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Published online: 12 Sep 2017.

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"All shall be happy by land and by sea": Thomas Spence as an Atlantic thinker

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ABSTRACT

English radical thinker and activist Thomas Spence (1750–1814) has traditionally been considered a minor figure in the history of political thought. Spence was renowned for his "Plan," the proposal to abolish the private property of the land and promote a common management of it. His claims for the commons as England underwent industrialization sounded anachronistic at home, but made him relevant from an Atlantic perspective. By insisting on the connection between privatization of land and oppression, Spence linked his agrarian radicalism to the struggles against slavery and the dispossession of the natives in colonial contexts. Experimenting the methodological approach of Atlantic intellectual history from below, this article surveys the Atlantic dimension of Spence's Plan. It discusses Spence's practical and theoretical political education, showing his acquaintance with the landed and maritime struggles of his time and how he translated them into radical political theory. Spence also engaged with modern political thinkers and challenged the modern liberal conceptions of state and empire, assigning a crucial role to the sea as a reservoir of revolutionary ideas and practice. Seen from an Atlantic perspective, Spence's Plan can be interpreted as a project of decolonization of the world. The article traces also Spence's enduring influence, both in England and the Americas. The Atlantic relevance of the Plan is proved by Spence's legacy in the British Caribbean: the connection between land and freedom theorized by Spence was to African slaves a glaring matter of common sense.

Introduction

In 1805, English radical bookseller, activist, and intellectual Thomas Spence (1750–1814) sketched a map of the world titled *The World Turned Upside Down*, which unfortunately has been lost. Topographer Eneas Mackenzie described it as a map of the globe with the hemispheres reversed. One year after Haiti's declaration of independence, Spence took a radical saying associated with the English Revolution and projected it across the Atlantic.[1]

This article surveys the Atlantic dimension of Spence's political thought. It is aimed to show that Spence's revolutionary scheme, far from being confined to the "provincial" level,

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had instead a transatlantic scope and impact.[2] Spence used the sea (in the form of either ships or islands) as a space of radical politics and revolutionary practice, which would then unfold on land. I also argue that Spence, often presented as a lowly figure, engaged with modern Liberalism: his political theory, conveyed through a popular and humoristic language, was characterized by a subtle conceptual complexity.

Spence was renowned for his "Plan," a proposal to suppress the private property of the land and promote the common enjoyment of it, alongside the replacement of state apparatus with a decentralized parish system. The Plan would be achieved through the revolutionary struggle of the "swinish multitude," the derogatory term coined by Edmund Burke that Spence used to address his political interlocutor.[3] Spence has often been considered an anachronistic figure, someone who romanticized the commons as England underwent industrialization, and who used eccentric means of spreading his ideas, such as songs, manifestos, chalk graffiti, and minting of tokens. E.P. Thompson, in his masterpiece *The Making of the English Working Class*, wrote that "it is easy to see Spence, with his peripheral panaceas […], as little more than a crank."[4]

Yet Spence's contemporaries and those who followed in the next generation understood his relevance. Spence's followers ("Spenceans") were indefatigable agitators in the radical London underworld from the 1790s through the 1810s. The Chartists paid close attention to Spence's Plan, and William Cobbett wrote in 1816, "We have all seen, for years past, written on the walls, in and near London, these words, 'SPENCE's PLAN'."[5] British authorities treated him as a serious threat: they harassed, arrested, and imprisoned him several times, and an Act of Parliament of 1817 banned all political clubs referring to Thomas Spence, making Spenceanism the only political ideology to have ever been outlawed by the British Parliament. Spence also captured the attention of John Stuart Mill, Thomas Malthus, and Karl Marx, who deemed him a "deadly enemy of private property in land," while some of the Spenceans had connections with Jeremy Bentham.[6]

This article is an exercise in Atlantic intellectual history from below. I will focus on Spence's openly Atlantic and maritime writings: *A Supplement to the History of Robinson Crusoe*, *The Reign of Felicity, being a plan for civilizing the Indians of North America*, and *The Marine Republic*, to show that Spence's Plan was conceived for a transatlantic, rather than merely English, application. Spence was aware that the enclosures on one side of the ocean, and the plantation system and the dispossession of the natives on the other side, were part of the same capitalist project of privatization of lands. It was precisely Spence's concern with the commons, that defined him as the *naïf* heir of the Diggers within a narrow national context, that made him relevant as an Atlantic thinker.

All radical sources, often neglected by historians of political thought, are here considered as reservoirs of political concepts. Spence's theory is here translated into the "official" language of intellectual historians, and his unconventional means of spreading his ideas interpreted as original sources for a new transnational history from below.[7] I intend to restore Spence to the position he deserves in the history of political thought – a place he was aware to deserve, as he stated at his trial of 1801:

> I stand here Gentlemen […] not as a mere bookseller vending the works of others […], but as an original legislator for having formed the most compact system of society on the immovable basis of nature and justice.[8]

That society was landed, maritime, and Atlantic.

Spence and the struggles at land and sea: The "swinish multitude"

Spence lived in an age of struggles on land and at sea, which influenced his conception of revolutionary subject. As a careful chronicler of resistance from below, Spence witnessed a differentiated, multi-ethnic, and Atlantic proletariat coming into existence, and he conceptualized it as the "swinish multitude." The common dispossession of this multifaceted range of people within modern capitalism should be the starting point for a common revolutionary project of reappropriation.

Newcastle, where he was born in 1750, was where Spence's political education began. He grew up in the amphibious environment of that quayside town, and was probably well acquainted with the struggles at the docks: his father was a netmaker and his brother Jeremiah a slop-seller, a dealer in cheap seaman's clothing.[9] Newcastle was the hub of North-Eastern coal-trade to London, and the Tyneside was characterized by recurring seamen's strikes for wages and work conditions, in 1768, 1775, 1777, 1785, 1790 – to mention only those occurred before Spence left the town. In 1771, anti-impressment resistance was organized in Newcastle, while the year 1792 witnessed one of the biggest strikes on the Tyne: North-Eastern seamen successfully mobilized for an increase of wages, bringing the coastal coal-trade to a stop.[10]

