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By R. Alton Lee

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# Pasquale Paoli: Fighter for Freedom

by

R. Alton Lee\*

A seemingly necessary ingredient of any political revolution is a combination of heroes, slogans, and symbols. The American Revolutionary movement, like the French, Russian, or present-day revolutionary movements, produced its share of these attributes of patriotism. Students of American history are familiar with the deeds of Patrick Henry and Paul Revere, with the "Sons of Liberty," and with such phrases as "no taxation without representation," but undoubtedly some heroes and slogans of the moment have been forgotten. One of the more interesting persons who was widely mentioned in the Philadelphia newspapers during the 1760's is rarely remembered today. He is Pasquale Paoli. An examination of these newspapers reveals that Paoli was considered a noble fighter for freedom and one to whom the Americans awarded the highest honors.

Paoli was born on April 25, 1725, in the village of Rostino in Corsica. His mother, Dionisia Valentini Paoli, was of noble birth; his father, Giacinto Paoli, was a leading rebel who participated in an early rebellion against Genoese rule.<sup>1</sup> When Pasquale Paoli was thirty years old he was made the chief executive of his country and for fourteen years guided Corsica in its fight for independence. The major and final portion of this fight for liberty took place in the years 1764-1769 and received publicity throughout Europe and the British colonies in America.

Although Paoli's letters and correspondence have been collected and printed<sup>2</sup> and several biographies have been written,<sup>3</sup> most of this material is in a foreign language and none of it is of very recent origin. He has been especially neglected in American history and except indirectly, even forgotten in most cases. In the last half century there has been only one article written about him in a significant American publication and only three articles prior to the Twentieth Century.

The period of the Corsican fight for independence corresponds with the first half of the decade of controversy between England and her American colonies. In this era Paoli and the Corsican struggle provided a hero and an example for the colonial radicals to emulate. Paoli's widespread popularity is all the more significant because he never visited the American colonies. Although he was an inspiration to the radicals in all the colonies, this paper is concerned only with the colony of Pennsylvania.

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## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

In the fifteenth century, with the exception of one brief period, Genoa reestablished a rule over Corsica which lasted for three hundred years.<sup>4</sup> In 1557, Genoa, at that time at war with France, lost Corsica to the armies of Henry II and it was incorporated into France. The French were not in possession long. In 1559 Corsica was returned to Genoa as one of the provisions of the treaty of Cateau-Chambresis. This exchange of rule was followed by a long period of unrest although the native Corsicans staged no major rebellion.

In the early 1700's Genoa was one of a number of second-rate powers which received subsidies from France and was expected when requested, to take part in her quarrels. Partially because of a famine a revolt broke out in 1729.<sup>5</sup> Genoa was having a difficult time subduing the unruly Corsicans and, because of her relationship to France, asked France for assistance. France, thinking perhaps Genoa would like to dispose of the problem permanently, offered to buy Corsica but at the same time stated that she would allow no other major power to occupy this strategic location in the Mediterranean. Genoa declined to sell, and, answering the original request, France sent an army in 1738. The French army was to do what Genoa could not accomplish: subdue the rebels and restore order, which they promptly did. In 1739 Giacinto Paoli, one of the leading rebels, went into exile in Naples. It was here that Pasquale received the major part of his education. He attended the military college in Naples and afterwards received a commission as a lieutenant in a cavalry regiment composed mainly of Corsican exiles, of which his father was a colonel.

The French army had evacuated Corsica in 1741, and in 1752 the Corsicans revolted again. They proclaimed Jean Paul Gaffori generalissimo. The Genoese procured Gaffori's assassination in October, 1753, and the indignation thus aroused rendered any reconciliation impossible.<sup>6</sup> A constitution extraordinarily modern for the Eighteenth Century was drawn up; it established truly popular government. The Corsicans decided to offer the leadership to Pasquale Paoli in 1755. He landed in Corsica on April 29, 1755, and on June 25 the Supreme Council elected him generalissimo.<sup>7</sup>

Immediately after his election he began to establish order and justice and to bring about needed reforms. National schools were founded throughout the country and a university was established at Cortes. He built up the naval fleet of the rebels which soon became a formidable rival to the Genoese navy. Land was drained and olive and chestnut trees were planted. Since the port cities were in the hands of the Genoese, he secured a port by founding the town of Isola Rossa in a natural harbor on the northwest coast.<sup>8</sup>

Probably the most surprising achievement of Paoli at this time was his suppression of the vendetta.<sup>9</sup> This age-old form of revenge had been a

chronic weakness of Corsica. In a population of two-hundred thousand, there were nearly a thousand murders annually.<sup>10</sup> Paoli's answer to this problem was the introduction into Corsica of an official hangman, and the first law published was that which punished the vendetta by hanging. It is said that one of his own relatives was made the earliest example.<sup>11</sup> Considering the circumstances and the condition of the country, Paoli was extremely successful for the brief period he ruled. Order and justice were restored, assassinations became rare, taxation was low, national prosperity increased, and the people were educated and civilized.<sup>12</sup> In all this he seems to have been actuated by no desire to make himself the king or tyrant of the island; he sought for Corsica independence from the rule of strangers and prosperity such as it had not known in the past.<sup>13</sup>

At the same time he was bringing about domestic reforms, he vigorously carried on the war with Genoa. He successively drove the Genoese from the cities of Bastia, Calvi, and San Lorenzo and eventually from Ajaccio. French troops had been called in at the time of the revolt in 1752 but were needed elsewhere during the Seven Years' War, and the garrisons on the coast where they had been stationed were evacuated. In 1764 Genoa, despairing of her own power to suppress the rebels, again appealed to France. In a secret treaty signed at Compiègne on August 7, 1764, the French promised military aid to the Genoese for four years. Count Marboeuf landed six battalions on the island in October, 1764, and occupied most of the strong places. Four years of armed truce followed, broken only by minor skirmishes in which Paoli seemed to test the intentions of France.

At this point France was determined to secure Corsica to counterbalance the possessions of England in the Mediterranean. By the treaty of Versailles, negotiated between the French foreign minister, Choiseul, and the Genoese plenipotentiary, Sorba, on May 15, 1768, Genoa ceded Corsica to France in return for the expense the French crown incurred in its efforts to subdue the island. Paoli and the Corsican rebels were not a party to the treaty and they determined to resist. The resistance of the Corsican patriots was heroic but the result inevitable. The sympathy of Europe was on their side—a company of Prussians indeed enrolled themselves with the troops of the islanders—but beyond private subscriptions and a freely expressed opinion, England was again ordered by her Cabinet to stand aloof.<sup>14</sup> Guizot expressed England's position in this way:

England had supplied Paoli with munitions and arms; he had hoped more from the promises of the government and the national jealousy against France. 'The ministry is too weak and the nation too wise to make war on account of Corsica,' said an illustrious judge, Lord Mansfield. In vain did Burke exclaim, 'Corsica, as a province of France, is for me an object of alarm.' The House of Commons approved of the government's conduct, and England contented herself with offering to the vanquished Paoli a sympathetic hospitality.<sup>15</sup>

England was at this time embroiled in the Townsend Revenue Act con-

troversy with her American colonies and had to devote her attention to this problem.

