death, prayed for his persecutors, "who when he was reviled, reviled not again, when he suffered he threatened not, but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously."

We search his letter in vain for a single one of the long catalogue of crimes which he lays to her charge; while on the other hand, there is the most conclusive testimony that she is guiltless of them all. She went to see him, as her manner indicated by his own admission, in a friendly disposition - they conversed together freely upon important points of Christian doctrine, and he avowed to her his disbelief of some of them, in terms more plain and direct than he usually had done in his public preaching. She made notes of this conversation, and when leaving America, placed a copy of them in the hands of her friends, to correct an unfounded report which had got abroad respecting her. Such is the account of her "unfriendly and unchristian conduct as relates to those notes" - and as to the "conversation among friends and others," and saying that he "held and promulgated infidel doctrines," it was certainly consistent with her duty as a Christian minister, aware of the dangerous tendency of his principles, to advise her friends against adopting them, to expose their absurdity and inconsistency, and to excite an examination into their true character and consequences. It was both friendly and Christian to warn them of the danger of listening with credulity to one whose high profession, reputed morality, and popular eloquence, had given him considerable influence; and if his opinions had been correct, the promulgation of them would not have proved prejudicial to him.

She had twice visited him, she had privately laboured to reclaim him from his errors, but finding him fixed in his unbelief, there was but one correct course for her to pursue, and that was to



guard the ignorant and the unsuspecting against imbibing his notions.

### NOTE F.

It is a great mistake to suppose that the principles of E.H. are new, or that they are the result of greater attainments or superior revelation, since the same opinions, which he now propagates, have been maintained by most of the infidel writers within the last hundred and fifty years. We are aware that he has received the credit of invention, and that to many persons they have the charm of novelty, but those who will take the pains to search those excellent works which have been written in defence of christianity will find all of them have been refuted.

Lord Herbert, who wrote in 1663, taught that repentance was the only propitiation, that the christian doctrine of atonement, granted pardon on too easy terms, and derogated from the obligations of virtue - that we cannot be ascertained that the Scriptures are a revelation, and if we could ascertain it, we know not that the translations are correct; and hence he says, is the necessity of rejecting all systems and forms of religion and adopting the one universal, natural religion, written upon the hearts of all men by the divine finger. - Hobbes asserts that the only assurance for the authenticity of Scripture is the authority of the church or commonwealth - and that the New Testament was never received as of divine authority until declared to be so by the councils - Blount taught that there was no necessity for a Mediator between God and man, and that the belief of such a necessity was derogatory of his Infinite Mercy - Toland declared that there were no mysteries in religion, nor any thing contrary to, nor above reason, and that no christian doctrine can be called mystery. - The Earl of Shaftsbury wrote much to discountenance a belief in the authority of Scripture and in the truth of the christian religion as there set forth - frequently repeating the charge of corruptions and interpolations in the Bible. - Collins declared that all those who contend for the faith of the Gospel, as contained in Holy Scripture are enemies to a just liberty of thought, and to free examination and inquiry - and that the books of Holy Scripture were corrupted and altered by the early fathers and clergy to suit their own notions. - Woolston says that many of the facts recorded in Scripture are mere allegorical allusions to the work of religion in the heart, and that literally taken they are absurd and fictitious; that the history of the life of Christ is only an emblematical or allegorical representation of his spiritual life in the soul.

Dr. Tindal taught that christianity is nothing more than the religion of nature; that the dictates of the Spirit, or of "the universal law of nature" in man, are so pure, perfect and absolute, that all external revelation is utterly useless; that to believe in external revelation is to renounce our reason and give up our understandings to a blind and implicit faith; and therefore it is our duty to throw off such revelation, and follow the pure, simple dictates of the light of nature. - Dr. Morgan



says, that revelation (in which he declares himself a firm believer) is no more than the discovery of truth by whatever process it be made, and that the only test of the truth of revelation is the moral fitness and reason of things - he declares that St. Paul preached a Jewish Gospel, viz. "Salvation by Christ, the Jewish Messiah." - Chubb taught, that Christ was no higher character than the founder of the Christian sect, that he was sent into the world to acquaint mankind with the revelation of the will of God, and that the account of his birth was ridiculous and incredible. He denies that he is our Advocate with the Father, or the propitiation for sin, and says the doctrine of the atonement "is contrary to all truth and the eternal reason of things" - that "to appeal to the Scriptures as the test for our opinions would be the certain way to perplexity and dissatisfaction, for the Bible is the grand source of heresies and schisms, and exhibits doctrines the most opposite, and greatly dishonourable to God. - Lord Bolingbroke, speaking of the atonement, says it is "repugnant to all our ideas of order, justice, goodness, and even theism." - Thus we see that most of the Deistical writers from the year 1663 to 1746 have avowed the very principles which [Elias Hicks](#) now teaches as the result of immediate revelation. - The reader will find a full refutation of these in Dr. Leland's View of Deistical writers.