Newcastle was also a place of radical struggles on land. Newcastle commoners provided Spence with a positive example of successful mobilization in 1771, when the Newcastle Corporation enclosed part of the common known as Town Moor, to lease it for profit. The freemen's protest led to the Newcastle Town Moor Act (1774), which limited the leasing of land on the Town Moor.[11] On a wave of enthusiasm for the freemen's victory, Spence presented a lecture at the Newcastle Philosophical Society in 1775, titled "Property in Land Every One's Right". He was expelled from the Society due to his claim for the suppression of private property of the land: "The country of any people […] is properly their common, in which each of them has an equal property […] Surely to deny them that right is, in effect, denying them a right to live."[12]

Spence moved to London in the early 1790s, where his radicalization accelerated. He set up a bookstall in Chancery Lane, selling radical pamphlets and saloop (a popular, cheap hot drink), and joined the London Corresponding Society (LCS), a radical organization founded in 1792. Most members of the LCS were urban waged labourers, small shopkeepers, and tradesmen. Spence got acquainted with the section of the "violent democrats," but after the LCS's 1793 resolution to expel members supporting leveller principles, he distanced from it and joined the ultra-radical and armed Lambeth Loyal Association.[13] The French Revolution was of inspiration to Spence and pushed him towards openly revolutionary positions. In *The End of Oppression* (1795), Spence advocated a violent revolution modelled on the example of the Jacobins as the means to establish his Plan. At the same time, the war against revolutionary France distressed English poor working class with inflation and waves of forced recruitment. Popular distress exploded in 1794 with the London revolt against the recruiting-agents known as "crimps," who preyed on sailors. The riot spread especially in Holborn, where Spence had recently opened his bookshop "Hive of Liberty."[14]

Spence's arrests and imprisonments were crucial to his radical political education. After being committed to Clerkenwell Prison in 1792 and arrested again in 1793, he was imprisoned for seven months without trial in Newgate in 1794 for his connections with the

Lambeth Loyal Association. He was arrested again in 1798, and shortly detained at the House of Correction at Coldbath Fields, where his path may have crossed those of other radicals.[15] Coldbath Fields became an accidental site of gathering for several exponents of radical politics of those years, being reputed for the particular severity of its detention. In 1798, several Nore mutineers, as well as revolutionary colonel Marcus Despard and Thomas Evans (later founder of the Society of Spencean Philanthropists) were detained there.[16] Radical demonstrations and thinking took place both inside and outside the prison, and had in women crucial actors: while, outside the gaol, many mutineers' wives took part to a campaign for prisoners' rights, other women devised the way to smuggle writings into the cells. Spence was also inspired by women's active participation in anti-impressment actions (as against the "crimps" in 1794) and food riots (nearly 200 food riots erupted across the country in 1795–1796).[17] In 1796, in *The Rights of Infants; or, the Imprescriptable Right of Mothers,* Spence expressed his idea of women as a revolutionary vanguard: "the females will vindicate the rights of the species."[18]

In the new century, the authorities intensified the persecution of Spence and his followers. In 1801, when the *Second Report of the Committee of Secrecy on Treasonable Practices* was issued against the Spenceans, Spence was again arrested for the publication of *The Restorer of Society to its Natural State* and, after being tried at Westminster, he was sentenced to 12 months of confinement in Shrewsbury gaol.[19] However, he did not stop to spread the Plan: his journal *The Giant-Killer; or, Anti-Landlord* was published in two volumes before Spence's sudden death in September 1814, just as new riots over inflation and wages were erupting all over England.

The men and women whose riots and mutinies crossed Spence's life deeply influenced his political thought. Spence's "swinish multitude," as a motley and revolutionary political agent, was the conceptual synthesis of the differentiated groups participating in actual struggles. Spence's personal acquaintance with the Newcastle freemen shaped his conception of commoners and landless men as central agents in the struggle for emancipation. At his trial in 1801, he recounted the contest on the Town Moor, acknowledging that "I took a Lesson from this Affair which I shall never forget." This lesson was plainly stated: "In no populous country, since the beginning of the world, was private property in land enjoyed, but to the detriment of multitudes."[20]

Spence's militancy in the LCS led him to consider also urban waged workers as part of the "swinish multitude." Many of them were former commoners, pushed towards the cities by enclosures of land: "Multitudes of you, have been driven from the Tillage of the Earth by the Landlords. – Thus destitute you fled to Cities and Towns, to get Employment in Trade and Manufactures." In fact, Spence was concerned not only with lands:

> All Things which cannot be divided justly among a Number of Proprietors can yet be enjoyed with the nicest exactness in Partnership. As for Instance, Shipping, Collieries, Mines, and many other great Concerns.[21]

Spence also witnessed the distressed conditions of the new factory workers, the "poor calico weavers in the vicinity of Manchester" and the "Spitalfield and Norwich weavers […] liv[ing] upon nothing."[22] "Collieries and Mines" were other places of recruitment of swinish revolutionaries. The token "COALY X TYNE" displays a man into a keel in the Tyne. Spence also recounted the anecdote of a miner who escaped landlords' abuses:

he "dug a cave for himself by the sea side [...] bravely emancipat[ing] himself from the iron fangs of aristocracy."[23]

Also soldiers should join the swinish mob, crossing the frontline in support of the Spencean revolution. Spence's fellow prisoner colonel Despard was an instance of the radicalism spread in the Army – even among its higher ranks. Spence urged soldiers not to "keep [the Mob] in awe, and encourage [...] their oppressors," but rather to "mean well to the people, and [...] lay down your arms, for that is the best way to manifest to both parties, that you will not abet nor countenance such rapacity." His token "WE ALSO ARE THE PEOPLE" shows soldiers and civilians shaking hands.[24] These ideas mirrored political positions spread among soldiers and militiamen. Before the Spa Fields Riots of 1816, Spencean James Watson assured his comrades that "he had been sounding the inclination of the Army and he found they would not interfere with the Mob [...] for they had all Families and relatives in the same distress."[25] In fact, militiamen distressed by the high prices of food provisions had led a dozen riots along the south coast of England in Spring 1795.[26]

Also "vagabonds" and people "in rags," Spence wrote, "are the swinish multitude." He was also deeply concerned about the conditions of detainees: his coin "BEFORE THE REVOLUTION" displays an emaciated man gnawing a bone in gaol.[27] After the sudden death of an Irish radical in Bridewell prison in 1792, Spence investigated in vain among prisoners and jailers. He then bitterly wrote, "Reader, this may be my case – it may be thine; and whoever may be the next victim he will demand a tribute of sorrow from all those who are so happy to escape the rod."[28] Detainees and prosecuted men could play a revolutionary role by also refusing to collaborate with the authorities. Spence set the example: being examined before the Privy Council in 1794, he stated, "I will answer no more questions: I have nothing of importance to inform you of; but whether or no I do not chuse to set up a bad precedent by answering, or giving you any information at all."[29]

