In 1925, Thomas A. Edison urged readers to "consider 'Common Sense', and Paine's planning of this great American Republic, of which he may very justly be termed the real founder." Thomas Paine was, indeed, a founder of America and an early political scientist. Acrimony has prevented credit on both accounts—an acrimony which began with defamation by a Pitt Ministry officer, Richard Chalmers, who wrote The Life of Thomas Paine (1791) under the pseudonym Francis Oldys. During the preceding period, that of the Revolution and Confederation, Paine was regarded in America as a founder. Today, Paine seems not to fit the aristocratic pattern of the Founding Fathers, yet he does satisfy the objective criteria. An atypical founder, Paine contributed as an English immigrant. He had been nurtured in pub debate, yet was a lobbyist before Parliament. He was a craftsman, a minister and a town officer. He was a visionary and a scientist. He gave practical ideas, a political philosophy, and personal dedication.

Not only was Paine a founder, he was a prescient seventeenth century political scientist. He was an early empirical student of the technique of government. Science pervaded his life. He was an inventor who built and patented an iron bridge. His fine sense of experimental inquiry served a wide curiosity about natural phenomena. And the same practical urges dominated his politics. Paine applied basic quantitative measures to questions of economics, finance, welfare; he understood elementary game theory in legislative voting; and he foresaw the use and importance of public opinion sampling. He understood the importance of demographics in connection with democracy
in expanding nation-states. He warned, however, of the weakness of his contemporaries' ruling conception of checks and balances, a frail analogy from physics, by pointing to the use of the civil list by George III. The Society for Political Inquiries in Philadelphia, of which Paine was a member and writer of the Charter, was probably America's first political science association.

I. Paine's Life

Paine was born January 29, 1737 in Thetford, England. This was his boyhood home, and here he was an apprentice to his father's craft of staymaker or corsetmaker. He left the distasteful craft and sat for examinations for the excise service in Lewes, Sussex. There he was appointed exciseman, and he also held office as a member of the Jury or Committee of Twelve. An early marriage ended with the death of his wife, possibly in childbirth. He remarried, less as a romantic union than to help the family of his recently deceased landlord. The couple separated on good terms before Paine came to the colonies.

Paine enjoyed ice skating and attended scientific lectures in London, but he especially enjoyed pub debates at Lewes's White Hart Inn. He often won the weekly prize, an old Homer. The excise officers asked Paine to petition Parliament for higher wages, so in 1772 he wrote *The Case of the Officers of Excise* and lobbied members of Parliament in London without success. There he met and impressed Benjamin Franklin and Oliver Goldsmith. While he was away the family tobacconist business failed, and Paine was dismissed for absence from his excise post. He left England for the colonies in October, 1774, carrying a letter of introduction from Franklin to Richard Bach of Philadelphia, Franklin's son-in-law.

Soon after arriving Paine was appointed editor of the *Pennsylvania Magazine* by Robert Aitkin. The Battle of Lexington in April, 1775, convinced Paine reconciliation was impossible, so he wrote *Common Sense* during the fall of 1775. Publication took until January, 1776, and Paine's half of the proceeds he donated to a fund for army clothing. All of the several million inhabitants of the colonies probably read it or heard it read, 120,000 Copies having sold in three months.

Paine joined the Pennsylvania Associates as a volunteer soldier and became aide-de-camp to General George Washington. Between the retreat into New Jersey December, 1776, and the month of December, 1783, Paine wrote the series of sixteen articles for colonial newspapers called "The American Crisis". As the war proceeded he served, in turn, in the posts of Secretary to the 1777 Indian Commission, Secre-
tary to the Committee for Foreign Affairs of Congress, and Clerk of
the Pennsylvania Assembly.

