

'THOMAS PAINE & THE KING'

'Thomas Paine & the King,' *New-York Evening Post*, 10 January 1803. American Antiquarian Society, no shelfmark.

For the *New-York Evening Post* (New York, NY), see headnote to 'Tom Paine, Invited to this Country', above, pp. 131–2.

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FOR THE EVENING POST.
THOMAS PAINE & THE KING.

To the tune of *Malbrouk*, vulgarly called *Moll Brookes*.

Tom Paine is come from far,
Tom Paine is come from far,
His coming bodes disastrous times,
His Nose is a blazing star!
His nose is a blazing star,
His nose is a blazing star,
His coming bodes disastrous times,
His nose is a blazing star!

O'er the wide seas he came,
O'er, &c.
The fish all fled, the winds all howl'd,
At the hearing of his name,
At, &c.

The furies swell'd his sails,
The Devil and Lapland witches join'd
To give him favoring gales.

High on the topmast head
Tom sat, with a jug of liquid fire
By which his nose was fed;

As he approach'd the shore
The Pilots saw the comet blaze,
And heard the monster roar :

" Down helm! ease off main-sheet,
" The devil is sure on board that ship,
" I see his cloven feet!"

The ship came into port,
King Thomas he sent his coach and six,
To bring Tom Paine to court.

Dearborn before him ran,
All on the point of a glittering spear
Carrying the Rights of Man.

Monsier Gallatin, from France,
March'd on the right with a pas vite step,
Carrying a flaggon of Nantz.

Smith on the left did trot,
The Age of Reason tied fast to his back,
And tobacco and rum for the sot.

L——i the rear brought up
On Button, with saddle-bags fill'd with gin,
And in either hand a cup.

In pomp they mov'd along,
The mob huzza'd, the welkin rung
With echos to this song :

" Tom Paine is come from far,
" He'll kick up a bobbery through the states,
" We'll have a civil war."

When to the town he came
His nose obscur'd the *oil-fed lamps*,
It shed a fiercer flame.

To the palace strait he drove,
The King appear'd in a pea-green coat,
Which Sal had eyed and wove.

His vest was dainty blue,
His scarlet breeches came down to his heels,
And tied to the string of his shoe.

The King, with French grimace,
Flew down the steps to give his friend
A fraternal embrace.

Tom out of the carriage reel'd,
The King would not advance one step,
But call'd for his sword and shield.

The courtiers stood aghast!
When Tom from his pestiferous lungs
Blew a most deadly blast.

He swore by the bottomless pit,
The King and his court were ill-bred knaves
Without or manners or wit.

The King gave Gid, a wink
To coax the monster to Lovell's hotel,
And give him plenty of drink.

Tom went and began to write
He filled four sheets with *I* and *Me*,
When grog obscured his sight.

He drank so fast and hard
That he quenched the fire of his burning nose
Which now lies in the church yard.

For Tom no bell did toll,
Of his body, the bones alone, remained
The furies siezed his soul.

God bless the King, brave man!
God bless the King, brave man!
Whose sword is made of tempered lath,
Whose shield is a lady's fan,
Whose shield is a lady's fan,
Whose sword is made of temper'd lath,
Whose shield is a lady's fan.

N. B. If there are more or less feet in any line
than there ought to be, you can prolong or shorten
them; I have tried it and find no difficulty.

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AURORA

Aurora (Philadelphia), 11 January 1803. Reset.

For more information on the *Aurora* and its editors, see headnote to 'Communication', in Volume 2 of this collection, pp. 257–9.

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A few weeks ago the federal presses fairly groaned with the weight of abuse to be thrown on Thomas Paine; every thing was likely to be destroyed by the efforts of this individual, if we would believe these consistent federalists – anarchy and confusion, and the downfall of not only church but of state were declared to be the unavoidable consequences of his return to our shores – yet some months have passed since his residence amongst us, and we are going on in the good old way; the state is at least as safe, and if we take the trouble of visiting the various churches, not confining ourselves to one denomination, we find them thronged as heretofore, their pillars are of such substance that it was downright blasphemy to allow Mr. Paine to have such power as to undermine them; but any thing is reconcilable to the federal creed: there is much pretence of venerating religion, but we so often hear such clamour about its danger, that one would be inclined to suppose federalists worshipped a human, not a divine providence – they also violate the precepts of that religion which is so much the present theme of praise, they want faith and hope, and absolutely divest themselves of all charity – but who is there that really believes the cry of danger to religion proceeds from pure motives? are not the men who raised it the same who have frightened the weak and amused the thinking part of the community with a variety of tales equally founded? and with these things in remembrance will any continue to heed the predictions of persons whose God is Mammon, whose efforts are constantly employed in the furtherance of worldly ambition? it is truly lamentable to witness the haste of some beings to swallow the well-tryed bait, but it is consoling that the delusion does not continue for any great length of time, like a mist dissipated by the benign influence of the sun, these federal phantasms ever give way to the common sense and perspicuity of the great body of the people – what more convincing evidence of this need we have than the silence of the federalists now about Mr. Thomas Paine? has he then so soon ceased to be formidable to church and state, or have any new barriers been lately raised to obstruct his fancied progress? at least we know of none, but the truth is Mr. Paine was, is, and ever will be hated by the tory federalists as a politician, his religious sentiments have been denounced for political purposes and nothing else, if religion could be injured it would have sunk long ago, and not from the efforts of this or that particular man on the republican side but from numbers among the federalists themselves – in proof we might refer to their actions with most propriety, but we could if necessary quote their sentiments also. The tremendous uproar about Mr. Paine has ceased, for he has ceased

for the present to write on political topics; when he shall again take up his pen, mark if religion will not be again in danger.

But a new scene is opened for the display of the consistency and ingenuity of our opponents, the *press*, do pause reader, yes the *press* is now in danger with them – the *freedom of the press* is now as loudly asserted as a few years back it was unlawfully shackled by the same party – when the sedition law was about to be passed, *licentiousness of the press* was in the mouth of every federalist, it was declared then that a line should be drawn between use and abuse of the press, accordingly an unconstitutional constraint was put upon it and the truth which might issue was punished as a libel – if *federalists* did not do this we might wonder at the very sudden change of their sentiments, but we long since ceased to wonder; while the government was in their own hands ‘respect the powers that are’ was the favourite expression of an influential partizan, since they have lost it they have carried to an unexampled height their licentiousness, not a sheet from the principal presses but is replete with libels and gross personal defamation, the dignified office which is filled by Mr. Jefferson does not shield him from the attacks of the ‘weak, the wicked and the obscure,’ and the bare idea of restraint draws forth added [illeg.]. In no instance since the election of Mr. Jefferson has a federal printer been subjected to such treatment for libels on the government as many republicans received under the late administration, and if a suit had been commenced we should be assailed with the reproaches of federalists for merely following their example: the cause of their present clamor has arisen from the act of a gentleman, for whose measures, however respectable he may be, the republicans cannot be accountable. Mr. Hay, conceiving himself sanctioned by a law of Virginia which declares that persons who are not of *good fame* may be bound to good behaviour, demanded that Callender and Pace should be subjected to a penalty if they continued to publish malicious libels on his character – that he had inflicted corporal punishment, and was bound over in consequence to observe the peace, that if he commenced a suit the defendants were unable to pay the damages, yet notwithstanding he meant to do so, and wished to prevent Callender from continuing to publish defamatory matter in the interim – the magistrates to whom Mr. H. applied granted a warrant, Callender and Pace were apprehended, the latter gave security the former not being able was committed. Different opinions we find are entertained on this transaction among the republicans, all agree that it were better to suffer Callender to go the length of his tether, but on no account are the republicans justly chargeable with any impropriety which may be conceived to have been committed; the great shew of respect for the press by the federalists cannot deceive, like all their plots this must share the common fate. How long this hobby will be ridden ’tis hard to say, but in all likelihood no longer than that about Mr. Paine.