Spence's "swinish multitude" contained also Atlantic and maritime members. Sailors were simultaneously subject to oppression and exploitation, and bearers of radical ideas and practice. They suffered impressment (the coin "BRITISH LIBERTY DISPLAYED" shows a press-gang seizing a man) and poverty when disbanded (as begging and disabled sailor in the coin "MY COUNTRY SERV'D").[30] However, the great mutinies of 1797 at Spithead and Nore showed the rebellious potential of sailors' combinations. Spence fully included those mutinies in the Age of Atlantic Revolutions:

> How lately have we seen unions of the people sufficiently grand and well conducted to give sure hopes of success? Abroad and at home, in America, France, and in our own fleets, we have seen enough of public spirit, and extensive unanimity [...] Remember Gentlemen this affair of the fleets is now a historical fact liable to be alluded to by the whole world, and also by posterity.[31]

Spence considered also slaves and natives as leading members of the revolutionary coalition:

> I beg to be understood as laying down a system of government for the free-born, unshackled minds of the North American and African savages, who have not yet learned to look upon blood-sucking Landlords and State Leeches with that timorous, superstitious and cringing reverence, paid to such miscreants, in a Country so well bred as this.[32]

Here Spence probably drew on the humanistic tradition starting with Montaigne, according to which European people could learn from the natives' attachment to liberty. More

important, Spence showed the transatlantic scope of the Plan. Natives and slaves were part of the "swinish multitude" as victims of conquest and exploitation, reduced by European colonizers to "hewers of wood and drawers of water" and "employ[ed] in building churches and monasteries […] temples, castles, and palaces; nay condemn[ed] to dig [their] own mines for their use." The expression "hewers of wood and drawers of water" was extensively used during the English Revolution to refer to the transatlantic proletariat, whose birth was connected to the transformation of landscape necessary to set up capital accumulation.[33] For Spence, slaves and "landless men" shared not only the same creative force ("The earth has been cultivated either by slaves compelled […] to labour, or by the indigent"), but also the same revolutionary potential: "As often as such periodical revolutions happened in favour of the Rights of Man, they […] were procured by the irresistible importunities of the slaves and the landless men."[34] Besides the news about slave revolts coming from overseas, Spence had here probably in mind the Gordon Riots of 1780, when a mob led by former African slaves opened the London prison of Newgate and released the prisoners.[35]

Women were for Spence leading political agents, too. Shortly after Olympe de Gouges's *Déclaration des droits de la femme et de la citoyenne* (1791) and Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), Spence wrote *The Rights of Infants*, in which he displayed a woman vindicating her rights as well as her children's. She stated proudly:

> Our sex were defenders of rights from the beginning […] You shall find that we not only know our rights, but have spirit to assert them, to the downfall of you and all tyrants […] We women, mean to take up the business ourselves […] you will find the business much more seriously and effectually managed in our hands than ever it has been yet.[36]

Spence was aware that women, as well as natives and slaves, were forced to provide hands (and wombs) to the production and reproduction of capital accumulation.[37] By means of the redistribution of the "dividends"[38] "among all the living souls in the parish, whether male or female; married or single," as well as the right to divorce, Spence's Plan would also coincide with a collapse of patriarchal domination on women: "The chains of hymen would be among the first that would be broken, in case of a revolution."[39]

Overall, Spence was inspired by the experiences of resistance of a motley group of workers and subjects as he imagined the agents who would lead his revolution. Landless men and urban labourers, soldiers and seamen, beggars and prisoners, Native Americans and African slaves, women and children, Calibans and witches – they made up a landed and maritime "swinish multitude," who would accomplish a transatlantic revolution.

From history to theory: Sea and land

In *A Supplement to the History of Robinson Crusoe* (1782), recounted as a captain's tale, Spence used a maritime place, the island of Crusonia, as the first location for the fulfilment of his Plan. In *The Marine Republic* (1794), another island, Spensonia, was imagined as the outcome of the management of property established on a ship. The pamphlet featured a group of siblings setting up common enjoyment of property aboard their sailing ship:

> This gallant ship […] I do not give it to one, or two, or a select few, but to you all […] as a COMMON PROPERTY. You shall all be EQUAL OWNERS, and shall share the profits of every voyage equally among you.

Shipwrecked by a storm, these "marine republicans" transferred their maritime "plan of union" and equal division of profits to the land.[40]

The fact that Spence used the devices of ships and islands for illustrating his political scheme is not relevant *per se*. This was a common trope in the history of political thought since Plato, and had been used by both Thomas More and James Harrington, whom Spence explicitly mentioned as points of intellectual reference and with whom he shared the basic assumptions of the incompatibility between private property of land and social justice (with More) and the connection between the degree of distribution of landed property and the form of polity (with Harrington).[41] What I want here to underline is that Spence linked this maritime *leitmotiv* to the radical struggles of his time and made it an instrument of his transatlantic politics from below.

Spence's fascination for the sea and the ships is even more interesting if one considers his "*idée fixe*" about the commons.[42] At first glance, the fact that Spence's Plan focused on the lands, while having as its first location a ship, seems odd. To understand Spence's interest in the sea and the ships, we need to go back to the maritime dimension of the "swinish multitude." Maritime culture directly inspired Spence as he spread his political thought through radical songs and hymns. This culture also offered great examples of commonality. Ships were often turned by tars into authentic "communities," characterized by forms of "collectivism" both in action and decision-making. The system of engaging the crews for equal shares in profit, rather than for fixed wages (as in Spence's "Marine Republic"), originated in the Middle Ages, and became the predominant form for allocating resources among pirates and privateers.[43] Also mutinies represented episodes of maritime communality and collective action: while the French proclaimed their Republic in 1792, and Spence his "Marine Republic" in 1794, mutineers at the Nore declared their own "floating republic" in 1797.[44] Spence used the history from below of his time to develop his own theory of politics. He linked history and theory, translating the struggles he knew into radical political thought.

