

1 THOMAS PAINE: HIS LIFE AND LEGACY

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4 Thomas Paine’s literary and intellectual accomplishments are extraordinary under
5 any circumstances. Under the circumstances of his original station in life and his
6 early experiences in eighteenth century England, we come away both humbled and
7 mystified. We know by his deeds of the passion for justice he possessed. His
8 activism was driven by a deep conviction to moral principles. He is known to have
9 relished engaging in the debates on public issues that took place in the taverns of
10 London, where he had come to live and work in 1766 and, later, in Lewes, where
11 he worked as a customs officer and where he married for the second time.

12 Financially, these were difficult years for Paine. Nonetheless, he took leave
13 from his duties in 1772 to return to London to petition Parliament on behalf of his
14 fellow excisemen for increased compensation. Paine produced a pamphlet – his
15 first serious political writing – in defense of their cause. Returning to Lewes in the
16 Spring of 1774, he was discharged for abandoning his responsibilities.

17 Paine soon separated from his second wife and returned to London, although
18 he is not known to have had any savings or even any prospects for employment.
19 He spent some of his time at least attending scientific lectures; and, through one
20 acquaintance he was introduced to Benjamin Franklin. A friendship between the
21 two men apparently blossomed. Here, I enter into the realm of speculation
22 concerning Paine’s intellectual development and his exposure to other deep
23 thinkers of the day. Franklin is key. Among those Franklin comes to know in
24 London is the great moral philosopher and political economist, Adam Smith.
25 Smith, in turn, had become well-acquainted with the several of the leaders of the
26 Physiocratic school of political economy – Quesnay, Turgot and Necker. Smith
27 later wrote of the Physiocratic system that “with all its imperfections is, perhaps,

28 the nearest approximation to the truth that has yet been published upon the subject
29 of political economy.” Later, Franklin was also converted to the political economy
30 of the Physiocrats. Did Franklin introduce Paine to Smith? Did Paine acquire his
31 interest in political economy from the kind of discussions that were certain to have
32 occurred in the company of these other remarkable men? The record is silent.

33 In any event, Franklin convinced Paine that his prospects for a better life
34 would improve by leaving Britain and resettling in North America. Franklin even
35 wrote a letter of introduction on Paine’s behalf recommending him to his son,
36 William, the royal governor of New Jersey, and to his son-in-law, Richard Bache.
37 With these contacts established, Paine left England in October of 1774, arriving in
38 New York City on November 29 before making his way to Philadelphia. Six
39 months later, Benjamin Franklin also returned home, his role as representative of
40 the colonies having become futile.

41 Thanks, in no small measure to Franklin’s backing, Paine found employment
42 as writer and editor of a new periodical, *The Pennsylvania Magazine*, started by
43 Dr. John Witherspoon (president of the College of New Jersey) and a Philadelphia
44 printer, Robert Aitken. Almost immediately, Paine used the pen to voice his
45 opinions concerning the troubles between Britain and its North American colonies.

46 As is well-known, Paine’s first serious writing in the colonies was an essay
47 condemning the institution of slavery. Seeing Africans enslaved by Americans in
48 Philadelphia touched a nerve. The *Pennsylvania Magazine’s* readers responded
49 and Paine’s journalistic career was immediately established. His growing
50 friendship with the American republican leaders and his acceptance of their
51 political ideals took him the rest of the way. And, as time passed, his understanding
52 of political economy deepened. Paine denied this came about as a result of
53 disciplined study of the writings of his contemporaries or earlier luminaries. Yet,
54 the verdict of his biographers is that Paine knew Locke and had relied upon

55 Lockean principles in the writing of his revolutionary pamphlet, *Common Sense*.
56 Was this knowledge acquired out of his tavern debates?

57

58 This is not to say Paine was inattentive to learning. He had become a
59 member of the American Philosophical Society, while Franklin was still alive and
60 serving as its first president. In fact, Paine authored the bill for the Society's
61 incorporation, which stated as a matter of fundamental principle that members
62 ought to be free "to correspond with learned societies, as well as individual learned
63 men, of any nation or country ... for furthering their common pursuits."

