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1903.

THE
BEAUTIES OF COBBETT:
IN THREE PARTS.

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PART THE FIRST.

LIFE OF THOMAS PAINE,

AUTHOR OF THE
AGE OF REASON, &c. &c.

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BY WILLIAM COBBETT.



"I beseech the Reader carefully to preserve all these nice little Books. They  
" will find all my Foretellings come true."—*Cobb. Pol. Reg.*

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# ADVERTISEMENT.

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IT has long been a subject of regret, that the valuable and instructive matter contained in "THE WORKS OF WILLIAM COBBETT," published by Himself, in twelve volumes octavo, should, from their bulk and costly nature, be confined, almost entirely, to the libraries of the affluent. To remedy, in some measure, this evil, a faithful Abridgment of the aforementioned twelve volumes is here presented to the public, under the appropriate title of "THE BEAUTIES OF COBBETT." It is divided into *three parts*, and is sold at a price so moderate, as to place it within the reach of the Labouring Classes of the community.

## *Part the First*

is entirely devoted to the LIFE OF THOMAS PAINE: and of all the writers to whom the biography of that extraordinary man has been committed, Mr. Cobbett assuredly stands pre-eminent. At any moment, a Life of the Author of the "Age of Reason" from the pen of the Author of the "Political Register," would be matter of high interest; but, at the present important juncture, this masterly performance will be perused with ten-fold avidity.

## *Part the Second*

contains, in addition to some very able Observations on "The Age of Reason," and an interesting detail of the Motives which induced Mr. Paine to undertake that work, a series of Reflexions explanatory of Mr. Cobbett's Views upon Religious Subjects.

## *Part the Third and Last*

is solely devoted to POLITICS, and contains more than one hundred select Maxims, Reflexions, and Observations upon all the great topics that now agitate the public mind; such as The Rights of Man, Reform of Parliament, Universal Suffrage, &c. &c. They will be found to be written in Mr. Cobbett's best style. They are plain, pithy, and sententious; and are strongly recommended as Exercises for the memories of the rising generation.

L I F E  
OF  
T H O M A S P A I N E,  
BY  
WILLIAM COBBETT.

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*“ A life that’s one continued scene  
“ Of all that’s infamous and mean.”*

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**B**IOGRAPHICAL memoirs of persons, famous for the great good or the great mischief they have done, are so sure to meet with a favourable reception in print, that it has long been subject of astonishment, that none of the disciples of Paine should ever have thought of obliging the world with an account of his life. His being of mean birth could form no reasonable objection: when the life of his hero is spotless, the biographer feels a pride as well as a pleasure in tracing him from the penurious shed to the pinnacle of renown. This unaccountable negligence of Paine’s friends has been compensated by the diligence of the friends of order and religion. His life was published in London, in 1793. This little pamphlet has fallen into my hands, and were I to delay communicating it to the public, I should be unworthy of that liberty of the press, which I am determined to enjoy. The reader must observe that this account of Paine’s life, is an abstract of his life from a larger work, written by Francis Oldys, A. M. of the university of Pennsylvania.

‘ THOMAS PAINE\* was born at Thetford, in Norfolk, on the  
‘ 29th of January, 1736-7. His father was a staymaker by  
‘ trade, and of the sect of the Quakers. His mother, Frances  
‘ Cocke, daughter of an attorney at Thetford, and of the estab-  
‘ lished church. At the free-school of Thetford, under Mr.  
‘ Knowles, young Paine was instructed in reading, writing and  
‘ arithmetic. The expense of his education was defrayed by

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\* That part of this essay which the reader finds thus marked with inverted commas, is taken from the printed copy. The rest, whether good or bad, whether republican or anti-republican I am ready to take upon myself.—William Cobbett.



' his father, with some assistance from his mother's relations.  
 ' At the age of 13, he became his father's apprentice, in the  
 ' trade of a staymaker. At this employment he continued for  
 ' five years. He went, at the age of 19, to try his fortune in  
 ' London; where he worked for some time with Mr. Morris, an  
 ' eminent staymaker in Hanover-street, Long Acre. After a  
 ' very short stay in this situation, he repaired to Dover, and  
 ' there obtained employment with Mr. Grace, a respectable  
 ' staymaker. While Paine remained here, an attachment  
 ' began between him and Miss Grace, his master's daughter :  
 ' in consequence of which, Mr. Grace was induced to lend our  
 ' adventurer ten pounds, to enable him to settle as a master-  
 ' staymaker at Sandwich. He settled at Sandwich in April  
 ' 1759; but forgot to repay the ten pounds, or to fulfil the mar-  
 ' riage, in expectation of which the money had been advanced  
 ' to him. Here, it seems, he took up his lodging in the market  
 ' place; and formed a little congregation, to whom he preached,  
 ' in his lodging, as an Independent minister. In the mean  
 ' time, he fell in love with a pretty, modest young woman,  
 ' Mary Lambert, waiting woman to Mrs. Solly, wife of Richard  
 ' Solly, an eminent woollen-draper at Sandwich. Mary and  
 ' Thomas were married on the 27th of September 1759. Tho-  
 ' mas, soon after the marriage, finding himself disappointed,  
 ' began to maltreat his wife. By Mrs. Solly's aid, their poverty  
 ' was occasionally relieved. From the furnished lodging in  
 ' which Paine had hitherto lived, the young couple soon re-  
 ' moved to a house, for which they, with some difficulty, ob-  
 ' tained furniture upon credit. But he having contracted debts  
 ' which he was unable to discharge, our adventurer, with his  
 ' wife, took what is called in Scotland, a moonlight flitting;  
 ' and, on the night, between the 7th and 8th of April, 1760,  
 ' they set out from Sandwich to Margate; Thomas carrying  
 ' with him the furniture which he had purchased on credit, and  
 ' the stays of a customer. The stays were recovered from him  
 ' by a timely claim. He sold the furniture by auction at  
 ' Margate.'

At this place, the reader will undoubtedly call to mind  
 Paine's vehement sallies against the English penal code. All  
 the patriots look upon law-givers, judges, juries, and the whole  
 suite of justice, as their mortal enemies. "Inhuman wretches,"  
 says Tom, "that are leagued together to rob man of his rights,  
 "and with them of his existence!" This is like the thief, who,  
 when about to receive sentence of death, protested he would  
 swear the peace against the judge, for that he verily believed  
 he had a design upon his life. Reader, while you live, suspect  
 those tender-hearted fellows who shudder at the name of the  
 gallows. When you hear a man loud against the severity of  
 the laws, set him down for a rogue. ' From Margate, Paine re-

‘ turned to London, his wife set out with him; but her subsequent fate is not well known. Some say that she perished on the road, by ill-usage and a premature birth: others, believe her to be still alive.’ Now, who that reads this, does not feel a desire to kick the scoundrel of a staymaker, for exclaiming against aristocracy, because as he pretends its laws and customs are cruel and unnatural? “ With what kind of parental reflexions,” says the hypocrite in his Rights of Man, “ can the father and mother contemplate their tender offspring? To restore parents to their children, and children to their parents, relations to each other, and man to society, the French constitution has destroyed the law of primogenitureship.” Is not this fine cant to entrap the unsuspecting vulgar? Who would not imagine that the soul which pours itself forth in joy for the restoration of all these dear relatives to each other, was made up of constancy and tenderness? Who would suspect the man whose benevolence is thus extended to foreigners whom he never saw, of being a brutal and savage husband, and an unnatural father? Do you ask, “ with what kind of parental reflexions the father and mother can contemplate their tender offspring?” Hypocritical monster! with what kind of reflexions did you contemplate the last agonies of a poor, weak, credulous woman, who had braved the scoffs of the world, who had abandoned every thing for your sake, had put her all in your possession, and who looked up to you, and you alone, for support? Paine’s humanity, like that of all the reforming philosophers of the present enlightened day, is of the speculative kind. It never breaks out into action. Hear these people, and you would think them overflowing with the milk of human kindness. They stretch their benevolence to the extremities of the globe: it embraces every living creature—except those who have the misfortune to come in contact with them. They are all citizens of the world: country and friends and relations are unworthy the attention of men who are occupied in rendering all mankind happy and free. I ever suspect the sincerity of a man whose discourse abounds in expressions of universal philanthropy.

‘ In July, 1761, Thomas returned, without his wife, to his father’s house. Having been unsuccessful in the business of a staymaker, he was now willing to leave it for the Excise. In the excise, he was established in 1762, at the age of 25. The kindness of Mr. Cocksedge, recorder of Thetford, procured for him this appointment. He was sent, as a supernumerary, first to Grantham; and on the 8th of August 1761, to Alford. Being detected in some misconduct, he was, on the 27th of August 1765, dismissed from his office. In this state of wretchedness and disgrace, he repaired to London a third time. Here charity supplied him with clothes, money and

lodging; till he was, on the 11th of July 1766, restored to the excise, although not to immediate employment. For support, in the mean time, he engaged himself for a salary of 25*l.* a year, in the service of Mr. Noble, who kept an academy in Lemon-street, Goodman's-fields. At Christmas he left the service of Mr. Noble for that of Mr. Gardner, who then taught a reputable school at Kensington. With Mr. Gardner he continued only three months. He would now willingly have taken orders; but being only an English scholar, he could not obtain the certificate of his qualifications previously necessary. Being violently moved, however, with the spirit of preaching, he wandered about for a while as an itinerant Methodist. In March, 1768, he again obtained employment as an excise-officer; and was sent in this capacity to Lewes in Sussex. He was now at the age of 31, ambitious of shining as a jolly fellow among his companions, yet without restraining his sullen overbearing temper, although to the neglect of his duty as an exciseman. By his intrepidity in water and on ice, he gained the appellation of Commodore. He had gone to live with Mr. Samuel Ollive, a tobacconist; and in his house he continued till that worthy man's death. Mr. Ollive died in bad circumstances: leaving a widow, one daughter, and several sons. For some dishonest intermeddling with the effects of his deceased landlord, Paine was turned out of the house by Mr. Attersol, the executor. But, being more favourably regarded by the widow and daughter, he was received again by them in 1770. He soon after commenced grocer; opening Ollive's shop in his own name. He, at the same time worked the tobacco mill on his own behalf; and, regardless of his duty as an excise officer, for several years continued this trade, engaging without scruple in smuggling practices. In 1771, at the age of 34, he again ventured on matrimony. Elizabeth Ollive, the daughter of his late landlord, whom he now married, was a handsome and worthy woman, eleven years younger than himself. Upon the occasion of this second marriage, Paine thought proper to represent himself as a bachelor, although he must have known that he was either a widower—or if his former wife was then alive, a married man; and although the Marriage act has declared it to be felony, without benefit of clergy, for a person thus wilfully to make a false entry on the register. In the same year, Paine first commenced author. Rumbold, candidate for New-Shoreham, required a song to celebrate the patriotism and the conviviality of the occasion. Paine produced one, which was rewarded with three guineas. The excisemen began about this time to be dissatisfied that their salaries were not augmented. Paine undertook to write their Case, and in 1772, produced a pamphlet called, *The State of the Salary of*



‘ the Officers of Excise. Of this pamphlet 4000 copies were  
 ‘ printed. A contribution was made by the excisemen to  
 ‘ supply the expenses attending the solicitation of their case.  
 ‘ Paine bustled about, as their agent in London, in the winter  
 ‘ of 1773. But nothing was done; and although liberally paid  
 ‘ by his employers, he forgot to pay his printer. In his attention  
 ‘ to the common cause of the excisemen, he had neglected his  
 ‘ own private affairs. His credit failed: he sunk into difficulties:  
 ‘ and in this situation, made a bill of sale of his effects to Mr.  
 ‘ Whitfield, a grocer at Lewes. The other creditors thinking  
 ‘ themselves outwitted by Whitfield, and cheated by Paine, had  
 ‘ recourse to the rigours of law. Paine sought concealment for  
 ‘ a time in the cock-loft of the Whitehorse-inn. About the  
 ‘ same time, he was again dismissed from the excise. His  
 ‘ carelessness of the duties of his office—dealing as a grocer in  
 ‘ excisable articles—buying smuggled tobacco, as a grinder of  
 ‘ snuff—and conniving at others for the concealment of it him-  
 ‘ self—could no longer be overlooked. His dismissal took  
 ‘ place on the 8th of April 1774. He petitioned to be restored,  
 ‘ but without success.’