We shall now notice the comparatively modern work of that arch-infidel [Thomas Paine](#), called "The Age of Reason," many of the sentiments of which, are so exactly similar to those of E.H. as almost to induce us to suspect plagiarism. - Speaking of our blessed Saviour he says - "They (the Christian mythologists) represent this virtuous and amiable man, Jesus Christ, to be at once both God and man, celestially begotten, on purpose to be sacrificed" - he declares that he was a Jew by birth and profession, and was the Son of God in like manner that every other person is, for the Creator is the father of all" - that "he probably worked at his father's trade, which was that of a carpenter; that it does not appear that he had any school learning, and the probability is that he could not write." - He denies the miraculous conception, and ranks the divinity of Jesus Christ with the deification of the heathen gods.

Of the doctrine of Christian redemption he speaks in terms of great contempt - he says, "The probability is that the whole theory or doctrine of what is called redemption (which is said to have been accomplished by one person in the room of another) was originally fabricated, on purpose to bring forward and build all those secondary and pecuniary redemptions upon, and the passages in the books upon which the idea or theory of redemption is built have been fabricated and manufactured for that purpose" - "moral justice cannot take the innocent for the guilty, even if the innocent would offer itself" - "the doctrine of atonement is fabulous, man stands in the same relative condition with his Maker, he ever did since man existed, and it is his greatest consolation to think so" = "the doctrine is an outrage offered to the moral justice of God, by supposing him to make the



innocent suffer for the guilty." - "It is only by the exercise of reason that man can discover God." And the doctrines of the fall of Adam - the Divinity of Christ, and his great sacrifice, he declares are all irreconcilable to the divine gift of reason that God has given to man.

Religion he says, cannot have connexion with mystery - it is free from every thing of mystery and unencumbered with any thing mysterious - mystery, is the appendage of fabulous not true religion."

Of our believing facts adduced upon the authority of revelation, he says, "When it is revealed to me I will believe it to be revelation, but it is not and cannot be incumbent upon me to believe it a revelation before," &c.

Of the inspired account of the creation, he says, "It has all the appearance of being a tradition which the Israelites had among them before they came out of Egypt," &c.

To conclude the parallel, speaking of the first part of his work, [Paine](#) says, "The opinions I have advanced in that work, are the effect of the most clear and long established conviction, that the Bible and Testament are impositions upon the world - that the fall of man - the account of Jesus Christ being the Son of God - and of his dying to appease the wrath of God - and of salvation by that strange means, are all fabulous inventions, dishonourable to the wisdom and power of the Almighty; and that the only true religion is Deism, by which I then meant, and now mean, the belief of one God, and an imitation of his moral character, or the practice of what are called moral virtues," &c. - That man must be destitute of common perception who does not at the first glance see the coincidence of these sentiments with those of E.H., and it is by no means difficult to tell where the latter may have borrowed them without the pains or trouble of invention.

[Paine](#), however, was a more consistent unbeliever - conscious of the entire incongruousness of his opinions with the doctrines of the Holy Scriptures, he did not attempt to screen himself under their sanction, by wresting the plain sense and meaning of some parts to make out a warrant for his sentiments, and wholly denying others which directly contradicted him, but he commenced his career by boldly declaring that the Bible was a tissue of falsehood and deceit - he had too much honesty to make a profession of believing them when he knew that his principles would give such profession the lie.

Bishop Watson has replied to the objections of [Paine](#) with much learning and acuteness, and with great effect - his work is well worthy of a serious perusal; but the most conclusive answer to [Paine](#)'s infidelity, as well as to that of all the writers whose names we have mentioned, is a contemplation of their dying hours - He who has seen the impenitent and hardened sinner trembling with agony of body and horror of mind - destitute of hope -



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tormented with the very pains of hell begun while on earth - and going out of time into eternity blaspheming and contemning his God and Saviour, may form a correct idea of the state of mind which these principles have produced in most of their professors - and let those who are tampering with unbelief take warning by the awful accompaniment of their death bed scenes, a faithful account of which they may read in "Simpson's Plea for Religion," and in "Pike's Consolations of Gospel Truth."

It has been the favourite axiom and first principle of all unbelievers and free thinkers, that there are no mysteries in religion, and that no man is bound to believe what he cannot comprehend - this is, in fact, the very basis upon which infidelity in every age has been erected.

We could adduce large quotations from authors of the same school with [Paine](#), shewing in the most conclusive manner that the dogmas of [Elias Hicks](#), so far from being further revelations of Christian doctrines, are merely the stale objections to the religion of the Bible, which have been so frequently routed and driven from the field, to the utter shame and confusion of their promulgators.