The French sent reinforcements under Count Vaux to Corsica. A few skirmishes and minor battles were fought with the French slowly wearing down the Corsicans by weight of numbers. The final battle was fought at Pontenucvo on May 19, 1769, where the Corsican army, under the personal command of Paoli, was completely defeated. Paoli and about three hundred followers then fought their way to the coast. Paoli embarked on an English frigate at Porto Vecchio and on June 16, 1769, landed at Leghorn. He was received with the greatest enthusiasm; the English ships displayed their colors and discharged artillery.<sup>16</sup> The Italian princes received the exiles with great hospitality, and Grand Duke Leopold of Tuscany, assigned lands to such of them as chose to settle in his dominions. Many entered the service of the King of Sardinia, and a few others went to Minorca. Everywhere the Corsican refugees were received with respect and admiration.

On September 21, 1769, Paoli arrived in London. Benjamin Franklin, in London at the time, noted his arrival and informed James Boswell, a close friend of Paoli.<sup>17</sup> The Prime Minister of England obtained for the exile a pension of £1200 annually which the general enjoyed for twenty years. He was introduced at Court and received by King George III.

Soon after the outbreak of the French Revolution, Corsica was made a department of France. Mirabeau proposed that General Paoli should be recalled from exile and appointed Lieutenant-General of the island. At this point there is a conflict in the various sources. The following is as accurate a sequel of events as the writer can piece together. Paoli resigned his pension and went to Corsica. Immediately on his arrival he was elected mayor of Bastia and commander-in-chief of the national guard. In April, 1790, Paoli appeared at the bar of the National Assembly in Paris, where he was received with enthusiasm. He delivered an address to the Assembly, in the course of which he promised fidelity to the new order of things in France. On being presented to Louis XVI, Paoli was appointed Lieutenant-General and Military Commandant of Corsica.<sup>18</sup>

Paoli set about at once to re-establish his paternal government. However, there were two major factors which prevented close cooperation between Paoli and the French government. First of all, a young and strong personality had arisen whose views for his country were different from those of Paoli. Napoleon Bonaparte was born just two months after the battle of Pontenucvo (which had made an exile of Paoli) in 1769. After Paoli had conversed with Napoleon, he referred to him as being cast in the mold of one of Plutarch's men and prophesied that the whole world would discuss him; a prophecy that came true. Napoleon was born and raised a Frenchman. His desires and ambitions were in favor of French policy while Paoli still dreamed of Corsican independence and favored

English friendship. The second factor which was a hindrance to good relations was that soon after Paoli took over the government, his administration was attacked in numerous pamphlets. The breach between him and France widened and finally broke when the French executed Louis XVI. Paoli led a revolt against France in the hope of gaining independence with the assistance of England. The Bonapartes were opposed to the rebellion, and when Napoleon tried to seize the fortress of Ajaccio, Paoli expelled him and the whole Bonaparte family from the island. Thus, Napoleon was thrust into France and the beginning of his career in French politics.

In the meantime, Paoli had been put on the proscribed list in Paris. He applied to the English for help and received naval support from the English fleet under Admiral Hood. On June 10, 1794, the French were driven from the island when Bastia, the last stronghold, surrendered. Paoli then sent a deputation to London which offered the sovereignty of Corsica to George III. This was accepted and proclaimed on June 17, 1794. Sir Gilbert Elliott was sent to Corsica as Viceroy. This was undoubtedly a disappointment to Paoli, who expected the appointment, and when Elliott relied on the advice of Pozzo di Borgo instead of him, he left for England. When he left he earnestly recommended to his compatriots to remain firm in their allegiance to England, as their only security for political independence.<sup>19</sup> The English rule in Corsica lasted two years. The Corsicans were unhappy with English rule and the treatment of Paoli. They became unruly, and the English decided it was not worthwhile to occupy the turbulent island and evacuated it in 1796. France again stepped in, and Corsica has been united with France since that time.

Paoli arrived in England in 1795, took up the pension he had resigned earlier, and quietly lived out the rest of his life. He died February 5, 1807, at the age of eighty-two. An impressive memorial was raised to him in Westminster Abbey. He was buried in St. Pancras Churchyard, and on August 31, 1789, by permission of the British government, his remains were exhumed and sent to Corsica at the request of the Corsicans.

A monument in Morosaglia was raised in his honor. The cabin there in which he was born has been preserved and one room made into a chapel. On the floor is a marble slab bearing the inscription "Padre de la Patrie" and which states that below rest the bones of Pasquale di Paoli, brought from England.<sup>20</sup>

#### CHARACTER AND DESCRIPTION OF PAOLI

What kind of a man was this who was so loved by his people that they called him "Father of the People?" What kind of a character did he have which enabled him to bring so many reforms to his unruly countrymen and have them accepted? "This great man who God has sent to deliver us," was the Corsican reference to him. An unknown contemporary correspondent described him as:



Signor Pasquale de Paoli has the title of his Excellency the General of the Kingdom of Corsica; he is absolute commander in the military affairs, and in a civil capacity is head of the supreme council. He is a man about 40, tall, well made, and of a noble countenance. He speaks his own language remarkably well, and is very much master both of French and English. He is without doubt one of the most illustrious men of the present age.<sup>21</sup>

The Major account of him as written by one who knew him personally is found in the writings of James Boswell (1740-1795). Boswell made a trip to Corsica from England in 1765, via France and Italy, for the purpose of meeting Paoli.<sup>22</sup> The arguments pro and con of Boswell's character and writing ability will not be presented here except to quote a letter from Thomas Gray to Horace Walpole dated February 25, 1768, after Boswell had published his book, *An Account of Corsica: The Journal of a Tour to that Island; and Memoirs of Pascal Paoli*. Gray wrote:

Mr. Boswell's book . . . has pleased and moved me strangely, all (I mean) that relates to Paoli. He is a man born two thousand years after his time! The pamphlet proves what I have always maintained, that any fool may write a most valuable book by chance, if he will only tell us what he heard and saw with veracity. Of Mr. Boswell's truth I have not the least suspicion, because I am sure he would invent nothing of this kind.<sup>23</sup>