Reader! how often have I observed, that disappointment, and refusal of favours asked from government, are *the great sources* of what is now-a-days called *patriotism*? Here we are arrived at the cause of Paine’s mortal enmity to the British government. Had his petition been granted; had he been restored to his office, he undoubtedly would have stigmatized the Americans as rebels and traitors: he would have probably been among the supplest tools of lord North, instead of being the champion of American independence. Who, after reading this, will believe that he was actuated by laudable motives, when he wrote against taxation; when he called the excise a “hell-born monster?” What, Thomas petition to be one of the under-devils of a “hell-born monster!” He tells the poor people of Great Britain, that their “hard-earned pence are wrung from them by the king and his ministers;” yet, we see, that he wished a little more to be wrung from them, when he expected a share. Disinterested and compassionate soul! The English Clergy, too, and the tythes they receive, have been considerable objects of Thomas’s outcry. Those battering rams, called the Rights of Man, have been directed against these with their full force. But what would the hypocrite have said, had he been able to slip within the walls of the church? Tom looks upon tythes as oppressive, merely because he is not a rector. How little his attempt to obtain holy orders (sacrilegious monster!), and his Methodist preaching, agree with the opinions expressed in his “Age of Reason” I shall notice, when I come to that epoch in his life, when he threw aside the mask, and became *an open blasphemer*.



‘ Amid this knavery and mismanagement, Paine had not distinguished himself by conjugal tenderness to his second wife. He had now lived with her three years and a half, and, besides cruelly beating, had otherwise treated her in a manner which would excite the indignation of every virtuous woman; and which must ensure to him the detestation of every honourable man. From respect to the known delicacy and modesty of our fair country-women, we forbear to state the particulars. The consequence of all this was, a separation between him and his wife, upon the conditions of her paying her husband 35*l.* sterling, and his agreeing to claim no part of whatever property she might thereafter acquire. Paine now retired to London; but would not leave his wife in peace till they had mutually entered into new articles of separation.’

This is the kind and philanthropic Tom Paine, who sets up such a piteous howl about the cruelty of kings! “I have known many of those bold champions for liberty in my time,” says the good old Vicar of Wakefield, “yet do I not remember one who was not in *his heart and in his family a tyrant.*” What Dr. Johnson observes of Milton may with justice be applied to every individual of the king-killing crew; “he looked upon woman as made only for obedience, and man only for rebellion.” I would request the reader to look round among his acquaintance and see if this observation does not every where hold good; see if there be one among the yelping kennel of modern patriots, who is not a bad husband, father, brother, or son. The same pride and turbulence of spirit that lead them to withhold every mark of respect and obedience from their superiors, lead them also to tyrannize over those who are subjected to their will. The laws of nature will seldom be respected by the man who has set those of his country and of decorum at defiance; and from this degree of perversity, there is but one step to the defiance of heaven itself. The good citizen or subject, the good husband, parent and child, and the good Christian exist together, or they exist not at all. From the circumstances attending Tom’s separation from his last wife, we may make a pretty correct calculation of his value as a husband. The poor woman was obliged to pay him 35*l.* to get rid of him; so that, a democratic spouse, even supposing him to come up to his great leader in worth, is just 35*l.* worse than nothing. Oh, base democracy! Why, it is absolutely worse than street sweepings, or the filth of common sewers! Tom has lately set to writing down the credit of *English Bank-notes*, a task that *the dregs of his old brain* are quite unequal to. Instead of useless labours of this kind, instead of attempting to *write down the Bible and Bank notes*, I would recommend to him to oblige the people with a statement of the sums necessary to pay off all the democratic husbands, at the price his own wife fixed on himself. Their

wives, I dare say, would have no objection to imitate Mrs. Paine, as far as their last farthing would go.

Paine now finding that his notoriously bad character rendered it adviseable for him to leave the country, procured a recommendation to Dr. Franklin in America. He accordingly sailed for America in September 1774. He arrived at Philadelphia in the winter of 1774, a few months before the battle of Lexington. He was first engaged as shopman by Mr. Aitkin, a bookseller in Philadelphia, at the wages of 20*l.* a year. In November 1775, he was employed in a laboratory. He took great pains in experiments for the purpose of discovering some cheap and expeditious method of making saltpetre. He was also the proposer of a plan for the voluntary supplying of the public magazines with gunpowder. On the 10th of January 1776, was published his "Common Sense." This pamphlet was eagerly read. On the 19th of December 1776, he published, in the Pennsylvania Journal, the first number of the "Crisis," intended to encourage the Americans in their opposition to the British government. The Crisis, he continued to publish till a cessation of hostilities between America and Britain was proclaimed on the 19th of April 1783.

Thus, we see, that he was hardly arrived in America, when he set about digging up saltpetre for the destruction of his countrymen, the servants of that king whom he himself had served, and whom he would still have served, had he not been dismissed in disgrace. And can any one have the folly to believe that this man was actuated by a love of liberty and America? The unprincipled, or silly admirers of Paine, never fail to stigmatize his enemies as enemies of the American cause; but what has the justice or injustice of that cause to do with an inquiry into the actions and motives of Paine? Is a man to be looked upon as regretting that America obtained its independence, merely because he detests a *cruel, treacherous, and blasphemous ruffian* who once wrote in favour of it? Are the merits of the revolution itself to be linked to *all that is base and infamous*? A man like Paine, just landed in the country, could have no oppression to complain of, and therefore his hostility against his country admits of no defence. He was a traitor; and (to use one of Tom's own expressions) "a traitor is the foulest fiend on earth."

In 1777, Paine was appointed by the congress, secretary to their committee for foreign affairs. When Silas Deane, commercial agent for the Congress in Europe, was recalled, to make room for William Lee, a contention ensued between Deane and the family of the Lees; and Paine took part in the controversy, by attacking Deane. He took occasion to involve in the dispute the famous Robert Morris, financier of the United States. Morris interferred against him; and

‘ Paine was provoked to retail, through the channel of the  
 ‘ newspapers, information which had been communicated to  
 ‘ him in his office of secretary. This information betraying  
 ‘ intrigues of the French court, their ambassador complained to  
 ‘ Congress. Paine being interrogated, confessed himself the  
 ‘ author of the newspaper correspondence in question, and was  
 ‘ in consequence dismissed from his office.’—As I have heard this  
 matter often spoken of, I will just repeat what I have heard,  
 without pledging myself for the truth of it. While Silas Deane  
 was agent under the plenipotentiary administration of Dr.  
 Franklin, at the court of Versailles, these intriguing patriots  
 had the address to procure a present of 200,000 stand of con-  
 demned arms from the king of France to the American con-  
 gress: but, as this was done at a time when the French court  
 had solemnly, though treacherously, engaged not to interfere in  
 the dispute, the present was to be kept a secret among the im-  
 mediate agents. The *condemned* arms, given as a present, were,  
 by the faithful agents, charged as good ones, and paid for by  
 the United States. Who pocketed the money, was then and is  
 still a question, but there seems to have been but little doubt  
 of its having undergone a division and a subdivision, as the  
 secret had extended far and wide, before poor Tom was silenced.  
 After having heard these accounts of this dismissal, which both  
 agree, let us hear what Thomas says about it himself, in the  
 Second Part of his Rights of Man. “ After the declaration of  
 independence, congress unanimously appointed me *secretary in  
 the foreign department*. But a misunderstanding arising between  
 congress and me respecting one of their commissioners then in  
 Europe Mr. Silas Deane, *I resigned the office*.” Was there ever a  
 more pitiful attempt at acquiring reputation than this! He calls  
 himself secretary in the foreign department, thereby giving us  
 to understand, that he was a secretary of state in America, as  
 lord Grenville or the duke of Portland is in England, and as  
 Mr. Jefferson then was in the United States. *Secretary to the  
 Committee* for foreign affairs, would have sounded small; it  
 would have made a jingle like that of halfpence; whereas, *Se-  
 cretary of State* rang in the ears of his empty-headed disciples,  
 like guineas upon a hollow counter. “ But a misunderstanding  
 “ arising *between Congress and me*.” Here is another fetch at  
 importance. “ Between Congress and me!” How the affiliated  
 mobs stared at this, I dare say. A complaint was lodged against  
 him, and Congress dismissed him. How does he twist this  
 into a misunderstanding between Congress and him? As well  
 may the criminal say, he has had a misunderstanding with the  
 judge who condemns him. “ And so *I resigned the office*.”  
 Every one in America knows, that he was “ *dismissed for a scan-  
 dalous breach of trust*,” but, in the courtier’s vocabulary, *re-  
 signed* has long been synonymous with *dismissed*, *discarded*, and



*turned out*; and we see that Thomas, though he rails against courts and courtiers, did not scruple to employ it in the same way.

‘ In August 1782, Paine published a Letter to the Abbé  
‘ Raynal, in consequence of the latter author’s publication of  
‘ his History of the Revolution of America. His next produc-  
‘ tion was a Letter to the Earl of Shelburne, on the effects likely  
‘ to arise to Great Britain from the independence of America.  
‘ His labours had not yet received any substantial reward. He,  
‘ in the mean time, suffered all the miseries of penury. He  
‘ now solicited the American assemblies to grant some recom-  
‘ pence for the services by which he had contributed to the esta-  
‘ blishment of their independence. New York bestowed on him  
‘ lands of little value at New Rochelle! Pennsylvania granted  
‘ him 500*l*.—In 1786, he departed for France, after having, at  
‘ New York, seduced a young woman of a reputable family. In  
‘ the beginning of 1787, he arrived in Paris, and exhibited, be-  
‘ fore the French academy of sciences, the model of a bridge of  
‘ peculiar construction. On the 3rd of September, in this same  
‘ year, Paine arrived at the White Bear, in Piccadilly, London.  
‘ In 1787, he published a pamphlet, intituled, Prospects on the  
‘ Rubicon. In 1788, he was busy at Rotherham, in Yorkshire,  
‘ about the casting of an Iron arch for the bridge, of which he  
‘ had presented a model to the French academy. This bridge  
‘ proved merely an expensive project, by which the contriver  
‘ was impoverished, and the community not benefited. At Ro-  
‘ therham, his familiarities became disagreeable to the women.  
‘ Through various circumstances, Paine became indebted to  
‘ Whiteside, the American merchant, in the sum of 620*l*.  
‘ Upon the bankruptcy of Whiteside, Paine was arrested by  
‘ order of the assignees, at the White Bear, Piccadilly, on the  
‘ 29th of October, 1789. He remained, for three weeks, con-  
‘ fined in a spunging-house, till he was at length relieved by  
‘ the kind interference of two eminent American merchants,  
‘ Messrs. Clagget and Murdock. Meanwhile, Paine had, during  
‘ his involuntary retirement, listened eagerly to the news of the  
‘ rising commotions in France. Soon after he was set at liberty,  
‘ therefore, he crossed the Channel, in order to be a nearer  
‘ spectator of events in which he rejoiced. He returned to Eng-  
‘ land about the time of the publication of Mr. Burke’s pamphlet  
‘ on the French Revolution. His next work was an Answer to  
‘ Mr. Burke, in the First Part of his Rights of Man. This  
‘ work was published on the 13th of March, 1791, by Mr.  
‘ Jordan, in Fleet-street. Conscious of the seditious falsehoods  
‘ which he had advanced in it, Paine dreaded even then the in-  
‘ quiries of the king’s messengers, and sought concealment in  
‘ the house of his friend, Mr. Brand Hollis; while it was indis-  
‘ trictly given out, by those in his secret, that he had hastil



' departed for Paris. In May, Paine returned to Paris. While  
 ' sojourning there, he entered into a controversy with Emanuel  
 ' Syeyes, who had been chiefly active in framing the new con-  
 ' stitution of France; Syeyes, in defence of that limited mo-  
 ' narchy which the new constitution had established; Paine,  
 ' "*against the whole hell of monarchy*,"—to use his own words.  
 ' On the 13th of July, 1791, Paine again arrived at the White  
 ' Bear, in Piccadilly, just in time to assist in the celebration of  
 ' the anniversary of the French Revolution. On the 4th of No-  
 ' vember, he assisted at the accustomed commemoration of the  
 ' 5th of November, by the Revolution Society. He was  
 ' thanked for his Rights of Man; and gave for his toast, "The  
 ' Revolution of the World." Immediately after this, prepar-  
 ' ing to bring forth the Second Part of his Rights of Man, he  
 ' hid himself in Fetter-lane. Mr. Chapman was employed to  
 ' print his book. At Mr. Chapman's table he occasionally spent  
 ' a pleasant evening, after the solitary labours of the day. After  
 ' this commodious intercourse had subsisted for several months,  
 ' Paine was somehow moved to insult Mr. Chapman's wife; in  
 ' consequence of which, the printer turned him out of doors  
 ' with indignation; exclaiming, that he had "*no more principle*  
 ' "*than a post, and no more religion than a ruffian*." Paine has  
 ' ascribed a different origin to this quarrel with his printer; but  
 ' it is proper that, even in so small a matter, the truth should be  
 ' known. This Second Part was at length published; being re-  
 ' commended by the same qualities as the First, it met with a  
 ' similar reception. Its author, finding that he had now ex-  
 ' cited against himself the strongest abhorrence of all the wor-  
 ' thier part of the nation, thought it prudent to retire to France,  
 ' His actions and writings, however little credit they may have  
 ' done him in Britain, recommended him to a seat in the  
 ' French convention.'