**FINIS.**

## THOMAS PAINE

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1835



William Cobbett died, willing [Thomas Paine](#)'s bones to his son. His son would declare bankruptcy, and the bones would be seized, would pass to a day laborer, then to a furniture dealer, then, fortunately, would be lost to history.<sup>23</sup>



**POOR TOM PAINE! THERE HE LIES:  
NOBODY LAUGHS AND NOBODY CRIES.  
WHERE HE HAS GONE AND HOW HE FARES  
NOBODY KNOWS AND NOBODY CARES.**

1850

During this decade, a Unitarian minister in England would claim to own the skull and right hand of [Thomas Paine](#). (In the 1930s, a woman in Brighton would insist that she owned his jawbone, and now there's an Australian, John Burgess, who claims to be a blood descendant and claims to own his skull — ah, capitalism!)

**POOR TOM PAINE! THERE HE LIES:  
NOBODY LAUGHS AND NOBODY CRIES.  
WHERE HE HAS GONE AND HOW HE FARES  
NOBODY KNOWS AND NOBODY CARES.**

23. Possibly some of the bone was used for making buttons. A skull that may have been Paine's has been purchased by a man in Australia, John Burgess, who is alleging, probably inaccurately, that he is of Paine's blood. It is all just as well. Due to the widening of a street in New Rochelle NY, the traffic on North Avenue would by this point be running over his toebones — were his toebones still in that grave.

1860

January 29, Sunday: The sermon of the Reverend [Moncure Daniel Conway](#) celebrated the birthday of [Thomas Paine](#) (this would be distributed in the form of a pamphlet by the Office of [THE DIAL](#): A MONTHLY MAGAZINE FOR LITERATURE, PHILOSOPHY, AND RELIGION in Cincinnati, Ohio).

READ THIS PAMPHLET

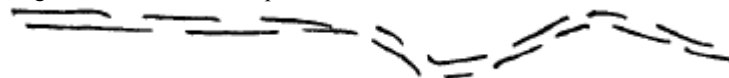


Jan. 29. Colder than before, and not a cloud in the sky to-day.

P.M.—To Fair Haven Pond and return *via* Andromeda Ponds and railroad.  
 Half an inch or more of snow fell last night, the ground being half bare before. It was a snow of small flakes not star-shaped.  
 As usual, I now see, walking on the river and river-meadow ice, thus thinly covered with the fresh snow, that conical rainbow, or parabola of rainbow-colored reflections, from the myriad reflecting crystals of the snow, *i.e.*, as I walk toward the sun,—



always a little in advance of me, of course, angle of reflection being equal to that of incidence.  
 To-day I see quite a flock of the lesser redpolls eating the seeds of the alder, picking them out of the cones just as they do the larch, often head downward; and I see, under the alders, where they have run and picked up the fallen seeds, making chain-like tracks, two parallel lines.



Not only the Indian, but many wild birds and quadrupeds and insects, welcomed the apple tree to these shores. As it grew apace, the bluebird, robin, cherrybird, kingbird, and many more came with a rush and built their nests in it, and so became orchard-birds. The woodpecker found such a savory morsel under its bark that he perforated it in a ring quite round the tree, a thing he had never done before. It did not take the partridge **[Ruffed Grouse]**   *Bonasa umbellus* (Partridge) long to find out how sweet its buds were, and every winter day she flew and still flies from the wood to pluck them, much to the farmer's sorrow. The rabbit too was not slow to learn the taste of its twigs and bark. The owl crept into the first one that became hollow, and fairly hooted with delight, finding it just the place for him. He settled down into it, and has remained there ever since. The lackey caterpillar saddled her eggs on the very first twig that was formed, and it has since divided her affections with the wild cherry; and the canker-worm also in a measure abandoned the elm to feed on it. And when the fruit was ripe, the squirrel half carried, half rolled, it to his hole, and even the musquash crept up the bank and greedily devoured it; and when it was frozen and thawed, the crow and jay did not disdain to peck it. And the beautiful wood duck, having made up her mind to stay a while longer with us, has concluded that there is no better place for her too.



In order to obtain evidence, that the River Meadow Association needed for use against the [Middlesex Canal Corporation](#) in the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court (they were accused of having deliberately elevated the waters of the river system above the dams which fed water into their [canal](#), in such manner as to have caused damage to river meadows belonging to others),<sup>24</sup> Thoreau made a chart of all the bridges along 22.15 miles of the Concord and Sudbury Rivers from East Sudbury to Billerica. He utilized Loammi Baldwin's 2d map, of May 1834, which had been surveyed and drawn originally by B.F. Perham and which Thoreau had analyzed and brought up to date during his July 1859 river soundings.