64 At the end of 1780, Paine prepared his first detailed analysis of his adopted
65 nation's socio-political arrangements and institutions, a pamphlet he titled *Public*
66 *Good*. A key issue under debate among leaders of the States was how to resolve
67 disputes over claims to "western lands." Virginians claimed an extensive land area
68 to the west; however, as Paine reminded his readers:

69 *"Those very lands, formed, in contemplation, the fund by which the debt of*
70 *America would in the course of years be redeemed."*

71 Thus, the conventional wisdom was to pay off the war debt by selling off the
72 public domain.

73 In this and every societal issue on which Paine offered his perspective, he
74 challenged others to honor the commitment to moral principle above law or
75 custom. His words have a familiar ring to anyone who has studied the works of
76 Henry George:

77 *"A right, to be truly so, must be right within itself: yet many things have*
78 *obtained the name of rights, which are originally founded in wrong. Of this kind*
79 *are all rights by mere conquest, power or violence."*

80 Paine had apparently already thought deeply about the nature of property
81 and the legitimate basis of rights to landed property. His life in England, where the
82 land was in the hands of a privileged few, provided him with a perspective that
83 most American colonials did not have. In *Public Good*, he demonstrates a strong
84 understanding of the sanctity of contractual obligations and a familiarity with the
85 historical writings on the founding of Britain's colonies. Regarding Virginia's
86 claim to western lands, he concludes:

87 *"The only fact that can be clearly proved is that the Crown of England*
88 *exercised the power of dominion and government in Virginia, and of the disposal*
89 *of the lands, and that the charter had neither been the rule of government nor*
90 *purchasing land for upwards of one hundred and fifty years, and this places*
91 *Virginia in succession to the Crown, and not to the Company. Consequently it*
92 *proves a lapse of the charter into the hands of the Crown by some means or other."*

93 These were the historical facts. But, Paine acknowledged that resolution of
94 this conflict over land required an unsatisfactory compromise of moral principle:

95 *"I am not fond of quoting these old remains of former arrogance, but as we*
96 *must begin somewhere, and as the States have agreed to regulate the right of each*
97 *State to territory, by the condition each stood in with the Crown of England at the*
98 *commencement of the Revolution, we have no other rule to go by; and any rule*
99 *which can be agreed on is better than none."*

100 He also had some advice to the leaders of all of the States still fighting to
101 separate themselves from British rule:

102 *"It seldom happens that the romantic schemes of extensive dominion are of*
103 *any service to a government, and never to a people."*

104 The same advice was given to Britain's leaders by Adam Smith in *The*
105 *Wealth of Nations*. Acquiring an extended empire is very costly, almost impossible

106 to maintain over any period of time, and of benefit to a small minority of
107 monopolistic interests. Paine's recommendation was to establish new, small states
108 out of the western lands, then open "*a land office in all countries in Europe for*
109 *hard money, and in [the American States] for supplies in kind.*" In this way, he
110 believed, the war could be paid for without incurring a huge debt and without the
111 need for the imposition of heavy taxation.

112 Whether from Adam Smith or John Locke, from other writers, or from his
113 own insights, Paine grasped an essential truth underlying the science of political
114 economy:

115 "*Lands are the real riches of the habitable world, and the natural funds of*
116 *America. The funds of other countries are, in general, artificially constructed; the*
117 *creatures of necessity and contrivance dependent upon credit, and always exposed*
118 *to hazard and uncertainty. But lands can neither be annihilated nor lose their*
119 *value; on the contrary, they universally rise with population, and rapidly so, when*
120 *under the security of effectual government.*"

121 His thinking at this point may not have been specifically influenced by the
122 teachings of the Physiocratic writers, nor even by Smith's discussion of ground
123 rents as an appropriate source of public revenue. However, in his *Crisis* paper that
124 appeared in October 1780, he recommended that of the total revenue needed to be
125 raised, "*one half ... should be raised by duties on imported goods, and prize goods,*
126 *and the other half by a tax on landed property and houses.*" As with the selling off
127 of some portion of the public lands, Paine argues the case for "*a duty on imports*"
128 as a measure prompted by expediency. Such a duty, he concludes, "*is the most*
129 *convenient duty or tax that can be collected ... because the whole is payable in a*
130 *few places in a country, and it likewise operates with the greatest ease and*
131 *equality, because as every one pays in proportion to what he consumes, so people*
132 *in general consume in proportion to what they can afford; and therefore the tax is*

133 *regulated by the abilities which every man suppose himself to have.”* Paine’s
134 recommendations were also guided by a desire to avoid the dangers of a divisive
135 national debt at a time when the newly-independent States struggled over the right
136 balance between sovereignty and unity.