Here ends the account of Paine's life, as I find it in print,  
 and which was published in 1793. I shall now attempt a con-  
 tinuation of it.—Paine took his seat among that gang of blood-  
 thirsty tyrants, usually called the *Convention*, just time enough  
 to assist in proscribing that constitution which he had written  
 two whole books in defence of. The first job that Tom was set  
 about, after the destruction of the constitution, was, making  
 another. Thomas and his fellow journeymen, Brissot, Clavière,  
 and about half a dozen others, fell to work, and, in a very few  
 days, hammered out the clumsy, ill-proportioned devil of a  
 thing, commonly called the *Constitution of 1793*. Of this ridi-  
 culous instrument I shall only observe, that it was rejected  
 with every mark of contempt, even by the French themselves.  
 About the time that this constitution-work was going on, the  
 unfortunate king was brought to trial by his ten-times perjured  
 and rebellious subjects. Paine did not vote for his death; a cir-

cumstance that his friends produce as a proof of his justice and humanity, forgetting, at the same time, that they thereby brand all those who did vote for it, with injustice and barbarity. However, upon closer inquiry, we shall find little reason for distinctions between Tom and his colleagues. He voted for the king's *banishment*, the banishment of a man perfectly innocent; and it was owing merely to his being embarked with the faction of Brissot, instead of that of Danton, that he did not vote for his death. Brissot afterwards published, in the name of his whole party, the reasons why they looked on it as *good policy* not to put the king to death; on these reasons was the vote of Paine founded, and not on his humanity or his justice. The whole process of the trial of the king of France, was the most flagrant act of injustice that ever stained the annals of the world. It was well known to every one, that he was innocent of every crime laid to his charge. Had Paine been a just and humane man, he would have stood up boldly in the defence of innocence, in place of sheltering himself under a vote for *banishment*. Banishment! Great God! Banishment on the head of the towering family of Bourbon, pronounced by a discarded English exciseman! What must have been the feelings of this forsaken prince, when he heard the word *banishment*! come from the lips of a wretch, raised to notice by the success of a revolution, of which he himself had been a principal support! I hope no such thought came athwart the mind of the unfortunate Louis; if it did, certain I am, it must have been ten million times more poignant than the pangs of death!—However Paine might find it convenient to vote upon this occasion, it is certain he did not feel much horror at the murder of the king, or he would not have remained in the service of his murderers. He was told this by his quondam friend Mr. King, in a letter sent him from England soon afterwards—  
 “ ‘ *If the French kill their king, it will be a signal for my departure; for I will not abide among such sanguinary men.* ’—  
 “ These, Mr. Paine, were your words at our last meeting; yet, after this, you are not only with them, but the chief modeller of their new constitution.”—Having introduced this correspondence here, it is a proper place for me to give the reader a striking proof of Thomas's disinterestedness. The following letter will put that disinterestedness in a very clear point of view, and may serve to remove the film from the eyes of those, who place too much confidence in the professions of our disinterested patriots.

“ Dear King; I don't know any thing these many years, that surprised and hurt me more, than the sentiments you published in the courtly Herald, the 12th December, signed John King, Egham Lodge. You have gone back from all you ever said. You used to complain of abuses as well as me,

“ and wrote your opinions on them in free terms. What then  
 “ means this sudden attachment to *Kings*? This fondness of  
 “ the English government, and hatred of the French? If you  
 “ mean to curry favour by aiding your government, you are  
 “ mistaken; *they never recompence those who serve it*; they buy  
 “ off those who can annoy it, and let the good that is rendered  
 “ it, be its own reward. Believe me, King, *more is to be ob-*  
 “ *tained by cherishing the rising spirit of the people, than by sub-*  
 “ *duing it. Follow my fortunes, and I will be answerable, that*  
 “ *you shall make your own.*

“ Paris, January 8, 1793.

THO. PAINE.”

This letter ought to be stuck upon every wall and every post in every country where the voice of the people is of any consequence. It is the creed, the *multum in parvo*, of all the pretended patriots that ever infested the earth. It is all in all; it is conclusive, and requires neither colouring nor commentary. After the death of the king of France, there was a long struggle between the faction of Brissot, to which Tom had attached himself, and that of Danton, Robespierre, and Marat. The last-named murderer was dispatched by a murderess of Brissot's faction; after which, her abettors were all guillotined, imprisoned, or proscribed. Thomas saved his life by countenancing the degradation of the Christian religion, in his “*Age of Reason*.” When Danton was solicited to spare him, on account of his talents as a writer in the cause of liberty, “*Tu ne vois pas donc, f— bête,*” replied he to the solicitor, “*que nous n'avons plus besoin de pareils fanatiques.*” \*—Cut-throat Danton was right enough. He made a calculation of Tom's head and talents, just as a farmer makes a calculation of the labour, carcase, hide, and offal of a bullock; and he found that he would fetch more living than dead. By writing against religion, he might do his cause some service, and there was little or no danger to be apprehended from him; because, being an Englishman, it was only giving him that name, and he could any time have him killed and dressed, *à la mode de Paris*, at five minutes warning.

Horrid as Paine's attack on revealed religion must appear to every one untainted with deism or atheism, the base assailant is not seen in his blackest hue, till the opinions in his “*Age of Reason*” are compared with the hypocritical, canting professions of respect for “*the Word of God*,” contained in his former writings. In his *Common Sense*, calling on the people to separate themselves from the government that had discarded him, he says, it is “*a form of government that the Word of God bears testimony against;*” and in another part of the

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\* “ You do not perceive then, you simpleton, that we no longer want fanatics of that sort.”



same work, proposing the promulgation of a new charter, he says—"that we may not appear to be defective even in earthly honours, let a day be solemnly set apart for proclaiming the charter; let it be brought forth placed on the *divine law*, the *Word of God*."—In another place, he spends whole pages in endeavouring to persuade his readers, that monarchy is disapproved of by God; and he brings his proofs from Holy Writ, concluding with these words:—"These portions of the *Holy Scriptures* are direct and positive. *They admit of no equivocal construction.*" He calls upon the people to turn out in the name of God. "Throw not," adds he, "the burthen of the day upon *Providence*, but '*show your faith by your works*,' that God may bless you. We claim brotherhood with every European *Christian*, and glory in the generosity of the sentiment." Generous and sentimental rascal! Whom do you claim brotherhood with now? Who will admit as a brother, *the wretch*, who, at one time, calls the Scriptures the *Word of God*, and quotes them as an infallible guide, and, at another, ridicules them as a *series of fictions*, contrived by artful priests to amuse, delude, and cheat mankind?

There is but too much reason to fear, that the *Age of Reason* being dedicated to the citizens of the United States, together with the uncommon pains that have been taken to propagate it; and the abuse that has been heaped upon all those who have attempted to counteract its effects, will do but little credit to the national character. *Every effort should, therefore, be exerted to convince the world, that all men of sense and worth agree in their abhorrence of the work and its malignant author.* From this persuasion, I shall give an extract from Mr. Swift's System of Laws of Connecticut:—"To prohibit," says this elegant writer, "the open, public, and explicit denial of the popular religion of a country, is a necessary measure to preserve the tranquillity of a government. Of this no person in a Christian country can complain; for, admitting him to be an infidel, he must acknowledge, that no benefit can be derived from the subversion of a religion which enforces the best system of morality, and inculcates the divine doctrine of doing justly, loving mercy, and walking humbly with God. In this view of the subject, we cannot sufficiently reprobate the baseness of Paine, in his attack on Christianity, by publishing his *Age of Reason*. While experiencing in a prison, the fruits of his visionary theories of government, he undertakes to disturb the world by his religious opinions. He has the effrontery to address to the citizens of the United States, a paltry performance, which is intended to shake their faith in the religion of their fathers; a religion which, while it inculcates the practice of moral virtue, contributes to smooth the thorny road of this life, by opening the prospect of a future and better; and all this he does, not to



make them happier, or to introduce a better religion, but to embitter their days by the cheerless and dreary visions of unbelief. *No language can describe the wickedness of the man, who will attempt to subvert a religion, which is a source of comfort and consolation to its votaries, merely for the sake of eradicating all sentiments of religion.*"

Of the many answers to Paine, no one demands so much of our praise and gratitude as Dr. Watson's "*Apology for the Bible.*" It is as much impossible for me to do justice to this *Apology*, as to express my veneration for its author.

Let us now return to the hoary blasphemer at the bottom of his dungeon. There he lies! manacled, besmeared with filth, crawling with vermin, loaded with years and infamy. This, reader, whatever you may think of him, is the author of the Rights of Man, the eulogist of French liberty. The very same man who, a few months back, boasted of being "the representative of twenty-five millions of free men." Look at him! Do you think now, in your conscience, that he has the appearance of a legislator, a civilian, a constitution maker? It is no tyrannical king, I'll assure you, who has tethered him thus. He was condemned by his colleagues, and his fetters were rivetted by his own dear constituents. Here he is, fairly caught in his own trap; a striking example for the disturbers of mankind.

After Tom got out of his dungeon, he wrote a work, intituled, the "*Decline and Fall of the British System of Finance,*" of which it is quite enough to say, that it is of equal merit with the rest of his writings. All his predictions have hitherto remained unfulfilled, and those contained in the last effort of his malice, will share the same fate. *It is extremely favourable for BRITISH BANK-NOTES, that he who doubts of their solidity, will not believe in the BIBLE.*

How Tom gets a living now, or what brothel he inhabits, I know not, nor does it much signify. He has done all the mischief he can in the world; and whether his carcase is at last to be suffered to rot on the earth, or to be dried in the air, is of very little consequence. Whenever or wherever he breathes his last, he will excite neither sorrow nor compassion; no friendly hand will close his eyes; not a groan will be uttered, not a tear will be shed. Like Judas, he will be remembered by posterity; men will learn to express all that is base, malignant, treacherous, unnatural, and blasphemous, by the single monosyllable—PAINE!

W. COBBETT.

END OF PART I.

THE  
BEAUTIES OF COBBETT:  
IN THREE PARTS.



PART THE SECOND.

THE TORCH OF TRUTH:

BEING,

- I. INSTRUCTIVE OBSERVATIONS ON THE "AGE OF REASON;"  
WITH AN INTERESTING DETAIL OF THE MOTIVES  
WHICH INDUCED MR. PAINE TO WRITE THAT WORK.
- II. A SERIES OF REFLEXIONS, EXPLANATORY OF MR.  
COBBETT'S VIEWS UPON RELIGIOUS SUBJECTS.



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# THE BEAUTIES OF COBBETT:

PART THE SECOND.

## THE TORCH OF TRUTH.

*Observations on "The Age of Reason;" with an interesting Detail of the Motives which induced Mr. PAINE to undertake that Work. By WILLIAM COBBETT. [Vol. III. p. 389.]*

THE Christian religion teaches men to forego their private interests for the sake of doing good; it is not therefore surprising, that Deists and Atheists should forego their private interests for the sake of doing mischief. Things opposite in their nature, must be expected to be opposite in their effects. Mr. Franklin Bache, of Philadelphia, has advertised for sale, a Second Part of Paine's "Age of Reason," at a low price. It is said, he has received fifteen thousand copies of this work from Paris; and it is very certain, that he sells them at a price which will hardly pay first cost and expenses. When I went to school, I remember we had for a copy, "Zeal in a good Cause, deserves Applause." If this old maxim be a true one, I would ask, what zeal in a bad cause deserves? A person to whom the parties were well known, has assured me, that poor Paine imbibed his first principles of Deism from Dr. Franklin; if so, it is possible that Mr. Franklin Bache may look upon the distribution of the "Age of Reason," as a mean of propagating his grandfather's principles; and so far some persons will defend it, as an act of filial piety, or rather filial gratitude; for, as to piety, I think we may venture to leave it out of the question. This grateful young man should, however, recollect, that a vender of poison will not be excused, merely because the compound was kneaded up, or the recipe for it given, by his ancestor. Deism cannot be well said to run in the blood.