Paine was a principal contributor of innovative ideas during the
Confederation period, and argued as well for a new and stronger cen-
tral government at the close of the war. During this period he wrote
Dissertations: On Government; the Affairs of the Bank; and Paper
Money (1784)—his most noteworthy work during this time. He also
wrote Public Good (1780), the “Newfoundland Fisheries” letters
(1780) and “Rhode Island” letters (1782). The Society for Political
Inquiries was founded in Philadelphia in 1787 with a charter written
by Paine. Meetings were held in Franklin’s library. Paine left for
France soon thereafter, following several years of engineering and
experimentation, for approval from the Academy of Sciences of the
iron bridge design. He expected to be gone only several months.9

The next five years were divided between London and Paris. Paine
attended to family business in England, met with reformers like Fox
and others like Burke, and constructed a model bridge 110 feet in
length. In France Paine received the key to the Bastille from Lafayette
for Washington; founded the Republican Club with Condorcet; and
published the “Republican Manifesto” which was “placarded in Paris
July 1, 1791 after the flight of Louis XVI”.10 He also wrote On The
Legislative and Executive Powers (1791). Rights of Man appeared in
1791 (3–400,000 copies), followed by a second edition in 1792 in two
parts (1.5 million copies).11 The ministry summoned Paine and set
trial for fall, 1792; jailed bookseller J. S. Jordan; commissioned the
Chalmers “biography”, and sent the constable for Paine September,
1792. William Blake warned Paine the evening of September twelfth
not to go home but to immediately leave England,12 and the constable
arrived in Dover September thirteenth some hours after Paine had
sailed for France.

In 1792 Paine had been elected a Deputy to the French Convention
from Calais, and he now attended sessions. He opposed the execution
of the king, and was imprisoned by the Terrorists in the Luxembourg
fortress December, 1793 until November, 1794. He had been con-
demned by Robespierre but an error allowed him to escape.13 While
awaiting execution, Paine showed “quiet courage” and gave money to
other prisoners.14 Paine explained the failure of the revolution in Age
of Reason (1794), which he stayed in France to write. Before he finally
returned to America in 1802, several important pamphlets were pub-
lished: Dissertation on First Principles of Government (1795) in support
of the 1792 proposed French constitution, Agrarian Justice (1797), and
"Maritime Compact" (1797) which was reprinted by President Jefferson in America.

At the age of sixty-five Paine returned to a vastly changed and hostile America. His friendship with the President was unchanged, but the Federalist press was abusive to both. Paine wrote more during the last seven years of his life than any earlier period. Constitutional Reform (1805), "Liberty of the Press" (1806), "The Cause of Yellow Fever" (1806), correctly linking the disease with harbor water, and "Essay on Dreams" (1807) were the principal writings. He wrote in his will, "I have lived an honest and useful life to mankind . . ." and died the morning of June 8, 1809, in New York City.

II. AN AMERICAN FOUNDER

As usually portrayed, Paine arrived in the colonies an inexperienced firebrand fleeing past mistakes who was swept into the vortex of events, dizzily composing incendiary propaganda with other people's ideas. This picture is not accurate. Had Paine no political experience? He had been a Lewes Vestryman, a civil servant under the Crown, a labor spokesman and lobbyist, and had flourished in the face-to-face politics of the English pub. Paine served in the Lewes Committee of Twelve from October, 1769 until July, 1772, dealing with taxation, elections and auditing the Constables' and Headboroughs' accounts. Eighteenth century excisemen rode a circuit by horseback, inspecting the goods in pubs and stores. They were underpaid, the work was unpopular if not dangerous in a coastal area where smuggling existed, and each officer had more goods than he could actually inspect. Paine argued that higher pay would improve collections. Thirty-seven years old when he emigrated to the colonies, Paine's accomplishments in his home country outweigh his failures: a staymaker's son, appointed by merit to the excise service, a town officer, chosen to lobby for the excisemen in London, and impressing Franklin and Goldsmith. These long strides gave Paine a valuable background.