Mr. Boswell had his interview with Paoli and was his guest for a brief period. When Boswell was presented to General Paoli, he paid this compliment to the Corsicans: "Sir, I am upon my travels, and have lately visited Rome: I am come from seeing the ruins of one brave and free people: I now see the rise of another."<sup>24</sup> He described Paoli in his first meeting as "tall, strong, and well-made; of a fair complexion, a sensible, free, and open countenance, and a manly and noble carriage." Boswell later gave a more detailed description of him in a letter to London, dated October 30, 1766:

I hinted to you in my last, my intentions of making a tour to Corsica: I have since put them into execution. I had a most agreeable journey, and passed eight days at Corte with General Paoli. This is really the most extraordinary person I ever met with; he is above all praise, his age is 42, his person graceful and his address extremely polite. He is learned in all the ancient and modern languages, has a fund of knowledge that would astound you, and so happy a memory, that you can not quote any passage from any writer of reputation, which he is not able to go on with. He has suffered much in his health by the vast fatigue and anxiety which he has undergone; and he has mentioned to me, that he can even feel a sensible decay in his faculties. However he is still of so superior a class, that I am persuaded you would be charmed with the knowledge of him.<sup>25</sup>

Boswell was also impressed with Paoli's conversational ability and asserted that: "I soon perceived that he was a fine classical scholar, that his mind was enriched with a variety of knowledge, and that his conversation at meals was instructive and entertaining. Before dinner he had spoken

French. He now spoke Italian, in which he is very eloquent."<sup>26</sup> Paoli's ease of behavior was characterized by Boswell who wrote that: "Those about him come into his apartment at all hours, wake him, help him on with his clothes, are perfectly free from restraint, yet they know their distance and, awed by his real greatness, never lose their respect for him."<sup>27</sup>

Another contemporary described him with the following:

I assure you he is a Man of the most engaging Aspect I ever saw, and so affable, that his Eyes invite one to talk freely to him. At first Look he seemed rather thoughtful, but on his beginning to talk of Corsica, a most engaging Brightness overspread his Countenance: In short, one can not look at and converse with him, without having a kind of Enthusiasm for him.<sup>28</sup>

Paoli's extreme patriotism may be seen by his actions in Corsica and his long battle for its independence. In stating his views on Corsican independence, he said:

Let the mean slaves of their masters' wills fawn at their feet, and renounce the natural rights of humanity; as for me, I have learnt to be free; I know how to live so, and to die free, I would sacrifice ten lives if I had them; I have but one, but that shall not survive my liberty . . . If I fall the victim of liberty, I shall fall nobly and teach others to sacrifice themselves to the common cause.<sup>29</sup>

An interesting connection between Paoli's ambitions and his ideas of liberty was expressed in a news item from London dated November 26, 1769. "At a late Assembly of the Corsicans, there appeared in the hall a kind of throne, which seemed not to please one of the chiefs, and, on him asking for whom the throne was intended, Paoli answered that it was intended to place thereon the statue of Liberty."<sup>30</sup>

Paoli remained firm in his stand for independence despite offers that would have tempted many men in like circumstances. These offers and refusals were printed in the newspapers and did much toward establishing him as a great patriot and defender of liberty. It was reported that the Genoese had offered him the sum of two million French livres for redelivery of Capraia, which was refused.<sup>31</sup> The French, after their initial attempts in 1768 to defeat Paoli, offered to negotiate with him. "They advise from Leghorn, that the Court of Versailles had of late proposed very flattering offers to General Paoli, which the more than virtue of that celebrated patriot had induced him to refuse."<sup>32</sup> These French proposals were looked upon with apprehension in some quarters in England and provoked news items discussing the potentialities of such an agreement. A dispatch from London, dated May 31, 1768, denied the possibility of Paoli concurring in a treaty with the French by quoting from Boswell's *Account of Corsica*.

Paoli talked very highly on preserving the independency of Corsica. 'We may,' he said, 'have foreign powers for friends; but we must be amici fuori de casa, Friends at arms length. We may make an alliance, but we will not submit ourselves to the domination of the greatest na-

tion in Europe. This people, who have done so much for Liberty, will be hewn in pieces, rather than allow Corsica to be sunk into the territories of another country. Some years ago, when a false rumor was spread that I had a design to yield up Corsica to the Emperor, a Corsican came to me, and addressed me in great agitation: 'What! shall the blood of so many heroes, who have sacrificed their lives for the freedom of Corsica serve only to tinge the purple of a foreign Prince!'<sup>33</sup>

Boswell demonstrated his absolute faith in Paoli and contradicted this rumor in a later news dispatch in a conversation with a noble duke. "My Lord, supposing Paoli, after all his heroism and noble exertions in the cause of Liberty, should become so abandoned as to give up his country, do you not think it would be lawful for me to go over, and cut his throat?" 'No Sir,' replied the Duke, 'but I think he ought to cut his own throat.'<sup>34</sup> A rumor circulating in London soon after these dispatches stated that Paoli's reward for signing the treaty was to be "created a Peer of France, with a handsome Pension annexed thereto during life."<sup>35</sup> All of these offers were of no avail. Paoli's answer to these speculations was quoted in a dispatch from London dated August 12, 1768. "The brave Paschal Paoli, General of the Corsicans, being sometimes since asked how long he would hold out, should the French assist the Genoese in an expedition against Corsica, replied, 'Till Death, for life is not worth the keeping, unless we can preserve too our liberty.'<sup>36</sup> Paoli also refused other offers made to secure his services. He was famous, and because of his excellent military reputation many rulers sought his employment for their armies. An extract of a letter from Leghorn dated January 18, 1767, reported that "some considerable offers were lately made to General Paoli to engage him to enter into the service of a certain great Power, but he made answer, 'That he had resolved, in imitation of Timoleon, as soon as he procured the liberty of his country, to spend the rest of his days in retirement.'<sup>37</sup> An English gentleman in Corsica, in 1765, paid tribute to Paoli's devotion to his cause by asserting:

The firmness of Paoli is really astonishing; and that Chief in his most embarrassing circumstances, continues to exhibit a composure that might do honour to the greatest General. No sooner was it known for certain, that an embarkation of French troops were actually to take place for the assistance of the Genoese, than three more armed vessels were sent to join the rest in the Straight of Sardinia. A fresh garrison was ordered into the fortresses of Brando and Ebra Longa; and such dispositions made as were thought necessary in so pressing a conjuncture. In the meantime the brave islanders have sworn not to survive the loss of their liberty.<sup>38</sup>

