

BULLETIN

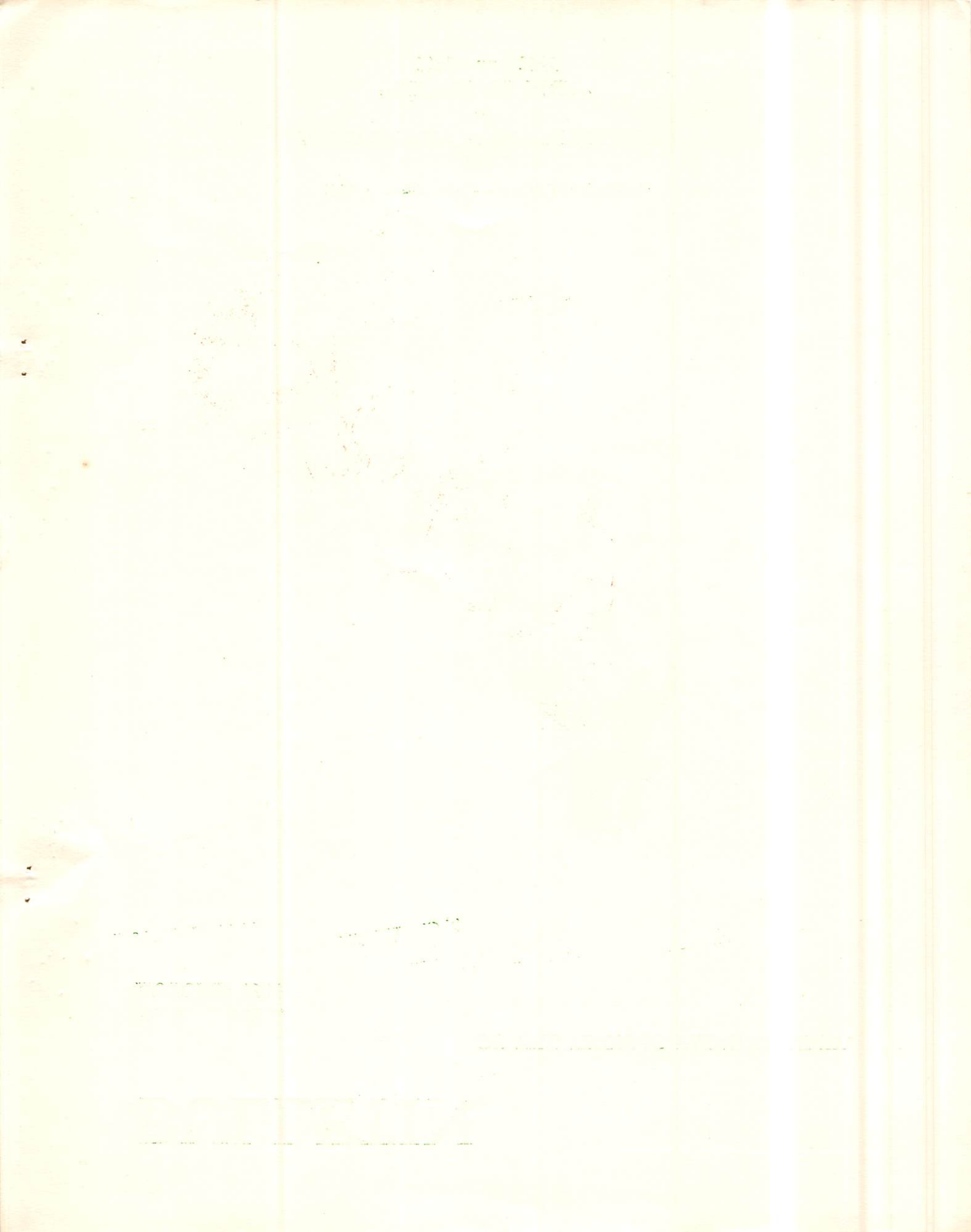
OF THE THOMAS PAINE SOCIETY.

No. 2 Vol. 2.
AUTUMN 1966



19th. CENTURY PRINT OF WILLIAM COBBETT.