As to the "Age of Reason" itself, it cannot be better described than by saying, that it is as stupid and despicable as its author. The wretch, Paine, has all his life been employed in leading fools astray from their duty; and, as nothing is more easy, he has often succeeded. His religion is exactly of a piece with his politics; one inculcates the right of revolting



against government, and the other that of revolting against God. Having succeeded against the Lord's anointed (I mean his *ci-devant* friend, the Most Christian King), he turned his impious arms against the Lord himself. *This process is perfectly natural*, as has been exemplified in the conduct of *others*, as well as that of Paine. How Tom came to think of exercising his clumsy, battered pen upon the Christian Religion, is what has excited a good deal of curiosity, without ever being well accounted for in this country; notwithstanding the circumstances under which a man writes, ought to be attended to in forming a judgment of his opinions, particularly if those opinions are new and extraordinary. For this reason, I shall endeavour to trace *this raggamuffin Deist* from America to his Paris dungeon, and to account for his having *laid down the dagger of insurrection*, in order to take up *the chalice of irreligion*.

Thomas, after having retailed out a good deal of very *common sense*, commonly called *nonsense*, found himself rather richer than when he began. This gave him a smack for revolutions; but finding himself sinking fast into his native mud, and pretty universally despised and neglected by the people of this country; finding, in short, that the Americans were returning to order, and feeling that his element was confusion, he crossed the Atlantic, to bask in the rays of the French revolution. The *Propagande* at Paris (that is, the society instituted for the propagation of the vile and detestable principles of *The Rights of Man*, as laid down in the famous French Constitution) fixed their jacobinical eyes on Tom, as an excellent missionary for Great Britain and Ireland. Off goes Tom, with his *Rights of Man*; which he had the abominable impudence to dedicate to General Washington! The English Jacobins stared at him at first: he went a step farther than they had ever dreamed of: his doctrines, however, grew familiar to their ears: they took him under their wing, and he made sure of another revolution. This security was his misfortune, and had nearly cost him a voyage to the South Seas.

From the *thief-catchers* in England Tom fled, and took his seat among *the thieves* of Paris. After having distinguished himself in execrating the Constitution he had written in defence of, he and two or three others set to work and made a new one, quite brand new, without a single ounce of old stuff. This crowned Tom with glory soon after, when it was unanimously accepted by the rich, free, generous, and *humane* French nation! This may be looked upon as the happiest part of Tom's life. He had enjoyed partial revolts before, had seen doors and windows broken in, and had probably partaken of the pillage of some aristocratic stores and dwelling-houses; but, to live in a continual state of insurrection, "sacred, holy, or-



ganized insurrection;" to sit seven days in the week issuing decrees for plunder, proscription, and massacre, was a luxurious life indeed! It was, however, a short life and a merry one: it lasted but five months. The tender-hearted, philanthropic murderer, Brissot, and his faction, fell from the pinnacle of their glory: poor Tom's wares got out of vogue, and his carcase got into a dungeon. This was a dreadful reverse for old Common Sense. To be hurled, all in a moment, from the tip-top of the *Mountain of the Grande Convention Nationale*, down to the very bottom of a stinking dungeon, was enough to give a shock to his poor unsteady brain. But this was not all: he knew well that the national razor was at work, and had every reason to suppose that his days were numbered. He lay extended on the dirt, like a sheep or a calf in a slaughter-house, expecting every moment that the butcher would come for him. How Thomas came to escape, is something that will probably remain in a mystery. It was said that Danton, the new chief tyrant, spared his life at the request of certain Americans; but this is improbable. The fact is, I believe, Danton and his party despised Tom too much, to run any risk of disobliging their friends in Great Britain and America, by taking away his worthless life. Be the motive what it might, he was kept in his cage; and there he wrote the First Part of his "*Age of Reason*."

Now to the MOTIVE that led Paine to the composition of *this blasphemous work*, which was no other than that of saving his *ugly uncombed head* from the guillotine.—The reader will recollect, that it was under the reign of Danton that the Christian Religion was abolished by a decree. A few days before Tom's imprisonment, the famous Festival of Reason was held. A *common strumpet* was dressed up as the *Goddess of Reason*,\* seated on a throne of turf, and, while incense was burnt before her altar at some little distance, the idolatrous populace, with the Convention at their head, prostrated themselves before her. In short, Danton and Robespierre were incessantly occupied in extirpating the small remains of Christianity from the minds of the poor brutified and enslaved French. *It was a necessary preparation* to the bloody work they intended they should execute. Citizen Common Sense knew this, and therefore it was not wonderful that he should attempt to soften his lot, and prolong, perhaps, his miserable days by something from his pen, calculated at once to flatter their vanity and further their execrable views. Thomas had long railed against the baseness of courtiers; but when the moment of trial came, he was found as base as the basest. The high-minded repub-

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\* She was guillotined soon after!!

lican Paine, who had set lords and kings at defiance, was glad to bend the knee before a vile, low-bred, French pettifogger. He descended to make use of the very phrases that the new tyrants had introduced. The Goddess was called Reason; the church which was profaned by her worship, was called the Temple of Reason; and the inscription on the banners carried at the festival was, "The Age of Reason" (*La Siècle de la Raison*), the very title of Tom's book. Base adulation! adulation not to be excused even by the situation in which he was! The old French clergy, with the daggers at their breast, scorned to purchase life at such a price.

I would by no means be understood as believing that Paine's book was a desertion of his principles; for he had been corrupted years before. It is the disgraceful motive for publishing his creed that I am exposing. That it was done to make his court to the tyrants of the day, cannot be doubted; for in all his former works, if he has occasion to speak of the Christian religion, he does it in decent, if not respectful language. In his *Rights of Man*, for instance, he extols toleration, and observes, that *all religions are good*; but as soon as he had got into his new-fashioned study, a dungeon, he discovered that *they were all bad*, or, at least, the Christian Religion.

It will be said, by Tom's Deistical friends, that the *Second Part* of the "Age of Reason" was written after his release-ment, and at a time when he was in no danger. Very true; but the die was cast! The *First Part* was out, and there was no recalling it. He had openly attacked both heaven and earth—he could do no more. One essay at *Blasphemy* was as good as a thousand, for establishing his new pretensions to infamy; but Thomas had now something else to attend to, besides his reputation; I mean *his belly*. The usual means of subsistence had failed; he was no longer a *great* representative of a *great* and *free* people. The handful of assignats he received daily, were gone to some more staunch patriot, and the old *Rights of Man* was left to dine where he could. As to political drugs, Thomas's were grown out of vogue in France; his "Constitution" was declared to be the *most stupid performance that ever issued from a sick brain*, and its author fell into discredit as rapidly as he had risen to fame. *Insurrection, Revolution, Constitution*—a knowledge in all these seems to be a necessary qualification in a professor of the *Rights of Man*. Tom Paine understood the *first* perfectly well; he had a smattering of the *second*; but as to the *third*, he was totally ignorant.

Among thousands of others, Paine experienced the sudden change in the opinions of the volatile Parisians: from being a sort of demigod, he was become the most degraded thing in nature; a poor, half-starved, despised pretender to renown.

Besides, the Constitution that was now coming into play, with a Council of Youngsters, and a Council of Elders, and five Kings, elected by people of some property, or, at least, some qualification, was what Tom never could defend with his right of *universal suffrage* and *continual insurrection*; and, for once, he had the prudence to hold his tongue. Tom's fate in France was nearly what it had been in America; when it was no longer necessary to employ him, he sunk into neglect. Happy if he could have ceased eating when his insurrection talents became useless; but as he could not, he must continue to write; and as he was in a country where he was permitted to revile none but the Almighty, the Almighty he reviled. The *present of poison* he has sent to his "fellow-citizens" of America, is not therefore so much the work of choice as of necessity. The *Second Part* of the "Age of Reason" he wrote for a living, and the *First Part* he wrote for his life.

Those who prefer a few years of life to every thing else, may find an excuse for this degraded man. It is impossible for any of us to say, how we should act at the foot of the guillotine. But what shall be said of those, who, pressed by neither danger nor want, *make uncommon exertions to spread his infamous performance among the ignorant part of their countrymen, and thereby sow in their minds the seeds of vice, inquietude, and despair?* Deists may find some apology for doing this; but who will dare to become the apologist of those booksellers, who, professors of the Christian Religion, throw out this bait of blasphemy to catch unwary comers, and, smiling at their simplicity, pocket the dirty pence? Such men (and they are but too numerous) are like the Hollander on the coast of Japan, who, to outstrip others in trade with the natives, tramples on the cross of his Saviour. I know a printer and bookseller, who has taken for his sign the picture of "*The Blasphemer Paine*." This, undoubtedly, is to inform the *amateurs* of insurrection and infidelity, that they may be supplied within. It is no more than fair to impute this intention to him who hangs out such a sign. When Katterfelto placed the picture of the Devil over his door, it was to inform people, that Hell was to be seen in the house.\*

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\* How different from the conduct of Katterfelto was that of the excellent man, whose "BEAUTIES" are here presented to the world! When Mr. Cobbett, in the year 1801, opened a bookseller's shop in Pall-mall, he placed over his door the sign of the Bible, the Crown, and the Mitre!!



We cannot close these Observations on the "Age of Reason" better than by extracting from Mr. Cobbett's Works the following

## EPITAPH ON TOM PAINE.

BY WILLIAM COBBETT.

WHEN the wight who here lies beneath the cold earth,  
 First quitted the land that had given him birth,  
 He commenc'd the apostle of bloodshed and strife,  
 And practis'd the trade to the end of his life.  
 Sedition and nonsense and lies to dispense,  
 He took up the title of "*Old Common Sense*;"  
 Taught poor honest men how rich rogues to keep under,  
 Excited to pillage, and shar'd in the plunder;  
 But when there no longer was plunder to share,  
 His "*Common Sense*" led him to seek it elsewhere.  
 To his countrymen now he return'd back again,  
 The wronger of rights, and the *righter of men*:  
 He told them they still were a nation of slaves,  
 That their king was a fool, and his ministers knaves;  
 And the only sure way for the people to thrive,  
 Was to leave neither one nor the other alive.  
 But Thomas, who never knew when he should stop,  
 Went a little too far, and was catch'd on the hop.  
 In short, 'twas determin'd that poor Tom should lose  
 His ears at a post, or his life in a noose.  
 "*Old Common Sense*" hoggles, then skulks out of sight,  
 Then packs up his rags and decamps in the night.  
 His arrival at Paris occasions a fête,  
 And he finds, in the den of assassins, a seat.  
 Here he murders, and thieves, and makes laws for a season;  
 Is cramn'd in a dungeon, and preaches up—"Reason;"  
 Blasphemes the Almighty, lives in filth like a hog,  
 Is abandon'd in death, and interr'd like a dog.  
 Tom Paine for the devil is surely a match;  
 In quitting Old England he cheated Jack Catch!  
 In France (the first time such a thing had been seen),  
 He cheated the watchful and sharp guillotine;  
 And at last, to the sorrow of all the beholders,  
 He march'd out of life with his head on his shoulders.

[Vol. III. p. 396.]