1886

Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) commented that he had "loved" both [Waldo Emerson](#) and [Henry Thoreau](#).<sup>25</sup>



[Emerson](#)'s POEMS were reissued.

EMERSON'S POEMS

24. Note that the [Middlesex Canal](#) itself had had to be abandoned in 1853 due to its inability to compete economically with the new rail system, and that whatever business this shell corporation was doing was in the genre of water supply for power, water level regulation, etc.

25. [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) loved [Thoreau](#), or at least loved Thoreau's writing, and himself wrote nature poems, but clearly he did not ever love or respect nature or even ever pay attention to nature in the manner in which Thoreau loved, respected, and paid attention to nature. By way of radical contrast with Thoreau's writings, Whittier's writings refer to only about 40 different flowering plants, only about 30 varieties of tree, and only about 30 varieties of bird, few of them either specified or characterized with any precision. Of insects he seems to have mentioned primarily the bee, and toward snakes he confessed to have an "almost Irish" revulsion. His take on [Thomas Paine](#) was that he had been guilty of an egregious error ("He loved the works of God for their exceeding beauty — not for their manifestation of an overruling intelligence") and, had he known more of his contemporary Thoreau than he ever bothered himself to learn, something like this might well have become his reaction to Thoreau. Nevertheless, the biographer Wagenknecht has grandiloquently asserted, "If anything, natural beauty grew dearer to him with the thought that the time was approaching when he must leave it."





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1892

The Reverend [Moncure Daniel Conway](#) issued his THE LIFE OF [THOMAS PAINE](#); WITH A HISTORY OF HIS LITERARY, POLITICAL, AND RELIGIOUS CAREER IN AMERICA, FRANCE, AND ENGLAND, in two volumes.<sup>26</sup>

THE LIFE OF PAINE

MORE LIFE OF PAINE

(In this year the Reverend also issued a volume about the “Barons of the Potomack and the Rappahannock” rivers in America.<sup>27</sup>)

The Reverend’s alma mater, Harvard University, awarded him an honorary doctorate and asked him to serve as a trustee.

NEW “HARVARD MEN”

He decided, however, that instead of this he would return to London and his position at the South Place Society.

26. [Moncure Daniel Conway](#). THE LIFE OF [THOMAS PAINE](#): WITH A HISTORY OF HIS LITERARY, POLITICAL, AND RELIGIOUS CAREER IN AMERICA, FRANCE, AND ENGLAND. 2vols., royal 8vo, pp. 489. NY: G.P. Putnam’s Sons.

THE LIFE OF PAINE

MORE LIFE OF PAINE

27. [Moncure Daniel Conway](#). BARONS OF THE POTOMACK AND THE RAPPAHANNOCK. 8vo. NY, 1892, The Grolier Club.

READ THE FULL TEXT



1899

October 6, day: The Reverend [Moncure Daniel Conway](#), who was in Paris preparing a 4-volume edition of THE WRITINGS OF THOMAS PAINE, wrote an indignant letter to the New York Times objected to Theodore Roosevelt's having in his monograph GOUVERNEUR MORRIS termed [Thomas Paine](#) a "dirty little atheist" (the occasion of this protest must have been the historian Roosevelt becoming Governor of New York, since his forgettable monograph had been published by Houghton, Mifflin more than a decade earlier without attracting a whole lot of attention). The Reverend Conway averred that very much to the contrary, the historic Paine had not been little, had not been dirty, and had not been an atheist<sup>28</sup> (see a following screen).



One man had a very narrow escape. This was Thomas Paine, the Englishman, who had at one period rendered such a striking service to the cause of American independence, while the rest of his life had been as ignoble as it was varied. He had been elected to the Convention, and, having sided with the Gironde, was thrown into prison by the Jacobins. He at once asked [Gouverneur] Morris to demand him as an American citizen; a title to which he of course had no claim. Morris refused to interfere too actively, judging rightly that Paine would be saved by his own insignificance and would serve his own interests best by keeping still. So the filthy little atheist had to stay in prison, "where he amused himself with publishing a pamphlet against Jesus Christ." There are infidels and infidels; Paine belonged to the variety—whereof America possesses at present one or two shining examples— that apparently esteems a bladder of dirty water as the proper weapon with which to assail Christianity. It is not a type that appeals to the sympathy of an onlooker, be said onlooker religious or otherwise.

28. Consult Robin McKown's THOMAS PAINE, published in 1962. Paine actually had stood five foot ten inches (precisely the same height as Roosevelt), which was two and one half inches taller than the norm for his contemporaries in England and America.