175th
ANNIVERSARY of the PUBLICATION
of
"RIGHTS OF MAN"
1791 — 1966



BULLETIN

of the Thomas Paine Society.

No.2. Vol.2. Autumn 1966. Price to non members 2/6. Editor R.V.Morrell.

All communications in respect of this publication should be addressed to the Society at 443, Meadow Lane, Nottingham, England. Particulars about the Society can be had from the same address.

THOMAS PAINE SOCIETY

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Vice-Presidents: The Earl Russell, O.M., F.R.S. Herbert Cutner.
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The Editor will be pleased to consider items for publication. Newspaper cuttings etc. of interest are always welcome as are readers letters. Opinions expressed in signed articles are those of the writers.

The Thomas Paine Society. Membership details will be sent on request. We regret that no back numbers of The Bulletin are available.

NOTES AND NEWS.Meetings.

Plans are now being made for our Annual General Meeting to be held in London later this year. There are a number of important matters to be discussed and a new Council to be elected. Full particulars about the meeting will be circulated to members when ready.

We are planning to hold a joint meeting in London with the National Secular Society in the near future. Theme of the meeting will be the Rights of Man Today. We are happy to report that speakers will include our valued Vice-President, Lord Sorensen.

Another meeting of interest to members due to be held in London early next year will be at Newington Green Unitarian Church. The Revd.F.M.Ryde, Minister of Hampstead and Strand Unitarian Churches, is to address the Richard Price Society, attached to Newington Green Unitarian Church, on Thomas Paine.

The Revd.Richard Price,D.D.,F.R.S. was a Minister of Newington Green Church from 1758-1783. Notable for his mathematical and economic work he is claimed as the founder of modern life assurance. Dr.Price supported the American side in the War of Independence and was asked to become financial adviser to the new government, he had to refuse because of his wife's ill-health. Later he supported the French Revolution and was given the title, by the Duc de Rochefoucauld, of "the apostle of liberty."

The meeting at Newington Green will be on January 2nd.,1967.

Chairman of the Thomas Paine Society, Christopher Brunel, has been co-opted to the Council of the Private Libraries Association. Mr.Brunel owns what is probably the finest Paine Library in Britain if not Europe.

Peter Wyncoll, an active member of the TPS, has won a three year state scholarship for mature students to Oxford. Mr.Wyncoll has recently been studying at Ruskin College and won the scholarship with a thesis on Chartism. We are sure that members of the Society will join the Council in extending our congratulations to Mr.Wyncoll.

Notes & News continued....

BRADLAUGH CELEBRATION AT NORTHAMPTON.

1966 is the Centenary Year of the National Secular Society, with which the TPS has very cordial relations. When it was announced that the NSS was to have a rally at Northampton during which wreaths would be laid at the Bradlaugh statue in the town (Charles Bradlaugh, M.P. being the founder of the NSS) the TPS was happy to join in this tribute.

The Secretary arranged to lay a wreath on behalf of the Society but due to a mechanical fault on his vehicle was left stranded half way between Nottingham and Leicester, however, Christopher Brunel stepped in and took over as our official representative.

THREAT TO LEWES.

Councillor Gordon Hoile, a member of the Lewes Town Council as well as the Council of the TPS, informs us of a threat to the centre of Lewes. It seems that plans are being made to drive a dual carriageway relief road through the centre of the town.

If carried out the plan would, Councillor Hoile points out, destroy the old town. We are the last Society to be against progress but to destroy the old part of Lewes would be an act of vandalism of the first order. No doubt the new road is needed but must it go straight through the old town centre? Let us hope better councils prevail.

We congratulate Mr. A. Massey, a member of the Council of the TPS, on his election to Bristol Council.

NEW EDITION OF RIGHTS OF MAN.

Mr. Henry Collins of Oxford University Delegacy for Extra-Mural Studies and a member of the TPS has been appointed by Penguin Books to edit their edition of Rights of Man, which is due to appear early next year in the Pelican Political Classic Series.