# SELECT REFLEXIONS AND MAXIMS,

## EXPLANATORY OF MR. COBBETT'S VIEWS UPON RELIGIOUS SUBJECTS.

1. *Deists and Atheists*—I HAVE at all times repelled the attacks of the enemies of the Christian Religion, the abominable battalions of Deists and Atheists, with all my heart, with all my mind, with all my soul, and with all my strength. The bitterest drop of my pen has ever been bestowed on them; because, of all the foes of the human race, I look upon them, *after the devil*, as being the greatest and most dreadful. All those who have attempted to degrade religion, whether by open insults and cruelties to the clergy, by *blasphemous publications*, or by the more dangerous poison of the malignant modern philosophy, I have ranked among *the most infamous of mankind*.—*Vol. 7, p. 362.*

2. *Christianity*.—Christianity is part of the law of the land. To deride and blaspheme it, is punishable by the common law. It is the duty of all magistrates to make the law in this respect known, and to see it executed.—*Vol. 7, p. 365.*

3. *Libels against Religion*.—Libels against religion are more heinous in their nature, as well as more destructive in their consequences, than any that can be published against men.—*Vol. 7, p. 362.*

4. The inevitable tendency of Libels against Religion is, to corrupt the young, mislead the ignorant, abash the timid, degrade the priesthood, and, finally, to subvert and destroy, root and branch, the Christian Religion and all its inestimable blessings.—*Vol. 7, p. 365.*

5. *Divine Providence*.—The French Revolution began that chastisement, which the Ruler of Nations has justly inflicted, and is still inflicting, on a degenerate and impious world. In their inquiries respecting the causes of national calamities, writers are too apt to leave Divine Providence out of the question, as a something fit only for the contemplation of the vulgar and illiterate; and if we may judge from the life and conversation of too many statesmen of the present day, they have forgotten that it is "righteousness that exalteth a nation." The awful experience of the last ten years ought, however, to awaken them from their atheistical reverie.—*Vol. 1, p. 97.*

6. *The Divinity of Christ*.—Can a man who denies the Divinity of Christ, and that he died to save sinners, have any pretensions to the name of Christian? *Vol. 1, p. 153.*

7. *Revelation*.—Suppose the shackles of Revelation and

tradition both completely shaken off, and the Infidel system established in their stead, what good would the country derive from it? That is certainly worth enquiry; because a thing that will do no good, can be good for nothing.—*Vol. 1, p. 181.*

8. *Blessed Effects of the Gospel.*—The people are, in general, industrious, sober, honest, humane, charitable, and sincere; dutiful children, and tender parents. This is the character of the people, and who will pretend to say that the Gospel, the belief of which has chiefly contributed to their acquiring of this amiable character, ought to be exchanged for Atheistical or Deistical doctrines? For my part, I can see nothing to induce us to try the experiment. We know *the truth* already: we want no improvement in religious knowledge: all we want is, *to practise better what we know.*—*Vol. 1, p. 181.*

9. *Atheism.*—A celebrated Deist says, that there can be no such thing as an Atheist. "For," says he, "every one must necessarily believe that some cause or other produced the universe; he may call that cause what he pleases, God, nature, or even chance; still he believes in the efficacy of that cause, and therefore is no Atheist."—*Vol. 1, p. 184.*

10. *Deism.*—Deism is but another name for Atheism, whether we consider it in theory or in practice. That we should not be bettered by the introduction of Deism or Atheism, I think is a clear case.—*Vol. 1, p. 185.*

11. *The Fear of the Lord.*—"The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom." While this fear existed in France, there was some kind of manners, some kind of justice left; but ever since the deluded people have been taught that Jesus Christ was an infamous impostor, the whole infernal legion seems to be let loose amongst them, and the nation appears marked out for a dreadful example to mankind: indeed, some such example was necessary to cure the world of the Infidel philosophy of Voltaire, Rousseau, Gibbon, and the rest of that enlightened tribe.—*Vol. 1, p. 185.*

12. *Blasphemy.*—A writer, in giving a list of eminent persons who have arisen on the democratic floor, concludes with Marat, St. Paul, and Jesus Christ. Is it not a most horrid blasphemy, to put the Son of God, the Prince of Peace, on a footing with the bloody author of the massacres at Paris? I hope and believe, that such blasphemers are rare; and the only way to keep them so is, for the people to reject, unanimously, every attempt to debase Christianity, in whatever shape and under whatever disguise it may appear.—*Vol. 1, p. 185.*

13. *Utility of a Church Establishment.*—The want of a Church Establishment is one of the greatest evils of the American system. It is a defect which the government feels most severely, and which will, much more than any other cause, retard the national unity and happiness of the people.—*Vol. 2, p. 433.*

14. *Church of England Characterised.*—Convinced, as I am, from the experience of America, as well as from history in general, that an Established Church is absolutely necessary to the existence of religion and morality: convinced also, that the Church of England, while she is an ornament, an honour, and a blessing to the nation, is the principal pillar of the Throne, I trust, I never shall be base enough to decline a combat with her enemies, whether they approach me in the lank locks of the Sectary, or the scald cap of the Jacobin.

15. *The Trinity.*—If the reader looks over the first and second chapters of the Gospel according to Saint Matthew, he will see every thing that is necessary to confirm him in the doctrine of the Atonement, the Incarnation, and the Trinity.—*Vol. 1, p. 212.*

16. *The Test Act.*—What can there be in the Test Act that makes the Dissenters so unhappy? Why, it prevents them from obtaining—not the kingdom of Heaven, but lucrative employments. Is it not amazing, that people who are so very godly, that they cannot conform to the established religion of the country, should trouble themselves about places and pensions? They are continually telling us that their kingdom is not of this world, and yet they want to reign. I think, however, it would be right to grant them what Helvetius was willing to grant the priests—every thing *above* the tops of the houses.—*Vol. 1, p. 206.*

17. *The Methodist.*—The ranting, canting Methodist, is sometimes a well-meaning madman. He now and then, indeed, makes use of the cloak of religion for the purpose of fraud or seduction; but, nine times out of ten, he has no other object in view than that of obtaining an easy comfortable living; without manual labour.—*Vol. 1, p. 97.*

18. *Immortality of the Soul.*—A set of impious wretches have declared Christianity to be a farce, and its founder an infamous impostor, and have represented the doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul as a mere cheat. There is but too much reason to fear, that many of those whose duty it is to resist this pernicious doctrine, are among the first to espouse it; but

“Those whose impious hands are join’d  
From Heav’n the thunder-bolt to wrest,  
Shall, when their crimes are finish’d, find,  
That Death is *not* eternal rest.”—*Vol. 2, p. 142.*

19. *The Whore of Babylon.*—Let any man read the Revelations, and see if France is not the real Whore of Babylon. “I saw a woman sit upon a beast full of names of blasphemy: she had a cup in her hand full of abominations, &c.” Let no one pretend that Rome is pointed out by the scarlet whore; it is France scarlet with blood.—*Vol. 2, p. 148.*



20. *Oath of an Infidel.*—As to Oaths upon the Holy Evangelists, what power can they have upon the conscience of a man whose Creed declares the Bible to be a lie?—*Vol. 2, p. 434.*

21. *Fanatic.*—Fanatic is the name now given to all who remain attached to the Christian Religion — *Vol. 3, p. 107.*

22. *Fanaticism of Irreligion.*—There is a sort of Fanaticism in Irreligion, that leads the profligate Atheist to seek for proselytes with a zeal that would do honour to a good cause, but which, employed in a bad one, becomes the scourge of society. — *Vol. 1, p. 172.*

23. *Character of Rousseau.*—Rousseau was a thief, a whore-master, an adulterer, a treacherous friend, an unnatural father, and twice an apostate. There wants only about a hundred massacres to make him equal to Marat, whom we have seen compared to Jesus Christ. This vile wretch has the impudence to say, that no man can come to the throne of God and say, "I am a better man than Rousseau!" — *Vol. 3, p. 176.*

24. *Rousseau's Writings.*—Rousseau has exhausted all the powers of his reasoning, and all the charms of eloquence, in the cause of anarchy and irreligion: and his writings are so much the more dangerous, as he winds himself into favour, by an eternal cant about *Virtue and Liberty*. He seems to have assumed the mask of virtue for no other purpose than that of propagating, with more certain success, the blackest and most incorrigible vice. — *Vol. 3, p. 176.*

25. *Robbery and Murder.*—Robbery and murder are the natural auxiliaries of each other; and, with a people rendered ferocious and hardened by an *infidel system*, that removes all fear of an *hereafter*, they must for ever be inseparable. — *Vol. 3, p. 188.*

26. *Conscience.*—Conscience is a troublesome guest to the villain who yet believes in an *hereafter*. — *Vol. 2, p. 124.*

27. *Duty towards our Creditors.*—Study no tricks or schemes to defraud any person, *your creditors in particular*. If you cannot answer their demands so soon as you and they wish, let them see that you mean honestly. — *Vol. 1, p. 52.*

28. *Infidel Writers.*—The earl of Exeter has expunged from his library, and burnt the works of Voltaire, Rousseau, Bolingbroke, Raynal, Volney, and the French Encyclopedia. I wish every body would imitate this worthy nobleman. These are the books that have produced the mischief which now threatens to overturn the world. — *Vol. 9, p. 204.*

29. *Godwin's Political Justice, and Volney's Ruins.*—How alarming must it be, to all true friends of religion and morality, to see "Godwin's Political Justice," and "Volney's Ruins," in the hands of youth! In a country where this is frequent, no public happiness can be of long duration; no government founded on principles of freedom, can long exist. Universal

licentiousness must ensue; anarchy must follow it, and despotism must close this horrid career. This progress is inevitable.—*Vol. 9, p. 205.*

30. *Infidelity.*—Infidelity is generally the fruit of ignorance, and nothing is so likely to stop its progress as giving proofs of the faith of those great luminaries, to whom men in general look up for instruction in the various branches of knowledge.—*Vol. 11, p. 4.*

31.—It was such works as “Common Sense,” and the “Rights of Man,” which prepared the minds of the ignorant for the reception of that daring and blasphemous publication, “The Age of Reason.”—*Vol. 11, p. 5.*

32.—It is a just and wise sentence, the fulfilment of which, every nation on earth, has at some time or other experienced—that the licentious, the immoral, and the irreligious *never shall be free.*—*Vol. 9, p. 205.*

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### AN INSTRUCTIVE ESSAY ON THE LICENTIOUS POLITICS AND INFIDEL PHILOSOPHY OF THE PRESENT DAY. BY WILLIAM COBBETT.

33. The first National Assembly of France had hardly assumed that title, when they discovered an intention of overturning the government, which had been called together, and which their constituents had enjoined them to support, and of levelling all ranks and distinctions among the different orders in the community. To this they were not led by their love of liberty and desire of seeing their country happy; but by envy, cursed envy, that will never let the fiery demagogue sleep in peace, while he sees a greater or richer than himself.

34. This task of destruction was, however, an arduous one. To tear the complicated work of fourteen centuries to pieces at once, to render honours dishonourable, and turn reverential awe into contempt and mockery, was not to be accomplished but by extraordinary means. It was evident that property must change hands, that the best blood of the nation must flow in torrents, or the project must fail. The Assembly, to arm the multitude on their side, broached the popular doctrine of *equality*. It was a necessary part of the plan of these reformers to seduce the people to their support; and such was the credulity of the unfortunate French, that they soon began to look on them as the oracles of virtue and wisdom, and believed themselves raised, by one short sentence issued by these ambitious impostors, from the state of subjects to that of sovereigns.

35. It was now that the Sovereign People, entering on their reign, first took the famous plundering motto: “War to the gentlemen’s houses and peace to the cottage;” or, in other words, “War to all those who have any thing to lose.” This

motto is extremely comprehensive; it includes *the whole doctrine of equality*. It was not a vain declaration in France; but was put in practice. To be rich, or of a good family became a crime, which was often expiated by the loss of life.

36. Let this, Britons, be a lesson to you: throw from you the doctrine of equality as you would the poisoned chalice. Wherever this detestable principle gains ground to any extent, ruin must inevitably ensue. Would you stifle the noble flame of emulation, and encourage ignorance and idleness? Would you inculcate defiance of the laws? Would you teach servants to be disobedient to their masters, and children to their parents? Would you sow the seeds of envy, hatred, robbery, and murder? Would you break all the bands of society asunder, and turn a civilized people into a horde of savages? This is all done by the comprehensive word *equality*!

37. The civil disorganization of the state was but the forerunner of those curses which the Assembly had in store for their devoted country. They plainly perceived that they never should be able to brutify the people to their wishes without removing the formidable barriers of Religion and Morality. Their heads were turned, but it was necessary to corrupt their hearts.

38. Besides this, the leaders in the Assembly were professed Atheists or Deists. Camus and Condorcet openly taught Atheism, and Cerutti said, with his last breath, "The only regret that I have in quitting this world, is, I leave a religion on earth." These words, the blasphemy of an expiring demon, were applauded by the assembled legislators. It was not to be wondered at, that the vanity of such men should be flattered in the hope of changing the most Christian country into the most infidel upon the face of the earth; for there is a sort of fanaticism in irreligion, that leads the profligate Atheist to seek for proselytes with a zeal that would do honour to a good cause, but which employed in a bad one, becomes the scourge of society.