What is an American Founder? The term suggests the nobility of George Washington, the wisdom of Benjamin Franklin, the whiz-kid Alexander Hamilton (still a student at Kings College at the start of the war), the integrity and intuition of Thomas Jefferson, the skill of James Madison whose notes provide the only record of the Constitutional Convention), and perhaps the juridical innovation of John Marshall. The concept therefore would include these elements: public service at personal cost, exposure and loyalty, innovativeness, perfor-
mance of the duties of office, a charter position in the new republic, high character, and a vision of the future. This might be one formulation of 'an American Founder'.

Thomas Paine met these criteria—though he was neither a native colonist nor a man of wealth. He served the public and its causes with affection throughout his life at a cost equivalent to complete generosity. So complete was Paine's loyalty, under fire and duress, to the cause of democracy that he alienated people like John Adams and Gouverneur Morris. Thomas Paine was unusually creative. He was not completely original, but he put principles to work on immediate, practical problems at what he called the "seedtime." While he held colonial and Confederation appointments, the vehicle for Paine's contributions was not office but personal contact through informal association. Not just a revolutionary, Paine contributed to the operations and structure of the Confederation and of the emerging Constitutional federation. Paine had high moral character and habits. A vision of America based on human perfectibility motivated him, and he envisioned brighter possibilities than did the Constitution framers.

These general qualities depended on particular character traits. Paine was generous without being indiscriminate, and self-sacrificing without seeking martyrdom. These virtues he displayed frequently. For example he paid the costs of publishing Common Sense himself, then gave half the receipts to the publisher of the first of several editions, Robert Bell, and donated his own half to the fund for winter clothing for the army. From sales of 500,000, he kept nothing. When the choice came in 1779 between silence and safety or confirming fraud by an American emissary, Silas Deane, at the cost of his position as Secretary to the Committee for Foreign Affairs of Congress, Paine brought the evidence forward. He then resigned, perhaps America's first whistleblower and, as one of the first to oppose profit from public office, Paine stimulated an anti-graft campaign resulting in the first conflict-of-interest laws in Maryland and Virginia.

Although Paine never sought individual financial security, he invested with precision to capitalize public concerns. During the financial woes of the 1780's, Paine suggested and then backed with his entire salary of 500 dollars the Bank of North America. The immediate need was financing army supplies. Paine's use of money Dorfman and others call poor personal planning, in part for this reason: Paine did later request, and was granted, reimbursement for out-of-pocket expenses, but he did not buy income securities such as Continental bonds which figured strongly in the Constitutional Convention.
This generosity, continued later in France, was a major virtue of Paine's.

The loyalty of a founder is more than steady support of the prevailing cause. A living model, created from the resources of character, that summons loyalty in others, would be a founder's loyalty. This Paine displayed by accepting mortal risk, by acting and speaking strictly from principle, even in self-criticism, and by drawing on his fervent love of the enfranchised public. A multitude of illustrations can be given.

Paine's risk, had the Revolution failed, was near-certain death owing to his unusual practice of signing personally his newspaper articles. This published acceptance of responsibility has earned Paine one student's description as the first responsible journalist. Principles guided Paine like a compass and paradoxically, Paine's clarity of orientation heightened amidst turmoil, as Age of Reason and Paine's Pennsylvania Magazine articles show. In Paris in 1794 whilst the city lived the Reign of Terror, Paine was heading a critique of events with his testimony of belief in God. In the confusion of the years 1774 and 1775 Paine distilled the meaning of the emerging nation. Freedom forbids slavery, a nation rests on its society and that rests on families which must not (but did) victimize women, and all men should vote, free of qualification. The public which Paine loved was the new democratic polity, not the patricians' or aristocrats' tolerance for the citizen, but a deep love. Loyalty to the Revolution was fidelity to self-governing men.

(A) charter is to be understood as a bond of solemn obligation, which the whole enters into, to support the right of every separate part, whether of religion, professional freedom, or property.

Political creativity in gestating America required the thinker's, the visionary's, and the inventor's skills, not alone, but all three, a synthesis. That is, it required someone moving with speed and agility from politics already thought out to new issues. It required as well a wide time-perspective and a sense of timing. And it required finally the invention of new political structures.