#### PAOLI AND THE CORSICANS

The independent spirit of the Corsican people, always present although at times dormant, needed only a leader to organize and cultivate it to bring this disposition into the full-flowering of rebellion. The Corsicans were a hardy, self-reliant people whose unruly attitude toward restrictions

placed on them by the government led them to oppose these restraints, at times by revolution, when their resistance could be coordinated, and by a type of guerilla warfare when, as was usually the case, they were dispersed. Although they had never been completely independent, this desire for liberty was never expunged. After centuries of foreign domination they were determined to obtain their liberty. In a setting like this a man with the qualities of leadership such as Paoli possessed would become the natural focal point of rebellion. The Corsicans took an oath in 1754, which was renewed under Paoli in 1764, which stated their intentions. In this oath they resolved:

We have sworn, and we call upon God to witness, that we will all of us sooner die, than enter into any negotiations with the Republic of Genoa, or return under its yoke. If the powers of Europe, and the French in particular, withhold their compassion from an unhappy people, and should arm themselves against us, and contrive our total destruction, we will repel force by force; we will fight like desperate men, determined either to conquer or die, till, our strength being exhausted, our arms fall out of our hands, and when we have no strength to take them up again; when all of the resources of our country shall be exhausted, our despair shall furnish us with the last, which shall be to imitate the famous example of the Saguntines, by rushing voluntarily into the fire, rather than submit ourselves and our posterity to the insupportable yoke of Geneoese tyranny and slavery.<sup>39</sup>

Paoli was their hero; the man of the hour. He not only inspired them with his speeches and actions but by his character convinced the Corsicans that he could do no wrong. Of course with a man in the position he held, there were naturally criticisms. But the Corsicans answered these and upheld their faith in the trust they gave him.

Our General is very unjustly accused by some of his Enemies of wanting Courage, but we are well acquainted with his Bravery, and cannot reproach him of having avoided any Opportunity of signaling himself; we are convinced of his Military Skill and Prudence; and he is likewise endowed with many other commendable Qualities.<sup>40</sup>

Paoli was able to give inspiring speeches to his countrymen which helped to animate them further in the defense of their country. In a speech to Corsican youth he exhorted them in these words:

Every nation which like our own has been zealous for its liberty, has experienced vicissitudes which have immortalized its name. If, to maintain liberty, nothing was done but to desire it, the whole world would certainly enjoy it. But this valuable jewel can only be acquired by a virtue and a courage which overcomes all obstacles. The condition and prerogatives of a free people, as they are so considerable that no just idea of them can be conveyed, are the astonishment and envy of the greatest men. We are now at the most critical of epoches. If we do not withstand the danger which threatens us, our reputation and liberty are at an end. In vain have we consoled ourselves with the thought of our own heroism; in vain have our ancestors taken such pains, and spilt their blood.—No! ye famous and magnanimous defenders, who have sacrificed your lives to obtain and preserve your liberty, fear not that you will be dishonoured by your descendants. They have resolved to tread the footsteps which you have marked.<sup>41</sup>

After one of his speeches a Corsican described the ardor of the people by saying, "It is unnecessary to describe the feelings of the nation in consequence of this animating Harangue. It is sufficient to say, that we are all ready to sacrifice ourselves for LIBERTY AND INDEPENDENCY."<sup>42</sup> One Corsican was asked what would happen if Paoli were to be poisoned or assassinated as had been attempted. He replied that "Should this misfortune happen, every Corsican would be a Paoli to revenge his death, and defend his country."<sup>43</sup>

This devotion to the cause of liberty was so intensely felt by the Corsicans that when they were finally defeated, "they had no other alternative than to flee, or to be Slaves to France. They preferred the former, and have forsaken their Country, their Families, their Estates, rather than be subject to the French, to whom it is much feared the Hero of the Age, (General de Paoli) must fall a victim."<sup>44</sup>

Hannibal Rostino, Paoli's secretary, wrote to his brother at Leghorn an account of one of Paoli's most stirring speeches. This speech was delivered after the defeat of Pontenuevo on May 19, 1769, when the Corsicans were casting about for means of escape. Rostino briefly described the military situation following the defeat. The Corsicans, numbering only five hundred thirty-seven, were surrounded by four thousand French; yet Paoli animated the troops by a patriotic speech delivered from a small eminence in the middle of the camp. Paoli's appeal to the men was successful, and they resolved to die with their arms in their hands should there be no escape. Following this preface Rostino recorded Paoli's speech:

At length, my brave companions, we are reduced to the utmost extremity!—That dreadful event, which neither a war of thirty years, the rancorous hatred of the Genoese, nor the forces of divers European powers could bring about, is now produced by the effects of gold alone!—Our unfortunate countrymen deceived, and led away by their corrupted Chiefs, are even going themselves to embrace the chains, which are forging for them!—Our once happy constitution is overthrown!—Most of our friends are either killed, or made prisoners, and for us, who have had the misfortune to live to see, and weep over the ruin of our country, what remains?—Nothing but a sad alternative, death or slavery!—Can any of you, to lengthen out a short remnant of wretched life, become slaves to injustice and oppression! Alas! my dear friends, let us reject with scorn that shameful thought. As neither the gold nor the splendid offers of France have had power to tempt me to dishonour, I trust the success of their arms has not made me contemptible. After the reputation of having conquered, nothing is more estimable, than a glorious death! Let us then lose no time, but either force our way, sword in hand, through the ranks of our enemies, and in a distant land wait for happier times, to avenge our Country's wrongs, or terminate our honourable career, our short remains of life, by dying gloriously, as we have lived.<sup>45</sup>

Is it any wonder that the Corsicans were willing to follow such a man to their deaths? After this speech Paoli and his men cut through the French

lines that night and made their way to the coast where they were taken by an English ship to Leghorn.