However, I argue that to fully appreciate Spence's reference to ships, islands, and the sea, we should move from history to theory, and from actual struggles to conceptual engagement. Not only was Spence a witness of many episodes of resistance, he was also self-consciously engaged in philosophical debate. He was familiar with contemporary thinkers, such as Edmund Burke and Thomas Paine, and past thinkers. In the three volumes of his periodical *Pig's Meat*, he collected extracts from political writers: alongside quotations from eighteenth-century authors such as Rousseau, Volney, Price, Priestley, and the authors of the *Cato's Letters*, Spence extensively quoted Harrington and Locke. John Locke, I argue, was one of Spence's major points of intellectual reference. Locke endorsed the most important truth (that "God […] hath given the earth […] to mankind in common"), but he also justified the birth of private property of the land through labour – while Spence thought this property was the outcome of the dispossession of the labourers.[45] At his trial in 1801, Spence stated, "Locke's Essay on Government and many other eminent Works as well as the Bible have contributed to strengthen my confidence in this my Millennial Form of Government."[46] Indeed, Spence used the Digger claim for the millennium *against* Locke: Leviticus 25, with its promise of restitution of the lands, offered a biblical argument to dismantle the system of privatization sanctioned by the *Second Treatise of Government*.[47]

Locke became a polemical target for Spence also for his liberal notions of state and empire: Spence made a critique of them, assigning a crucial role to the sea. Locke

divided the Atlantic space into state on the one hand, and empire on the other, stating that two different political logics ruled the world.[48] While "at the beginning all the world was America," the "original compact" and the modern state were fulfilled in Europe. This terrific European accomplishment was a way to justify state order and sanction European exceptionalism. However, Locke stated, the norm was conquest and violence everywhere else: "Yet such has been the disorders ambition has fill'd the world with, that in the noise of war, which makes so great a part of the History of Mankind, this consent is little taken notice of."[49] Locke thus devised two different logics informing politics – the compact establishing the state (the "consent") and the conquest (the "noise of war") – and assigned them to two different sites, the former to Europe and the latter to America. This strategy divided the world into two qualitatively different political spaces: the state (the rule of law) and the empire (the suspension of the rule of law), sanctioning Europe's superiority and legitimizing her conquest of the rest of the world. This dual logic of state and empire would remain an implicit assumption in the entire history of Liberalism.[50] This Lockean strategy also territorialized the Atlantic space. It has been showed that the European "discovery" of the ocean and the Americas disoriented traditional spatial imagination centred on Europe and pushed political thinkers to "re-territorialize" politics. This "re-territorialization" was accomplished through the modern concept of state, whose sovereignty was linked to a strong idea of national boundaries and territorial stability.[51] Subsuming the Atlantic region in states and colonies, Locke obliterated the presence of the sea. From its origins, modern Liberalism was thereby characterized by what has been called "terracentrism," the "uninspected assumption that only the landed spaces on the earth's surface are real."[52]

The establishment of Spence's Plan aboard the floating "Marine Republic" and on the islands of Crusonia and Spensonia can be interpreted as his rejection of this terracentric assumption: Spence knew that maritime spaces were as "real" as the landed ones, being sites of historical creation. As he witnessed struggles coming from the sea, he imagined his Plan as coming from the sea, too. It is in fact striking that, while the core of the Plan was the common property of the land, in *The Marine Republic* Spence exhorted the "marine republicans" to "apply the Marine Constitution […] to their landed property," and to "live in union and equality on land, as […] they should do on sea."[53] Spence traced a movement for the Plan from the sea to the land. While for him "landed property and liberty always go together," to accomplish this liberty, help would come from the sea.[54] In this way, Spence outlined neither a merely terrestrial nor an exclusively maritime, but a terraqueous politics: he used the Atlantic as a reservoir of radical images and discourse to shape the mainland.

The crucial role played by the sea in Spence's thought emerges even more clearly when one considers his critique of Lockean notions of state and empire. While Locke had distinguished between European "consent" and colonial violence, Spence reunified every landed space in the Atlantic region (both states and colonies) under one logic of conquest and dispossession. Not only colonialism abroad had historically been the opposite of the "civilization" colonizers pretended it to be:

> [When] all civilizers of mankind […] intended to civilize a portion of the earth, they entered it with force and arms, took possession of the lands […], and thus reducing the inhabitants […] to vassals and tenants. Universal submission was the inevitable consequence […] a very uncivil way of civilising the world indeed.[55]

Yet, according to Spence, conquest operated also beyond colonial spaces: in Europe, land-lords plundered landless poor, just as colonizers plundered natives and slaves in the colonies. Opposing European exceptionalism, Spence revealed that Europe was not as free as liberal thinkers described it. Instead, conquest and exploitation operated worldwide:

> Monopoly is injustice […] But this external monopoly, is plainly the offspring of our internal monopoly. For the same covetousness which is nourished at home, by the oppression of fellow-citizens expands like ambition in its maturity till it grasps at the whole Earth.[56]

Europe underwent much of this conquest before American colonies were established, from the Middle Ages onwards. Spence recovered the Digger narrative of the "Norman yoke:" freedom in England ended with the landing of William the Conqueror, who "divided our land, nought leaving but slav'ry and shame." Once this internal colonization was accomplished, plunder of land and slavery spread globally: "Insolence and robbery, rapine and murder, have been fully tried in every quarter of the globe."[57] Not only did "rich men purchase and hold their fellow-creatures as slaves," they also "deprive[d] many others even freemen of all property in the soil." According to Spence's Atlantic conception of the "swinish multitude," these "many others" included both European poor and Native Americans. One of Spence's tokens shows a Native American exhorting not to pay for the land: "IF RENTS I ONCE CONSENT TO PAY MY LIBERTY IS PAST AWAY."[58]

Carrying out a critique *avant la lettre* of Marx's "so-called primitive" accumulation, for Spence not only was "landed property always originally acquired, either by conquest or encroachment on the common property of mankind," but "what was originally obtained by the sword, they determine to detain by the sword." Spence saw violence not merely as an original, but as a permanent way of working of capital accumulation on a global scale.[59] Conquest, which Spence understood as privatization and dispossession of lands, universally informed the landed world. Every landmass, both in Europe and America, was colonized – as it was privatized – by landlords. Against this conquered terrestrial world, the sea stood conceptually as the political space liberty could come from.