REPUBLICAN STAR

Republican Star (18 January 1803). American Antiquarian Society, no shelfmark.

For Thomas Perrin Smith and the *Republican Star* (Easton, MD), see headnote to *Republican Star*, 14 January 1802, above, p. 123.

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The hypocritical hue and cry, in the papers called federal, about religion, T. Paine, &c. brings to our recollection the following anecdote: perhaps no people on earth can carry as heavy burthens on their shoulders as the porters of *London*. We are informed that, there are resting places erected at proper distances where they lodge their loads occasionally, without putting them to the ground, as they are frequently so weighty that in the latter case, assistance would be necessary to replace them. One of those men trudging through the streets, stopped to ease his shoulder and wipe his brow. "Aha," exclaimed he, "if the *French* succeed, they will bind heavy *burdens* upon us, too heavy to be borne." "True," cries a debtor, thrusting his head through the grates of a jail, and away go our *liberties* and *properties*!" "And d—n my bl—d," said a tailor, what would become of our holy *religion*?

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WASP

Wasp, 1:12 (26 January 1803). American Antiquarian Society, no shelfmark.

‘Robert Rusticoat’, a.k.a. ‘Robert Rusty-Turncoat’, the ostensible editor of the short-lived *Wasp* (Hudson, NY), was Harry Crosswell, co-publisher of the *Balance and Columbian Repository* (Hudson, NY).¹ The *Wasp* was an example of the kind of ‘short-term satirical’ newspapers established with Federalist money for the sole purpose of calumniating the public image of Republican enemies.² Crosswell established the *Wasp*, as it happened, expressly to counter the perceived threat of then newly arrived *Bee* and editor Charles Holt, a firm Republican. Crosswell was known for his invective and the *Wasp* met the short-lived requirement; it lasted less than a year in 1803. Holt’s *Bee* (Hudson, NY) went on to become one of the most reprinted papers of its era, lasting another twenty years.³

Notes

1. For Harry Crosswell and the *Balance and Columbian Repository* (Hudson, NY), see headnote to *Balance and Columbian Repository*, above, pp. 101–2.
2. See J. Pasley, *The Tyranny of Printers* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 2001), p. 238.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 140–7.

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[PRICE THREE CENTS.]

THE WASP.

By Robert Rusty-Turncoat, Esquire.

Vol. I.]

"To lash the Rascals naked through the world."

[No. 12.]

HUDSON, JANUARY 26, 1803.

AT a late court of sessions in this county, a liberty-loving grand-jury found two indictments against the former publisher of this paper for telling tales of Mr. Jefferson. Do not wonder at this, gentle reader; for, whatever you might formerly have heard the democrats say against the "gag-law," which restrained them from lying, you may rely upon it, that no men are more averse than they to having the truth told of themselves. Nobody ought to blame the democrats for this; for truth is rank poison to them—and who would willingly swallow poison?—But why did the democrats call the federal sedition-law the "gag-law?" It only punished them for lying, while it left them at free liberty to publish truth.—"Aye, there's the rub!" Nothing can so completely gag a democrat as to restrain him from lying. If you forbid his lying, you forbid his speaking. It is as much impossible for a democrat to speak without lying, as it is for any animal to live without breathing. Therefore, I repeat, when the federalists passed a law which said to the democrats, "Thou shalt not lie!"

they in effect declared that no democrat should speak—and hence, the sedition-law, was, with the greatest propriety, called the "gag-law"—The federalists were very willing to have the truth told, because they well knew they had nothing to fear from it. Not so the democrats. They shudder at the voice of truth; for they are well aware that they might as well give up their power at once as to permit the circulation of correct information. Miserable, despicable, pitiful must the cause be, which shrinks from free investigation!—Such is democracy—and such will democracy ever remain

But the subject is too serious to be trifled with. I find, by sad experience, that to publish federalism and truth, is a sin against the powers that be, which incurs at least a threat of punishment. I am, therefore, resolved, for once to turn my rusty-coat, and to occupy some part of this number of the Wasp with DEMOCRACY and LIES.

See here I begin:—

I believe that Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson are the two greatest men that ever were or ever will be upon earth; and that they are both so great that they eclipse each other's greatness. I believe

that Jefferson is the greatest friend of religion, and Paine the greatest friend of Washington. I believe what the democrats have often sworn, viz.—That Jefferson did not invite Paine to come over to America, to resume “his useful labors.” Nay, I believe that Paine never has come to America. I believe that he has never dined with the president; and that his four letters to the citizens of the United States are federal forgeries. I believe that Paine did not write a villainous letter to Washington; nor a book called the *Age of Reason*. I believe that Jefferson did not pay Callender for writing *the Prospect before us*, nor remit his fine. I am the more induced to disbelieve this, because it has been proved, and because democrats all swear they disbelieve it. I believe that Paine, as he says himself, did more good in our revolution than Washington, who (to use the democrats’ ideas) was a mere old woman, led about by the nose by general Hamilton.

[Zounds, if I had not turned democrat, such mis-shapen lies would nearly choke me.]

I believe that Paine never drank a thimble-full of brandy in his life; and that Jefferson spends three-fourths of his time in prayer.—In short, I believe, with the Virginia Legislature, that Jefferson is “the enlightened, philosophic, benevolent, and patriotic republican Thomas Jefferson;” and I cannot better clothe my belief of him than by copying the following modest lines from the New-Hampshire Gazette, a fine democratic paper.

“THE PHILANTHROPIST.

“Addressed to THOMAS JEFFERSON, on reading his late Message.

“THIS man may claim to SINDRED WITH THE SKIES;
“He sees all human kind with GOD-LIKE eyes.

“His HEAVENLY breast no other passion knows;
“Than love for Man,” and feeling for his woes.
“The SACRED flame sets all his soul on fire,
“And sight of HUMAN BLISS,† does bliss DIVINE
“inspire.”

WASP NOTES.

[* Not women—neither black nor white]
[† Sal knows what this means]

I believe that the federalists, with Washington at their head, are a pack of old Tories—that Washington wanted to be king, and that all his revolutionary companions wanted to be nobles. I believe that the only true whigs and friends to America, are those who fought on the side of the British during the revolution, or, like Jefferson, fled to the mountains for safety—United Irishmen, who, but just escaping from the gallows in their own country, become excellent preachers against the oppression of laws in this—Rebellious Englishmen, who, with a whipping-post label on their backs, seek this “asylum of oppressed humanity,” with liberty and equality in their mouths—Jacobinic Frenchmen, who, their hands stained with the blood of the innocent, come over to teach us that “Death is an eternal sleep”—Unprincipled, infidel Americans, who, poisoned by the principles of Paine, are ripe for Confusion, Anarchy and Uproar,—Finally all men of all nations, of all ranks and conditions, who have either “abandoned good principles, or who never had any,”—beardless boys—drunken vagabonds—upstart stripplings, and proud, overbearing, ferocious apostates and demagogues.