The Society has been pleased to extend its help to Mr. Collins by making available to him for consultation a number of early editions of Rights of Man owned by Society members. We shall await with

anticipation the new edition which will also contain a brief life of Paine and an assessment of the work, putting it into its historical context and giving the immediate results of it.

PAINES BONES ?

The publication in The Guardian for June 2nd. of a report headed "Remains of Tom Paine?" aroused a great deal of interest among members of the TPS who saw it.

Basis for the report was the discovery in a garden at Ash, Surrey, of half a skeleton in a tin trunk. Mr. Ashton Booth, curator of Farnham Museum examined the remains in the hope of discovering ink markings on the bones which would point to them as being those of Paine. The place the bones were found at is less than a mile from where Cobbett (who brought the remains of Paine back to Britain in 1819) died in 1835.

From correspondence between Mr. Booth and the Secretary of the TPS it became clear that The Guardian report was a little premature, the remains were not those of Paine but part of a skeleton used by a medical student. Many individuals have sought for Paine's remains and the search will no doubt go on, however, perhaps it is not a bad thing that the last resting place of Thomas Paine is unknown for he was truly a citizen of the world rather than one country.

NEW PUBLICATION

The need for an edition of Paine's major works in a single volume has been felt for some time and now at last one has appeared. Published by the American firm of Hill and Wang in New York the book is in their American Century Series and contains the complete texts of Common Sense, Public Good, Rights of Man, The Age of Reason, Agrarian Justice and a selection of other pamphlets and letters.

Editor of the volume is H.H. Clark who as well as providing an introductory essay, which must to some be rather controversial, has also added an invaluable series of notes. The book is well produced, allowing for certain limitations found in paperback production, has a good type-face and is an all-round pleasing

Production. The book has over 436 pages.

The Society feel that members would like to obtain copies of this publication, which is not on general sale in Britain, and have obtained some copies. At 14/6 including postage we feel that it is of outstanding value. Please send your order to Mr. Christopher Brunel, Flat 6, 134, Queens Gate, London, S.W.7., and include cheque/postal order for 14/6 made out to C. Brunel and NOT to the Society.

NOTTINGHAM RIGHTS OF MAN EXHIBITION

Principle event held to date to commemorate the 175th Anniversary of the publication of Rights of Man has been the exhibition organised jointly by the Nottingham Co-operative Society, Private Libraries Association and the Thomas Paine Society at the Co-operative Arts Centre, Nottingham.

Opened by Mr. A. J. Statham, a member of the Council of the TPS, the exhibition stayed open to the public for a week. It was interesting to note that some 400 people visited the display including many sixth form schoolchildren and students from Nottingham University.

The Society want to hold a similar exhibition in London but so far efforts to find suitable accomodation have met with no success.

Partial list of exhibits in the Nottingham exhibition. The following abbreviations indicate ownership: CB. (Collection of Christopher Brunel). RWM. (Collection of R. W. Morrell). PW. (Collection of P. Wyncoll).

1. Election Address of John Wilkes. 1769. RWM.
2. Volume of Letters of John Wilkes. 1769. Lent anonymously.
3. Print of the Storming of the Bastille. RWM.
4. Print of Edmund Burke. RWM.
5. Reflections on the Revolution in France. 3rd. Edn. Burke. 1790. RWM.
6. Rights of Man. Paine. 1st. Edn. sold to public. 1791. RWM.
7. Dialogue between One of Mr. Burke's 320,000 Sound Ones and One of his 80,000 Incurable, Pure Jacobins. By One of the Herefordshire Yeomanry. 1797. RWM.
8. Burke. Works. Vol. 4. RWM.
9. Print of Fleet Street. RWM.
10. Print of the Angel Inn, Islington. CB.

Partial list continued....