137

138 Although the war in the south continued, and the British remained strongly
139 entrenched at Yorktown, Paine was confident victory was on the horizon. He
140 began to think of his own future and planned to write a detailed and accurate
141 history of the war. Remarkably, he thought about secretly returning to England to
142 conduct his own research on Britain’s execution of its wartime strategy. Before any
143 of these plans could be pulled together, however, Paine was approached by the
144 Congress to join Colonel John Laurens for a mission to France to secure an
145 additional loan. They sailed early in February of 1781 and, upon their arrival in
146 Paris, Paine was reunited with Benjamin Franklin. Franklin arranged for meetings
147 with Vergennes, the foreign minister, and eventually with king Louis XVI. In May,
148 Vergennes announced that the requested loan would be granted -- some two and a
149 half million livres in silver as well as a huge quantity of urgently needed goods and
150 war materials. For his part, Paine still yearned to get to England, but Franklin
151 managed to dissuade him of this foolish idea.

152 After a return voyage lasting almost three months, Paine made his way from
153 Boston to Philadelphia accompanied by a strong escort. In one of history’s strange
154 ironies, all of the recognition went to Laurens. Paine had to petition the Congress
155 several times just to be reimbursed for the expenses he incurred on the nation’s
156 behalf. For some months, Paine slipped into inactivity. Then, at the urging of
157 George Washington, Robert Morris approached Paine to enlist his mind and pen in
158 the planning for the future. The result was an open letter “To the People of

159 America” published in March of 1782, in which he pleaded with them to remain
160 united:

161

162 *“The union of America is the foundation-stone of her independence; the rock*
163 *on which it is built; and is something so sacred in her constitution, that we ought to*
164 *watch every word we speak, and every thought we think, that we injure it not, even*
165 *by mistake.”*

166 Preserving the union was essential to a prosperous future, he believed. Many
167 problems would have to be resolved, none so immediate than what to do about the
168 issuance of currency. The Continental Congress had issued its own paper currency
169 with virtually no “hard money” in reserve; and, each of the States also printed its
170 own currency. Counterfeiting was widespread. Recounting the wartime situation as
171 he responded in 1782 to a thinly-researched history of the war by the French
172 writer, Abbe Raynal, Paine describes the consequences of paper money issuance:

173 *“The paper money, though issued from Congress under the name of dollars,*
174 *did not come from that body always at that value. Those which were issued the first*
175 *year, were equal to gold and silver. The second year less, the third year still less,*
176 *and so on, for nearly the space of five years: at the end of which, I imagine, that*
177 *the whole value, at which Congress might pay away the several emissions, taking*
178 *them together, was about ten or twelve million pounds sterling.*

179 *“Now as it would have ten or twelve millions sterling of taxes to carry on the*
180 *war for five years, and, as while this money was issuing, and likewise depreciating*
181 *down to nothing, there were none, or few valuable taxes paid; consequently the*
182 *event to the public was the same, whether they sunk ten or twelve millions of*
183 *expended money, by depreciation, or paid ten or twelve millions by taxation; for as*

184 *they did not do both, and chose to do one, the matter which, in a general view, was*
185 *indifferent.”*

186 The key to understanding Paine’s analysis is to pay attention to the phrase
187 *“in a general view.”* He certainly understood – directly or intuitively – the dictum
188 of the sixteenth century political economist Thomas Gresham that bad money
189 chases good money out of circulation. The American colonials who possessed hard
190 money put it away for safekeeping. Moreover, although they comprised a small
191 minority who might have been taxed, they exerted their position of influence to
192 ensure this did not occur. The property of departing Loyalists could be confiscated
193 and sold off to provide the States and the Continental Congress with necessary
194 revenue. Yet, Paine reconciled what occurred based on his assessment that the
195 greater good – the cause of independence – was served:

196 *“Every man depreciated his own money by his own consent, for such was the*
197 *effect, which the raising the nominal value of goods produced. But as by such*
198 *reduction he sustained a loss equal to what he must have paid to sink it by*
199 *taxation, therefore the line of justice is to consider his loss by the depreciation as*
200 *his tax for that time, and not to tax him when the war is over, to make that money*
201 *good in any other person’s hands, which became nothing in his own.”*

202 As Paine continued in his response to Raynal, he explored the rational basis
203 for relations between nations. Here, he reminded readers that the oceans
204 constituted the last remaining commons:

205 *“The sea is the world’s highway; and he who arrogates a prerogative over it*
206 *transgresses the right, and justly brings on himself the chastisement of nations.”*

207 To Americans, he continued to urge the formation of a country united by a
208 strong central government. *“The times that tried men’s souls are over – and the*
209 *greatest and completest revolution the world ever knew, gloriously and happily*

210 *accomplished,”* he wrote in April of 1783. Paine was now prepared to retire from
211 public service in order to pursue his unfulfilled private interests. He purchased a
212 small home in Bordentown, New Jersey, where one of his few good friends, Joseph
213 Kirkbridge, had settled after the war’s end. He continued to write, warning of the
214 dangers of disunity – dangers not only in the realm of national defense but also
215 affecting the creation of an American economy. “[W]hile we have no national
216 system of commerce,” he wrote in December of 1783, “*the British will govern our*
217 *trade by their own laws and proclamations as they please.*”

218

219 In 1784, Paine was awarded a substantial property in the town of New
220 Rochelle, New York, confiscated during the war from a departed Loyalist. He also
221 received a cash award from the Pennsylvania Assembly and the salary owed to him
222 by the Continental Congress. Benjamin Franklin wrote to Paine, expressing his
223 hope that Paine would not disappear from public life. But, Paine’s attention was
224 now being drawn to the engineering project in which he invested a good portion of
225 his creative energy – the design of a single arch cast iron bridge. This was Paine
226 combining the skills of scientist, technician and entrepreneur.

227 Paine had also been one of the initial investors in the Bank of North
228 America, established in 1780. Now, he was compelled to come to its defense in the
229 face of a determined effort to have the bank’s charter revoked. Toward the end of
230 1785 he worked on a pamphlet, *Dissertations on Government; the Affairs of the*
231 *Bank; and Paper Money*, which he finished and released at the end of February
232 1786. In this pamphlet, Paine did far more than defend the bank; he argued – as did
233 Jefferson – that the laws of a society ought to be subject to a sunset provision, to a
234 periodic review and affirmative renewal, based on the present needs of society:

235 “*As we are not to live forever ourselves, and other generations are to follow*
236 *us, we have neither the power nor the right to govern them, or to say how they*

237 *shall govern themselves. It is the summit of human vanity, and shows a*
238 *covetousness of power beyond the grave, to be dictating to the world to come. It is*
239 *sufficient that we do that which is right in our own day, and leave them with the*
240 *advantage of good examples.”*

241 Paine’s pamphlet played a major part in building support for continuing the
242 bank charter. That accomplished, Paine returned to construction of a model of his
243 bridge, which he brought to Philadelphia to show to Benjamin Franklin. As always,
244 Franklin provided wise counsel, recommending that Paine take the bridge to
245 France to obtain support from France’s leading scientists. And so, just as the
246 delegates from each State began to arrive in Philadelphia for the Constitutional
247 Convention, Paine prepared to depart for France. With letters of introduction from
248 Franklin and assistance from Thomas Jefferson, the French Academy of Sciences
249 appointed a committee to examine Paine’s bridge, and soon provided its approval.
250 Paine then made his way to the French coast and the trip across the channel to
251 England.

252 Despite everything else that had to be on his mind, Paine took the time to
253 address European affairs. The result was the pamphlet, *Preface to Prospects on the*
254 *Rubicon*, warning the people of England that the nation was in no financial
255 condition to embark on another war. England’s political leaders were not amused.
256 Pointing to principle worked well on the American colonials, eager for an end to
257 what they hated as despotic external domination. Now, however, Paine was
258 attempting to put these same principles into play in the Old World, where
259 entrenched privilege seemed unmovable. “*I defend the cause of the poor, of the*
260 *manufacturers, of the tradesmen, of the farmers, and of all those on whom the real*
261 *burden of taxes fall,”* wrote Paine, adding “*—but above all, I defend the cause of*
262 *humanity.”* His perspective was one held by a very small minority, a minority that
263 included hardly anyone in a position of power.

264 As is clear from what I have written thus far, Paine’s ideas on political
265 economy were principled but not doctrinaire. He took circumstances into
266 consideration, arguing the case for mitigating policies when solutions were
267 impractical. His emotional response to the revolution in France pulled him into an
268 extremely dangerous and volatile arena.