39. The zeal of these philosophers for extirpating the truth was as great at least as that shown by the primitive Christians for its propagation. But they proceeded in a very different manner. The press lent most powerful aid to these destructive reformers. While the Catholic religion was ridiculed and abused, no other Christian system was proposed in its stead; on the contrary, the profligate wretches who conducted the public prints, filled one-half of their impious sheets with whatever could be thought of to degrade all religion in general. The ministers of divine worship, of every sect and denomination, were represented as cheats.

40. Having thus prepared the public mind, the Assembly made a bold attack on the Church. They discovered, by the



light of philosophy, that France contained too many churches, and of course, too many pastors. Great part of them were therefore to be suppressed, and, to make the innovation go down with the people, all tithes were to be abolished. The measures succeeded; but what did the people gain by the abolition of the tithes? Not a farthing! For a tax of twenty per cent was immediately laid on the lands in consequence of it. The cheat was not perceived till it was too late.

41. To obtain the sanction of the people to this act, they were told, that the wealth of the church would not only pay off the national debt, but render taxes in future unnecessary. No deception was ever so bare-faced as this; but even this was not wanted; for the people themselves had already begun to taste the sweets of plunder.

42. Since that, we have seen decree upon decree launched forth against the rich: their account-books have been submitted to public examination; they have been obliged to give drafts for the funds they possessed, even in foreign countries; all their letters have been intercepted and read. How many hundreds of them have we seen led to the scaffold, merely because they were proprietors of what their sovereign stood in need of!

43. I have dwelt the longer on this subject, as it is, perhaps, the most striking and most awful example of the consequences of a violation of property, that the world ever saw. Let it serve to warn all those who wish to raise their fortunes on the ruin of others, that sooner or later their own turn must come.

44. There is such an intimate connexion between the security of property, and that of the person to whom that property belongs, that one can never be said to be safe, while the other is in danger. Tyrant princes, tyrant assemblies, or tyrant mobs, when once suffered to take away with impunity the property of the innocent man, will feel little scruple at taking away his life also.

45. It must be considered, that these legislators did not want for cunning. Their calculations, with respect to their new priests, were extremely just; they came out to an unit. When they had annihilated their predecessors, they were not only ready to second the decrees for the abolition of Christianity altogether; they were not only instrumental therein, but they had led the way. Several began to teach the Religion of *Reason* in the Jacobin clubs, and even in the pulpit.

46. Gobel, the new bishop of Paris, with his grand vicars, and three other revolutionary bishops, came to the hall of the legislators, and there abdicated Christianity in form. They begged pardon of the injured nation, for having so long kept them in the dark, by duping them into a belief of the divinity of an *Impostor*, whose religion they now threw off with abhorrence, resolved in future to acknowledge no other deity than *Reason* alone.

47. It was not more than four days after this, that a Pagan festival was held in the cathedral church of Paris. A woman, named Momoro, the strumpet of the vile Hebert, was dressed up as the Goddess of Reason. Her throne was of green turf; an altar was erected at some distance, on which the priests burnt incense, while the legislators and the brutified Parisian herd were prostrated before the throne of the Goddess Reason.

48. About this epoch appeared the Paganish republican Calendar, with a decree ordering its adoption. This was intended to root from the poor tyrannized people the very memory of religion, to dry up the only source of comfort they had left. They had been robbed of all they possessed in this world, and their inexorable tyrants wished to rob them of every hope in the next.

49. The whole history of the revolution presents us with nothing but a regular progress in robbery and murder. The first Assembly, for instance, begin by flattering the mob, wheedling their king out of his title and his power; they then set him at defiance, proscribe or put to death his friends, and then shut him up in his palace, as a wild beast in a cage. The second Assembly send a gang of ruffians to insult and revile him, and then they hurl him from his throne. The third Assembly cut his throat. What is there in all this but a regular and natural progression from bad to worse?

50. Now, what is the advantage we ought to derive from the example before us? It ought to produce in us a watchfulness, and a steady resolution to oppose the advances of disorganizing and infidel principles. I am aware that it will be said by some, that all fear of the progress of these principles is imaginary; but constant observation assures me that it is but too well founded.

51. Let us, then, be upon our guard: let us look to *the characters and actions* of men, and not to their professions: let us attach ourselves to things, and not to words; to sense, and not to sound. Shall we say that these things never can take place among us? Because we have hitherto preserved the character of a pacific, humane people, shall we set danger at defiance? Is there, can there be, a faction so cruel, so bloody-minded, as to wish to see these scenes repeated in Old England?

#### PRAYER.

*If there be such a faction, Great God! do thou mete to them ten-fold the measure they would mete to others: inflict on them every curse, of which human nature is susceptible: hurl on them thy reddest thunder bolts: sweep the sanguinary race from the face of the creation!*

W. COBBETT.

Vol. 2, p. 132.

#### END OF PART II.

THE  
BEAUTIES OF COBBETT:  
IN THREE PARTS.



*PART THE THIRD.*

**POLITICS FOR THE PEOPLE:**

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### 1. *Introductory Reflexions.*

HAVING in America witnessed the fatal effects of revolution; having seen piety give place to a contempt of religion, plain-dealing exchanged for shuffling and fraud, universal confidence for universal suspicion and distrust; having seen a country, once the seat of peace and good neighbourhood, torn to pieces by faction, plunged, by intriguing demagogues, into never-ceasing hatred and strife; having seen the crime of rebellion against Monarchy punished by the tormenting, the degrading curse of Republicanism, it is with the utmost indignation that I find many of those, who have *the Press* at their command, endeavouring to bring down on my native country the very same species of calamity and disgrace.

2. Notwithstanding the example of America, and the more dreadful example of France, I find the emissaries of the republican faction still preaching fanaticism and infidelity, still bawling for that change which they have the audacity to denominate *Reform*, still exerting all their nefarious ingenuity in sapping the foundation of the Church and the Throne. *For me*, who have seen acts passed by a republican legislature, more fraudulent than forgery or coining; *for me*, who have seen republican officers of state offering their country for sale for a few thousands of dollars; *for me*, who have seen republican judges become felons, and felons become republican judges; *for me*, to fold my hands and tamely listen to the insolent eulogists of republican governments and rulers, would be a shameful abandonment of principle, a dastardly desertion of duty.

3. The subjects of a British king, like the sons of every provident and tender father, never know his value till they feel the want of his protection.

4. In the days of youth and of ignorance, I was led to believe, that comfort, freedom, and virtue, were exclusively the lot of Republicans. A very short trial convinced me of my error, admonished me to repent of my folly, and urged me to compensate for the injustice of the opinions I had conceived.

5. Once more under the safeguard of that Sovereign, who watched over me in my infancy, I feel an irresistible desire to communicate to my countrymen the fruit of my experience; to show them the injurious and degrading consequences of Discontentment, Disloyalty, and Innovation; to convince them, that they are the freest, as well as happiest, of the human race; and, *above all*, to warn them against the arts of those *ambitious and perfidious demagogues*, who would willingly reduce them to a level with the cheated slaves, in the bearing of whose yoke, I have had the mortification to share.

6. *Public Men.*—When a man makes his opinions public, when he once attempts to make converts, whether it be in religion, politics, or any thing else; his opinions, his principles, his motives, every action of his life, public or private, become the fair subject of public discussion.—*Vol. 1, p. 152.*

7. *Public Writers.*—Writing, particularly writing for the press, is a deliberate act. When a person sits down to write, his mind must be in some sort composed; time is necessary for the arrangement of his ideas; what he has written must be examined with care; he augments, curtails, corrects, and improves. All this naturally implies the most mature reflexion, and makes an assertion or an opinion in print be justly regarded as irrevocable.—*Vol. 2, p. 30.*

8. *Consistency.*—People should always endeavour to be consistent,—at least *when interest does not interfere.*—*Vol. 1, p. 181.*

9. *Political Reformers.*—The bulk of Political Reformers is always composed of needy, discontented men, too indolent or impatient to advance themselves by fair and honest means, and too ambitious to remain quiet in obscurity.—*Vol. 1, p. 116.*

10. *Mobs.*—When that many-headed monster, a Mob, is once roused and put in motion, who can stop its destructive progress?—*Vol. 1, p. 155.*

11. *Modern Philosopher.*—Woe to the wretch that is exposed to the benedictions of a modern philosopher! His “*dextre vengresse*” is ten thousand times more to be feared, than the bloody poignard of the assassin: the latter is drawn on individuals only, the other is pointed at the human race.—*Vol. 1, p. 158.*

12. *Modern Patriotism.*—How often have I observed, that disappointment and refusal of favours asked from government,

are the great sources of what is now-a-days called Patriotism.—*Vol. 4, p. 84.*

13. *Liberty*.—Take care how you confound terms. Liberty according to the Democratic dictionary, does not mean freedom from oppression; it is a very comprehensive term, signifying, among other things, slavery, robbery, murder, and blasphemy.—*Vol. 2, p. 16.*

14. *Jack Straws*.—When the hour of discomfiture comes, your Jack Straws leave you in the lurch.—*Vol. 2, p. 25.*

15. *Liberty Bawlers*.—The ladies, all the world over, from long experience, are too well convinced of the truth of Goldsmith's maxim: "A man who is eternally vociferating liberty! liberty! is generally in his own family, a most cruel and inhuman tyrant."—*Vol. 2, p. 29.*

16. *System Mongers*.—System mongers are an unreasonable species of mortals: time, place, climate, nature itself, must give way. They must have the same government in every quarter of the globe; when perhaps there are not two countries which can possibly admit of the same form of government at the same time.—*Vol. 1, p. 172.*

17. *Citizen of the World*.—The fate of Thomas Paine is a good hint to those who change countries every time they cross the sea. A man of all countries is a man of no country: and, let all those Citizens of the World remember, that he who has been a *bad subject* in his own country, though from some latent motive he may be well received in another, will never be either *trusted* or *respected*.—*Vol. 1, p. 169.*

18. *Liberty and Equality*.—I thought that Liberty and Equality, the Rights of Man, and *all that kind of political cant*, had long been proved to be *the grossest imposition*. "Liberty," says Barrere, "is a privileged and general creditor; not only has she a right to our property and persons, but to our talents and courage, and even to our thoughts." Oh, liberty! what a metamorphosis hast thou undergone in the hands of *political jugglers*! If this be liberty, may God, in his mercy, continue me the most abject slave!—*Vol. 1, p. 179.*

19. *Equality*.—Perfect equality, as to property, can never take place, even in the most popular governments: could it be brought about to-day, a thousand things, which nothing but Omniscience could effect, would be necessary to continue it for a year, consistently with the natural rights and liberties of mankind, under any form of government which allowed any such thing as private property.—*Vol. 1, p. 54.*

20. *Innovation*.—Some trifling innovation always paves the way to the subversion of a government. The axe in the forest humbly besought a little piece of wood to make it a handle: the forest, consisting of so many stately trees, could not, without manifest cruelty, refuse the "humble" request; but the



handle once granted, the before contemptible tool began to lay about it with so much violence, that in a little time not a tree, not even a shrub, was left standing.—*Vol. 1, p. 170.*

21. *Mobs*.—Mobs and conventions are Devils. Good men love law and legal measures. Knaves only fear law, and try to destroy it.—*Vol. 1, p. 63.*

22. *Mob Leaders*.—Give me any thing but mobs; for mobs are the devil in his worst shape. I would shoot the leader of a mob, sooner than a midnight ruffian.—*Vol. 1, p. 63.*

23. *Rebellion*.—Mobs rebel against laws of their own: and rebellion is a crime which admits of no palliation.—*Vol. 1, p. 63.*

24. *Mania Reformationis—Its Progress and Cure*.—We are told, that there is, or ought to be, about every human body, a certain part called the *crumena*, upon which depends the whole economy of the intestines. When the *crumena* is full, the intestines are in a correspondent state; and then the body is inclined to repose, and the mind to peace and good neighbourhood; but when the *crumena* [purse] becomes empty, the sympathetic intestines are immediately contracted, and the whole internal state of the patient is thrown into insurrection and uproar, which, communicating itself to the brain, produces what a learned state physician calls the *Mania Reformationis*; and if this malady is not stopped at once, by the help of an *hempen necklace*, or some other remedy equally efficacious, it never fails to break out into Atheism, Robbery, Unitarianism, Swindling, Jacobinism, massacres, civic feasts and insurrections.—*Vol. 2, p. 8.*

25. *False Pretenders*.—Do not let us be deceived by False Pretenders.—*Vol. 1, p. 183.*

26. *Severity of the Laws*.—Reader, while you live, suspect those tender hearted fellows who shudder at the name of the gallows. When you hear a man loud against the severity of the laws, set him down for a rogue!—*Vol. 4, p. 89.*

27. *Democrats*.—It is not the form of government; it is not the manner of its administration; it is the thing itself that the Democrats are at war with: for government implies order, and order and anarchy can never agree.—*Vol. 2, p. 34.*

28. *Revenge*.—There is hardly any thing too gross for an appetite whetted by revenge.—*Vol. 2, p. 53.*

29. *Views of Reformers*.—The same visionary delusion seems to have pervaded all Reformers in all ages. They do not consider what can be done, but what they think ought to be done. They have no calculating principle to discover whether a reform will cost them more than it is worth, or not. They do not sit down to count the cost; but the object being, as they think, desirable, the means are totally disregarded. If the first French Reformers had counted the cost, I do not think they were villains or idiots enough to have pursued their plan as they did.