11. Protest Against Rights of Man. 1792. RWM.
12. Answer to Rights of Man. I.Hunt. 1791. RWM.
13. Rights of Man. Pocket Edition, 1837. RWM.
14. Magazine of the London Corresponding Society. Vol.2.March,1797. CB.
15. Trial of Joseph Gerrald of the London Corresponding Society.1794. CB.
16. Trial of Thomas Paine. 1792. PW.
17. Apology for the Bible. Watson. 1799. RWM.
18. Print of Newgate Prison. RWM.
19. Working Man's Political Companion (Paine's Political Works). 1841. RWM.
20. True Briton. Full run No.1-27. 1819. Lent anonymously.
21. Chronology of the War Between France and England. 1796. Lent anon.
22. "Britain's Constitution", A Sermon. 1792. RWM.
23. Rights of Man. French Edn.Paris,1791. CB.
24. Plea for Religion. Simpson. Halifax,1851. RWM.
25. View of Causes & Consequences of War with France.Erskine. 1797.RWM.
26. Rights of Man. Carlile Edn. 1819. CB.
27. Letter to Lord Ellenborough. Shelley. 1883. RWM.
28. Legacy to Labourers. Cobbett. 1835. RWM.
29. Life of Paine. Linton. 1842. RWM.
30. Substance of a Speech by C.J.Fox on Reform of Parliament. 1797. RWM.
31. Print of Fox. RWM.
32. Political Cartoon against Paine. 1792. CB.
33. Plan for Reform of Election of House of Commons. Philip Francis. 1817. RWM.
34. Rights of Man. Chartist Edn. CB.
35. Life of Paine. Rickman.1819. RWM.
36. Catalogue of Yale University Paine Exhibition,1961. RWM.
37. Programme of the Ceremony of unveiling the Paine statue at Thetford, 1964. RWM.
38. Monthly Letter, March 1965. Article on Paine. RWM.
39. Observations on Mr.Paine's Rights of Man. Boothby. CB.
40. Article on Paine's literary style by Prof.J.T.Boulton. Lent by Prof.Boulton.
41. Burke,Paine and the Rights of Man.The Hague,1963. RWM.
42. Paine Bi-Centenary edition of The Freethinker, 1937. RWM.
43. Facsimile of page of Lewes Town Book containing Paine's signature. Donated by the Mayor of Lewes.
44. Citizen Tom Paine. Fast. 1945. RWM.
45. Life of Paine. Dos Passos. Rome,1950. CB.
46. Life of Paine. Woodward. 1946. RWM.
47. Man of Reason,Life of Paine.Aldridge. 1960. RWM.

48. Life of Paine. Conway. 1909. RWM.
49. Paperback Edn. of Reflections & Rights of Man. N.Y., 1961. RWM.
50. Life of Paine. Oldys (Chalmer). 1791. RWM.
51. Print of the Iron Bridge over the Wear. CB.
52. Staffordshire frog mug showing Iron Bridge designed by Paine. RWM.
53. Staffordshire plate showing the Iron Bridge. CB.
54. Print of Paine published by Sharp. RWM.
55. Paine's Nightly Pest. Gillray cartoon. 1792. RWM.
56. The Rights of Man or Tommy Paine the little American Taylor. Gillray cartoon. 1791. RWM.
57. Watercolour painting of Paine by Herbert Cutner. 1920. RWM.

Also on view at the exhibition where many token coins, however, we cannot list them at present.

CHARLES BRADLAUGH BONNER.

We very much regret to report the death on September 2nd., 1966 of Mr. Charles Bradlaugh Bonner, President of the World Union of Freethinkers, just as that organisation's International Congress was meeting in London.

Mr. Bonner followed in the footsteps of both his illustrious grandfather, Charles Bradlaugh, Member of Parliament for Northampton, founder of the National Secular Society, republican and birth control pioneer, and of his mother, Hypatia Bradlaugh Bonner, who will be best known to members of this Society for her editing of the Watts editions produced earlier this century of Rights of Man. The Society sent a message of sympathy to Mr. Bonner's relatives and to the World Union of Freethinkers.

Following an appeal for books from the Marx Memorial Library the TPS presented the library a copy of A.O. Aldridge's, Man of Reason, The Life of Thomas Paine.

The influence of this amazing pamphlet (Common Sense) cannot well be exaggerated.... Among the makers of the new nation few played a more dynamic part than Thomas Paine, sometime staymaker of Norfolk in old England.