I believe that Gallatin is an American, and that he never came from Geneva; but that he speaks excellent English. I believe he had no concern in the Whisky-Insurrection, nor ever attempted to “*stop de wheels*

of government.—Finally, I believe that Gallatin is not now key-keeper of our treasury. I believe he never sold the bank stock belonging to the United States, and thereby sacrificed some thousands of dollars of the public money; and consequently that he is a most excellent financier.

I believe that Gideon Granger, Post-Master-General, is the most consistent man in the union, not even his Monticellian majesty excepted. I believe he never franked himself in the mail; and I also believe, with my good friend Ambrose Spencer, that the story about him was a federal lie. I believe that he never turned out a post-master because he was a federalist; nor put another in, because he was a democrat; but that all his removals and appointments were made solely to promote the public good. I believe that he never peddled wooden dishes, indigo, nor lies—particularly the latter.

I believe that Col. Burr attempted to obtain the president's chair, after having received as many votes as Jefferson, and that by this act he has forfeited the support and confidence of all good democrats; and yet I believe, for doing the same thing, Jefferson deserves well of his country.

I believe that Gen. Hamilton, for the unpardonable sin of speaking and writing his thoughts freely, ought to be regarded as a very dangerous man.

I believe that Ambrose, the Turn-Coat-General, was never a federalist; that he did not, as some of his enemies have pretended, become a rampant Jacobin, because Governor Jay told him he had not honesty and talents sufficient for a comptroller. I believe that he did not, about seven years since, curse the whole Clinton family, as a pack of silly demagogues; and

I do not believe that he has since that time, become their cats-paw. I believe, notwithstanding reports to the contrary, that he is as chaste as an icicle; and, notwithstanding he damned the democratic ticket in this county last spring, I believe he is very popular. I believe that he did not deprive of his bread the door-keeper of the Senate, who had saved his father's life. In short, I believe that this same Turn-coat General is not an abject coward; that he was not frightened out of his wits by Senator Foote; that he is not insulted with impunity by any one and every one; that he is not afraid to protect a young gentleman, who, through friendship, had attempted to screen him from censure; that he is a mild, meek, candid, chaste, charitable, pious Christian, who never was lashed naked through the world, and, perhaps, never will be.

I do not believe that Spencer's Foote was ever a cobbler; because I do not believe he has ingenuity sufficient for that profession. I do not think that if the said Foote possessed a tail, he would *precisely* resemble a monkey. I do not believe that Foote has sufficient ingenuity for a *juinder*. In short, and to waste no more paper, I do not believe that Foote is a *consummate* blockhead.

I believe that Goofy-Johnny is not the greatest dance that ever was born of a woman, whatever my friend Ambrose may say to the contrary notwithstanding.

I believe that William Duane "the organ of the public will," is a moral and upright man. I believe he never did, nor ever will commit any crime. I believe he never did break into the treasury-office at midnight, by means of false keys, and steal the books therefrom. I believe he never published a letter which he knew Cheat'em stole. I believe he was never elevated on a pole in Calcutta for his villainy. I believe that he was never in Clonmel, Ireland—but that he is an American, and was born in Canada; and that a drunken soldier was not his father, nor a camp drum-pet his mother.

I believe that James Cheat'em has about as much morality as Duane; and that he never deserved a halter. I believe that he never stole and broke open a letter at Stille's hotel in Washington—that he knew nothing of the Infidel Society in New-York—and that he never slandered a good man.

I believe that Isaac Mitchell, editor of the Poughkeepsie Barometer, is not the same rascal of an Isaac Mitchell who run away from Connecticut with an honest man's wife, leaving her three little children (one an infant in the cradle) to starvation and misery.

I believe that Holt never told a lie in his life; and that
Phin. Allen, is the wisest printer that ever lived.

My dear Ambrose, how do you like this side of my
coat?—Are you satisfied?—how cursed sheepish this
turn-coat business makes a man feel!

END OF DEMOCRACY AND LIES.

Reader, it has given me much pain to write
such a string of lies as I have presented you in this
number. If it has been such a task for me to fill one
little paper with them, how the devil does Holt get
along with such a piece of work from year to year.
Perhaps by being accustomed to it. However I de-
pair of acquiring the habit; and therefore must give
up the idea of becoming a democrat.—The publication
of the Wasp will now be suspended for a few weeks,
after which it will be issued with more regularity. In
the mean time, democrats of all sorts are desired to
look at my motto, and be cautious.



A C A R D.

Robert Rusty-Turncoat, Esq. presents the homage
of his high consideration to his friend and cousin Am-
brose, the Turncoat General, and wishes to know if
he can possibly recover his hatchet face once more into
that precise horrible attitude which it assumed when
Judge Ford declared, that the court were almost unan-
imous in rejecting the said Turncoat General's motion
for shackling the press. If he can, by any means, a-
gain collect into his countenance, anger, malignity,
mortification—in short, every evil passion which is de-
picted in Milton's King devil, detected while prowling
for mischief in paradise, the said Robert will engage
some faithful limner to transcribe his countenance.
He conceives this will be a benefit to the public: For
if the deformity of vice, portrayed by the speaker,
tends to keep men from sinning, surely every devilish
passion, thus presented in the plenitude of deformity
to the naked eye, must frighten every man into the
paths of rectitude. Robert conceives, that as his dear
cousin Ambrose has but once before been exhibited to
the world in his proper colours, he can have no objec-
tion to this proposal. If his diffidence, however,
should render him averse to appear before the public
alone, Robert engages, provided his Foote will con-
sent, to add a tail to his portrait, and exhibit him in
the back ground, as a caricature of a monkey.

Holt, with the help of Coofy Joahnnny, has stuffed
a considerable part of his prostituted Bee, with lies
about the late lock-jaw transaction. Neither Holt,
nor Johnny, were at court during that part of the bu-
siness which they pretend to describe. Their lies,
therefore, carry a very bungling appearance with them.
Neither iron-headed Foote nor brais-laced Ambrose
would have the impudence to attempt to support
them.

A man came out of a taylor's shop a few days since,
with a coat which appeared to be new, when he was
accosted by a neighbour—

Question. What, have you got a new coat?

Answer. Oh, no—nothing but a Spencer.

Question. Why do you call it a Spencer?

Answer. Because I have just had it turn'd.

When Foote, the Assistant-Attorney, the other day,
at court, vehemently pronounced, "The greater the
truth, the greater the libel," a wag observed, that
Spencer, had, at length, exposed his cloven Foote.

FIVE DOLLARS REWARD, with the Col's.

L O S T,

A long time since, a certain democrat's character,
worn thread-bare, and much patched. The owner is
well known to justices and juries, and has been much
engaged in law-suits. It is even said that he once ad-
vertised a jury. The above reward will be given to
any person who will restore him his character, even if
a little soiled.

A fund of communications are on hand, and
shall receive due attention.



PRINTED FOR THE EDITOR,

IN DEFIANCE OF THE

D E V I L,

AND THE WHOLE HOST OF DEMOCRATS.