Paine's knowledge of England pressed him to conclude quickly that the Battle of Lexington was a terminus. No one leaps into a vacuum, so Paine suggested outlines of a new government right in Common Sense. Paine's influence in Philadelphia during the Second Continental Congress (he was not a delegate) has led one admirer to wrongly
credit Paine with authoring the Declaration of Independence. Better is Paine’s role seen in this comment by Ralph Izard of South Carolina:

America has been fortunate in having her cause supported by so able an advocate as Mr. Paine . . . against the assaults of so many of her own natural offspring.43

The “Crisis” papers similarly inspired, articulated and innovated politics in the face of danger. “These are the times that try mens’ souls” began “Crisis I”. The practical problem in “Crisis VIII” was supplies; the remedy, the supply fund. In Public Good (1780) Paine called for a new Constitution and criticized Virginia’s claim to western land upon a new formulation of federalism that foreshadowed the Northwest Ordinance of 1787.43 And when Rhode Island balked at ratifying a Confederation tax assessment, Paine formulated in letters to Rhode Island newspapers the seminal principle of dual sovereignty,44 that state and federal authority coexists. Woodward credits Paine with the first published use of the name, ‘United States of America’, while Foner calls Paine the originator in Rights of Man of the very language of nineteenth century American politics.45

Not half a decade after arriving alone in Philadelphia, Thomas Paine had become an officer of the Continental Congress. Paine held elective and appointive posts in three countries. He had been very successful editing the Pennsylvania Magazine, having contributed one-fifth of the copy himself and increased the circulation five-fold.46 Secretary or aide-de-camp to three commanders—Daniel Roberdeau, Nathaniel Greene and George Washington—Paine had entered service as a volunteer soldier. As Secretary to the Committee for Foreign Affairs of Congress, Paine dealt with matters of diplomacy now the business of the State Department.47 When Paine left this post he was appointed Clerk of the Pennsylvania Assembly. Congress appointed Paine a public relations specialist in February, 1782, at a salary of eight hundred dollars per year.

Is someone who signed neither the Declaration of Independence nor the Constitution entitled to charter status in the American Republic? Was Paine riding the coat—tails of history or breasting the waves? In terms of timing, a look at the Battle of Lexington and the retreat from Ft. Lee to Trenton shows Paine’s leadership. He first regarded Lexington as Britain’s de facto declaration of war when others hoped for reconciliation in a vacuous ambivalence.48 This irreconcilability, likened to a brigand disrupting a courtroom,49 meant separation, which Paine
stated forcefully. This force came from Paine's view of colonial strategic superiority, formulated earlier in *Pennsylvania Magazine* articles. The contest was a question, not of this or that battle, but of moral strength, logistical support, and demographics. Demographics was the easiest factor—the colonies, fighting on their own soil, won if they didn't lose. Moral superiority and logistics would take work. Good society is based on love, so we must still our grasping natures. Honor resides in the public, it has nothing to do with duelling or titles. Spiritual freedom precedes political freedom. We would be tested in war, because England was carried by the opinion that the colonists would not fight. But if we simply kept the army supplied, we could not lose.

Paine could say, secondly, during the disheartening retreat in December, 1776 from Ft. Lee to Trenton, in the stirring essay composed on a drumhead in Washington's camp:

> There is a natural firmness in some minds which cannot be unlocked by trifles, but which, when unlocked, discovers a cabinet of fortitude...

Again, when the prevailing mood was running opposite what Paine was saying, he expressed optimism born of his own assessments and thinking. This 'looking on the bright side' suggests to those who experienced World War II propaganda an insubstantial manipulation of opinion, but minimally one may say that Paine was leading and that he had recorded the grounds for his views earlier on. Paine sustained this leadership throughout the 1770's and early 1780's, on other issues such as the debates over the Pennsylvania Constitution and the public finance crisis.