Despite the ardent patriotism of followers, Paoli suffered from the actions of traitors. Leaders in causes have always suffered from betrayals, and Paoli undoubtedly had his share of defectors. As early as 1763, before the arrival of the French, an officer whom he had made governor of the fort of Costia, delivered up the fort to General Matra, commander of the Genoese Army. When four Corsicans were convicted of conspiring in this event, it was reported that, on Paoli's orders, two were "broke alive on the wheel," and two were "roasted alive."<sup>46</sup> The Genoese were successful in having Gaffori assassinated in 1753 and assigned to an officer in their army the job of doing away with Paoli in like manner. The plot was discovered and the assassin was cut to pieces by the Corsican militia.<sup>47</sup> In 1768 Paoli "had very narrowly escaped being taken prisoner by a reconnoitering party of the French, led by a Corsican deserter whom the commanding officer had bribed with a large sum of money."<sup>48</sup>

When the French were beginning to overcome the Corsicans in 1769, some of Paoli's principal men began to carry on correspondence with the French. Paoli arrested one of his secretaries, Matei, son of the chancellor, for corresponding with the Marquis de Chauvelin.<sup>49</sup> He later discovered that two of his own relatives had been engaged in a treasonable correspondence with France.<sup>50</sup> At the same time, he had to guard against plots directed at his person. Probably under the instigation of French bribes, a plot was evolved by some of his officers. It was reported "that a dangerous conspiracy among some of the Corsican Chiefs against Paschal de Paoli, had luckily been discovered by that General, just time enough to prevent the execution of a design against his liberty, and probably against his life."<sup>51</sup>

The French with their greater numbers and resources eventually would have subdued Corsica in any event but could have accomplished this sooner if they had expected and prepared for the extreme resistance they met. By 1769 they had put in sufficient reinforcements to overcome the opposition, but their conquest was hastened by treachery. This was reported in the press which the following extract of a letter from Paris illustrates. "It is not expected [there] that General Paoli can hold out above one campaign against the Power of France, not only on Account of Superiority of Numbers, but also as great Dependence is placed on the Desertion of some of the Chiefs in Corsica, and that in all Probability by the powerful Influence of Gold, more will follow the Example";<sup>52</sup> and, "Some letters from Leghorn mention, that even General Paoli himself begins to despair of being much longer able to defend his Country; on Account of the repeated Revolt of the Chiefs of Corsica to the French Interest."<sup>53</sup>

It readily may be seen from these extracts that Paoli commanded the love and loyalty of the Corsican people. The descriptions of Paoli by con-

temporaries served to create in him a virtuous symbol of nationalism and helped to spread his fame abroad. By his leadership and example the Corsicans were inspired to make a determined stand for independence all of which was widely publicized and avidly followed by the more liberal elements of the time. The number of traitors to the lost cause seem to have been relatively few considering the overwhelming superiority of the French. This in itself is a tribute to Paoli.

#### ASSISTANCE FROM OTHER COUNTRIES

Paoli was not only admired by contemporary patriots, but he was also admired and respected by the great leaders of his time. They appreciated his abilities and sought to acquire his services, but more than this, they paid him high personal tribute. From as far away as present-day Russia,

The celebrated Prince Heraclius of Georgia hath sent General Paoli a present of six beautiful camels, with a letter full of the glow and metaphor of oriental eloquence. He concludes, 'Great Sir, while in the zenith of glory, deign to accept the tribute of him, who is proud of being born in the same age with Paoli, and feeling the most exalted admiration of his character, without one spark of envy.'<sup>54</sup>

The King of Prussia sent a medal of himself to Paoli "with an eulogium, in which he makes that General greater than all the heroes of antiquity," and, "the greatest Hero of the Age."<sup>55</sup> On his way to England in 1769, he was received and entertained with the greatest "Politeness by the Prince Stadholder."<sup>56</sup>

Some of the countries of Europe extended more than compliments to Paoli. As long as the war remained a rebellion against Genoa, the surrounding powers stayed aloof, considering it an internal affair and not of too much importance in the manuevers for power. However, when the French entered into the scene in 1764, by the treaty of Compiegne, it became a different matter. France was one of the major powers in Europe, and any attempts at expansion by her were looked on with alarm by the other powers in Europe. The Corsicans stood a good chance of obtaining their freedom from Genoa, but against a great power like France they were helpless. One contemporary put it this way:

I have not suffered myself to be carried away, as many others have been, by an enthusiastic fever in favour of Corsica; but I have contracted such a friendship for the General, that I cannot even describe how much I admire him. He certainly is a great man, who possesses both spirit and eloquence to an amazing degree, has entirely sacrificed himself for his country, and is incapable of betraying it. Do not suffer yourself to be deceived by those whom either the French, or disaffected Corsicans, deceive by such calumnies. Whoever would judge of the French in general from their behavior in the last actions in Corsica, could indeed not love them . . . I wish that this may dissipate every shadow of suspicion about Paoli and those powers, who are the natural friends of the Corsicans, and induce them to assist them powerfully. As from the little knowledge I have of Corsica, which I

have almost entirely traveled through, and from some other considerations, I fear that at last nothing will save the country, but an open stand in their favour.<sup>57</sup>

Consequently Paoli appealed for outside help. He extended an invitation to the enemies of France by stating that "if all the Maritime powers subscribe to the treaty between France and the Genoese, he must subscribe thereto likewise; if not, that the Corsicans will defend their liberty to the last drop of their blood."<sup>58</sup> He seems to have needed arms and ammunition more than anything else. Some of the countries responded to appeals, and as early as 1766 he received several hundred barrels of gunpowder, thirty field pieces of brass, and a great number of firelocks which were landed in the gulf of Ajaccio by a Dutch vessel.<sup>59</sup> In 1768 a rumor stated that a treaty was being negotiated between Prussia and Paoli.<sup>60</sup> In 1769 another rumor reported that the Dey of Algiers had offered to furnish the brave Paoli with a number of troops and a considerable supply of arms and ammunition in order to enable him to preserve the liberties of his country from the encroachments of his ambitious enemies.<sup>61</sup> Prior to this it was announced that the great success of the Corsicans had already induced several European powers, enemies to arbitrary power, to assist General Paoli with money and munitions of war, in great abundance. These offers apparently gave the French a good deal of apprehension. It was reported that "the Court had received intelligence that Paoli, in a late assembly of the Corsican Chiefs, assured them, that he had promises from three different quarters (producing letters at the same time) of being plentifully supplied with money and ammunition in a very short time."<sup>62</sup>

While money and ammunition were flowing into Corsica, men also were coming in. In this age of adventurers, there were many who volunteered to serve under the "defender of liberty," General Paoli. In 1766 there was a report that he had upwards of five hundred foreign officers in his service, many of them engineers.<sup>63</sup> Possibly because of the mutual admiration of the King of Prussia and Paoli, there were "16 Prussian officers, having in the course of the last three months, joined the army under General Paoli as volunteers, four of them belong to the train of artillery." Later in the year a rumor was circulated that seven hundred troops of a certain power having been discharged, had entered into the service of Paoli. Shortly afterwards it was reported that "the Corsican troops, with the Sardinian and Italian deserters, amount to 11,000 effective men."<sup>64</sup> France, too, tried to bring in foreign troops. It was reported that "the court has determined to take several regiments of Swiss troops into pay, to serve during the war with Corsica. (Surely the Swiss will not engage in such an infamous service.)"<sup>65</sup> If this insertion in parenthesis of the writer of the news article reflects the attitude of Europe to any degree, it can readily be imagined that France found it difficult to recruit mercenaries to serve in Corsica.