NEW-YORK EVENING POST

New-York Evening Post, 4 February 1803. American Antiquarian Society, no shelf-mark.

For the *New-York Evening Post* (New York, NY), see headnote to 'Tom Paine, Invited to this Country', above, pp. 131–2.

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NEW-YORK EVENING POST.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 4.

Thomas Paine—The following very extraordinary production came inclosed to the editor in a letter from a friend several weeks since with a request to have it published. We could hardly bring ourselves to believe that a thing so highly atrocious could have escaped the pen of even the person to whom it is ascribed, and therefore concluded to wait till it should have made its way, as it probably would through other presses, to his own eye at Washington, and if he did not then contradict it, we determined to give it publicity. We have since seen it in the Washington Federalist, but nothing in reply, we therefore presume it to be genuine: should any thing however at any time appear to disprove this, or even bring it into question, either from Mr. Paine or any of his friends, it shall readily have a place, and for the present we withhold all comment.

FROM THE NEWBURYPORT HERALD.

Messrs. ALLEN & BARNARD,

In the "*Public Ledger*," &c. of July 8, 1794, published in London, I met with a Plan proposed by TOM PAINE, to the French Government, for revolutionizing the United States of America; a republication of which will oblige every friend to his country, whether Federalist or Democrat.

A CUSTOMER.

PAINE'S PLAN,

FOR REVOLUTIONIZING AMERICA.

TOM PAINE'S Plan for revolutionizing America, is worthy of its author, and the abandoned pandemonium of which he is the fit and servile agent. It was lately in current circulation in France, published probably with a view of intimidating the United States by the magnitude of the danger with which they were threatened. Mr. Paine prefaces his proposition by observing, that "The Republican party in America was too supine and inactive, whilst the Aristocrats pursue measures wholly calculated to bring once more the United States under British dominion."

Pursuing the theme he adds, "Should George the Third be driven from his Throne, America will be his place of refuge; there he has deposited funds: and, incredible as it may appear, there he will be King."

This powerful influence of Britain in America, he states to arise from the inhabitants of the sea-ports; and to annihilate that influence, he proposes to destroy the medium.—"The only way (says he) to break up their nest is, to burn the sea-ports, and in this way compel them to live amongst the Planters, far removed from the channels of corruption"

Invoking the Genius of France to punish the Anglo-American faction, as he terms the government, for resisting the pacific overtures of the Great Nation, he thus details his plan for correcting its political errors:—

"To declare war against the United States, would be the height of folly; for it would be declaring war against the Republicans, the Planters, and the Indians, from whose support we may derive great advantage. But how, it will be said, can we carry on a partial war? With a small squadron of light vessels, not drawing more than ten feet of water, a few guns and bomb-ketches, you may proceed to the river Savannah in Georgia, and pass the Tibbee bar island at Savannah. Here you may get a handsome supply of provisions, and on your return down the river, burn the building on each side, even to its mouth.—The same plan will do for Charleston, pass the bar and set fire to the buildings on Johnson and Sullivan islands.

"You may next visit Georgetown in South, and Wilmington in North-Carolina; enter the Chesapeake (perhaps it may be advisable to make the first operation here) burn Norfolk, Alexandria, Annapolis, and Baltimore. You must be careful, my friends, by rapid movements, to prevent a defeat by the English squadron, or by the Americans on shore, who will at the first alarm collect in great numbers. In eight days you may do all you wish in the Chesapeake. As Baltimore is farthest up, you had better begin with that, and there you may raise a handsome contribution. Near Savannah, Charleston, and Norfolk, are small forts that you may easily take in the rear. In the Delaware you must proceed with caution, Lewistown on the left may be easily burnt, and if you were certain there were not an English squadron near the Capes, you might set fire to Philadelphia. It is a business of a week only. Between Sandy-Hook and New-York you will find a pretty strong fort: this you may silence with your bombs. The buildings at Long-Island and Nantucket are easily burnt; but Boston must be bombarded. The master stroke would be to conclude with Halifax. The English vessels from the East-Indies generally winter there.—[How contemptible the ignorance of this atheistical incendiary?]

—Not expecting you in that quarter, they will be less prepared to receive you.—Should your brave squadron fall in with the Quebec fleet, convoyed by a single frigate, it would be a brilliant affair indeed.

"Excuse my freedom, dear Republicans: you are neither tygers nor Septembrizers.—Why may you not send the most of your emigrants into Canada? Connected as you are with Spain, you might go to New-Orleans, seize the ports of the Natches, collect the friends of liberty from the back settlements in the United States, from Kentucky to the frontiers

You will have to distribute a few presents among the Indians. You must put General Clark at Knoxville in motion, summon to the French standard the Floridas and American troops raised by *Genet* and *Mangouris*, declare freedom to the black men that are slaves in the southern states, and give to the man of colour the sweet enjoyment of the Rights of Man. This is the only way to humble the British Lion, that now courts an alliance with the American Eagle, only to bring about its destruction."

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'A LETTER TO THOMAS PAINE'

'From the Aurora: A Letter to Thomas Paine', *Republican Star*, 4:186 (29 March 1803), p. 2. Reset.

For Thomas Perrin Smith and the *Republican Star* (Easton, MD), see headnote to *Republican Star*, 14 January 1802, above, p. 123. The article reproduced here is from the *Aurora* (Philadelphia), for which see headnote to 'Communication', in Volume 2 of this collection, pp. 257–9.

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FROM THE AURORA.

A Letter to Thomas Paine.

GREAT VALLEY, 21st Feb 1803.

Sir,

In the Aurora of the first inst appeared a letter addressed to you by the pious and venerable patriot Samuel Adams. – Your answer, which the same paper presented to [*sic*] the public, merited in my opinion a reply. For that reply I have till this time waited in vain. I therefore, take the liberty of transmitting to you, by the same public conveyance, a few thoughts on the most prominent parts of your letter. This liberty I am persuaded you will indulge to one who with pleasure, and with gratitude to the author, often reviews the intrinsic merit and memorable effects of your writings in favor of the independence of the united States.

'The books, you say, that compose the New Testament were voted by yeas and nays, to be the word of God, as we now vote a law, by the popish councils of Nice and Laodicea about 1450 years age. This vote may appear authority enough to some and not authority enough to others. It is proper, however, that every body should know the fact.' You also affirm that 'Bishop Watson acknowledged this fact.'

This, sir, is an extraordinary paragraph. But the mild and forbearing spirit of the gospel and the example of its benevolent author forbid me to use the language, here, which to many, it may seem to merit. Far am I from charging you with the base crime of intentional falsehood. I shall not ascribe to you, an ignorance of ecclesiastical history which would be a reproach to a school boy professing to have read it. I shall impute to inadvertance, or precipitance, or some less culpable cause a statement in this paragraph, which is absolutely false. – The idea which you mean to convey and impress is (in your own words extracted from the age of reason, that 'there was no such book as the New Testament till more than 300 years after the time that Christ is said to have lived;' or that the origin of that book was not believed to be divine before the council of Nice or Laodacea.