What kind of person was Thomas Paine? The inquirer must first read the Chalmers book to see the source and specifics of the negative Paine myth. The nearly two centuries of bad literature, pro and con, must be put aside. The reader distills these facts. Physically Paine was "about five feet ten inches high; and rather athletic; he was broad shouldered, and latterly stooped a little." Clio Rickman, who wrote the forgoing, and who was a friend of Paine in Europe, offers this additional description:

> His eye... was full, brilliant, and singularly piercing... like a gentleman of the old French school... his manners were easy and gracious; his knowledge was universal and boundless... his conversation had every fascination that anecdote, novelty and truth could give it.
By personal habit Paine practised moderation in food, social drinking, indifference to property, and sexual moderation if not celibacy following the first marriage. The atmosphere of the congenial pub seems Paine's favorite meeting ground. He had strong religious beliefs. He disliked religious ceremony and doctrine, he was familiar with many religious traditions including the work of Sanskrit scholar Sir William Jones (died 1794), he practised what he called contemplation, or meditation, and he was a Theophilanthropist. Paine's friends were Joel Barlow, Clio Rickman, Thomas Jefferson, William Blake, Lafayette, Condorcet, Kosciusko, Robert Fulton, and Madame and Nicolas Bonneville.

III. AN EARLY POLITICAL SCIENTIST

Thomas Paine was one of our earliest political scientists. He was a scientific man—an observer, inventor, a believer in the doctrine of perfectibility. He was someone who actually thought in global terms and saw nations as units in a larger and yet embryonic whole. He wrote the charter for, and belonged to, the Society for Political Inquiries in Philadelphia. The unfolding importance of demography in large nations states in relation to democracy was one of the seeds of Paine's thinking. He did work that, while necessarily soft in data, ranged from comparative politics, through legislative processes and administration, to political economy and political psychology, as well as sociology. One key to Paine's sense of the science of politics is his frequently demonstrated ability to quantify where appropriate. Yet Paine formulated an early critique of the mechanical precepts surrounding the notion of checks and balances, having grasped the limits of such analogies in politics and written constitutions.

Paine regarded scientific curiosity as intrinsic in all people because expressed by children in play, and as a young man he went to scientific lectures in London. Throughout his life, Paine experimented. With George Washington he sought the nature of gas seen bubbling out of the creek at Rocky Hill, New Jersey. While soldiers disturbed the bottom mud with poles, Paine held lighted rolls of cartridge paper over the water and confirmed that the "swamp gas" was flammable. Observation was a pastime of Paine's in many areas: astronomy, geology, metallurgy, physics, and psychology. Inventions Paine actually constructed were a planing machine, a new crane, a gunpowder motor, and a steamboat. The iron bridge was Paine's major invention, described in his British patent (1788) as a compound of
arches designed after a spiders web. Paine's design and a 110 foot prototype were the forerunner of bridges constructed of iron in England in the 1800's. Most of this engineering was done between May, 1786 and the summer of 1789.

Paine saw himself as a citizen of the world. He had a sense of internationalism, a premonition of world community, and a grounding in the politics of three different countries. Paine travelled often, was at home in many places with ease, and while he was a diplomat on occasion (France in 1781, England in 1788–89), his three critical changes of continent were all on personal business. The new immigrant of 1774 explained in this way the writing of *Common Sense*:

> It was the cause of America that made me an author . . . the dangerous condition the country appeared to me in, by courting an impossible and unnatural reconciliation.