THOMAS PAINE

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## THOMAS PAINE

## TOM PAIN

## GOV. ROOSEVELT ON THOMAS PAINE—LETTER FROM MR. CONWAY.

*To The New York Times Saturday Review:*

Mr. Cyrus Coolidge, in your REVIEW of Sept. 23, quotes from Charles Burr Todd's "Life of Barlow" a misleading statement, namely, that Paine's "qualification to be a member of the [French] Convention required an oath of fidelity to that country." No oath of any kind was taken; no affirmation or declaration or form was required for membership in an assembly whose function was to frame a Constitution where none existed. To whom or what could they have sworn loyalty? Paine was elected by four departments of France to help frame a Government because he was an American citizen. It happens that Paine had twice sworn fidelity to the United States—once as Secretary of the Congressional Committee of Foreign Affairs, afterward as Clerk of the Pennsylvania Legislature—but, as Monroe pointed out and President Washington officially confirmed, his citizenship was precisely that of all Americans who, born under the British flag, took the side of the American flag. Gouverneur Morris knew this perfectly well, and, although he had Paine thrown in prison in Paris, he wrote to Secretary Jefferson the falsehood that he had vainly claimed him as an American citizen. Robespierre, who was a jurist, also knew that Paine was an American citizen, and but for him Paine would probably have been executed. When Barrère and other accomplices of Morris in the Committee of Public Safety had planned a summary trial of Paine before the Revolutionary tribunal—certain death—Robespierre demanded an exceptional trial for the American member of the Convention, to which trial the United States must be a party. As the only offense of Paine was that he had arranged to return to his beloved America, where he would undoubtedly report the proceedings of Morris in Paris, (frankly revealed in Morris's "Diary and Letters," and known to every contemporary historian except Gov. Roosevelt,) that American Minister could not of course meet Robespierre's conditions.

In his unique collection of blunders described as a "Life of Gouverneur Morris," Gov. Roosevelt says: "So the filthy little atheist had to stay in prison, 'where he amused himself by publishing a pamphlet against Jesus Christ.'" This sentence, long ago denounced by myself and others without eliciting any retraction, must now remain as a salient survival of the vulgar Paine mythology, and as the most ingenious combination of mistakes ever committed in so small a space in any work professing to be historical.

Instead of being filthy, Paine was scrupulously neat and elegant in his attire, as all of his portraits show. (He was a guest in the mansions of English noblemen,

and not even Edmund Burke, in all his diatribes against Paine, ever hinted that while his guest Paine was other than the "gentleman" that Aaron Burr declared him. He was a favorite guest in the houses of the finest people in Paris also—the Lafayettes, the Duchâtelets, the Condorcets, and Mme. Helvetius, to whose refined and cultured circle at Passy Franklin introduced him. Instead of being "little," Paine was of good height, and remarkably well formed. Instead of being an "atheist," Paine wrote his "Age of Reason" for the express purpose of combating the French atheists, (such as Hebert,) and the book (now called Part I.) was printed in French nearly a year before it appeared in English. Instead of being "against Jesus Christ," the book contains a tribute to the human character of Jesus higher than can be found in any orthodox work of the last century. This author, whom Gov. Roosevelt calls "atheist," inaugurated the first Theistic Church in the world, (the Church of Theophilanthropy in Paris,) with a discourse on the existence of God, which was circulated as a religious tract in London; and he also assisted Elihu Palmer, who was founding in New York the first Theistic Church in the United States.

Paine's Theism is of the pre-Darwinian type, so to say, and does not satisfy the modern conditions of the question, but the constant circulation of his religious works by associations of so-called "infidels," without any suppression or alteration of statements they disbelieve, has set the Governor an example of fairness which he would have done well to follow. Although his attention has been called to his gross errors, privately as well as publicly, the Governor, with all his good qualities, seems unequal to an admission of his mistakes, and he thus imposes on his literary contemporaries the necessity of arraigning not only the errors but the competency, or else the honesty, of their author. In a volume just going to press in Paris ("Thomas Paine et la Révolution dans les Deux Mondes") I have necessarily referred to the Governor's mistakes and his animus, but it would be a great satisfaction if I could be enabled to record his magnanimity and justice in publicly acknowledging the errors and promising their redress in the next edition of his book.

MONCURE D. CONWAY.

Paris, Oct. 6, 1899.