Do these people calculate? Certainly not. They will not take man as they find him, and govern him upon principles established by experience: they will have him to be "a faultless monster that the world ne'er saw," and wish to govern him according to a system that never was, and never can be brought into practice.—*Vol. 1, p. 169.*

30. *Demagogues.*—What court sycophants are to a prince, Demagogues are to a people; and the latter kind of parasites is by no means less dangerous than the former; perhaps more so, as being more ambitious and more numerous.—*Vol. 1, p. 195.*

31. *A Whig described.*—Whigs, or Republicans (for they are essentially the same, and only vary their denomination to suit times and circumstances), are as eager to make proselytes as the worst species of fanatics, and are actuated by a motive infinitely more base and wicked. The object of the Whig is, to destroy every thing that is great and noble; to eradicate from the human breast every generous propensity. Envy is his ruling passion. He is never at his heart's-ease, while he sees a greater than himself; and, as he is generally very little, his life is a continual warfare against rank and authority.—*Vol. 1, p. 97.*

32. *Universal Suffrage.*—Universal Suffrage is the master-wheel in the machine of reformation, as it transfers the power from the hands of the rich into the hands of the poor; all government mechanics do therefore make it a principal object of their attention.—*Vol. 2, p. 102.*

33. *Reformers.*—The waking dreams of the Reformers would be of no more consequence than those of the night, were they not generally pursued with an unjustifiable degree of obstinacy, and intrigue, and even villany; and did they not, being always adapted to flatter and inflame the lower orders of the people, often baffle every effort of legal power. Thus it happened in England, in the reign of Charles the First; and thus has it been ever since.—*Vol. 1, p. 170.*

34. *Newspapers.*—The Newspapers of this country have become its scourge. It is said, that they enlighten the people, but their light is like the torch of an incendiary, and the one has the same destructive effects on the mind, as the other has on nature. The whole study of the editors seems to be to deceive and confound. One would almost think they were hired by some malicious demon, to turn the brains and corrupt the hearts of their readers.—*Vol. 3, p. 223.*

35. *Sham Patriots.*—These pretended patriots, these advocates for Liberty, would, if they had become masters, have been a divan of cruel and savage tyrants. They know nothing of liberty but the name, and they make use of that name, merely to have the power of abolishing the thing.—*Vol. 4, p. 21.*

36. *Champions for Liberty.*—"I have known many of these

bold Champions for Liberty in my time," says the good old Vicar of Wakefield, "yet do I not remember one who was not, in his heart and in his family, a tyrant." I request the Reader to look around among his acquaintance, and see if this observation does not every where hold good; see if there be one among the yelping kennel of modern patriots, who is not a bad husband, father, brother, or son.—*Vol. 4, p. 87.*

37. *Parliamentary Reform.*—That a Parliamentary Reform was the handle by which the English revolutionists intended to effect the destruction of the constitution, needs not to be insisted on. Is it not notorious, that changing the forms of government, and destroying the distinctions in society, has introduced all the troubles in Europe? Had the form of government in France continued what it had been for twelve or thirteen hundred years, would those troubles ever have had an existence? To hazard an assertion like this, a man must be an idiot, or he must think his readers so.—*Vol. 1, p. 171.*

38. *Rights of Man.*—The equal Rights of Man must ever end in the ruin of the rich, and its inevitable consequences, universal poverty. If the revolutionists were to speak the language of their hearts, they would not say to their rulers, "You are vicious, corrupt men; you are the curses of your country." No; they would say, "You are rich rogues, while we are poor ones; change situations, and all will be right."—*Vol. 2, p. 106.*

39. *Fate of the Patriot Muir.*—The rascal Muir has lost one eye. *So far, so good*; but he should have lost two. He was a fine rosy-gilled fellow, when he stood, like an impudent villain as he was, and dared the court of session in Scotland. He has now got the marks of liberty and equality; an empty purse, lank sides, and a mutilated face. *A thousand blessings* on the ball that caused his wounds! May such never be wanting while there is a Jacobin on earth!—*Vol. 7, p. 162.*

40. *House of Commons.*—The House of Commons is, in the most essential point, more independent of the King and his Nobles, than the Representatives of America are of the President of the Senate.—*Vol. 11, p. 115.*

41. *Contrivers of Innovation.*—The unpervverted sense of the people is so decidedly in favour of the established order of things, that the contrivers of innovation are never formidable, except where their real views are unperceived. It is their hypocritical cant, their clandestine intrigues in the numerous societies and institutions into which they imperceptibly worm themselves: it is their visor, and not their visage, that we have to fear.

42. A Demagogue, like a liar, should have a good memory.—*Vol. 2, p. 290.*

43. *Faction depicted.*—A person of a *factionous* disposition, who has the mortification to find his schemes disconcerted, to find



himself lurches in a minority, will go above half way to hell to frustrate the intentions of the majority.—*Vol. 2, p. 350.*

44. *Republics.*—The ingratitude of republics and republicans has long been proverbial.—*Vol. 2, p. 341*

45. *Picture of a Demagogue.*—Those who are simple enough to listen to a Demagogue, seldom care about his moral character. With the rights of the citizens, their virtue, and their sovereignty, eternally vibrating on his lips, he may, for aught they care, have a heart as black as Tartarus. If he writes, let him but fill his pages with frothy declamation, and vaunting bombast, with the canting jargon of modern republicans, and it matters little what arrangement he makes use of.—*Vol. 2, p. 232.*

46. *Business of a Demagogue.*—It is the business of a Demagogue to awaken in his reader, jealousy, envy, revenge, and every passion that can disgrace the heart of man, to lull his gratitude, reason, and conscience asleep, and then—let him loose on society.—*Vol. 2, p. 282.*

47. *A Popular Parasite.*—On all hands it is allowed, that the parasite of a prince is a most despicable character; a popular parasite must then be doubly despicable.—*Vol. 2, p. 283.*

48. “*To save the Country*”—Of all the expressions to be found in the Babylonish vocabulary, there is not one, the value of which is so precisely fixed as the words—“*to save the country.*” When the French murdered their monarch, they had—“*saved their country!*” Even when they had exchanged the Christian Religion, the words of Eternal Life, for the impious and illiterate systems of a Paine and a Volney; when they declared the God of Heaven to be an Impostor, and forbid his worship on pain of death; even then they pretended they had—“*saved their country!*”—*Vol. 2, p. 453.*

49. “*The Cause of Liberty.*”—As to the Cause of Liberty, if that cause is to be maintained by falsehood, blasphemy, robbery, violation, and murder, I am its avowed and mortal enemy.—*Vol. 3, p. 83.*

50. *The Motto of a Demagogue.*—Ambition will be at the top, or no where; it will destroy itself with the envied object, rather than act a subaltern part. The motto of a Demagogue is that of Milton's Satan: “*Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heaven.*”—*Vol. 3, p. 166.*

51. *Factionousness.*—When ignorance, or factionousness, or both together, have led a man beyond the bounds of truth and candour, they never let him go till they have plunged him into an abyss of absurdity.—*Vol. 2, p. 350.*

52. *Trials of Hardy, &c.*—The trials of Hardy, Tooke, and Thelwall for High treason furnish an example of integrity and impartiality in a court of justice, that may be equalled, but that never has been yet.—*Vol. 2, p. 112.*

53. *How to delude the Populace.*—An advantageous distribution of the words Liberty, Tyranny, Slavery, &c. does wonders with the populace.—*Vol. 2. p. 114.*

54. *Cowards.*—The coward is ever cruel.—*Vol. 2. p. 127.*

55. *The Spencean System.*—A Republic, founded on the broad basis of equality, would be more likely to acquire stability at Botany Bay than in any other state of the world; because the nimble fingers of the citizens would necessarily keep up a continual shifting of property, and so prevent that unconscionable hoarding which is the first foundation of Aristocracy.—*Vol. 2. p. 137.*

56. *Annual Parliaments and Universal Suffrage.*—Williams was for reviving the Wittenagemot and Myclegemot of Alfred; and, accordingly, the eight millions of people who inhabit Great Britain were to assemble every May-day under the canopy of Heaven, on Salisbury plain, to settle the affairs of the nation! Into what shocking absurdities will not a factious disposition lead the man that is cursed with it!—*Vol. 2. p. 113.*

57. *An "Old Whig" described.*—Do you know what an Old Whig is, reader? It is a very ill-looking, nasty, despised and neglected thing, fit for nothing but to be trodden under foot, or thrown to the dunghill. Whigs, when new, are passable; and, some years ago, they were very fashionable, and very useful too; but of late years, whether new or old, they have been found to be of no kind of utility. The fact is, that the Whigs, at last, thought themselves heads, and from that moment, every man, who had too much spirit to be Whig-ridden, threw off the cumbersome companion.—*Vol. 4. p. 336.*

58. *Spies and Informers*—Every precautionary measure of the legislature or the executive; every inquiry, however legal, however delicately conducted, is branded with the name of "jealous tyranny;" and to every honest man, who has the zeal to come forward in the discovery of their infernal plots, is given the appellation of Spy. This has had much influence on weak minds. Your good-natured, peaceable man cannot bear the name of *spy* or *informer*: he would sooner see his neighbours burnt in their beds, and his own wife and children along with them. I hope, however, that there is yet good sense and spirit enough left amongst us to despise every thing that artful traitors may say, and to defeat every thing they may attempt. The man who shall bring the leaders of conspiracy to the halter, deserves as well of his country as he who sheds his blood in its defence.—*Vol. 8. p. 225.*

59. *The Ladies.*—The Ladies are in general friends to government, and now is the time for them to exert their influence. Let them banish the sans-culottes from their presence, drive them to the boozing-ken or brothel. Beauty, wit, and virtue, were never destined for their brutish and filthy embraces.

It is more honourable to be married to a hangman or a felon, than to a democrat. For my part, I think that the husband's being one of this detestable tribe, is a sufficient plea of divorce for the wife; and if this opinion be not sanctioned by law, I am sure it is by nature and by reason.—*Vol. 8. p. 135.*

60. *Cruelty.*—Cruelty is the name that rebels ever give to measures of coercion, which they themselves have compelled the sovereign to adopt.—*Vol. 9. p. 201.*

61. *The Wild Irish.*—The Wild Irish have every thing of the savage about them, but his sobriety and sincerity.—*Vol. 9. p. 207.*

62. *The Whig Club.*—Their stalking-horse is reform, but their real object is the overthrow of the monarchy.—*Vol. 9, p. 259.*

63. *French Leave*—French leave is the leave of a runaway; a thief, a Tom Paine!—*Vol. 4. p. 49.*

64. *Fine Feeling.*—I have heard or read of a fellow that was so accustomed to be kicked, that he could distinguish by the feel, the sort of leather that assailed his posteriors. Are our buttocks arrived at this perfection of sensibility?—*Vol. 4, p. 318.*

65. *Art of Printing.*—It would be a happy thing if the accursed art of printing could be totally destroyed, and obliterated from the human mind.—*Vol. 9, p. 204.*

66. *Mr. Pitt.*—I am most sincerely persuaded, that, next to the virtues of his majesty and the general loyalty of his subjects, this country owes its preservation to the wisdom and integrity of Mr. Pitt and his colleagues.