An absence of just a few months was all Paine had expected when he left America to submit the iron bridge to the French Academy. Paine was in no sense a revolutionary who went from country to country inflaming passions, therefore, but rather someone who found volatile conditions. He carried a tremendous reputation with him, and was asked in England and France for help. It was as a political scientist that Paine accepted election as a Deputy from Calais. Having experienced national politics in three countries before the eighteenth century ended, Paine regarded the nation-state as natural and necessary for the present stage of Man, but transient. Along with heightened political capacity throughout the entire race, Paine foresaw world community, the vision with his deepest allegiance. This is part of the larger doctrine of perfectability, that "improvement and the world will expire together . . . "

The February, 1787, preface to the Bylaws of the Society for Political Inquiries, written by Paine, contains this statement:

> While objects of subordinate importance have employed the associated labors of learned and ingenious men, the arduous and complicated science of government has been generally left to the care of practical politicians, or the speculations of individual theorists. From a desire of supplying this deficiency, and of promoting the welfare of our country, it is now proposed to establish a society for mutual improvement in the knowledge of government, and for the advancement of political science.

Paine was only to attend meetings for two months between February and his departure for France in April, 1787. But he did contribute one
"well-written dissertation". Meetings took place in Franklin's library, and members included Washington, Robert and Gouverneur Morris, James Wilson, and Benjamin Rush, among others. Topics were set one week in advance, members submitted papers for discussion, and rules governed membership and the proceedings. This 1787 group was probably America's first political science association.

The key to Paine's contribution to the distant science of politics was the connection between demography and democracy and the appropriate use of quantification and empirical inquiry. Democracy for Paine was a right grounded in a generous view of Man, it meant universal male suffrage and participation, and involves a view of representation as fact-finding. Paine raised or operationalized questions of political structure, process and outcome, but without deflating his presuppositions to a utilitarian hedonistic calculus. Those concerned with a quantitative approach to politics as technique often exclude all else. For Paine, measureable facts provide the input and serve to evaluate the output, which Paine found quite lacking in England.

The concern with technique drew from Paine a plan for the new government in Common Sense, a method for the gradual emancipation of slaves, an operationalized defense of the wide suffrage provision of the 1776 Pennsylvania constitution, the innovation of dual sovereignty, analysis of the legislative process, the principles of public finance, methods of international negotiation, and a system of public welfare. Rights of Man (1791–92) yielded discussion of administration by monarchical and republican models, representation, division of powers, legislative process, legal rights, constitutions, and public opinion as a new form of political input.

Paine also did a surprising amount of quantification of political questions. He compared the colonies' strategic resources with England's military strength. He wrote the series of articles on finance covering the cost and class burden of England's wars and the weaknesses of British monartrism, welfare costs, and others. Some of the questions Paine gave succinct empirical treatment were the political economy of fisheries, the causes of the American Revolution, tax redistribution, questions of public opinion, franchise effects of voting qualifications, game analysis of legislative voting, welfare measures, and the ecology of yellow fever.

IV. Conclusion

Thomas Paine was an American founder and political scientist, whose view of Man belongs to a third stream of political ideas. That Paine is
not of the school of Edmund Burke, called classical conservative, embracing original sin, inequality and privilege, is certain. That Paine is also not of the school of John Locke’s “possessive individualism”, called classical liberal, is the point to be made. Locke began as did Burke with Man in the Bible, but pictured Man in the Garden of Eden as an acquirer of property, and government as an umpire. Property is the axis.

The third stream of Thomas Paine is that of Roger Williams’ free conscience, Benjamin Franklin’s civic virtues and independence of thought, and Crevecoeur’s new-world man of elevated character and society. In the nineteenth century it was taken up again by Emerson, Thoreau and Whitman. Paine spoke of reason, contemplation, a compact with God prior to the social contract, a science of government, democracy, and perfectibility. He said:

The duty of man is not a wilderness of turnpike gates, through which he is to pass by tickets from one to the other. It is plain and simple, and consists but of two points. His duty to God, which every man must feel; and with respect to his neighbor, to do as he would be done by. If those to whom power is delegated do well, they will be respected; if not, they will be despised; and with regard to those to whom no power is delegated, but who assume it, the rational world can know nothing of them.116

CENTRAL COAST EYE ASSOCIATES

NOTES


5. See the colorful vignette in a novel otherwise consistently wide of the factual mark in Howard Fast, Citizen Tom Paine (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pierce), 1944, p. 8.