Morison & Commager. The Growth of the American Republic. OUP., 1942. pp. 194 (Vol. 1.).

THE STIRRINGS IN SHEFFIELD ON SATURDAY
NIGHT.

By Dr. W.A.S. Sarjeant, FGS.

To hear "God save great Thomas Paine" sung on an English stage is surely a rare experience, verging on the unique. This was the privilege of the audiences at Sheffield Playhouse recently, during the presentation of "The Stirrings in Sheffield on Saturday Night", a sort of documentary with music written by Alan Cullen.

The setting was in Sheffield of the 1860's, an unhappy time when the emergent trades unions were struggling for survival in the teeth of adverse legislation. Their efforts were directed to the maintenance of the level of wages and the support of the unemployed by levies on those actually working. In this aim, harsh measures were often resorted to in dealing with anyone who undercut the accepted rates of pay, employed a disproportionate amount of apprentice labour, produced shoddy goods, or otherwise menaced the livelihood of his fellows. First of all, warning letters (often with a feminine signature, such as "Mary Ann") were delivered; if this failed, the tools and gear of the offender were removed or put out of action - a procedure called "rattening". If this failed, the offender was likely to find his home or premises blown up by gunpowder, or himself disabled by being beaten up or shot.

Behind much of this violence loomed the figure of "Auld Smeectum" ("Old Smite-Em"), an epithet cloaking the identity of William Broadhead, the Secretary of the Saw Grinder's Union. Broadhead, the licensee of the Royal George Inn in Carver Street, was well-read, intelligent, and wholly devoted to the interests of trade unionism, apparently for wholly altruistic reasons. Although reluctant to resort to it, he was convinced that violence was necessary under the circumstances then prevailing. His agents were Samuel Crookes and James Hallam; their activities culminating in the inadvertent killing of James Linley (a cutler who had made overmuch use of apprentice labour), brought about a reign of terror. Extra constabulary were drafted in from outside Sheffield; their presence was in the highest degree unwelcome, and one scene depicted the breaking-up of a resentful crowd who were defiantly singing "God save great Thomas Paine."

Ultimately, a newcomer to the town, William Leng, was appointed Editor of the Sheffield Telegraph; undeterred by the atmosphere of hostility and fear then prevailing, he assembled enough evidence of violence to bring about the establishment of a Royal Commission of Enquiry. In order to get to the roots of the troubles, the Commission offered, to anyone willing to give evidence, a certificate of immunity from prose-

cution for offences committed. James Hallam was frightened into a confession; and Broadhead, to save himself, had to admit his deeds.

Though no prosecution followed, the local magistrates would not permit Broadhead to renew his licence as a publican, and he was unable to get other work. His friends organised a benefit at a local music hall, enabling him to emigrate to the United States; some years later he returned to Sheffield, dying at Uppertorpe in 1879.

"The Stirrings....." was a brilliant evocation of a troubled era, the character of Broadhead (played by Wilfred Harrison) being portrayed very sympathetically. Light relief was provided by an interwoven second plot (chronologically inexact, since a decade earlier) about the unsuccessful attempts at launching a Consumer's Gas Company by Councillor Isaac Ironside. Excellent sets and a leavening of songs, some of the era and some specially written, brought the story spiritedly to life; most memorable was the grim folksong, "The Grinder's Hardships", including these verses:-

"To be a Sheffield grinder, it is no easy trade.
There's more than you'd imagine in the grinding of a blade.
The strongest man among us is old at thirty-two,
For there's few who brave the hardships that we poor grinders do.

"And every working day we are breathing dust and steel,
And a broken stone can give us a wound that will not heal.
There's many an honest grinder ground down by such a blow,
For there's few that brave such hardships as we poor grinders do.

"Thus many a poor grinder whose family is large
With all his best endeavours cannot his debts discharge.
When children cry for bread, how pitiful the view,
Though few can brave such hardships as we poor grinders do."

This brings home the reality of that period and provides justification for the deeds of men like Broadhead. Their reward was to see the beginnings of recognition for the Unions.