It was to England, however, that Paoli and the rest of Europe looked for assistance to the Corsicans. France was the natural enemy of England, having just finished the fourth in a series of wars in their conflict over building empires. Since England was dominant on the seas and had many claims in the Mediterranean, it was assumed that she would be interested in Corsica—at least interested in frustrating France in her conquest. As one contemporary put it, “if the French make themselves masters of that island, the trade of Great Britain to the Mediterranean Sea, will be lost in any future war.”<sup>66</sup> However, England held back from openly assisting Paoli, probably to avoid precipitating another conflict with France. Burke (1729-1797), one of the political leaders of England at this time, expressed his apparent disgust on the subject in a speech delivered in the House of Commons. The following is an extract from the speech.

But perhaps it is an effect of the incomprehensible wisdom of our ministry, to draw the French into Corsica, to see their armies slaughtered, and their revenues wasted in unprofitable attempts upon rocky coasts, uncultivated woods and barren mountains. They consider Corsica as a mere useless acquisition, and if not a scourge, at least a burthen to the conquerors.<sup>67</sup>

But others may differ in their opinion: Though Corsica by itself, on its old master, is a fort of nothing, when plucked from the heart of Europe, to be incorporated into France, it becomes a serious object: What in the hands of the Genoese was a feather, in the hands of the French will be a sword.<sup>68</sup>

From the news dispatches, whether they state so or not, one can surmise that the English government was giving aid to the rebels. As early as 1765, one item stated that Paoli continued to be supplied “underhand by some foreign powers,” not only with ammunition, but also with money. In 1766 one news item read, “that General Paschal Paoli has received of late vast quantities of all kinds of ammunition from the coast of Barbary, at least that this feint is made use of to disguise from what quarter these supplies come.” In 1769 General Paoli received a considerable sum of money, which it was reported his agents had successfully negotiated for in a certain state, and also, that “an English Frigate lately landed in Corsica 50,000 Sequins, and a great Quantity of Arm &c., for the use of Paoli, who ‘is indefatigable in his Dispositions for fighting it out to the last Extremity.’”<sup>69</sup>

Boswell’s publication, in 1768, of his trip to Corsica and *British Essays in Favor of the Brave Corsicans* did much to arouse concern in England toward Paoli and the Corsicans. Boswell was soon followed by other English visitors. These visits were publicized by the Corsicans as is shown by a news item from Corte dated August 4, 1766. “Mr. Symonds, an English gentleman on his travels, has been here for some time, and has quitted Corsica with very high ideas of Paoli, and of our island in every respect. Since Mr. Boswell paved the way, we have been visited by several of his

countrymen and are expect to have each year the pleasure of seeing more of them."<sup>70</sup>

Boswell's publications also did much to stimulate interest in Paoli's plight. Many expressed their admiration of him. William Pitt, a much admired patriot among the more liberal minded, stated in a letter to Boswell:

I can assure you, Sir, I retain the same admiration of your illustrious friend, General Paoli, which I once expressed to you, but sincere as this admiration is, I must not at the same time forbear to acquaint you (in answer to your desire to know my sentiments) that I see not the least grounds at present for this country to interfere with any justice in the affairs of Corsica. As I think nothing more natural and commendable than the generous warmth you express for so striking a character as that able Chief, so I doubt not you will approve the directness of my opinion upon an occasion which admits no deliberation.<sup>71</sup>

In August, 1766, Lord Hailes had written to Boswell that "Paschal is more pleasing to an English ear than Pasquale. Do not omit anything that can give us a clear idea of that hero."<sup>72</sup> This is an interesting reference because of the allusion to Paoli's name. When Boswell wrote, he used the spelling *Paschal*, and in many English and American references, such as newspaper items, this spelling is used. This also alludes to the important position Boswell retained in presenting Paoli to the English people. "*The Tour to Corsica*, to which Boswell added as a supplementary title, *Mem-oirs of Paoli*, has been a delightful book to generations of readers, but its political significance and its practical value as Corsican propaganda have been forgotten. Boswell was almost the first English visitor to the Island," and, "the eyes of 'republicans' everywhere were turned towards Paoli."<sup>73</sup> John Wilkes, also admired by "republicans" because of his publication of issue number forty-five of the *North Briton*, which severely criticized the King and his ministers, was admired by Paoli. In 1766 he wrote a genteel letter to Wilkes inviting him to Corsica and offering him a regiment, merely from his regard for the friends of liberty.<sup>74</sup>

Because of Boswell's publicity and other advertisements, private contributions went to Paoli.

A subscription among many Ladies and Gentlemen of rank, for Paoli, is secretly carrying, in imitation of the Nobles benefaction of 2000£ each, being sent to that Chief last Summer, by his Grace the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Algernon Piercy, and Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, while they were met together in Florence, by which seasonable supply, he was enabled to make that vigorous stand in defense of Liberty.<sup>75</sup>

A week later the following item was printed. "We hear that the subscription lately opened here in favour of General Paoli and the Corsicans, meets with much encouragement." Again an item informs us that General Paoli received a present of a vessel, laden with grain, from some private gentlemen of an unnamed nation, who promised him another in a short time.<sup>76</sup> Boswell journeyed to Ireland in his crusade to raise funds and met with

some success, as the following shows: "Mr. Boswell's visit to Ireland has been of considerable service to the brave Corsicans, as he published an address in the papers here in their behalf, which occasioned several contributions to be brought in."<sup>77</sup> One fellow, with perhaps more feeling than poetic ability, enclosed the following verse with his contribution:

To show my love for liberty,  
And add to Paschal's store,  
With joy I freely give my mite,  
And wish I could give more.<sup>78</sup>

England could do nothing officially, however, except extend her compassion and an offer of hospitality. Paoli had mentioned this to a noble in 1769 when things looked dark for the Corsicans. An extract of the letter was published in the newspapers.