67. *Love of Country.*—Is it love for our country to display, on every occasion, the most rooted animosity to its constitution and government? Is it love for our country to take a decided part with the seditious and disaffected? Is it love for our country to treat with contempt the laws, and its administrators? Away with such hypocritical cant. If this be love of our country, I confess I have none of it.—*Vol. 2, p. 154.*

68. *Revolutionists.*—All the revolutionists, while they are endeavouring to excite the people of Great Britain and Ireland to revolt against the government, profess great fidelity to their country, and loyalty to their king. They pretend to have nothing in view, but “the good, the honour, the permanent glory of the empire.” They propose “to amend and not to destroy:” to make the people truly happy, and “his Gracious Majesty truly Great.”—*Vol. 7, p. 52.*

69. *Mr. Pitt.*—Mr. Pitt was a youth when he formerly espoused the cause of reform: age and experience taught him that he was wrong.—*Vol. 7, p. 32.*

70. *Object of the Reformers.*—I should think myself the most stupid ass that ever browsed a thistle, were I to doubt o



moment, as to the unity of the object kept in view by all the tribes of reformers.—*Vol. 7, p. 33.*

71. *Thomas Paine and his Writings.*—Can I disapprove of a writer who says of Tom Paine—

“Paine in his thirst for reputation

“Has written to deserve damnation?”—*Vol. 4, p. 117.*

72. *Ibid.*—All Paine's predictions have hitherto remained unfulfilled, and those contained in his “Decline and Fall of the British System of Finance” will share the same fate. It is extremely favourable for British Bank-notes, that he who doubts their solidity will not believe in the Bible.—*Vol. 4, p. 114.*

73. *Ibid.*—Your brutal attempt to blacken the character of Washington was all that was wanted to crown his honour and your infamy. You were before sunk to a level with the damned, but now Tom you are plunged beneath them. I would call on you to blush, but the rust of villany has eaten your cheek to the bone, and dried up the source of suffusion.—*Vol. 4, p. 332.*

74. *Ibid.*—Paine was made for a French republican: the baseness which they have discovered was in his nature.—*Vol. 4, p. 326.*

75. *Ibid.*—Every honest man rejoiced that Paine had found a Bastille in the purlicus of his “palace of freedom;” that his filthy carcase was wasting in chains, instead of wallowing in the plunder he had promoted.—*Vol. 4, p. 318.*

76. *Ibid.*—All the truths that Tom Paine ever committed to paper are advanced with the malicious intention of leading his readers into a falsehood.—*Vol. 4, p. 319.*

77. *Ibid.*—I am well assured that Paine was guided by villany, and not misguided by ignorance or error.—*Vol. 4, p. 320.*

78. *Fever of Patriotism.*—The eagerness of this band to obtain a participation in the trade of Law-giving, was an introductory step towards a *participation* in something else: their great cause of discontent was, they were poor, while some of their neighbours were rich. This is the Nile of Revolutions. Mirabeau was a gamester: a well-timed sop to this Cerberus would have left the French king in quiet possession of his power. “There is a drug,” (said sir Robert Walpole,) “that is to be found only at my shop,” (the Treasury) “which is a never-failing cure for the fever of patriotism.”—*Vol. 2, p. 104.*

79. *America.*—In America, most assuredly the people are as cunning and as corrupted as in any part of the world, France excepted.—*Vol. 7, p. 192.*

80. The people of America have less knowledge, less virtue, less religion, than in most of the countries of Europe. Infidelity is making rapid and unrepelled strides—*Vol. 11, p. 419.*

81. Never was there a country which in so few years produced so many traitors as America. Were I president, I would

hang them, or they should murder me: I never would hold the sword of Justice, and suffer such miscreants to escape its edge.—*Vol. 11, p. 37.*

82. From various causes, the United States have become the resting place of ninety-nine hundredths of the factious villains which Great Britain and Ireland have vomited from their shores.—*Vol. 8, p. 223.*

83. In proportion to the population of the state of Pennsylvania, there are more capital crimes committed than there are in the British dominions, not excepting London and its vicinity; and, as to moral offences, there is more delinquency in office, there are more public defaulters, more acts of swindling, more fraudulent debtors, more bastards begotten, more divorces, more eloped wives, more runaway apprentices, in the single state of Pennsylvania, than there are in the whole kingdom of Great Britain, which contains about eleven millions.—*Vol. 11, p. 426.*

84. *Lies.*—A Lie that is bound down to *dates* is difficult to be successfully kept up.—*Vol. 4, p. 228.*

85. *French Republican.*—Till the plummet shall glide along the surface of the stream like a feather, the name of *French Republican* will awaken the idea of all that is perfidious and bloody-minded.—*Vol. 4, p. 258.*

86. *The French National Convention.*—The French Convention is an assembly whose approbation is a mark of dishonour ten thousand times greater than standing in the pillory or being burnt in the hand. Talk of writing scoundrel in the forehead! I would sooner bear the word scoundrel as a motto round the pupils of my eyes, than be blasted with the approving grin of a gang of assassins.—*Vol. 4, p. 298.*

87. *Elective Franchise.*—There are a set of men in England who are mad after what they call the “elective franchise,” regarding it as an infallible cure for all sorts of political diseases.—*Vol. 10, p. 402.*

88. *Annual Parliaments.*—Swift has compared the people who choose annual legislative assemblies to those silly worms, which exhaust their substance and destroy their lives, in making habits for beings of a superior order. The latter part of the comparison will not bear the test of experience; since their choice does not unfrequently fall upon swindlers, quacks, parasites, panders, atheists, apostates—in a word, upon the most infamous and the most despicable of the human race.—*Vol. 10, p. 439.*

89. *Love of Power.*—The mass of the people of all nations, are so fond of nothing as of power. Men of sense know, that the people can, in reality, exercise no power which will not tend to their own injury; and therefore if they are honest men, as well as men of sense, they scorn to foster their vanity at the expense of their peace and happiness.—*Vol. 10, p. 439.*

90. *Elective Assemblies*.—In States, where the popular voice is unchecked by a royal or any other hereditary control, that voice is, nine times out of ten, given in favour of those *fatening parasites*, who, in order to gratify their own interest and ambition, profess to acknowledge no sovereignty but that of the people, and who, when they once get into power, rule the poor sovereign that has chosen them, with a rod of scorpions, affecting, while the miserable wretch is writhing under their stripes, to call themselves his “representatives.”—*Vol. 10, p. 439.*

91. *Elective Assemblies*.—Of all the tyrannies that the Devil or man ever invented, the tyranny of an Elective Assembly uncontrolled by regal power is the most insupportable.—*Vol. 10, p. 440.*

92. *Concluding Reflexions*.—Such, Englishmen! such is the description of a legislative assembly, where “equal representation” prevails, where almost every man has a vote at elections, and where those elections do annually recur. The ambitious knaves, who flatter you with high notions of your rights and privileges, who are everlastingly driving in your ears the blessings of what they call the “elective franchise,” wish to add to the number of electors, because they well know that they would thereby gain an accession of strength.

93. The only object that such men have in view, is the gratification of their own ambition at the public expense; and, to accomplish this object, they stand in need of your assistance.

94. There is a continual struggle between them, and the legitimate sovereignty of the country which restrains them from pillaging, oppressing, and insulting the people. Hence it is, that they are constantly endeavouring to persuade the people, that that sovereignty requires to be checked and controlled: in which nefarious endeavours, they are unfortunately but too often successful.

95. How they would act, were they once to engross the whole power of the state, you may easily perceive, from what has been disclosed respecting the legislature of an American republic. If you imagine that you should be able to avoid the evils, which, from this source, the Americans have experienced, you deceive yourself most grossly. Having lent their ears, and next their hands, to those *demagogues* who persuaded them that they were capable of governing themselves, they destroyed the only safe-guard of that liberty, for which they thought they were fighting, and the want of which they now so sensibly feel and so deeply deplore.

96. “Stick to the Crown, though you find it hanging on a bush,” was a precept which a good old Englishman gave to his sons, at a time when the monarchy was threatened with that subversion, which it afterwards experienced, and which



was attended with the perpetration of a deed that has fixed an indelible stain on the annals of England.

97. Blessed be God ! we are threatened with no such danger at present ; but a repetition of the precept can never be out of season, as long as there are Whigs in existence, and as long as there are men foolish enough to listen to their insidious harangues.

98. The Crown is the guardian of the people, but more especially is its guardianship necessary to those who are destitute of rank and wealth. The King gives the weakest and poorest of us some degree of consequence : as his subjects, we are upon a level with the noble and the rich ; in yielding him obedience, veneration, and love, neither obscurity nor penury can repress our desires, or lessen the pleasure that we feel in return ; he is the fountain of national honour, which, like the sun, is no respecter of persons, but smiles with equal warmth on the palace and the cottage ; in his justice, his magnanimity, his piety, in the wisdom of his councils, in the splendor of his throne, in the glory of his arms, in all his virtues, and in all his honours, we share, not according to rank or to riches, but in proportion to the attachment that we bear to the land which gave us birth, and to the Sovereign, whom God has commanded us to honour and obey.—*Vol. 10, p. 440.*

99. *Political Delusion.*—From whatever source Political Delusion may come, by whatever means it may be propagated, and in whatever degree it may prevail, can its prevalence ever be conducive either to the interest or honour of the nation ? Can it enlarge our understandings, or strengthen the integrity of our hearts ? Can it lessen our wants or increase our comforts ? At home can it ever make us happy ? Abroad can it ever make us feared or respected ? Experience, sad experience, says No. On the contrary, it is the cause of all our calamities and disgraces, domestic and foreign. It is a slow but deadly poison to Britain. Amidst those blessings, which are the envy of her neighbours, it makes her peevish, mal-contented and mad.

100. *Noisy Pretenders to Patriotism.*—Speaking of a noisy pretender to patriotism, Mr. Cobbett says, “ Such a miscreant will talk so loudly, and with such apparent sincerity, about the good of the people, that many good men are deceived by his harangues.”

101. *Tergiversation.*—Mr. Cobbett expresses himself upon this subject in the following energetic language :—“ The wonder is, not how a man can hold up his head, but how he can bear to exist, under the proof of such glaring and shameful tergiversation !!! ”—*Vol. 2, p. 523.*

## 102. THE PATRIOT'S SOLILOQUY.

(The PATRIOT *solus*, in a thoughtful posture. In his hand PAINE'S WORKS—a HALTER and a Copy of "THE BEAUTIES" on the Table.)

It must be so—TOM PAINE, thou reason'st well—  
Else whence this pleasing hope, this fond desire,  
This more than woman's longing after freedom?  
Or whence this secret dread, and inward horror,  
Of falling into gaol? Why shrinks my soul  
Back on herself, and startles at a gallows,  
A writ, a summons, or a God knows what?  
Why do I sily sculk in corners dark,  
And run away——

'Tis guilt, 'tis fear, that hates the sight of justice,  
Dark, and unfathomably deep abyss!  
But Liberty! thou pleasing, dreadful thought!  
Through what variety of hair-breadth scapes,  
Through what new scenes and changes must I pass!  
The wide, th' unbounded prospect lies before me;  
But hungry guts and bloody noses rest on't—  
Here will I hold—If there's a devil in hell  
(And that there is the French have fully prov'd  
Through all their works), he must delight in mischief;  
And that which he delights in, is my pleasure.  
Well then—but—I'm weary of conjectures:

This must end them—— (*Laying hold of the halter.*)

Thus I am doubly arm'd; my death and fame.

My bane and antidote are both before me.

This (*pointing to the rope*) in the twinkling of a broomstick  
ends me;

But THAT (*pointing to "THE BEAUTIES"*) informs me I shall  
never die.

The wretch, secur'd in some snug plunder'd house,  
Smiles at the halter and defies Jack Ketch;

And I, though poor, though plunder flies my grasp,  
Shall yet be damn'd to everlasting fame.

Patriots shall sink away, and rot with age,

But TOM PAINE'S WORKS, and my infernal name,

Shall, aye, remain for ever and for ever,

Unhurt amidst the wars of Radicals,

The Hangman's hands, the blaze of bonfires,

The wreck of matter, and the crush of worlds.

(*Ties the Halter about his neck.*)

W. COBBETT.

Vol. 3; p. 102.

END OF THE BEAUTIES OF COBBETT.