

Index

- Adam and Eve, myth of, 143-4
Adams, John, 138, 164, 165, 166
Adams, Samuel, 165
Age of Reason, The (Paine), 140-58, 183, 187
 writing of, 125, 131, 140
 reception in America, 139, 165, 166, 169-70
 reception in England, 158
 third volume, projected, 173, 174
Agrarian Justice (Paine), 8-9, 107, 108, 137, 138
Aitken, Robert, 7-8
American Citizen, The, 172, 179
American colonies, *see* United States of America *and under* England
Annual Register, 56
Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs (Burke), 92
aristocracy, aristocratic rule, Paine's view of, 36, 37, 76-7, 94, 103
armed forces, Paine's proposals for, 107
assignats, 117
Athenians, ancient, Paine's view of, 95
atonement, vicarious, 145-6
Audibert, Achille, 116
Aurora, Philadelphia, 165

Bache, Benjamin Franklin, 161
Bache, Richard, 7
Bank of North America, precursor of, 47

Barère de Vieuzac, Bertrand, 118, 122, 124
Barlow, Joel, 125
Barras, Paul François Jean Nicolas de, 135
Barthélemy, Marquis de, 135
Bell, Robert, 35
benevolence, instinct of, 22
Bentham, Jeremy, 83, 117
Bible, Paine's references to, 40, 140-4, 147-50, 175
Blake, William, 116
Bonneville, Nicolas, 114, 125, 138-9, 170, 171, 173
Bonneville family, 170-2, 173-4, 178, 180, 182
Boston Tea Party, 11, 93
Boswell, James, 58
Bradford, William and Thomas, 35
Brailsford, H. N., 185, 188
Brissot, Jacques Pierre, 114, 118, 125
Britain, *see* England
Burke, Edmund, 56-60, 63-71, 92
 and American colonies, 12, 53, 57
 early relations with Paine, 53
 on French Revolution, 57, 58-60, 69-71
 and the Whigs, 57-8, 59
 his conversation, 58
 and the Tories, 59
 and modern Conservatism, 59, 65, 71, 187

- Burke, Edmund—contd
 his political philosophy, 63-9
 his political acumen, 69-71
 Paine's attack on, in *Rights of Man*,
 72-6, 81, 88, 92, 97, 103, 187
- Calidore* (Peacock), 47
 Cambon, Joseph, 122, 124
 capitalism, not understood by Paine, 111
 Carlile, Richard, 181
 Carnot, Lazare Nicolas Marguerite, 135
 Carver, William, 172, 174
 Chartism, 181
 Chatham, Earl of, 12
 Cheetham, James, 172, 179
 Christianity, Paine and, 108, 140-6, 147-
 151, 174-5
 classical studies, Paine's view of, 157
 clergy, Paine on incomes of, 108
 Cloodtz, 'Anarcharsis', 117, 128
 Cobbett, William, 182
 commerce, trade, Paine on, 102-3
Common Sense (Paine), 35-44
 influence in America, 10, 31, 35, 44,
 187
 mentioned, 2, 4, 22n., 46, 165, 166
 Commons, House of
 Paine's view of, 37-9
 reform of, *see* Reform Bill
 Condorcet, Marquis de, 114, 118, 120,
 121, 123
 Conservative Party, government, 21, 96,
 104, 109, 111
 and Burke, 59, 65, 71, 187
 constitutions, Paine on the need for, 96-8,
 100-2
 Conway, Moncure Daniel, 72, 158,
 181-2, 185
Crisis, The, 36, 42, 44-6
- Danton, Georges Jacques, 118, 122, 124
 Dean, Andrew, Paine's letter to, 175
 Deane, Silas, 46
 death duties, Paine on, 108
*Decline and Fall of the English System of
 Finance, The* (Paine), 138, 182
 deism, 140, 141, 148, 152-8, 169-70, 174
 Delaware, State of, 42
- Dickinson, John, 9, 12
Dictionary of National Biography, 185
 Directory, 134
 Disraeli, Benjamin, 183-4
*Dissertations on Government: The Affairs of the
 Bank: and Paper Money* (Paine), 47
 Duchâtelet, Achille, 114
 Dumouriez, General Charles François,
 121
 duty, Hume's view of, 23-4
- East India Company, 11
 education, Paine on, 157
 employment for the casual poor, Paine's
 proposal for, 106-7
 England, Great Britain
 and American colonies, 10-12, 43, 50,
 57, 91
 Constitution, government, 39-40, 61-
 62; Paine on, 37-9, 42, 53-4, 81,
 88-9, 97-8
 living standards in, 109
see also under Washington, George
- equality
 of man, 15, 31-2, 120
 of property, 25-6
 Erskine, Thomas, 119, 158
 'Existence of God, The' (Paine), 156
- Federalist party, Paine's attacks on, 164-
 169, 179
First Principles of Government (Paine), 136
 First World War, 113
 Foot, Michael, 186
 Fox, Charles James, 57, 58, 59
 France, *see* French Revolution
 Frankfurter, Associate Justice Felix, 99
 Franklin, Benjamin, 7
 freedom, liberty, 16, 27-8, 32-3, 84-6,
 120
 of speech, 78-9, 87
- French Revolution
 Burke on, 57, 58-60, 69-71
 Paine on, 53, 54, 81-3, 87-8, 91-
 92, 110, 177; against Burke, 72-6,
 81
 Paine's part in, 55, 114, 116-37, 187;
 arrest and imprisonment, 125, 128,