A gentleman of great Veracity assures us, that the gallant Paoli, in a letter he wrote some time since to an English Lord, from whom he had received a considerable Assistance, had the following passage: 'I hope my Lord, your Fears are no other than the Fears of Humanity, nevertheless, if the mightiness of France should triumph over the weakness of unhappy, persecuted Corsica, Britain would surely be the only Asylum the wretched Paoli could think of flying to! A Man, born in a Country, claiming and contending for Freedom, and nurtured in the God-like Principles of Freedom, must naturally wish, my Lord, to live and die in a land of Freedom, whether the place that gave him Birth has the Fortune to crown, or his Situation will otherwise permit him to accomplish that Wish, or not.'<sup>79</sup>

This asylum was given and also a pension as noted above. An interesting discussion reveals Paoli's attitude toward English assistance to Corsica which had not materialized. This took place after his arrival in England:

A nobleman of great Distinction, who entertained General Paoli a few Days ago, during a learned Conversation upon the patriotic Characters among the Antients, observed, 'That the Romans shewed a most laudible Spirit of Generosity at a Time when a little People of Asia were in Danger of being oppressed and enslaved, from the Invasion of the powerful King of Assyria, by exerting themselves in favour of that unfortunate Handful of People, and, with the Spirit of a great and Free Nation, taking them under their Protection, and preserving their Liberties. 'Very true, my Lord, (replied the valiant Chief with a Sigh) that was a glorious Action indeed! I once flattered myself with receiving Assistance of the like Kind from the English Nation, who appear to me, in other Respects, to rival all I have ever read of the Roman Virtue and Bravery.'<sup>80</sup>

But Paoli had to flee, and Corsica was lost to France. Criticism of the English government was voiced not only in England but elsewhere. This criticism was well expressed in a letter from Paris translated into English.

At last, my dear Friend, the Count de Vaux has determined the Fate of Corsica, and those brave Islanders have lost, in one Day, their brave General, their Property, their Country, and what is still more precious, their Liberty; Thanks to the Generosity of your English Ministers! All the world will complain of this fatal Event, as the In-

vasion of Corsica was a Measure odious to every honest Frenchman, as well in the Court, as the Capital; and every Body here knows, if Lord Rochfort's warm Representation, which they say was transmitted to him, by the advice of Lord Chatham, and by Lord Shelbourne, then Secretary of State, had been well supported, or, indeed, not destroyed by your Ministers, the Duke de Choiseul, who alone had undertaken to seize and destroy the brave Corsicans, with their Liberties, would have infallibly been forced to withdraw the French Forces from that Island, and likewise to quit his Employ, which alone would secure the Peace of Europe for any Time. We must agree, that the English, during the last War, had the courage of LIONS, but since the Peace, they seem as timorous as DEER. In a little Time, I will send you an exact Relation of Count de Vaux's operations; for the present, shall only say, that Paoli, being driven out from all his Fastnesses, was obliged to fly for safety to Leghorn. All his Papers, his Secretary and Treasurer, with his five great Dogs, which guarded him Day and Night are in the possession of the French, with 30 Pieces of Cannon, and some Specie, given him by the English.<sup>81</sup>

The writer sounds somewhat like a disgruntled Englishman who is using this means to conceal his identity.

A life size (5x7) portrait of Paoli actually preceded him in England. Boswell had commissioned a young American painter by the name of Bambridge to do the painting. This portrait was sent to England—via Tuscany because the Grand Duke had “expressed a desire to see it”<sup>82</sup>—and was put on display where “several of the Royal Family”<sup>83</sup> viewed it.

Paoli's reception in England was that of a conquering hero rather than a vanquished soldier. He was presented to the King and paid homage to by the leading nobles. London planned that “a grand Entertainment will be given to General Paoli—as a Testimony of their Approbation of that General's long and noble Struggles in Defense of Liberty.”<sup>84</sup> The people in general were eager to see the hero; the house where he resided was “continually crowded by great Numbers of People.”<sup>85</sup> One writer summed it up by saying, “It does honour to this nation to find all parties, whether for government or for opposition, striving who shall shew most respect to the illustrious stranger.”<sup>86</sup> Oxford University honored Paoli with the Degree of Doctor of Laws.<sup>87</sup>

Paoli was ranked in England as one of the leading defenders of freedom. “A correspondent observes, that Mr. Wilkes in England; Dr. Lucas in Ireland; and Paschal Paoli in Corsica, are the three greatest Patriots in their respective Countries, that ever appeared as Contemporaries, in any Age or Nations.”<sup>88</sup>

As early as 1768 his birthday was celebrated by groups in England. The following is a description of the commemoration:

Several sets of Gentlemen, in different parts of the city, animated with universal ideas of Liberty, and being desirous of meeting happily, chose yesterday for that purpose, it being the birthday of the illustrious Paschal Paoli, General of the Corsicans; in particular there was a very respectable company at the Queens-Arms in St. Paul's Church-yard, where James Boswell, Esq., was President, where the following healths

were drank: The King, Queen and Royal Family; Paschal Paoli; Success to the brave Corsicans; May the Corsicans be countenanced by every State, which has a just value for liberty; Lord Halifax; Lord Shelburne; Lord Lyttleton; General Conway; Horace Walpole; Dr. Franklin; Mrs. Macaulay; with many other toasts; and a Society is formed to meet annually on that day."

### PAOLI AND THE PENNSYLVANIA PRESS

The basic causes and origins of the American Revolution are not a part of this paper and need not be discussed here. Yet, because Paoli was the symbol of American rights and the champion of liberty against oppression, mention must be made of the more important Parliamentary measures which prompted the Americans to protest against them and in some cases to resist them. During the period between the passage of the Stamp Act in 1765 and the partial repeal of the Townshend Acts (passed in 1767) in 1770, Paoli was widely and frequently quoted in the Philadelphia press.

The colonial newspapers were one of the major vehicles the radicals used in organizing resistance to England and in dispersing their literature to the people. The newspapers were not too numerous, there being two English language papers in Pennsylvania in 1765; nor too widely read, due to illiteracy and lack of means of distribution. But they were described by Davidson as being "the most effective organ for the dissemination of written propaganda" in the colonies.<sup>100</sup> The newspapers were weeklies, usually four pages in length. One page was devoted to advertisements and the rest to foreign and domestic news. Until the time of the Stamp Act crisis the major part of the news was foreign. The various colonies apparently were more interested in happenings in Europe than in the other colonies. But during the decade of controversy beginning with the Stamp Act in 1765 more colonial news and less foreign news began to appear. This of course depended on the event. During a period of controversy when feelings ran high and demonstrations were staged against England, the domestic news rose. When resented acts or actions were withdrawn and the colonies pacified, the domestic news dwindled.

There was no editorial page, but the editors were able to express their views in a number of ways. Pamphlets written by others, who were probably better writers than the editor, were printed, as were letters from other colonies. Letters from England or the Continent which were written by American travelers or American sympathizers found their way into the papers. In all these items the editor expressed his opinion in his selection of what to print and what to delete. Another method by which the editor conveyed his convictions and attracted attention was to use patriotic captions—selecting certain words to capitalize or use in large type. It should be emphasized that almost all of the editors were on the side of the radicals. The Stamp Act, which was the first controversy of importance, was

directed in part at the newspapers. This act drove the editors over to the "Whigs" and they presented the radical viewpoint throughout the period prior to the Revolution. So we find that with scarcely any magazines or periodical literature in circulation at the time, the newspapers stood almost alone in carrying the news and molding opinion.