## THOMAS PAINE

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Had Governor Roosevelt known anything about Paine, he would not have made such a judgment. Had Franklin Delano Roosevelt, however, known anything about [Henry Thoreau](#), had he understood anything about the “fear of fear” sound byte that he lifted from [Waldo Emerson](#)’s ill-considered gloss of Thoreau’s JOURNAL, he might well have termed Thoreau a dirty little atheist.<sup>29</sup> He would have been right about one of the three epithets at least: Thoreau was indeed of very slightly shorter than average stature, for an American. Now, you may wonder how it was that Thomas Paine acquired the reputation he acquired, as an atheist, since he was the son not only of an Anglican mother but also of a Quaker father,

My father being of the quaker profession, it was my good fortune to have an exceedingly good moral education.



and since as a Deist he could repeatedly and loudly proclaim his belief in God:

I believe in one God and no more; and I hope for happiness beyond this life. I believe in the equality of man; and I believe that religious duties consist in doing justice, loving mercy, and endeavoring to make our fellow creatures happy.... My own mind is my own church.

The answer is that this came about in the public reaction of 1794-1796 to his THE AGE OF REASON, which he 29.Remembering here the Concord lady who used to decorate the graves of the famous in Sleepy Hollow Cemetery with flowers, who, at [Henry](#)’s grave, would always exclaim:

No flowers for you, you dirty little atheist!



### Behold, the grave of a wicked man

Behold, the grave of a wicked man,  
And near it, a stern spirit.

There came a drooping maid with violets,  
But the spirit grasped her arm.  
“No flowers for him,” he said.  
The maid wept:  
“Ah, I loved him.”  
But the spirit, grim and frowning:  
“No flowers for him.”

Now, this is it —  
If the spirit was just,  
Why did the maid weep?  
— Stephen Crane

“Stack of the Artist of Kouroo” Project



## THOMAS PAINE

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wrote while in prison in Luxembourg — imprisoned because he had urged the French to reason with their king, Louis XIV, rather than merely off with his head. He had sided with the Girondists, the party of moderation at that time, and had been excused for this by the more extreme French politicians on the grounds that, a known [Quaker](#), he must be considered to be opposed in principle to any use of violence — but then he had passed utterly out of bounds even for a non-violenter, by trying to intercede for their king. (During the revolution of the American colonies of England, also, he had tried to persuade Americans to attempt to reason with their British monarch, at a time when it was not really in anyone's agenda to be reasonable.)

It is true that [Thomas Paine](#) never joined the Quakers, and that in fact he criticized the [Religious Society of Friends](#). As a Deist, he said that

The religion that approaches the nearest of all others to true Deism, in the moral and benign part, thereof, is that professed by the quakers; but they have contracted themselves too much by leaving the works of God out of their system.

Now, this sounds very Thoreauvian. Thoreau never charged the Quakers with contracting themselves too much by leaving the works of God out of their system, but he might well have had he thought it, and might well have said it had the occasion presented itself. Also, it is true that Paine did not really consider Quakerism to be a *bona fide* part of Christianity:

The only sect that has not persecuted are the Quakers; and the only reason that can be given for it is, that they are rather Deists than Christians.

1904

[Moncure Daniel Conway](#). [THOMAS PAINE](#): (1737-1809). *ET LA REVOLUTION DANS LES DEUX MONDES. TRADUIT DE L'ANGLAIS (DE M.D. CONWAY) PAR FELIX RABBE. AVEC UN PORTRAIT EN HELIOGRAVURE*. Paper, 8vo, pp. 461. Paris: Librairie Plon, 1904.

READ THE FULL TEXT

1930

During the 1850s, a Unitarian minister in England had claimed to own the skull and right hand of [Thomas Paine](#). At this point a woman in Brighton was insisting that she owned his jawbone (and now there's a guy in Australia, John Burgess, who claims to be a blood descendant and claims to own his skull) — ah, capitalism!



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1987

When an Australian businessman who claimed to have purchased the skull of [Thomas Paine](#) while on vacation in London got back home to Sydney, he sold his purchase to another Australian there, John Burgess, who was claiming to be a blood descendant of Paine. Is there someone who wishes to believe on such a subject? – DNA testing to verify this claim will cost you some \$60,000 and Mrs. Burgess is standing by to receive your funding!

1995

July 3, day: The Washington Post published a profile by Serge Kovaleski of the 2d “patriot” charged in the Oklahoma City bombing, Terry Lynn Nichols. According to this profile Nichols had been reading in the works of [Thomas Jefferson](#) and [Thomas Paine](#) and had been particularly inspired by Jefferson’s maxim, “The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants.”



2001

November: Harvey J. Kaye’s [THOMAS PAINE: FIREBRAND OF REVOLUTION](#) (Oxford Portraits. NY and London: Oxford UP, 2000).