"The Stirrings....." was first performed on May 31st., 1966; the acclamation with which this was received brought performances on July 22nd., and 23rd., and it is understood that further performances will open the Sheffield Repertory Co's Autumn season.

1966 AND ALL THAT.

by

Arthur Francis.

From the gutters of New York the cry of freedom cuddles Wall Street. London gentlemen balance their budgets and speak of the fight for democracy. Germanic Bonn accepts the results of one world war and millions of dollars and marches again for the right to have the blessed bomb of all ages - perhaps the last.

What the red duster our old friend Thomas would have thought of it all we know not. Perhaps he would have yelled about starvation and white cruelty. He may have felt sore at heart over two halves of the world screaming about the rights of man to starve or be imprisoned for an opinion.

But there, Mr. Paine knew of these dangers too many years ago. He would not conform to lies and cheats and wanted man to act with honesty and truth. Of course, they were ignorant times of ignorant people - at top level. Many educational reforms have passed under London Bridge since then. We have a free press ruled, in the main, by commerce and its adverts. Many dailies in the "free" and "iron curtain" lands are an insult to mans new knowledge.

Are we not back to Thomas Paine?

No, but let us be careful with ANY political discrimination. To cry with full freedom, "He's a Red", is too easy a way to answer a modern problem. To jail a man, be it in the holiday haunt of Spain or in freezing Moscow will never answer the challenge of Thomas Paine.

Freedom.

We cannot afford a 1966 Battle of Hastings. The Rights of Man are more important than even in the sad days of the Grand Old Man of the People - the late Mr. Thomas Paine.

REPORT OF THE TULC EXHIBITION.

The Trade Union, Labour, Co-operative Democratic History Society (TULC), with whom our Society works in close harmony, held an important exhibition at the Trades Union Congress headquarters in London. Miss Vanessa Redgrave combined great charm, a deep feeling for the pioneers of the Labour Movement, and a fluently-expressed knowledge of the subject in making the opening address at the exhibition. After having

made a brief tour of the exhibition and seen such items as the table, on which Thomas Paine wrote a number of his works, and the death mask of Paine, she said, "This is history, which I did not learn at school, and which most children are not learning today." Those, who have been working to restore to Paine his rightful place in history will echo a loud "Here, here!" to that.

Our Society's Chairman, Mr. Christopher Brunel, was called on to move a vote of thanks to Miss Redgrave, and he quoted from Paine's dedication of the second part of Rights of Man, which was addressed to Lafayette:

"The only point on which I could ever discover that we differed, was not as to principles of Government, but as to time. For my own part, I think it equally injurious to good principles to permit them to linger, as to push them on too fast."

Politicians, continued Mr. Brunel, had to learn the importance of timing as much as actors and actresses, and he congratulated Miss Redgrave for adding to this ability the all-important feeling for humanity, which she had so often expressed, and which was another link with Thomas Paine. She had said that progress often appeared to be as natural as a tree growing up, "but there are always people ready to stamp the tree into the ground" - that, said Mr. Brunel, would long remain a most telling expression.

The exhibition chose the fall of the Bastille as its starting point, which made it of particular interest to students of Paine, and went on immediately to show how his Rights of Man challenged Edmund Burke and the Tories in its support of the principles of the French Revolution, and so forming the keystone of the Reform movement in Britain.

Our Society gave practical help to the exhibition with the loan of a number of items, including tokens of Paine, documents of the London Corresponding Society and a copy of T.J. Wooler's Black Dwarf. During its week in London, some hundreds of people visited the exhibition, and, what is particularly pleasing, is that some school parties also came, so beginning the process of showing tomorrow's citizens their rich social and political heritage.

PAINE ON TV.

During the BBC TV show, Songs for the Times, put out on Monday, July 4th. a quotation from Paine was read out and his picture shown. It will be of interest to see whether this happens again.

BOOK REVIEWS.

A House on Clerkenwell Green by Andrew Rothstein. 80pp. Lawrence & Wishart, London. 7/6.