269 When Paine arrived in France in the Fall of 1789, he experienced an
270 enthusiastic and warm welcome. Many of his writings, certainly *Common Sense*
271 and the *Crisis* papers, had been translated into French and broadly read by French
272 intellectuals. The first phase of the French Revolution seemed to Paine to be
273 imbued with the spirit of American experiment, and Paine became an enthusiastic
274 champion of the ideals taking hold in France – and beyond. He assisted the great
275 French philosopher, Condorcet, in drafting a “Declaration of the Rights of Man
276 and of the Citizen” and participated in discussion on what ought to go into a new
277 constitution. When, at the end of 1790, Edmund Burke raised the conservative
278 alarm against the attack by the French people on traditional socio-political
279 arrangements and institutions, Paine responded with his moral and philosophical
280 treatise -- *The Rights of Man*. Some fifty thousand copies were sold in Britain, and
281 Paine rose in stature among the leading reformers there, such as William Godwin.

282 One of Paine’s important insights is that to a very great extent politics
283 dictates economic outcomes. The French, he pointed out, had removed a deep
284 political evil by “abolishing tithes,” so that no longer would “*the farmer bear the*
285 *whole expense*” of improvements but only a portion “*of the produce.*” Paine also
286 acknowledged the contributions made by numerous French political economists
287 and moral philosophers to the cause of democratic reform under very adverse
288 circumstances:

289 “*The writings of Quesnay, Turgot, and the friends of these authors, are of a*
290 *serious kind; but they labored under the same disadvantage with Montesquieu;*

291 *their writings abound with moral maxims of government, but are rather directed to*
292 *economize and reform the administration of government, than the government*
293 *itself.”*

294 Later, he asks rhetorically: “*What is government more than the management*
295 *of the affairs of a nation?”*

296 Adding:

297 “*Sovereignty, as a matter of right, appertains to the nation only, and not to*
298 *any individual; and a nation has at all times an inherent indefeasible right to*
299 *abolish any form of government it finds inconvenient, and establish such as*
300 *accords with its interest, disposition, and happiness. ...If universal peace,*
301 *civilization, and commerce, are ever to be the happy lot of man, it cannot be*
302 *accomplished but by a revolution in the system of governments.”*

303 In the second part of *The Rights of Man*, appearing in February of 1792,
304 Paine offered his insights into the cooperative, constructive side of the interactions
305 between peoples. One recognizes the influence of Locke in his words:

306 “*Great part of that order which reigns among mankind is not the effect of*
307 *government. It had its origin in the principles of society and the natural*
308 *constitution of man. It existed prior to government and would exist if the formality*
309 *of government was abolished. The mutual dependence and reciprocal interest*
310 *which man has upon man, and all parts of a civilized community upon each other,*
311 *create that great chain of connection which holds it together. The landholder, the*
312 *farmer, the manufacturer, the merchant, the tradesman, and every occupation*
313 *prospers by the aid which each receives from the other, and from the whole.*
314 *Common interest regulates their concerns, and forms their laws; and the laws*
315 *which common usage ordains, have a greater influence than the laws of*

316 *government. In fine, society performs for itself almost every thing which is*
317 *ascribed to government.”*

318 Paine does not call for “free trade” by name, but he advises of its benefits:

319 *“If commerce were permitted to act to the universal extent it is capable of, it*
320 *would extirpate the system of war, and produce a revolution in the uncivilized state*
321 *of governments. The invention of commerce has arisen since those governments*
322 *began, and is the greatest approach toward universal civilization, that has yet been*
323 *made by any means not immediately flowing from moral principles.”*

324 And, to those who continued to connect a nation’s wealth with the establishment of
325 colonies and empire, he echoed Adam Smith’s warning:

326 *“The most unprofitable of all commerce is that connected with foreign*
327 *dominion. To a few individuals it may be beneficial, merely because it is*
328 *commerce; but to the nation it is a loss. The expense of maintaining dominion more*
329 *than absorbs the profits of any trade.”*

330 Paine also recognizes the economic benefits of the free movement and
331 migration of people:

332 *“As population is one of the chief sources of wealth, (for without it, land*
333 *itself has no value), every thing which operates to prevent it, must lessen the value*
334 *of property...”*

335 *“Every man is a customer in proportion to his ability; and as all parts of a*
336 *nation trade with each other, whatever affects any of the parts must necessarily*
337 *communicate to the whole.”*

338 He goes on to challenge Edmund Burke's defense of the landed as the
339 primary stakeholders of the nation and defenders of its traditions and constitution
340 of government:

341 *"No reason can be given, why a house of legislation should be composed*
342 *entirely of men whose occupation consists in letting landed property, than why it*
343 *should be composed of those who hire, or of brewers, or bakers, or any other*
344 *separate class of men. ...It is difficult to discover what is meant by the landed*
345 *interest, if it does not mean a combination of aristocratical land-holders, opposing*
346 *their own pecuniary interest to that of the farmer, and every branch of trade,*
347 *commerce, and manufacture."*

348 The landed not only sit back and live off the work of others, but the landed
349 class relies on political power *"to ward off taxes from itself."* Paine observed that
350 the *"aristocracy are not the farmers who work the land, and raise the produce, but*
351 *are the mere consumers of the rent; and .. are the drones ... who neither collect the*
352 *honey nor form the hive, but exist only for lazy enjoyment."*

353 Paine finishes *The Rights of Man* by providing British authorities with a
354 step-by-step plan to reduce the expenses of government while at the same time
355 significantly reducing the number of people – particularly children and the elderly
356 – condemned to lives of poverty. First, Britain must abandon militarism and
357 commit to long-term peace with its European neighbors. With the resulting savings
358 in government expenses, he calls for elimination of the poor-rates, which, he
359 declares, *"are a direct tax which every housekeeper feels."* Then, *"make a*
360 *remission of taxes to the poor to double the amount of the present poor-rates ... out*
361 *of the surplus taxes."* For those over the age of fifty, he calls for a guaranteed
362 annual income that increases for those who reach age sixty.

363 To Paine, the taxation of houses – with additional taxes imposed for every
364 window – made no sense whatever, so he called for their elimination. What the

365 national welfare demanded, he stated, was a progressive tax on Britain's landed
366 estates.

367 With all these measures in place, Britain, he concluded, "*will effect three*
368 *objects at once:*"

369 "*First, That of removing the burden to where it can best be borne.*

370 *Secondly, Restoring justice among families by distribution of property.*

371 *Thirdly, Extirpating the overgrown influence arising from the unnatural law*
372 *of primogeniture, and which is one of the principal sources of corruption at*
373 *elections."*

374 Paine had yet to articulate in writing the fundamental moral truth, that three
375 years later – in 1795 – appeared in the pamphlet, *Agrarian Justice*:

376 "*It is a position not to be controverted that the earth, in its natural,*
377 *uncultivated state was, and ever would have continued to be, the common property*
378 *of the human race. In that state every man would have been born to property. He*
379 *would have been a joint life proprietor with the rest in the property of the soil, and*
380 *in all its natural productions, vegetable and animal."*

381 And, as Henry George would similarly conclude nearly a century later:

382 "*But the earth in its natural state, as before said, is capable of supporting*
383 *but a small number of inhabitants compared with what it is capable of doing in a*
384 *cultivated state. And as it is impossible to separate the improvement made by*
385 *cultivation from the earth itself, upon which that improvement is made, the idea of*
386 *landed property arose from that inseparable connection; but it is nevertheless true,*
387 *that it is the value of the improvement, only, and not the earth itself, that is*
388 *individual property."*

389 “Every proprietor, therefore, of cultivated lands, owes to the community a
390 ground-rent (for I know of no better term to express the idea) for the land which he
391 holds; and it is from this ground-rent that the fund proposed in this plan is to
392 issue.”

393 Although Paine’s close friend and collaborator in these years was the great
394 French philosopher Condorcet, and he was enthusiastically elected to the National
395 Convention, there is no record of any close association with the key Physiocratic
396 leaders – Quesnay or Turgot. Perhaps he came to his views out of the long
397 discussions he had with Condorcet or, earlier, with Benjamin Franklin. Perhaps his
398 reading while imprisoned in Luxembourg included some of the Physiocratic tracts
399 on *the land question* and what needed to be done. We do not have answers from
400 Paine or those who knew him well during this period. Yet, the works quoted from
401 above offered the world a body of writing displaying great clarity of thought. Paine
402 had made significant contributions to the science of political economy for which he
403 received almost no recognition among those who came afterward.

404 His role as a central figure in the American Revolution is now
405 acknowledged and is experiencing renewed attention. Perhaps, when political
406 economy once again takes its proper place among the social sciences, the
407 contributions of Paine – as well as those of Henry George – will again be taught,
408 studied and written of.

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