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Editors' Introduction to Volume 6

THIS SECOND volume of supplementary writings covers a very large chronological period that can be divided in three parts. The first concerns texts written alone or cowritten while Paine was mostly in America, from 1772 to 1787, covering the so-called colonial crisis, the War of Independence, and its aftermath. The second sees Thomas Paine in England and in France between 1789 and 1796. He was particularly active in 1789–90 in the *Argus* newspaper, edited by Sampson Perry (1747–1823). The last segment concerns texts written between 1803 and 1808, after Paine had returned to America.

The companion supplementary volume in this edition, volume 5, indicates Paine's probable extensive and central networking with leading Patriotic Whigs between 1758 and 1772, a significant era in British politics. His writing during the years before he left England, sometimes apparently cowritten with Benjamin Franklin, demonstrates a growing political maturation and a degree of engagement with the American colonists' demands.

Once in America, Paine continued to strategize and organize, network and educate. His new circumstances seemingly fit his sense of being both a writer and political activist. After the revolution began, he rapidly became a leading member of the Philadelphia Whig Society, which was founded in January 1777 but operated unofficially a year before. This was perhaps the first public political party in America, and formed to rally the people of Philadelphia with the aim of ensuring the most democratic outcome of the struggle. Here Paine opposed domestic Tory and often monied interests, as well as British policies, sometimes aided by those same interests. The society helped promote extra-governmental popular committees to address

the colonial problems of militia rights, Tory subterfuge, and inflation from hoarding. Perhaps most importantly, it organized and won the struggle to defend the Pennsylvania constitution of 1776, which was the most radical such framework proposed or implemented in this period.¹ Paine also had to confront corruption within the new governing bodies, for even in the War of Independence there were those anxious to profit from governmental contracts, economic shortages, and currency fluctuations. Paine ended his first American phase of nation building with a series of articles on banks that revealed his willingness to collaborate with enemies in power to the benefit of the nation.

When in 1787 he went first to France, then returned to England to promote his iron bridge projects, Paine renewed some political contacts with old acquaintances and made new ones. Text-analysis data suggests that in 1789–90 he contributed several articles (alone or coauthored) to the opposition newspaper the *Argus*. Among other topics, he wrote extensively against Prime Minister William Pitt's European policies, which he saw as foolish and warlike. Paine and his cowriters criticized in particular attempts made by the government to involve Britain in the Russo-Austro-Turkish wars. Paine also condemned Pitt's bombastic statements during the Nootka Sound crisis, which nearly provoked a war between Britain and Spain in 1790.

In late 1791 or early 1792, Paine apparently contributed to an abolitionist pamphlet (*Old Truths and Established Facts*) in the aftermath of William Wilberforce's efforts to pass a law abolishing the slave trade in April 1791, which was rejected in Parliament by 163 nays against 88 yeas.²

It seems that while in France, after his release from jail in November 1794, Paine also contributed with other authors to at least two short pamphlets published in London in 1795 (*Church and King Morality* and *A Political Freethinker's Thoughts*), which have not previously been attributed to him. It is unclear exactly how, or through what intermediary, Paine was able to send parts of these pamphlets to England while in France. But despite the ongoing war between France and Britain, news and letters could be sent either directly from France to England or via indirect routes through Belgium (which was French at that time), the Batavian Republic (founded in 1795), or Hamburg.

1. For context, see General Introduction, this ed., 1:48ff., 69ff.

2. William Wilberforce (1759–1833) was an independent member of Parliament (MP) and leading political abolitionist.

After returning to America in 1802, Paine resumed his political and literary activities, under his own name or under one of his known aliases, like “A Spark from the Altar of ’76.” He also wrote or coauthored newspaper articles anonymously or with new aliases (collective or not) when he thought it necessary to hide the name of the author or at least not to avow publicly the content of a text. In these articles, published in the *True American*, the *Aurora*, the *American Mercury*, the *American Citizen*, and the *Public Advertiser* (New York), Paine addressed a certain number of topics: constitutional issues (especially in Connecticut in 1804), attacks against the “Federalist Faction” or against people he called “British Emissaries” (like journalist Stephen Cullen Carpenter or James Cheetham, a Republican journalist turned Federalist), defenses of Thomas Jefferson’s policy, wars in Europe and their consequences for the United States. Text-analysis methods indicate that these supplementary writings from the period 1802–8 show Paine as far from the image of the old, lonely, and poor drunkard, a legend built by Federalists.³

The works presented here as Paine’s by this edition’s author-attribution method thus help provide a deeper understanding of his political activities and theoretical stance through this period. The attributions in both supplementary volumes (5 and 6) remain tentative pending further corroborative evidence and are clearly described as such. But they suggest a very different narrative of Paine’s activities and development throughout this period than previous editions or studies have offered.

Writings believed to be by Paine are in **bold type**, as they will be throughout the entire edition for the collaborative writings. Works thought to be entirely by Paine will not be in bold type, and will be identified as such in the introductions.

3. See this ed., 1:176–79, this ed., vol. 3, and this vol., 446ff.

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