You well know, sir, that Clemens, Ignatius, and Polycarp were contemporary with the apostles, themselves. You well know that Justin, Irenaeus, Theophilus, Meltio [*sic*] and Tertullian lived in the second century immediately succeeding these who were the companions of the apostles. You are not ignorant there Junius Africanus, Ammonius, Origen and Dionysius of Alexandria lived and wrote before the year 300. And if, when writing to Mr. Adams, you had called up your historical knowledge you would have been perfectly convinced that by the writings of these distinguished men collectively taken, the following propositions are proved to be true; viz. from the time of the apostles the books which compose the New Testament, were quoted and alluded to with peculiar respect as

books sacred, divine and infallible – they were collected into a distinct volume; publicly read and expounded in, religious assemblies: commentaries on them written and formal catalogues of them published long before the council of Nice and Laodicea. In the year 178 Melito expressly distinguishes the Old Testament from the New. About 20 years later this volume is by Tertullian called ‘the New Testament.’ And yet unfortunately for you, through your zeal for infidelity you have in the age of reason, *asserted*, and in your letter to Mr. Adams, *insinuated* that no such book as the New Testament existed till more than 300 years after the time of Christ. These propositions I without any hatred, affirm to be true. ‘As it is proper that every body should know the fact.’

Bishop Watson, you observe, has acknowledged the truth of your assertion. Permit me, sir, without impeaching your veracity, to correct your misconception of the meaning of that eminently learned and pious prelate, whose candor in controversy, is a most amiable pattern to infidels and to christians. He tells you that 27 books or parts compose the New Testament: that respecting seven (and those the shortest) of those parts some doubts were at first entertained, and that the question concerning these *might* be decided, as all questions concerning opinions *must* be, by vote. But he tells you further (and gives you authority for what he says) that ‘the other twenty parts were owned canonical at all times and by all christians.’ ‘I hold it,’ saith he, ‘to be a certain fact that all the books of which the New Testament is composed, were *written*, and most of them *received* by all christians, within a few years after his death.’ Is this what you call an acknowledgment that the books which compose the New Testament, were voted by yeas and nays to be the word of God about 1450 years ago?

And what if your assertion were literally true? What if, not only seven but all the books which compose the New Testament had been actually declared, by a vote of the council of Laodicea, to be the word of God? Would this be any reasonable ground either of doubt to the believer, or of triumph to the infidel? Would this prove either that these books did not *exist*, or were not acknowledged to be *divine* prior to that event?

Suppose the sophistry of ingenious and industrious infidels could, in some individuals or churches in the United States, shake the credit with which the holy scriptures are, at this day, regarded. Suppose these individuals or churches should, for their own satisfaction, submit the question to the investigation and decision of the general convention of the episcopal church in May next. Suppose that convention, after a learned, full and free discussion should by their votes declare that the New Testament is the word of God, and a perfect rule of faith and practice. Would this vote imply, or would it prove to succeeding generations, that the divine authority of the New Testament was never acknowledged ‘till voted by the episcopal convention of 1803?’ The answer to this question is so obvious, that the expression of it would insult your understanding. Nor need

I, to guard the feeblest intellect against the fallacy of your argument, say, that notwithstanding such a vote, it would be an eternal truth that for many hundred years before that convention, the New Testament was received as divine by all christians, in all countries, and of every denomination.

You address to Mr. Adams a scripture phrase for those clergymen who have cooperated with certain statesmen to abolish our representative system of government: 'Thou shalt not revile the gods, nor curse the rulers of thy people.' – 'But those ministers, you say, such as Doctor Emmons, curse ruler and people both, for the majority are politically the people.'

I am one of those whom you are pleased so often to honor with the name of priests. And yet I perfectly coincide with you in reprobating the part which too many of them have asked during the political animosities which, for a few years, have convulsed, and at one time, endangered the existence of our government. Nor can the severity of your censure easily exceed their deserts. Some of them have doubtless been deceived – Others impelled by native pride, or aristocratic principles, or the prospect of gain, or the hope of elevation, have exerted all the influence attached to their profession in behalf of a faction combined for the destruction of our excellent constitution, and the establishment of a monarchy on its ruins. On your return to this country they raised against you, (what you call 'the war-whoop of monarchical priestcraft,' but) what I call the voice of federal hypocrisy. Your infidelity was the *ostensible*, your republican pen the *real* ground of their alarm. For no one deserving the name of a minister of the gospel can seriously believe, what they affected to fear, that the religion of Jesus can be materially affected by the presence or absence of Mr. Paine. In the book which bears the name (but not the evidence) of the Age of Reason, they have seen your most poisoned arrow, aimed with your utmost still, and exerted with all your might against that religion. They have seen in that book, but little more than the objections, I had almost said cavils and quibbles, which for ages past, have often been raised by infidels, and as often vanquished by the force of reason. They have seen, in that book, nothing new among those objections, except the boldness with which they are revived and the blasphemy of the language in which they are presented. They have seen that book, like its predecessors, made the talk of a day, and fallen into general contempt and universal neglect. And can those federal clergymen sincerely apprehend, from your return to America, a deadly wound to that religion which has already unimpaired, unenfeebled, unsullied, sustained the learning of Porphyry, the power of Julian, the eloquence of Bolingbroke, the raillery of Voltaire, the subtlety of Hume, and the blasphemy of Paine.

Under the administration of their favorite chief, their private ecomiums and their public prayers and eulogies in his behalf were abundant, and exceeded in extravagance by nothing but the profusion and malignancy of the abuse which they bestowed on those who were constrained by the force of reason and integ-

rity, to disapprove some of his measures. But since the fourth of March, 1801, too many of them have omitted a weekly and public supplication for the first magistrate of our country. They have zealously engaged in supporting an eastern newspaper, whose avowed object is opposition to his administration and to the great majority of the people. With all their professional strength they have swelled the voice of calumny to stain his reputation, to enfeeble his hands, to subject to universal contempt him and the government, over which the providence of God has appointed him to preside.

But, sir, the number of these ministers is comparatively small, and if it were greater, their conduct, however reprehensible in itself, ought not to be viewed as a reproach to that divine religion which declares the magistrate to be the ‘minister of God,’ which commands us to ‘pray for all that are in authority’ – to ‘render honor to whom honor in due’ – and to be subject to the constituted authorities ‘not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake.’ And yet I do not hesitate to say, that this conduct has done more injury to the cause of our Redeemer than the boldness and ridicule, and blasphemy which you display in mentioning his name, his gospel, and the office of his ministers.

‘Thou shall not revile the Gods’ is the *first* part of the verse which you quote. On this you say, ‘it makes no part of my scripture, I believe but one God.’

I am sure you will not esteem me uncandid when I say that you wish by this to insinuate that the Scriptures admit a *plurality* of Gods, and to contrast this folly with the wisdom of infidelity which acknowledges but *one*. Long, sir, did the world experience the utmost efforts of natural reason in investigating the nature and perfections of deity. And what were the effects of those efforts? Every temple even of enlightened Rome and philosophic Greece was crowded with gods; and the proud philosopher as well as the humble peasant, bowed in humble adoration to departed profligates and harlots, to bulls, to calves, and to reptiles. And can you imagine that, if you had been cotemporary with the sages of antiquity, your profounder researches would have corrected this predominant error; you would have banished from the minds of Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, &c. their doubts respecting the nature, number and perfections of the Gods, and of the soul’s immortality? No, sir. Your modesty repels with indignation, the imputation of a pretension so arrogant. In those pure ages you would probably have herded with the worshippers of Hesiod’s thirty thousand gods; and, like the rational and venerable Socrates in the moment of death, the gratitude of your heart would have inclined you piously to offer a cock to Æsculapius.