103: History of a House by Elizabeth Collins. 8pp. National Secular Society, London. 1/-.

Two booklets, both published in early August, tell the respective histories behind two London buildings, at present occupied by national organisations. A House on Clerkenwell Green is now threatened with destruction, unless its present owners, the Marx Memorial Library, succeed in getting the plans of the local authorities amended. The story of this house, built in 1738 as a Welsh Charity School by a distinguished architect, and the Green on which it stands together form a most remarkable slice of history of the democratic struggle in Britain. The Charity Schools used religion to keep the poor submissive in a manner that Thomas Paine understood well, and Andrew Rothstein gives a most interesting survey of this phase of the house's existence. Later, he notes that in 1792 Clerkenwell had a branch of the London Corresponding Society - the body that used Rights of Man as its textbook - and from this period on it is interesting to see the number of times that Paine's ideas recur in the story of Clerkenwell, which by the early nineteenth century had become the recognised sounding board for popular causes.

Part of the building became a coffee-room and part the "Northumberland Arms" - both taking the place of workingmen's clubs in those days - and Mr. Rothstein records that at Lunt's coffee-rooms, a few doors along, Richard Carlile and other reformers used to speak. Further research may show whether Carlile, that fearless publisher of Paine's works, also lectured at what is now Marx House.

When in later years pressure was brought to bear on tavern-keepers to stop politics being discussed at their premises, the London Patriotic Society, (Later, the London Patriotic Club) bought the premises, help coming amongst others from Moncure Conway (identified, I am glad to see, by Mr. Rothstein as "biographer of Thomas Paine"). Charles Bradlaugh certainly knew the place, as he was a speaker on the Green in 1885 at a meeting convened by the London Patriotic Club.

And so the story of this house continues through its tenancy by the famous Twentieth-Century Press and through the time of Hitler's notorious book-burning, when the Marx Memorial Library was founded, to

the present, and one notes that recent events there - in tune with its unique past - have included the 1959 Thomas Paine Exhibition, held to commemorate the 150th. anniversary of Paine's death.

An anniversary is the occasion got the publication of 103: History of a House, which also tells a story of noble traditions; in this case it is a more personalised story, as it was from the Queen's Head Inn, on the site of which now stands the Georgian building at 103, Borough High Street, London, owned by the National Secular Society, this year celebrating its first 100 years of work, that John Harvard left England in 1637 with his newly-married bride and his precious books for Massachusetts. In the previous year the American colony had voted £400 towards the building of a college at Newtown, and when in 1638 John Harvard died, leaving some £750 and his entire library to the college, it was agreed to name the new seat of learning Harvard College. In her booklet Mrs. Elizabeth Collins sketches in the savage persecutions and censorship on the printing trade in England and the high prices of books printed here - factors that decided John Harvard in setting out for America, the land of the free, as Paine did some 140 years later for reasons not so dissimilar.

I happen to know the authors of both these booklets, and I also know the tremendous amount of research that each put into the preparation of their works; I trust that I shall be forgiven, when I say that, as after a healthy meal, I wanted more, after I had finished reading them. Neither sets out to be exhaustive studies - but my appetite is certainly whetted for just that in each case.

Christopher Brunel.

The influence of the doctrines of the Enlightenment did not end with the eighteenth century or even the nineteenth. To this day the writings of Voltaire and Tom Paine inspire people living in those countries where conditions and institutions prevail that are similar to those against which the philosophes had fought. For example, Prof. K.M. Khalid of al-Azhar University in Cairo published in 1950 a book entitled From Here We Start, presenting a program for the rejuvenation of the Moslem world. Khalid, sprinkling his book heavily with quotations from Voltaire, Rousseau and Paine, quotes from Rousseau to make clear his motives for writing the book. "Our conscience is perfectly at ease" he writes in his Preface, "as to the nobility of motives behind this study....." "It is our belief in God and faith in humanity which stir within us a will to mould the stupid, servile animal into an enlightened, human person."

L.S. Stavrianos. The World Since 1500. N.J., 1966. pp.251-2.