- 129-31; rumours of his execution, 132; rehabilitation, 132-3
popular support for, 62
- general will, Rousseau's theory of the, 28-31
- Genonné, Armand, 118
- Georgia, State of, 12
- Girondins, 121, 123, 132
- God, existence of, Paine's arguments concerning, 152-6
- Goldsmith, Oliver, 5-6
- government
democratic, Paine on, 94-5
distinguished from society (*q.v.*), 22-3, 80, 92
evolution of, in Paine's view, 79-81
general will expressed in, according to Rousseau, 28
hereditary, Burke's view of, 63-9
hereditary, Paine's condemnation of, 36, 40, 41, 88, 89, 93, 94, 136; *see also* aristocracy; monarchy
majority rule, 28-9
'mixed', Paine on, 89
representative, Paine's advocacy of, 36, 79, 88, 89, 93, 94, 95-6, 136
republican, Paine and, 94, 114
see also constitutions; social contract theories
- Grenville, George, 10
- Hall, John, 51
- Hamilton, Alexander, 117
- Hamilton, William Gerald, 56
- happiness, pursuit of, 33-4
- Harington, John, 18
- Hastings, Warren, 58
- Hérault de Séchelles, Marie Jean, 122
- Hobbes, Thomas, 14-19, 22
- Hume, David, 22, 23-7, 152, 155
- Independence, American Declaration of, *see under* United States of America
- inheritance, of power, *see* government, hereditary
- inheritance, of property (*q.v.*), opinions concerning
- Burke, 64
- Hobbes, 15
- Hume, 25
- Locke, 20
- Paine, 76
- Jacobins, 121, 122, 123
- Jarvis, John Wesley, 179
- Jay, John, 160, 161
- Jefferson, Thomas
American Ambassador to Paris, 52, 54
relations with Paine, 52, 53-4, 121, 138, 139, 165, 168-9, 178
Foreign Secretary, 121
President, 138, 164
Louisiana purchase, 169
mentioned, 23, 137, 166
- Job, book of, 141-2
- Johnson, Joseph, 72
- Johnson, Dr Samuel, 58
- Jordan, J. S., 72, 115
- judiciary, 39, 98-100
- justice, Hume's view of, 25
- Kant, Immanuel, 28, 152, 153, 155
- Kentucky, State of, 127
- Kirkbride, Colonel Joseph, 51, 169-70
- La Révellière-Lépeaux, Louis Marie, 135
- Lafayette, Marquis de, 55, 75, 91
- law
Burke on, 73-4
in French Declarations of the Rights of Man, 86, 120
- Letourneur, 135
- Letter Addressed to the Addressors on the Late Proclamation* (Paine), 119
- 'Letter to George Washington' (Paine), 159-60, 161-4
- Lewis, Joseph, 185
- liberty, *see* freedom
- life, right to, 32
- Literary Club, 58
- Locke, John, 17-21, 22, 23, 41, 80, 187
- Louis XVI, King, of France, 75-6, 114, 117, 118-19
- Louisiana, State of, 169