Whence then, let me ask, do you derive those sublime conceptions of the deity for which you say, you are complimented by the bishop of Landaff? From those very scriptures which you despise, and which you here charge with teaching the doctrine of a plurality of gods. – ‘Thou shalt not revile the gods.’ Is it unknown to you that in all languages, many words are used not only in a literal,

but also in a figurative sense? In a figurative sense the inspired writings often apply the term god, or gods, to celestial angels; to men as primes, justices, or judges; to satan who is called 'the god of this world.' And the learned apostle Paul speaking of some enemies of the cross of Christ, says that their '*belly* is their god.' I do not adduce this last example to insinuate that this is the '*one god*' which you exclusively acknowledge. Such a suspicion is precluded by the exemplary temperance with which you proceed to 'nourish your health.' And if a knowledge of the *Bible* had made a part of the 'abundance' with which, you tell us, you furnish your 'mind,' I should have been saved from the necessity of informing you that we need only open that book to see the unity of God inculcated, and idolatry punished: to learn that, 'I am God and there is none else – the Lord our God is one Lord,' were the voice and, response which pervaded the camp, the tabernacle, the temple and nation of the Jews; to read that saint Paul, in presence of the supreme court of Athens, boldly maintained the unity of God against the learned philosophers of that city; and, by saying, 'they be no gods which are made with hands,' roused the persecuting power of Ephesus, a city devoted to the worship 'of the great goddess Diana and the image which fell down from Jupiter.'

I intended to have glanced at some less important sentiments, in yours to Mr. Adams. But I have already exhausted your patience, and transgressed the limits which I had prescribed to this letter. I cannot, however, conclude without expressing my regret that (although christianity has nothing to fear from your talents or industry) your hostility to it may render some pious republicans more easily deceived by those hypocritical federalists who cunningly connect the ideas of republicanism and infidelity and affirm that the object of republicans is the extirpation of the gospel. The religion of Jesus, neither in its origin nor its progress, has ever been indented, for its glory, to the elevation or worldly greatness of its patrons. To counteract this *political* tendency of your enmity against it I shall nevertheless, embrace the opportunity of communicating to those pious republicans, through the medium of this letter to you, one of the sublimest eulogiums that ever was expressed on the reasonableness of the Christian religion. I shall give it in the very words of a *republican** with whose intellectual greatness your diffidence would blush to be compared – whose influence is unrivaled and who sets this day, at the head of the freest happiest, and most enlightened government in the world.

† 'Reason and free inquiry, saith he, are the only effectual agents against error. Give a loose to them they will support the *true* religion by bringing every *false* one to their tribunal, to the test of their investigation. They are the natural enemies of error and of error only. Had not the Roman government permitted

* *Thomas Jefferson.*

† *Notes on Virginia.*

free inquiry, christianity could never have been introduced. Had not free inquiry been indulged at the era of the reformation, the corruptions of christianity could not have been purged away.' That is to say, the reasonableness of Christianity was so gloriously resplendent that it confounded the wisdom of heathen philosophy, and dissipated the darkness of papal superstition.

I am, Sir, with due respect,
Your very humble servant,
JOHN GEMMIL.

Mr. Thomas Paine,}
Washington.

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‘Thomas Paine & the King’

- p. 191, l. 2: *THE KING*: In this context, the ‘king’ referred to throughout the poem is Thomas Jefferson; see note to p. 20, l. 40, above.
- p. 191, col. 1, l. 29: *Dearborn*: Henry Dearborn (1751–1829), American physician, veteran of the Revolutionary War and War of 1812, United States Congressman at various times for Maine and Massachusetts and United States Secretary of War (1801–9). Dearborn was married three times; in 1803 his wife was Dorcas Marble Dearborn.
- p. 191, col. 1, l. 32: *Monsier Gallatin*: Abraham Alfonse Albert Gallatin (1761–1849), American diplomat, Congressman, Secretary of the Treasury, linguist, scholar, intrepid Anti-Federalist and central figure in the Democratic-Republican Party. Gallatin was Swiss born, thus the occasional disparaging reference to his spoken accent.
- p. 191, col. 1, l. 35: *Smith*: perhaps Samuel Harrison Smith; see note to p. 165, l. 23, above.
- p. 191, col. 2, l. 6: *Which Sal had dyed and wove*: The reference is to Sally Hemings; see note to p. 168, l. 3, above.
- p. 191, col. 2, l. 22: *The King gave Gid, a wink*: Evidently Gideon Granger (1767–1822), attorney, statesman, member of the Connecticut General Assembly, propagandist and central figure in the Democratic-Republican Party, and fourth and longest serving (1801–14) Postmaster General of the United States of America.

Aurora, 11 January 1803

- p. 196, l. 10: federalists: see note to p. 261, l. 12, Volume 2.
- p. 196, ll. 12–13: *respect the powers that are*: see Romans 13.
- p. 196, l. 17: *weak, wicked and the obscure*: Untraced, but the identical phrase appears in Governor McKean’s opening address to the Pennsylvania Assembly (1892). See *Pennsylvania Archives*, series 4, vol. 4, p. 502.
- p. 196, l. 24: *Mr. Hay*: George Hay (d. 1830), attorney and jurist, Judge of the United States Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, United States Attorney and the prosecutor of Aaron Burr. Hay, who had defended Callender in an earlier case, gave Callender a severe beating for publishing material critical to him.
- p. 196, l. 26: *Callender and Pace*: see note to p. 153, l. 33, above.

Wasp, 26 January 1803

- p. 203, col. 1, l. 8: *gag-law*: The Sedition Act of 1798, signed into law by President John Adams, made it made a crime to publish ‘false, scandalous, and malicious writing’ against the government or its officials. Though it included a provision to pass out of law on 3 March 1802, President Thomas Jefferson considered the bill unconstitutional and void, and pardoned all individuals convicted under the law.
- p. 203, col. 1, ll. 12–13: *democrats*: see note to p. 129, l. 39, above.
- p. 203, col. 1, l. 19: *Aye, there’s the rub!*: famously from Hamlet’s ‘to be or not to be’ soliloquy. See Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, III.i.65.
- p. 203, col. 1, l. 27: *Thou shalt not lie!*: One of the Ten Commandments in the Bible. See Exodus 20:16.
- p. 203, col. 2, l. 4: *federalists*: see note to p. 261, l. 12, Volume 2.
- p. 204, col. 1, l. 6: *his useful labors*: The reference is to Jefferson’s letter to Paine that so outraged Federalists and conservatives because of its cordial and admiring tone. Jefferson