## H-NET BOOK REVIEW

Published by H-SHEAR@h-net.msu.edu

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### A Fiery Paine

For the past decade, Thomas Paine has become an increasingly popular subject of study and commentary in the United States, Britain, and France. No less than three new biographies (one in French) by Jack Fruchtman, John Keane, and Bernard Vincent (respectively) have appeared in the past decade or so along with several new book-length commentaries and countless essays analyzing his political, social, and religious thought, which



have appeared in both learned journals and the popular press. In 1995, a new Library of America edition of his works appeared. He is even regarded, by some, as a precursor to the Internet, as Jon Katz vigorously argued in the May 1995 issue of Wired Magazine in an article entitled "The Age of Paine" (an echo of John Adams's famous deprecation of Paine in an 1805 letter to the physician Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse, which is quoted in the present work).

In addition, the cable television network C-SPAN in the winter of 2001 devoted an entire week to his life and work in its "American Writers" series, and efforts continue unabated to erect a monument to Paine in the mall between the United States Capitol and the Washington Monument. The Thomas Paine National Historical Association has become the chief spokesman for all things Paine and the organization's popularity is growing, especially in light of harsh criticism of Tom Paine in recent books by Pauline Maier, Joseph Ellis, David McCullough, and others. At least two motion picture producers, including Sir Richard Attenborough, are working on feature-length films covering his life and work. It appears that Thomas Paine has become an intellectual and popular culture growth industry in his own right.

Added to this phenomenal production is a new book for young adults by Harvey J. Kaye, the Ben and Joyce Rosenberg Professor of Social Change and Development at the University of Wisconsin, Green Bay. His book, which is part of Oxford University Press's Oxford Portraits series, joins TOM PAINE: VOICE OF REVOLUTION by Milton Meltzer, which appeared in 1996. Meltzer, a well-known writer of biographies and history for young people, has published some ninety books, including biographies of Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, and Benjamin Franklin. Kaye's book is a tour-de-force in that until now he has devoted his scholarly work to an investigation of Marxist history and historians. Indeed, he has edited several works by Marxist historians E. P. Thompson, George Rudè, and Victor Kiernan. In his 1994 co-edited work, THE AMERICAN RADICAL, however, Kaye included an essay on Paine and the American Revolution, which serves in some respects as the basis for the present work.

Best known as the author of COMMON SENSE, which, in January of 1776, was the first published argument for America's separation from Britain; RIGHTS OF MAN, his justification for the French Revolution; THE AGE OF REASON, his attack on organized religion; and, AGRARIAN JUSTICE, his most sophisticated theory of social welfare and social justice, Thomas Paine has never been placed by historians in the constellation of American founders making him the equal of Jefferson, Madison, Adams, Hamilton, and Washington. Kaye's work will no doubt boost Paine's standing if young people actually read his biography and learn the critical role that he played in two countries, the new United States and France, as these nations struggled with the formation of new political forms under highly charged and trying circumstances. Kaye's biography achieves everything a good biography for young adults needs: it places Paine within his historical context, showing just how his own life and writings affected the unfolding events in America, especially during the American





Revolution, and in France, most particularly during the revolution there thirteen years later. It is a smoothly written essay that seamlessly moves Paine through the changing times of the late-eighteenth century while expertly explaining the developing ideas encased in his writings. It is above all lyrically written with very little intrusive commentary on Kaye's part so that readers may come to their own conclusions. There is, however, a bias toward Paine himself and his ideas, which comes through quite clearly: Kaye definitely likes his subject and justifies his actions, no matter how controversial they may have been at the time.

With forty-five black-and-white illustrations, this attractive book moves the reader swiftly and compellingly from the moment Paine, as a young English lad, signed as a cabin boy on a British privateer during the Seven Years War with France to his death in New York City and funeral in New Rochelle in 1809. While Kaye's book is clearly a welcome addition to the Paine canon, it raises several questions and generates some minor quibbles with the interpretation.

Kaye repeats the speculation that when the 21-year-old Paine was struggling financially while living in Sandwich in 1758 and may have become a Methodist preacher. Whether this is true or not has never been fully explained nor has evidence ever directly verified its truth. It is an intriguing prospect that Paine ministered at that time, but the origins of this conjecture are two-fold: they are rooted in an early hostile biography by George Chalmers, writing under the name of Francis Oldys, and a statement made by one Ernest A. Payne in a 1947 letter to the editor of the Times Literary Supplement. John Keane accepted it in his 1995 biography without producing any direct evidence, thus claiming to have new, unknown until now, information on Paine's early life. He cited an inscription that appeared in a volume of Wesley's sermons owned by Rev. Albert Nash (1812-1900), indicating that Paine preached in Dover. But one wonders why Paine himself never said anything about serving as a preacher or how we might reconcile his adherence to his father's Quakerism early in his life and his Deist criticism of organized religion thirty years later.