- Madison, James, 117
 Magna Carta, Paine's view of, 97
 Marat, Jean Paul, 118, 119, 121, 124
 'Maritime Compact' (Paine), 167-8
 Marx, Karl, 57
 Maryland, State of, 42
 Massachusetts, State of, 11-12
Memorial Addressed to James Monroe (Paine), 159
 monarchy, Paine's view of, 36, 37, 38-9, 40-2, 76, 114
 Monroe, James, 131, 133, 138, 159
 Montagnards, Mountain, 121
 moral principles, morality, opinions concerning
 Hobbes, 15-16
 Hume, 23-4
 Paine, 92
 Morrell, R. W., 186
 Morris, Gouverneur, 50, 54-5, 127, 129, 131, 160, 163
 Morris, Robert, 50
 Napoleon Bonaparte, 59, 112, 137, 158, 176
 national debt, Paine on, 108
National Intelligencer, 165
 nationalism, Paine's underestimate of, 112
 nature, condition of, 16-18, 22, 23
 nature, 'laws' of, Hobbes and Paine on, 14-15, 92
 New Jersey, State of, 42
 New York, State of, 12, 51, 57
 North, Lord, 11, 43
 North Carolina, State of, 43
 Nuremberg war crimes trial, 86-7
 O'Brien, Conor Cruise, 57
 pacifism, rejected by Paine, 8
 Pain, Elizabeth (née Ollive; second wife of Thomas Paine), 5, 6-7, 173
 Pain, Frances (mother of Thomas), 1, 52
 Pain, Joseph (father of Thomas), 1, 2, 52
 Pain, Mary (née Lambert; first wife of Thomas), 3
 Paine, Thomas
 birth, 1
 education, 1
 early scientific interests, 1, 2
 a staymaker, 2, 2-3, 4
 runs away to sea, 2
 marriages, 3, 5, 6-7, 173
 appearance, 3
 portraits, 3, 179
 an exciseman, 3-4, 4-6
 a schoolteacher, 4
 first interest in politics, 5
 a shopkeeper, 5, 6
 pamphlet on excisemen's grievances, 5-6
 emigrates to America, 7
 becomes a journalist, 7-10, 12
 involvement in American independence, 9-10, 12, 31, 35, 36-7, 42-4
 political philosophy (*see also under* government *and under* England), 13, 22-23, 36, 37-42, 76-84, 88-90, 92-8, 100-2, 120, 135-7
 and War of Independence, 44-7, 50-1
 secretary to Congressional Committee for Foreign Affairs, 46
 clerk of Pennsylvania Assembly, 46, 48-50
 honorary degree from University of Pennsylvania, 49
 pamphlet against claim by State of Virginia, 49
 financial difficulties, 50-1
 buys house at Bordentown, 51
 his bridge design, 51-2, 53, 55
 returns to Thetford, 52
 pamphlet on British foreign policy, 52-3
 relations with Edmund Burke, *see under* Burke
 and French Revolution, *see under* French Revolution
 biographers, 72, 181-2
 political judgement, 91, 110-12, 166-7
 Welfare State proposals, 102-9
 religious beliefs, *see* religion
 farewell to England, 116, 119
 in France from 1792, 116-39

- ignorance of French language, 118, 170
 his drinking, 125-6, 172
 pamphlet on English system of finance,
 138
 last years in America, 139, 159-80
 his will, 173
 destruction of his papers, 173-4
 death, 180
 corpse brought back to England, 182-3
 subsequent reputation, 181, 182, 183-8
*see also Age of Reason; Common Sense;
 Rights of Man*
 Palmer, Elithu, 174
 paper money, Paine's objection to, 47, 53,
 88-9, 138
 Paul, St, Paine on, 150
 peace
 Hobbes on, 14, 16
 Paine's illusory hopes concerning, 111-
 112
 Peacock, Thomas Love, 47
 Pennsylvania, State of, 9-10, 12, 42-3,
 46-7, 48, 51, 178
Pennsylvania Journal, 9
Pennsylvania Magazine, 7-8
 pensions, proposed by Paine, 105, 106,
 107
 Pétion de Villeneuve, Jérôme, 118
 Pickering, Timothy, 161
 Pitt, William, the younger, 57, 59, 115
 police, power of, 85-6
 Portland, Duke of, 58
 Price, Dr Richard, 60, 73
 Priestley, Joseph, 117
 primogeniture, Paine's objection to, 76
 promises, keeping of, Hobbes and Hume
 on, 15, 23-4
 property, opinions concerning
 Burke, 64
 French Declaration of the Rights of
 Man, 84
 Hobbes, 15, 19
 Hume, 24-7
 Jefferson, 23
 Locke, 19-21, 23
 Paine, 23, 76
Prospect: A View of the Moral World, The, 174
 Prospect Papers (Paine), 174
Prospects on the Rubicon (Paine), 52
Public Advertiser, 179
Public Good (Paine), 49
 Public Safety, Committee of, 122, 124,
 127
 punishment, proper purpose of, 15, 145-6