- wrote 'That you may long live to continue your useful labors and to reap the reward in the thankfulness of nations is my sincere prayer.' See 'To Thomas Paine, March 18, 1801' in *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 10, pp. 223–5.
- p. 204, col. 1, l. 15: *Callender for writing the Prospect before us*: see Callender, *The Prospect Before Us*.
- p. 204, col. 1, l. 23: *Hamilton*: see note to p. 144, l. 50, Volume 2.
- p. 204, col. 1, ll. 31–3: *the enlightened ... Thomas Jefferson*: not traced.
- p. 204, col. 1, l. 36: *New-Hampshire Gazette: New-Hampshire Gazette* (Portsmouth, NH).
- p. 204, col. 1, ll. 38–col. 2, l. 5: *The PHILANTHROPIST ... DIVINE inspire*: not traced.
- p. 204, col. 2, ll. 23–4: *asylum of oppressed humanity*: The phrase is ubiquitous and the earliest usage is not traced.
- p. 204, col. 2, l. 25: *Jacobinic*: see note to p. 145, l. 2, Volume 2.
- p. 204, col. 2, l. 28: *Death is an eternal sleep*: This is another ancient concept, the origins of which are obscure. Joseph Fouché, first duc d'Otrante (1759–1820), a radical republican statesman of the French Revolution, forever associated himself with the phrase by ordering 'La mort est un sommeil eternal' inscribed over the entrances to cemeteries.
- p. 204, col. 2, ll. 33–4: *abandoned good ... never had any*: *Complete Writings*, vol. 2, p. 723.
- p. 204, col. 2, l. 38: *Gallatin*: see note to p. 191, col. 1, l. 32, above.
- p. 205, col. 1, l. 8: *Gideon Granger*: see note to p. 191, col. 2, l. 22, above.
- p. 205, col. 1, ll. 10–11: *his Monticellean majesty*: Thomas Jefferson; see note to p. 20, l. 40, above.
- p. 205, col. 1, l. 13: *Ambrose Spencer*: Ambrose Spencer (1765–1848), American attorney, congressman from the State of New York, Attorney General of the State of New York (1802–4) and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of New York (1819–23).
- p. 205, col. 1, l. 23: *Col. Burr*: Aaron Burr, Jr (1756–1836), most notoriously the duellist who ended Alexander Hamilton's life, but also a prominent American statesman, Revolutionary War veteran and third Vice President of the United States under Thomas Jefferson.
- p. 205, col. 1, l. 30: *Gen. Hamilton*: see note to p. 144, l. 50, Volume 2.
- p. 205, col. 1, l. 37: *Governor Jay*: see note to p. 46, l. 30, Volume 5.
- p. 205, col. 1, l. 40: *Clinton family*: George Clinton (1739–1812), American Revolutionary soldier, statesman, first Governor of New York and Vice President of the United States of America under both Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. Both by birth and by marriage, Clinton exerted a powerful influence through family connections. His son was a delegate to the 1801 New York Constitutional Convention, member of the New York State Assembly and member of the Congress of the United States. Other examples include his nephews DeWitt Clinton (1769–1828), United States Senator and Governor of New York, and James Clinton, a Major General in the Continental Army and delegate to the New York Constitutional Convention. Related by marriage to the Van Cortlandts, Livingstons, Tappens and Tallmadges, Clinton was one of the most influential Democratic-Republicans of his era.
- p. 205, col. 2, l. 10: *Senator Foote*: Ebenezer Foote (1773–1814), attorney of Ulster County, New York, member of the New York State Assembly (1791–2) and the New York State Senate (1798–1802). Foote was an ally of Spencer Ambrose and appointed Assistant Attorney General of the State of New York by George Clinton in 1801.
- p. 205, col. 2, ll. 17–24: *I do not ... consummate blockhead*: All 'foot' wordplay is in reference to the aforementioned characters.
- p. 205, col. 2, ll. 25–7: *I believe ... contrary notwithstanding*: not traced.
- p. 205, col. 2, ll. 28–39: *I believe ... strumpet his mother*: see note to p. 115, col. 1, l. 1, above.

- p. 205, col. 2, l. 40: *Cheat'em*: see note to p. 165, l. 22, above.
- p. 205, col. 2, l. 43: *Stille's hotel*: not traced.
- p. 205, col. 2, l. 44: *Infidel Society in New York*: probably referring to the Deistical Society of New York, founded by Elihu Palmer and associates c. 1796. See note to p. 297, l. 3, Volume 3.
- p. 205, col. 2, l. 46: *Isaac Mitchell*: Isaac Mitchell (1759–1812), Jeffersonian democratic newspaper publisher and author involved with several newspapers in Albany and Poughkeepsie, New York including the *Political Barometer* (Poughkeepsie, NY).
- p. 206, col. 1, l. 1: *Holt*: Charles Holt (1772–1852), editor of the Democratic-Republican journal the *Bee* (New London, CT), was indicted under the Sedition Act in October 1799 and sentenced to six months in jail and a \$200 fine. Harry Crosswell, Holt's nemesis, published the *Wasp* (Hudson, NY).
- p. 206, col. 1, l. 3: *Phin. Allen*: Phineas Allen (c. 1776–1860), publisher of the *Pittsfield Sun* (Pittsfield, MA).

New-York Evening Post, 4 February 1803

- p. 209, col. 1, l. 1: NEW-YORK EVENING POST: *New-York Evening Post* (New York).
- p. 209, col. 1, ll. 13–14: *Washington Federalist*: *Washington Federalist* (Georgetown, DC).
- p. 209, col. 1, ll. 21–2: *NEWBURYPORT HERALD Mssrs. ALLEN & BARNARD*: the *Newburyport Herald and Country Gazette* (Newburyport, MA), published by Ephraim Allen and John Barnard.
- p. 209, col. 1, l. 28: *Federalist*: see note to p. 261, l. 12, Volume 2.
- p. 209, col. 1, l. 28: *Democrat*: see note to p. 129, l. 39, above.
- p. 209, col. 1, ll. 39–43: *The Republican party ... British dominion*: All Paine 'quotations' in the article entitled 'Paine's Plan, for Revolutionizing America' are spurious.

'A Letter to Thomas Paine'

- p. 213, l. 6: *Samuel Adams*: see note to p. 62, ll. 23–4, Volume 1.
- p. 213, ll. 14–15: *councils of Nice and Laodicea*: see notes to p. 38, ll. 30–1, Volume 2, and p. 45, ll. 19–20, Volume 3.
- p. 213, ll. 13–18: *The books, you ... acknowledged this fact*: The quote is inaccurate. Gemmil refers here to Paine's letter to Samuel Adams dated 1 January 1803, in which Paine wrote that 'I presume you are so far acquainted with ecclesiastical history as to know, and the bishop who has answered me has been obliged to acknowledge the fact, that the books that compose the New Testament were voted by *yeas* and *nays* to be the Word of God, as you now vote a law, by the popish Councils of Nice and Laodicea about one thousand four hundred and fifty years ago. With respect to the fact there is no dispute, neither do I mention it for the sake of controversy. This vote may appear authority enough to some, and not authority enough to others. It is proper however that everybody should know the fact.' See *Complete Writings*, vol. 2, p. 1435.
- p. 213, l. 17: *Bishop Watson*: see note to p. 334, l. 19, Volume 3.
- p. 213, l. 30: *Clemens*: see note to p. 16, l. 6, Volume 3.
- p. 213, l. 30: *Ignatius*: see note to p. 194, l. 37, Volume 4.
- p. 213, l. 30: *Polycarp*: see note to p. 425, l. 6, Volume 2.
- p. 213, l. 31: *Justin*: see note to p. 125, l. 1, Volume 5.