Spence's maritime view was further strengthened by his intellectual familiarity with the English Utopian tradition. The island of Spensonia was described as "a country in fairy-land, situated between Utopia and Oceana," namely, between More and Harrington.[60] Spensonia featured the abolition of private property of the land of Utopia and the parochial decentralization of Oceana. In fact, Oceana involved the redistribution, not the abolition, of private ownership of the land, while Utopia was characterized by a strong presence of central power, the castigation of unproductiveness, and the introduction of slavery. Spence criticized "the system of Sir Thomas More's Utopia wherein he makes every kind of property the property of the nation and the people obliged to work under gang masters."[61]

However, the first utopia where Spence imagined the establishment of the Plan was Crusonia, the island named after Robinson Crusoe in Daniel Defoe's novel. This seems an unusual choice: while the other utopias were communities, Crusonia was the "one-man colony," and Crusoe stood as the hero of bourgeois individualism. Shipwrecked on Crusonia as Spence's "marine republicans," Robinson conquered new territories and subjugated the natives.[62] Spence drew vocabulary from *Robinson Crusoe*, but overturned the novel's ultimate meaning. While Crusoe proudly stated, "I was Lord of the whole Mannor […] I might call my self King, or Emperor over the whole Country […] There were no Rivals.

I had no Competitor, none to dispute Sovereignty or Command with me," Spence turned Robinson's individualistic discourse into a communal one:

> The land, with all that appertains to it, is […] made the property of […] the parish […] as a lord of the manor enjoys over his lands, houses, etc. […] Thus are there no more nor other lands in the whole country than the parishes; and each of them is sovereign lord of its own territories.[63]

The English Utopian tradition was part of Spence's intellectual education, and reinforced his idea that the sea carried an emancipating potential. Spence looked seaward: he imagined radical schemes of reappropriation coming from the sea and unfolding on land.

The plan as a project of decolonization of the world

Spence's critique of colonialism did not mean he wanted to go back to pre-colonial reality. The state of nature was for him a condition of freedom, but also incivility, which had to undergo a civilizing process. Spence was a modern thinker, and shared with his time the dominant, Eurocentric conception that wilderness should be tamed. Even if the title of *The Reign of Felicity, being a plan for civilizing the Indians* had a sarcastic connotation, the statement of the woman of *The Rights of Infants* was uncompromising: "We do not want to be as Indians."[64] What Spence proposed was an alternative form of civilization, based on emancipation rather than exploitation. In one of his pamphlets, he featured some Native Americans visiting Spensonia. The natives were impressed:

> Contrary to expectation, they here saw a people, much superior in the comforts of life, as independent as themselves […] Said an Indian to a Spensonian, "We never heard that men could be civilised […], without giving up their common right to the earth […] to tyrants, called landlords."[65]

The natives, as if they had read Hobbes and Locke, were convinced that civilization could not be achieved without abdicating natural freedom. Spensonians, however, showed them that their own condition was far more civilized than both state and nature. In this way, Spence's Plan resolved the inconsistency modern Liberalism saw between natural freedom and civilization: to achieve civilization, natural freedom had not to be forfeited, but preserved untouched. If no alternative existed, the natural condition would be preferable to European states: "If there can be no civil society without paying rents to individuals, I could heartily wish the Indians to remain for ever in their native freedom." But an alternative did exist – Spence's Plan, which promised to make "the warlike Indians civilized without being tamed, without becoming hewers of wood and drawers of water, either to foreign invaders," the Europeans, "or native usurpers," the US Americans.[66]

The Plan did not wind time back to pre-colonial reality, but colonized the world within the Spencean system, at the same time decolonizing existing empires. In fact, as he imagined the spread of his Plan, Spence described a colonizing process:

> As a swarm of bees, when grown too numerous for one hive, send off colonies to people new ones, so when the crews of your ships become too numerous, let new ships be built, and manned on the same equitable plan.[67]

However, Spence exhorted his colonizers, "No dreams of conquest you inspire." The Plan would colonize the world by anti-colonial ends and methods: "Colonies […] must be established," but they "are declared independent states" and "Spensonia disclaims all

financial benefits from foreign provinces, dominions or colonies."[68] This process would open a new reality: every nation would reject plunder and exploitation and "refuse to take none of the human race under its protection." While the paternalistic idea of "protection" had been used to justify slavery as well as the natives' extermination, under Spencean system slavery itself would be impracticable: "Crusons never will be slaves" – nor slave owners.[69]

Even if the colonization of the world by the Plan-carriers was initially described as a smooth process, it implied fierce political struggle: the spread of the Plan worldwide could only be a revolutionary war for emancipation. In one of his first pamphlets, Spence wrote that the population of Crusonia proliferated and settled several Crusons on the mainland (the American continent). However, this smooth and peaceful approach to the colonization of North America could not be a project for the future, since America had already been colonized. Rather, Spence offered a critique of the past, showing how America could have been colonized without injustice. In fact, the name the Crusons gave to the colonized continent was "Fridinia, from his man Friday, because it was his country," showing respect to colonized people.[70] However, it is worth noting that Spence's radical thought was still entangled in Eurocentric and racial hierarchies: Native Americans, he assumed, would like to be assimilated under the Plan.

Despite this peaceful description, a violent revolutionary struggle was necessary in both Europe and America, since both had been conquered by landlords. In *The End of Oppression*, Spence incited European revolutionaries to "be firm and desperate, destroying [the landlords] root and branch."[71] Since the same dynamics of oppression worked overseas, the empire needed the same revolution, which would decolonize and reconquer spaces which had already undergone traditional colonialism. Spensonia, the first nation adopting Spence's Plan, would set out to reclaim the whole earth:

> The nation possessing liberty shall rise in a mass upon their enemies and shall crush them; and shall go on conquering; and shall discomfit their enemies in many battles: but the advocates of oppression [...] be utterly destroyed.[72]

Spencean revolution would be not a metaphoric conquest of the world, but a forced exportation and implementation of the Plan worldwide. If it is true that "every revolution is a war of independence," Spencean revolution would be a global war for emancipation against landlordism and oppression, which "all tyrants o'erthrow, th'oppress'd world releasing wherever they go."[73]

Seen from an Atlantic perspective, Spence's Plan can thereby be interpreted as a project of decolonization of the world. This emancipation from the colonial yoke would initially be a liberation from outside, thanks to the Plan-carriers, imagined as coming from the sea. It would then turn into an anticolonial uprising:

> These sons of Anak [the landlords], by force and by might, keep our promis'd land, unto which they've no right [...] Then rise, take possession, the whole human race, no wilds we've to traverse we're at home in each place.[74]

The expression "promised land" recovered the rhetoric of the persecuted religious dissenters in the English Revolution and in colonial North America. Yet Spence was not talking about the colonization of empty wilderness: "no wilds we've to traverse" meant that he was dealing with the decolonization and civilization of already colonized spaces.