 Quakers, Paine and, 1, 8, 180

 Randolph, Edmund, 131
 Raynal, Abbé, 50
 Reagan, President Ronald, 99, 186
Reflections on the Revolution in France
 (Burke), 55, 57, 59-60, 63-71
 Reform Bill, First (1832), 37, 54
 Reform Bill, Second (1867), 183-4
 religion, Paine's view of, 108, 140, 151-
 152, 174; *see also* Bible; Christianity;
 deism
Républicain, Le, 114
 Republican Club, 114
 Republican-Democrat party, 164
 republicanism, *see* government, republi-
 can
 Reubell, Jean François, 135
 Revolution, French, *see* French Revolu-
 tion
 Revolution of 1688, 17, 60, 63, 73
 Revolution Society, 60, 73
 revolutions, future, Paine on, 90, 91, 110,
 112
 Rhode Island, State of, 42
 Rickman, Thomas ('Clio'), 6, 115, 126,
 173, 181
 rights
 natural and civil, 14-34 *passim*, 77-87
 passim, 120, 136
 inalienable, 32
 French Declarations of the Rights of
 Man, 82-3, 84, 85-6, 120
 William III's Bill of Rights, 97
Rights of Man (Paine), 72
 first part, 72-90, 115; French transla-
 tion, 114
 second part, 91-113; government
 action over, 115-16, 119
 sales of, 72, 116, 165
 mentioned, 37n., 41, 181, 187

- Robertson, J. M., 185
 Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie
 Isidore de, 114, 119, 120-1, 124,
 127-8, 160, 163
 Rockingham, Lord, 11, 56, 57, 58
 Romney, George, portrait of Paine by, 3,
 179
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., 99
 Roosevelt, Theodore, 140
 Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 27-9, 30, 95
 Rush, Dr Benjamin, 35, 169
 Russell, Bertrand, 16, 184
- Schlick, Moritz, 16
 seas, freedom of the, 167-8
 Shaftesbury, Lord, 22
 Shaw, George Bernard, 26, 184-5
 Shelley, Percy Bysshe, 59
 shipping, neutral, interference with, 167-
 168
 Sieyès, Abbé, 94, 114, 118, 135
 slavery, slave trade, 48-9, 169
 social contract theories, 29-30
 Burke, 65-6
 Hobbes, 16-18
 Hume, 23
 Locke, 17, 23, 80
 Paine, 80
 society, civil, nature or purpose of
 Burke, 65-9
 distinguished from government (*q.v.*),
 22-3, 92
 Hobbes, 16, 19
 Hume, 22, 23, 25
 Locke, 18, 19
 Paine, 22-3
 Rousseau, 28-9
 South Place Ethical Society, 158
 Stephen, Leslie, 185
 Suspects, Law of the, 123
- Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles Maurice
 de, 167
 taxation, Paine on, 103, 104-6, 108, 135-
 136, 138
Theophilanthropist, The, 158
 Theophilanthropists, Society of, 156,
 157-8
- Thetford, 1, 8, 185-6
 Thibaudeau, Comte Antoine Clair, 132,
 134
 Thomas Paine Foundation, 185
 Thomas Paine National Historical Asso-
 ciation, 185, 186
 Thomas Paine Society, 186
*Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discon-
 tents* (Burke), 57
 Tooke, John Horne, 115
 Townshend, Charles, 11
 trade, *see* commerce
True American, The, 165, 169
- United States of America (including re-
 ferences to the American colonies
 before Independence)
 Independence: events leading to De-
 claration of, 9-12, 35-7, 43-4, 50-1,
 57, 187; Declaration of, 9-12, 23,
 31-4; War of, 44-7, 51, 162, 163-4;
 mentioned, 91, 110
 Paine's proposed Constitution for, 42
 first reference to 'United States', 42
 American Confederation, 42
 Constitution, 42-3, 61, 96-7, 164, 177;
 Supreme Court, 98-100
see also Federalist party; Washington,
 George
 utility, utilitarianism, 83-4, 102
- Veblen, Thorstein, 21
 Vergniaud, Pierre Victorien, 118
 Virginia, State of, 42, 49
- wages, workmen's, Paine's proposal con-
 cerning, 108
 Walker Brothers, 53, 55
 war
 Hobbes on, 14
 Paine on, 52-3, 93
 Warren, Chief Justice Earl, 99
 Washington, George
 in War of Independence, 44, 51, 162,
 163-4
 relations with Paine, 44, 50, 51, 115,
 159-64
 first President of USA, 97

- relations with Britain, 115, 127, 133,
160, 161, 162, 163
a French citizen, 117
Watson, Bishop Richard, 142
Welfare State, Paine's advocacy of, 102-
109
Wheeler, Sir Charles, 185-6
Whiteside, Peter, 53, 55
Wilberforce, William, 117
William and Mary, *see* Revolution of 1688
Williamson, Audrey, 183
Wilson, President Woodrow, 100
Wollstonecraft, Mary, 81
women, rights of, Paine and, 37, 81