- p. 213, l. 31: *Irenaeus*: see note to p. 425, l. 8, Volume 2.
- p. 213, l. 31: *Theophilus*: see note to p. 311, l. 20, Volume 5.
- p. 213, l. 32: *Meltio*: This is a typo; he means Melito. See note to p. 311, ll. 9–17, Volume 5.
- p. 213, l. 32: *Tertullian*: see note to p. 134, l. 21, Volume 2.
- p. 213, ll. 33–4: *Junius Africanus*: see note to p. 16, l. 7, Volume 3.
- p. 213, l. 34: *Ammonius*: probably Ammonius of Alexandria, third-century Christian apologist, philosopher and bibliographer said to have authored two works, *The Harmony of Moses and Jesus* and a *Diatessaron*, or *The Harmony of the Four Gospels*.
- p. 213, l. 34: *Origen*: see note to p. 425, l. 9, Volume 2.
- p. 213, l. 34: *Dionysius of Alexandria*: Pope Dionysius of Alexandria (d. AD 265), third-century Pope of Alexandria from AD 248 to his death and the author of various letters, just one of which survives intact, the rest variously referred to by Eusebius.
- p. 214, ll. 20–2: I hold it ... after his death: R. Watson, *An Apology for the Bible: In a Series of Letters, Addressed to Thomas Paine, Author of a Book Entitled The Age of Reason, Part the Second, being an Investigation of True and of Fabulous Theology* (Philadelphia, PA: W. Young, 1796), p. 165.
- p. 215, l. 7: *Thou shalt ... politically the people*: *Complete Writings*, vol. 2, p. 1437. See Exodus 22:28.
- p. 215, l. 8: *Doctor Emmons*: Nathanael Emmons (1745–1840), influential American clergyman, theologian and the author of hundreds of published sermons and tracts. Conway described him as a ‘vehement Federalist and assailant of President Jefferson’. See M. D. Conway, *The Writings of Thomas Paine*, 4 vols (New York: J. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1896), vol. 4, pp. 206–7, n. 5.
- p. 215, ll. 17–19: *a faction ... on its ruins*: The accusation of monarchy was levelled against the Federalist faction, some of whom actually were advocates of monarchy, limited or despotic.
- p. 215, l. 19: *the war-whoop of monarchical priestcraft*: While Paine posited a critical and interdependent relationship between monarchy and priestcraft and frequently used the terms, the expression ‘monarchical priestcraft’ does not appear to occur in his writings, nor does he combine either term with the expression ‘war-whoop’, which he uses in a strictly political context. See *Complete Writings*, vol. 2, pp. 358, 934.
- p. 215, ll. 19–20: *federal*: see note to p. 261, l. 12, Volume 2.
- p. 215, l. 20: *republican*: see note to p. 129, l. 39, above.
- p. 215, l. 35: *Porphyry*: see note to p. 122, l. 13, Volume 4.
- p. 215, l. 35: *Julian*: see to p. 424, l. 23, Volume 2.
- p. 215, l. 35: *Bolingbroke*: see note to p. 157, l. 38, Volume 3.
- p. 215, l. 36: *Voltaire*: see note to p. 95, l. 10, Volume 4.
- p. 215, l. 36: *Hume*: see note to p. 47, ll. 14–22, Volume 1.
- p. 216, ll. 11–14: *minister of God ... conscience sake*: see Romans 3:3–7.
- p. 216, ll. 18–19: *Thou shalt ... one God*: see note to p. 215, l. 7, above.
- p. 216, l. 34: *Hesiod’s*: see note to p. 188, l. 39, Volume 4.
- p. 216, l. 35: *Socrates*: see note to p. 7, ll. 13–14, Volume 1.
- p. 216, l. 36: *Aesculapius*: Asclepius, in Greek mythology the god of medicine and healing.
- p. 217, l. 3: *the god of this world*: see 2 Corinthians 4:4.
- p. 217, ll. 3–4: *the learned apostle Paul*: see note to p. 180, l. 12, Volume 1.
- p. 217, ll. 4–5: *belly is their god*: see Philippians 3:19.
- p. 217, l. 5: *one god*: *Complete Writings*, vol. 2, p. 1437.

- p. 217, ll. 7–9: *nourish your health ... furnish your 'mind'*: Gemmil did a 'chop-job' on Paine's various quotes. See *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 1438.
- p. 217, ll. 11–12: *I am God ... is one Lord*: see Deuteronomy 6:4.
- p. 217, ll. 15–18: *they be no ... down from Jupiter*: see Acts 19:26–35.
- p. 217, l. 24: *hypocritical federalists*: see note to p. 261, l. 12, Volume 2.
- p. 217, l. 36–p. 218, l. 3: *Reason and free ... purged away*: see Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, in *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 2, p. 221.

'Thomas Paine', *Trenton Federalist*, 7 March 1803

- p. 221, col. 1, l. 7: *Col. Kirkbride of Bordentown*: Col. Joseph Kirkbride (1731–1803), patriot lieutenant of Bucks County and colonel in the Militia of the State of Pennsylvania, delegate to the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention and member of the Pennsylvania State Assembly. Thomas Paine frequently stayed with the Kirkbrides, considered the colonel perhaps his closest friend, and lived for a time in Bordentown, New Jersey, where Kirkbride fled after the British burned his family home and stores in Bucks County.
- p. 221, col. 1, l. 9: *Gen. Bloomfield*: Joseph Bloomfield (1753–1823), American attorney, major general in the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War, Judge Advocate of the Northern Army, clerk of the New Jersey Assembly, Attorney General of the State of New Jersey and elected fourth Governor of the State of New Jersey as a Democratic-Republican.
- p. 221, col. 1, l. 18: *Vice-President (Mr. Lambert)*: John Lambert (1746–1823), American Democratic-Republican statesman who served as United States congressman, senator and acting Governor of the State of New Jersey.
- p. 221, col. 1, l. 23: *libeller of Washington*: The reference is to Paine's *Letter to George Washington*. See *Complete Writings*, vol. 2, p. 690–723.
- p. 221, col. 1, ll. 51–7: *Soon after ... democratic party*: Paine himself published the letter from Jefferson in the seventh of his *Letters to the Citizens of the United States*. See *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 946–7.

Republican Star, 8 March 1803

- p. 225, col. 1, ll. 1–2: *toryism*: see note to p. 137, l. 5, above.
- p. 225, col. 1, ll. 3–4: *Portland Gazette: Jenk's Portland Gazette* (Portland, ME).
- p. 225, col. 1, l. 5: *the Palladium: New-England Palladium* (Boston, MA).
- p. 225, col. 1, ll. 13–35: *Mrs Dearborn ... in amazement!*: see note to p. 191, col. 1, l. 29, above.
- p. 225, col. 1, ll. 36–41: *Indignant thus ... vengeance frown'd*: not traced.
- p. 225, col. 2, ll. 5–59: *You might have ... [Aurora]*: the *Philadelphia Aurora or Aurora General Advertiser* (Philadelphia, PA). The exact article citation is not traced.
- p. 225, col. 2, ll. 31–2: *Mrs. Wingate*: This may be Julia Dearborn (n.d.), later Julia Dearborn Wingate.

Philander, 'From the Republican Advocate'

- p. 229, col. 1, ll. 33–4: *David Hume*: see note to p. 47, ll. 14–22, Volume 1.
- p. 229, col. 1, l. 34: *Mons. Voltaire*: see note to p. 95, l. 10, Volume 4.