Kaye is also uncritical of Paine's indiscreet and unauthorized revelation of the Franco-American alliance in 1778 in light of the Silas Deane affair. Clearly, Paine's passion got the best of him when, as the Secretary to the Committee on Foreign Affairs for Congress, he went after Deane who had been justifying his war profiteering in the public press. As an agent of the United States government, Paine should have distinguished his role as official spokesman and his place as a public intellectual. But he could not, and for this, as Kaye tells us, he resigned his office. But what he doesn't tell us is that he was forced to resign: in other words, Paine would have been dismissed had he not quit on his own accord. A small difference in emphasis, no doubt, but clearly Kaye places Paine in a more favorable light than he was actually in.

Sometimes Kaye presents events in Paine's life, but fails to give us sufficient detail to fully understand the circumstances. For example, when John Laurens wanted Paine to accompany him to



France in 1780, but certain congressmen opposed the idea, all Kaye tells us is that "Paine's enemies aggressively blocked the appointment." While this is true, it would have been helpful to learn who these enemies were (mainly John Witherspoon, a New Jersey delegate). Or, Paine's alleged dual with the captain of the British gunboat, the *Alert*, which has never been fully explained: why was the Comte de Noailles, the captain of a British ship, and what are the origins of this information (Keane only cites an 1895 issue of the ANNUAL REPORT OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION)? Moreover, Kaye does not tell us how young "Laurens himself got off to a bad start" (an infelicitous construction that Kaye too often favors here), nor how Franklin and Paine had to pick up the pieces.

Kaye devotes as much space to Paine's involvement in the French Revolution as he does to Paine as an activist in the American. His characterization of Burke as the founder of modern conservatism, given his attack on the events in France, misses the mark, however. While Burke clearly did, as Kaye tells us, advocate "tradition, preservation, continuity, and hierarchy," this is not to say that he opposed change, per se. In fact, he argued quite forcefully why he opposed radical or revolutionary change, namely because it uprooted the foundations of the polity from their historical development over long, long periods of time. Hence, Burke supported American separation from Britain because the American roots were differently planted from their British cousins. He also supported what he called "economical" (financial) reform in England.

Kaye does not tell us that Burke warned of the dire consequences when revolution destroyed the institutional roots of a nation: it will lead to tyranny of the worst kind, a prediction that was fulfilled, first, with Robespierre and the Reign of Terror in 1793 and 1794, and, second, with the rise of Napoleon and the French empire five years later. Indeed, Kaye suggests this very problem in his characterization of the differences between moderate Girondins and radical Jacobins. The whole enterprise of course collapsed in 1815 with Napoleon's final defeat and the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy. Moreover, Burke never referred to the common people as "the swinish multitude," but to those involved in the tearing down of French institutions as "a" swinish multitude, a small, though noteworthy emphasis that needs to be noted (to my own embarrassment and dismay, I too have made that error). That Burke opposed democracy was, by the way, not a peculiar belief of Burke alone: most Whigs disapproved of democracy and used the term in negative ways, mostly as interchangeable with anarchy and chaos. Only radical and progressive writers like Thomas Paine felt comfortable using the word "democracy" in a positive sense.

Paine as the **firebrand** of revolution (in the sub-title of this biography) is well put. Thomas Paine was the **voice** of revolution, as Kaye and Meltzer before him suggest. Paine himself was not a revolutionary in the sense that he picked up a musket and stormed anything (there is no evidence he actually wore a uniform or engaged in combat even when serving as an aide to Roberdeau or Greene). He was the most engaging writer of his generation (maybe in all of American history), a man who spoke



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directly to his readers in a language that they could immediately grasp and appreciate. In that spirit, Harvey Kaye has produced a highly attractive, elegantly crafted biography for young adults, and it is hoped that it will prove, like Paine's own works, a bestseller in its own right.

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"It's all now you see. Yesterday won't be over until tomorrow and tomorrow began ten thousand years ago."

- Remark by character "Garin Stevens"  
in William Faulkner's INTRUDER IN THE DUST



Prepared: May 29, 2013

# ARRGH AUTOMATED RESearch REPORT

## GENERATION HOTLINE



This stuff presumably looks to you as if it were generated by a human. Such is not the case. Instead, upon someone's request we have pulled it out of the hat of a pirate that has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot "Laura" (depicted above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of data modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture. This is data mining. To respond to such a request for information, we merely push a button.



THOMAS PAINE

TOM PAIN

Commonly, the first output of the program has obvious deficiencies and so we need to go back into the data modules stored in the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and do a recompile of the chronology – but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary “writerly” process which you know and love. As the contents of this originating contexture improve, and as the programming improves, and as funding becomes available (to date no funding whatever has been needed in the creation of this facility, the entire operation being run out of pocket change) we expect a diminished need to do such tweaking and recompiling, and we fully expect to achieve a simulation of a generous and untiring robotic research librarian. Onward and upward in this brave new world.

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