Spence rejected the narration of uninhabited lands: men should appropriate neither empty lands nor the land of others, but rather retake possession of what was theirs that was stolen.

The implementation of the Plan would lay the foundation for an alternative empire, inspired by principles opposed to traditional colonialism. This "empire of right and reason" would be not a colonial, but a commercial empire. It would "only speculate in fair and honest trade" and would neither have "hunger and thirst after the riches of the world" nor "be fond of conquest."[75] The self-narrative of the British empire as maritime, commercial, and free was a common place since the seventeenth century. Spence recovered that tradition while contradicting it with a de- and anti-colonial counterpart. Few years later, the Constitution of Haiti of 1805 used the term empire in a similar way: Haiti was defined as an "Empire" and Dessalines as an "Emperor," while slavery was abolished and the Emperor prevented from undertaking conquests.[76] Even if Dessalines's autocratic rule was very far from the political system planned by Spence, both Spence and the Haitians participated in a radical transatlantic effort, in the age of empires, to rethink the empire itself in an anti-imperialist way. Spence's empire would consist of independent nations sharing the Plan. Their union would be strengthened and their differences reduced by the introduction of Crusonian language – the reform of the English language conceived by Spence to make spelling and pronunciation coincide. This linguistic reform had explicit Atlantic purposes, as it would be used to teach English to both the Native and the African Americans.[77]

Spence's plan of decolonization would be a terraqueous and transatlantic revolution. Seamen's mutinies had to be assumed as role models for the revolution to take place on the land. Spence wanted terrestrial and maritime political logics to intertwine: "Then landsmen have nothing to fear more than seamen, and indeed much less for after such a mutiny on land, the masters of the people would never become their masters again."[78] Spence's "mutiny on land" should be the preamble to the emancipation of every terrestrial and maritime space on earth. From this perspective, Spence also imagined the "swinish multitude" with an aquatic metaphor: "When in a mass, like a flood o'er they pass, they'll sweep all [the landlords'] greatness away."[79] Aquatic allegories to represent the revolutionary multitude were used also by bourgeois thinkers, as shown by a passage from Common Sense in which Paine warned about the dangers of a social revolution: "Massanello may hereafter arise, who, […] may collect together the desperate and the discontented, and […] finally sweep away the liberties of the continent like a deluge."[80] The revolution was a flood.

From theory to history: The Atlantic legacy of Spence's plan

Spence's thought left behind an enduring legacy in London, where ultra-radical activists continued to use the Plan long after their mentor's death. The Society of Spencean Philanthropists was formally founded in 1814, and their members played a leading role in urban radical underworld in the 1810s.[81] The Spa Fields Riots of 1816 and 1817 were led by Spenceans. In an appeal in The Independent Whig, or Paper of the People of 10 November 1816, they exhorted "distressed manufacturers, sailors, artisans and others" to demonstrate, and instigated soldiers to "disobey commands," as "they are a part of the People."[82] They were addressing the "swinish multitude."

The danger represented by the Spenceans was mirrored by public measures. In 1817, the Habeas Corpus was suspended and the Act banning Spencean clubs (*A Bill for the More Effectually Preventing Seditious Meetings and Assemblies*) was passed, while the conservative periodical *The Antijacobin Review* panicked its readers, "Let the Ultra-Whigs make the breach, and the Spenceans will level the wall."[83] Spencean political schemes long remained alarming to the authorities: in 1820, the most radical section of the Society planned to murder the whole British Cabinet in Cato Street, London, to precipitate the revolution. The scheme was thwarted, and the conspirators either executed or transported to New South Wales. Yet the failure of the Spencean *coup* did not condemn the ideas of Thomas Spence to oblivion: both Robert Owen and the most radical members of the Chartist movement (the authors of the *Chartist Land Plan*) drew inspiration from the Plan.[84]

Spenceanism was also an Atlantic movement. The Spenceans shared the global dimension of the Plan, as they sought "to preach Spenceanism […] in all countries."[85] They were aware they belonged to an Atlantic revolutionary tradition. As Spence ended one of his songs, "O give me death or liberty!" so John Brunt, one of the Cato Street conspirators, chalked on the wall of the Tower of London, waiting for execution, "Give me Liberty or Death."[86] They were referring to Virginia patriot Patrick Henry's famous speech during the American Revolution. The Spenceans were also inspired by maritime mutinies: crucially, they represented their Society with the metaphor of the "Polemic Fleet," juxtaposing every member to a different ship. Founder Thomas Evans, for instance, was "the Redoubtable," a ship "well acquainted with the Navigation of the Spencean Seas."[87] This maritime and Atlantic dimension was the reason the Society was able to attract people from colonial contexts. Among the Spenceans, there were two Jamaicans: William Davidson and Robert Wedderburn, both former recruits (or conscripts) of the Royal Navy. Wedderburn, son of a black woman and a white planter, was the incarnation of the Atlantic dimension of Spence's thought, further radicalizing the connection between agrarianism, working-class radicalism, abolitionism, and anti-colonialism.[88]

Spencean doctrine had also a striking legacy overseas. Thomas Evans saw the Plan fulfilled in the American community of Harmony, Pennsylvania, where Spence's "Utopian and visionary theories, so long the object of incessant ridicule as being utterly impracticable, are realized in their utmost extent."[89] Spence considered also the Caribbean as a possible location for the implementation of his scheme. In 1803, in the "Epilogue" to the *Constitution of Spensonia*, he wrote:

> And though my book's in queer lingo, I will it send to St. Domingo: To the Republic of the Incas, For an example how to frame Laws […] And who knows but it God may please It should come by the West Indies?[90]

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Viceroyalty of Peru was still under Spanish control. However, many upheavals (such as the Tùpac Amaru II's rebellion of 1780, when native peasants revolted against the Spaniards) made Spence hope for the restoration of the "Republic of the Incas." Even more significant was Spence's mention of Saint-Domingue, where the first anti-slavery revolution recently managed to defeat the French. In 1803, after the short-lived Constitution of Saint-Domingue of 1801, Haiti was still lacking a constitution, and Spence proposed to send his own as "an example how

to frame Laws." He entertained the idea of promoting the implementation of his Plan also in the British West Indies.

