

which denounced the king and monarchy and boldly proclaimed that the time had come to establish a republic. A few days later Paine published in *L'Épublicain*, which he and Condorcet had founded, an attack on the monarchy. He elaborated his attack on the monarchy in a public letter to the Abbé Sieyès, who had replied to Paine's article and had advocated the retention of the king.

Paine returned to England on July 13, 1791. A month later he issued his *Address and Declaration of the Friends of Universal Peace and Liberty* in which he again defended the French Revolution. "We have nothing to apprehend from the poor; for we are pleading their cause," he wrote. "And we fear not proud oppression, for we have truth on our side. We say, and we repeat it, that the French Revolution opens to the world an opportunity in which all good citizens must rejoice—that of promoting the general happiness of man."

After the appearance of Burke's reply to the first part of *Rights of Man*, entitled *An Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs*, Paine started work on Part II of his great book. It was more of an exposition of Paine's principles of government and society than a reply to Burke and, as Vernon L. Parrington has pointed out, was "the maturest elaboration of Paine's political philosophy. . . ." In this work Paine analyzed the basic reasons for discontent in contemporary society and offered his remedy for the misery he saw all about him.

"When in countries that we call civilized," he writes, "we see age going to the workhouse and youth to the gallows, something must be wrong in the system of government." "Why is it," he asks, "that scarcely any are executed but the poor"? Poverty and an evil environment—"lack of education for the young and a decent livelihood for the old"—were the reasons for this unfortunate state of affairs, and these conditions prevailed because the government failed to provide for the happiness of the people. In England, of course, one could not expect the government to act otherwise, for it consisted only of representatives of special privileges and special interests. "No better reason can be given," he declares, "why the house of legislature should be composed entirely of men whose occupations is in letting landed property than why it should be composed of those who hire, or brewers, or bakers, or of any other separate class of men."

Paine did not confine himself to advocating a reform in the composition of the government. He outlined a plan for popular education, for the relief of the poor, for pensions for aged people, for donations, or