

premiums, to be given for births and marriages, together with an allowance for funeral expenses of people dying out of work and away from their friends, and for State employment and lodging-houses to aid unemployed workingmen.

To raise a revenue for the operation of his plan, Paine proposed the levying of a progressive income tax. Not only would this secure the funds necessary for the proper functioning of the government, but it would bring about the abolition of primogeniture which was both "unnatural and unjust" and a great waste of the national wealth.

In Part II of the *Rights of Man* Paine also outlined his suggestions for peaceful and harmonious relations among nations to render wars unnecessary. He advocated the signing of a treaty between England, France, the United States and Holland under which no new ships were to be built by any of the signers, while their existing naval establishments were to be reduced one-half of their existing strength. "If men will permit themselves," he wrote, "to think as rational beings ought to think, nothing can appear more ridiculous and absurd . . . than to be at the expense of building navies, filling them with men, and then hauling them out into the ocean to see which can sink each other the fastest." Thus though not the first Paine was one of the earliest advocates of an international association of nations to outlaw war.¹⁶ He was also one of the first to prophesy, as he does in Part II of *Rights of Man*, "the independence of South America, and the opening of those countries of immense extent and wealth to the general commerce of the world."

Part Two had a phenomenal circulation. Thirty thousand copies were distributed by the political clubs at their own expense among the poor. Although living in poverty Paine turned over to the London Constitutional Society the thousand pounds which he had received from royalties, enabling it to distribute the book even more widely. Not only did he arrange for the printing of a cheap edition because the original cost too much, thereby preventing it from reaching the common people, but he even gave up the copyright to the public. At least one hundred thousand copies of the cheap edition were sold in England, Ireland and Scotland.

¹⁶ Paine first presented his views on the value of an international association of nations to preserve peace in his *Letter to the Abbé Raynal*. This work may be said to mark an important transition in Paine's thinking in the sense that after it he began to think more and more in internationalist terms. See Darrel Abel, "The Significance of the 'Letter to the Abbé Raynal' in the Progress of Thomas Paine's Thought," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. LXVI, April, 1942, pp. 176-190.