Spence seems to have been better known in the West Indies than has been thought. From Robert Wedderburn's correspondence, we know that one Miss Campell, Jamaican maroon and plantation owner, emancipated her slaves and redistributed the land to them, as free men, in the name of Spence's Plan in 1817. In one of her letters to Wedderburn, Campbell told him of the troubles that occurred with the Jamaican Assembly after she emancipated her slaves, and informed him that the governor "had got a newspaper from England, which gives an account of the Spencean doctrine" and "mutter[ed], there will be more white blood split in Jamaica than was in St. Domingo." Doubts have been raised about the authenticity of this correspondence: Wedderburn may have invented the correspondent.[91] In any case, the *Address of the Society of Spencean Philanthropists* of 1816 was indeed reprinted in a 1817 supplement of Jamaican *Royal Gazette* – the "newspaper from England" to which Miss Campbell referred. This reprint was equipped with an editorial comment, defining Spence's thought as a set of "dangerous and levelling doctrines," and criticizing the *Address of the Society of Spencean Philanthropists*:

> This document is as extraordinary an instance of the perversion of the first principles and the delusion of the human mind […] and the equal partition of property which it recommends […] is not the less dangerous because its supporters belong to the lower classes of the community. There is not a town in the kingdom in which the Spencean society has not its agents, its emissaries, its sections, and committees.[92]

Spence's Plan was even intellectually implicated in Bussa's rebellion, the largest slave revolt in the history of Barbados. A report of the Select Committee of Barbadian House of Assembly, appointed in 1816 to inquire into the reasons of the rebellion, shows how dangerous the Spencean doctrine was considered in plantation societies. It also reveals an African-Caribbean circulation of the Plan:

> The rebellion began on April 14, 1816, in St. Philip's Parish. The canes on one-fifth of the estates in the island were burned, and property to the amount of £179,000 was destroyed […] The colonials deprecated "the propagation of those doctrines, whose object, alike in Great Britain and in the colonies, is to erect a baseless and visionary fabrick of liberty upon the ruins of the 'privileged class' whether promulgated under the authority of the Spencean or the African philanthropists."[93]

The Spenceans and the "African philanthropists" (the abolitionists) were juxtaposed as two radical, transatlantic traditions threatening to subvert established order – both in the metropole and in the colonies.

One way or the other, the Plan of Thomas Spence managed to land in the West Indies a few years after his death. British Caribbean archives still need to be explored through this Spencean lens: unexpected connections will probably come to light. Wedderburn clearly perceived that, if transplanted to an Atlantic context, the Plan could represent a real danger to the established order. As Campbell wrote, "I, who am […] of the Maroon tribe, understood the Spencean doctrine directly: I heard of it, and obey, and the slaves felt the force directly. They are singing all day at work about Thomas Spence."[94] Wedderburn realized that Spence's Plan could speak "directly" to the slaves, who tilled the plantations with their blood and tears, and for whom the relationship between land and freedom was an everyday truth.

In conclusion, from an Atlantic perspective, Spence's Plan offered the theoretical and practical tools to achieve universal emancipation via the global and terraqueous circulation of revolutionary struggle. The Plan showed the way to fulfil both the "red" Atlantic of the fight against private property, and the "black" Atlantic of the emancipation of the multi-ethnic "swinish multitude." This global struggle, according to Spence, was supposed to go on until everyone would "sing your dear rights to each other, 'till all think alike every where, even from one Land's end to the other," and "all shall be happy by Land and by Sea."[95]

Notes

1. Mackenzie, *Memoir of Thomas Spence*, 8; Hill, *The World*, 32.
2. Knox, "Thomas Spence," 75.
3. Burke, *Reflections*, 79.
4. Thompson, *The Making*, 161.
5. Chase, *The People's Farm*, chapters 4 and 5; Cobbett, *Weekly Political Register*, 749.
6. Armstrong and Bonnett, eds., *Thomas Spence*, 2; Marx, *Theories of Surplus-Value*, 314; Worrall, *Radical Culture*, 7.
7. I intend to apply to Spence the transatlantic analysis from below explored by Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker in *The Many-Headed Hydra*. This approach helps extend the methodological, geographical, and social boundaries of Eurocentric history of political thought, which usually deals with political treatises and bourgeois philosophers. I also intend to contribute to the work of those scholars who recently started to shed light on Spence's relevance as a political thinker, such as Malcom Chase and Alastair Bonnett. See Linebaugh and Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra*; Chase, *The People's Farm*; Armstrong and Bonnett, eds., *Thomas Spence*, 75–88.
8. Spence, *The Important Trial*, 94.
9. Kemp-Ashraf, *Life and Times*, 11; Mackenzie, *A Descriptive and Historical Account*, 399.
10. Jones, "Community and Organisation," 42; Magra, "Anti-Impressment Riots," 132; McCord and Brewster, "Some Labour Troubles," 367–376.
11. Chase, *The People's Farm*, 30.
12. Spence, "Property in Land", 7; Mackenzie, *Memoir of Thomas Spence*, 5.
13. Chase, *The People's Farm*, 21–23; Kemp-Ashraf, *Life and Times*, 51–52.
14. Stevenson, "The London 'Crimp' Riots," 46.
15. Spence, *The Case of Thomas Spence* (1792), 15–21; Davenport, *The Life, Writings, and Principles*, 4; Chase, *The People's Farm*, 23.
16. Thornbury, *Old and New London*, 299; Frykman, "Connections Between Mutinies," 96; Linebaugh and Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra*, 280; McCalman, *Radical Underworld*, 15–16.
17. Linebaugh, *Stop, Thief!* 34–35; Bohstedt, *The Politics of Provisions*, 167.
18. Spence, *The Rights of Infants*, 115.
19. Parssinen, "Thomas Spence," 119; Davenport, *The Life, Writings, and Principles*, 4.
20. Spence, *The Restorer of Society*, 163; Spence, *A Further Account of Spensonia*, 89.
21. Spence, *A Dream*, 119.
22. Spence, "The Rights of Swine," 98–100.
23. Thompson, "The Dies of Thomas Spence," 138; Spence, "The Rights of Man for Me," 129.
24. Spence, *The Restorer of Society*, 143–144; Thompson, "The Dies of Thomas Spence," 133.
25. Worrall, *Radical Culture*, 107.
26. Bohstedt, *The Politics of Provisions*, 184; Wells, "Militia Mutinies of 1795," 35–64. On the radical politics within the military, see Cookson, *The British Armed Nation*, 182–245; Linebaugh and Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra*, 248–286; Way, "Rebellion of the Regulars," 761–792.
27. Spence, "The Contrast," back page (unpaginated); Thompson, "The Dies of Thomas Spence," 144.