18. Ibid., “Introduction”.


22. ‘Self-Sacrificing’ in Gandhi’s sense of tapas, “ceaseless self-restraint, an acceptance of suffering; the dispensing of... illusions by a clear vision of his real nature and his essential identity with all other beings”, Raghavan N. Iyer, The Moral and Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi (New York: Oxford University Press), 1973, p. 235.

23. Foner, p. 192.
24. Hawke, p. 93.
28. C. A. Beard in An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States estimated that the holders of Continental bonds had at stake an increase in value of $40,000,000, representing one-tenth the taxable value of land in the colonies, Harold Underwood Faulkner, American Economic History (New York: Harper and Row), 1960, p. 147.
29. Hawke, p. 64.
30. Ibid., p. 65.
38. Paine had given early thought to political philosophy, from an autobiographical note written in 1793, Age of Reason, Van der Weyde, Vol. VIII, p. 69.
41. Joseph Lewis Thomas Paine: Author of the Declaration of Independence (New York: Freethought Press Association), 1947. What Lewis does show, as can be seen by reading Common Sense and then looking at the Declaration, is that Paine's ideas are there. This means that Becker's view that the Declaration is wholly Lockian is not an accurate view. See Carl Becker, The Declaration of Independence: A Study in the History of Political Ideas (New York: Vintage Books), 1942.
42. Best, p. 187.
44. Ibid., p. 133.
46. Hawke, p. 29.
56. Ibid., pp. 79–80, 84.
60. The *Life of Thomas Paine*, (1791).
62. Ibid.
64. Gould, p. 170; Cheetham, p. xxii.
66. Williamson, Ch. 2.
73. “Sir Richard Phillips, who assisted Fulton in his steamboat experiments on the Thames, credits Paine with priority in the application of steam to navigation. He had probably learned about Paine’s labors in this direction from Fulton, who was one of Paine’s friends.” Van der Weyde, *Life of Thomas Paine*, Vol. I, pp. 188–189.
75. “Paine’s experimental bridge became the prototype of the modern steel arch . . .”, Charles C. Schreider, Presidential address, American Society of Civil Engineers, quoted in Williamson, p. 106.
76. Paine went with Henry Laurens, Jr., to negotiate a loan from France in February,
1881, and later in the winter of 1788–89 was Jefferson’s source of information on British affairs during a long interval between American ministers to the Court of St. James, Van der Weyde, Life of Thomas Paine, Vol. I, pp. 121–123, 193–213.

77. Paine came to America in 1774 for personal reasons, he went to France in 1787 on personal business, and he returned to America in 1802, again, for personal reasons.


85. Editor’s note, Van der Weyde, Vol. IV, p. 311.

86. Ibid.


88. Rights of Man is the classic statement of a generous view of human nature and the corresponding politics, Van der Weyde, Vol. VI and VII; Dissertation on First Principles of Government, which Paine wrote to defend the 1792 French proposed constitution he had helped write as a member of the committee on the constitution of the French Convention of 1792, is his most concise statement, Van der Weyde, Vol. V, pp. 207–242.

89. Lincoln considers Paine’s distinction as a political scientist in eighteenth century terms his concern with the technique as opposed to just the idea of government. Anthony Lincoln, Some Political and Social Ideas of English Dissent 1763–1800 (Cambridge University Press), 1938, p. 119.


98. Ibid., Part II, Ch. III & IV.
100. Ibid., pp. 306–313.
101. Ibid., pp. 145–212.
102. Ibid., Ch. IV, pp. 76, 119.
103. Ibid., pp. 205–206.
108. Paine’s "Letter to the Abbe Raynal" was an answer on historical and sociological grounds to the book by Raynal, The Revolution in America (1782); Paine disputed that the Revolution was caused by a 'slight tax', Van der Weyde, Vol. IV, pp. 111–212.