28. Spence, *The Case of Thomas Spence* (1793), 15.
29. "Substance of the Examination of T. Spence," 3–4.
30. Thompson, "The Dies of Thomas Spence," 132.
31. Spence, *The Restorer of Society*, 141, 164.
32. Spence, *The Rights of Man* (1792), 1.
33. Spence, *The Reign of Felicity*, 43; Linebaugh and Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra*, 36–70.
34. Spence, *The Rights of Infants*, 121–122; Spence, *An Interesting Conversation*, 69.
35. Linebaugh and Rediker, *The Many Headed Hydra*, 282.
36. Spence, *The Rights of Infants*, 115–118.
37. Federici, *Caliban and the Witch*, 8.
38. The "dividends" were quotas redistributed quarterly among all the inhabitants of the parishes.
39. Spence, *The Rights of Infants*, 119; Spence, *The Restorer of Society*, 138–139.
40. Spence, *The Marine Republic*, 76–77.
41. Gallop, ed., *Pig's Meat*, 192.
42. Knox, "Thomas Spence," 75.
43. Rediker, *Between the Devil*, 291–294; Jackson, "From Profit Sailing," 606–608.
44. Frykman, "Connections Between Mutinies," 91–97.
45. Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*, 18.
46. Spence, *The Important Trial*, 97.
47. The millennium linked Spence to the seventeenth century thinkers of the English Revolution, especially the Digger Gerrard Winstanley. Spence had in the Diggers important intellectual role models, as he considered himself a "true and genuine Leveller." He shared with Winstanley the idea that the millennium should be an earthly condition of freedom from dispossession: as for Winstanley people should have "our heaven […] here on earth while we are living," so Spence wanted "the New Jerusalem state of happiness on earth; and not in heaven." Spence projected this millennial claim into the Age of Atlantic Revolutions. Spence, *The Giant-Killer*, vol. 1, 3, and vol. 2, 14; Hill, *The World*, 141; Linebaugh, "Jubilating," 143; Chase, "From Millennium to Anniversary," 133.
48. Laudani, "Mare e Terra," 521–524. For a study on the spatial foundations of modern political thought, see Galli, *Political Spaces*, chapters 1–4.
49. Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*, 29, 91.
50. Pitts, *A Turn to Empire*, 1–21.
51. Laudani, "Mare e Terra," 513–517.
52. Rediker, *Outlaws of the Atlantic*, 8.
53. Spence, *The Marine Republic*, 78–79.
54. Spence, *The Reign of Felicity*, 42.
55. Ibid., 41–42.
56. Spence, *The Restorer of Society*, 145.
57. Spence, "The Downfall of Feudal Tyranny," 128; Spence, *The National Debt*, 106.
58. Spence, *The Important Trial*, 95; Thompson, "The Dies of Thomas Spence," 131.
59. Spence, *The End of Oppression*, 92–93; Federici, *Caliban and the Witch*, 12.
60. Gallop, ed., *Pig's Meat*, 192.
61. Claeys, "Four Letters," 320.
62. Morton, *The English Utopia*, 130.
63. Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, 109; Spence, *The Rights of Man* (1793), 62–63.
64. Spence, *The Rights of Infants*, 115.
65. Spence, *A Further Account of Spensonia*, 80.
66. Spence, *The Reign of Felicity*, 41, 44.
67. Spence, *The Marine Republic*, 77.
68. Spence, "The Progress of Liberty," 122; Spence, *The Constitution of Spensonia*, 184.
69. Spence, *A Supplement*, 11, 14. This expression was probably inspired by the refrain of *Rule, Britannia!*, the famous patriotic song by James Thomson. An evidence of Spence's abolitionism is his token "AM I NOT A MAN AND A BROTHER?" with famous Josiah Wedgwood's image of a

supplicant black slave, which was adopted as the seal of the Society for the Abolition of Slavery. Thompson, "The Dies of Thomas Spence," 149.

70. Spence, *A Supplement*, 14.
71. Spence, *The End of Oppression*, 95.
72. Spence, *A Fragment*, 45.
73. Spence, "A Song," 121; Serna, "Every Revolution," 165–182.
74. Spence, "The Propagation of Spensonianism," 134.
75. Spence, *The Rights of Man* (1793), 66; Spence, *The Restorer of Society*, 145–146.
76. Dubois, Gaffield, and Acacia, eds., *Documents Constitutionnels d'Haïti*, 69–82.
77. Spence, *The Pronouncing and Foreigners' Bible*, 1.
78. Spence, *The Restorer of Society*, 141.
79. Spence, "The Downfall of Feudal Tyranny," 128.
80. Paine, *Common Sense*, 29–30.
81. Chase, *The People's Farm*, 94–98, 146–147.
82. *The Independent Whig*, front page (unpaginated); "England Expects Every Man," sixth page (unpaginated).
83. *The Antijacobin Review*, 367.
84. Parsons, "The Cato Street Conspirators," 3–5; Chase, *The People's Farm*, 101–104, 120–152.
85. Wedderburn, *The Horrors of Slavery*, 84.
86. Spence, "The Downfall of Feudal Tyranny," 129; Worrall, *Radical Culture*, 195.
87. "The Polemic Fleet," sixth paragraph.
88. Linebaugh and Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra*, 287–326; Wedderburn, *The Horrors of Slavery*, 1.
89. Evans, *Christian Policy*, 15.
90. Spence, *The Constitution of Spensonia*, 185.
91. Wedderburn, *The Horrors of Slavery*, 106; Thomas, "Robert Wedderburn's Correspondent," 510–512.
92. "Supplement to the Royal Gazette," 9.
93. Ragatz, *A Guide for the Study*, 138.
94. Wedderburn, *The Horrors of Slavery*, 107.
95. Spence, "Spence and the Barber," 133; Spence, *The Restorer of Society*, 149.

Acknowledgements

Disclosure statement

Funding

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