The newspapers in Pennsylvania at this time were *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, edited by Hall and Sellers, and *The Pennsylvania Journal*, edited by William and Thomas Bradford. These newspapers, in general, supported the patriot cause. The editors of these papers were very potent in influencing patriot opinion in Pennsylvania. In fact, William Bradford has been called "the printer of the Revolution."<sup>1</sup> He and the other editors were in contact with the political leaders in other colonies, as well as with those in Pennsylvania, and were able through exchanging items to print essays and other articles from the rest of the colonies in addition to those written by Pennsylvanians. For example, the *Letters from a Pennsylvania Farmer* first appeared in *The Pennsylvania Chronicle* and later circulated in the other colonial papers. The Pennsylvania papers, in turn, carried articles from the *Boston Journal of Occurrences* written by the Boston radicals Sam Adams and William Cooper.

Paoli and the Corsican struggle for independence were closely followed in the Pennsylvania newspapers with extracts from letters and dispatches usually printed in the foreign news section or in the column devoted to London news. These items began appearing in 1763 with some frequency, but it was not until after the French-Genoese treaty of Compiègne in 1764 that they began to appear in significant numbers. After the Corsican defeat in 1769 they ceased except for scattered items concerning Paoli's London activities. In the intervening years the number rose and fell in proportion to the domestic news.

In 1765 and 1766 the major political controversy in Pennsylvania, as in the other colonies, was the Stamp Act. A great deal of space in the newspapers was devoted to this controversy, and again the foreign news suffered. The news of the passage of the Stamp Act reached the colonies in May, 1765. It was repealed in March of the following year. During the first four months of 1765 there were approximately forty items regarding Paoli and Corsica. From May, 1765, to May, 1766, there were approximately twenty items. In the remaining eight months of 1766 the number rose to thirty.

The general tenor of these early items dealt with troop movements and battles. Many of them reported the growing strength of the French in Corsica and the organizing and maneuvering of Paoli in strengthening his defenses. While the newspapers did follow his career in Corsica during this period, the impression was given that they were doing so in an impartial or detached manner much the same as they followed the Polish civil war at that time.

It was during the period of the crisis over the Townshend Acts that the colonists came to associate themselves more intimately with Paoli. In summarizing the number of news items concerning events in Corsica and those in which the name of Paoli was used from 1763 through 1769, the following statistics were found: *The Pennsylvania Journal* contained approximately two hundred items in which the name of Paoli appeared; *The Pennsylvania Gazette* carried approximately four hundred items on Corsica and approximately two hundred sixty on Paoli; *The Pennsylvania Chronicle* was not published until 1767, but in a three-year period it had approximately one hundred thirty Corsican items and approximately one hundred items using Paoli's name. Out of the total number of approximately six hundred sixty items, which the *Gazette* contained from 1763 to 1770, five hundred were printed from 1767 through 1769. The *Journal* carried a total of approximately four hundred sixty-five items during the years 1763 to 1770, and of these approximately three hundred sixty-five were printed from 1767 through 1769. These figures emphasize the growing importance of Paoli to the colonists as their need for a hero grew.

These items varied in length but usually were relatively short; however, at times, longer articles appeared. The *Chronicle* carried several of these. The May 30, 1768, issue had a four and one-half column article containing selections from Boswell; the June 6, 1768, issue continued the article with three more columns. In the October 16, 1769, issue there was a one-column article discussing the political aspects for England in regard to the loss of Corsica to France. In the following issue, October 23, 1768, the complete front page was devoted to the geography of Corsica. The significance of these articles is that there was sufficient interest in Corsica to warrant the allotment of so much space to these items.

In these articles Paoli was referred to variously as "Chief," "Paschal," "Pascal," "General," or simply, "Paoli." Most frequently, at least by 1768, he was titled "General Paoli." These articles and his name appeared almost weekly especially in 1768 and 1769. The fact that his name was consistently presented to the public over such a period indicates that the people of Pennsylvania were familiar with his activities and with the Corsican rebellion. By the time Boswell published the *Tour to Corsica* in 1768, the colonists were so familiar with and interested in Corsica that the book sold very well in Philadelphia. William Bradford inserted an advertisement in his *Journal* which told of the arrival of the first publication. The advertisement gave the title as *An Account of Corsica* and described the book as being a "Journal of a Tour to that Island" and "Memoirs of PASCHAL PAOLI." As a further inducement it added that the book was "Illustrated with a New and Accurate Map of Corsica."<sup>92</sup> The book was still selling well a year later when the *Journal* announced a third edition for sale. With the advertisement was the assertion that "Mr. Boswell's account of Corsica has been so well received by the public, that two numer-

ous editions of 3500 copies have been sold within the space of a few months, and the book is so highly esteemed abroad, that it has been translated into the French and Dutch languages, and printed at Amsterdam and Lausanne."<sup>3</sup>

To what extent Paoli was discussed in private correspondence is not known. A prominent merchant, Samuel Coates, wrote that it "seems hard the English never interested themselves in the Corsican Cause. Poor Paoli! an Object of universal Pity and Admiration, save with the French and Genoese, two cruel Nations, who delight not to countenance or protect the brave, but rather to aggrandize themselves by the Suppression of little states."<sup>4</sup>

Paoli's name and deeds were used in a variety of ways to inspire patriotism and loyalty. For example, during the non-importation agreements a writer in London, possibly an American visitor, exhorted the ladies of the colonies to express their loyalty in this conflict. He compared them with the English ladies by saying:

It seems indeed somewhat surprising, that whilst our Heroines of this Island are displaying their Love of Liberty, by the most generous Subscriptions of the illustrious Stranger Paoli, so little of the same Spirit appears in the Fair in America—because they are still buying English products such as—Silks, Ribbons, Lace, and every other expensive article of Female Vanity.<sup>5</sup>

This long-distance worship makes his influence more surprising. However, the radicals felt that their rights were being encroached upon and were ready to take action. Therefore, they were willing to make a hero of one who was actively engaged at the risk of his life in defense of liberty. He had a widespread appeal throughout the colonies, especially to the Sons of Liberty. John Hancock named one of his ships after him.<sup>6</sup> The *Gazette* carried a news item concerning a horse race at Annapolis in which Mr. Dulany's *Paoli* was an entry.<sup>7</sup> The patriotic fervor of the Sons of Liberty was kept alive by numerous meetings in which speeches were given and toasts drunk. A group in Boston met in March, 1768, to celebrate the anniversary of the repeal of the Stamp Act. Several toasts were drunk, the tenth one being, "Success to General Paoli and the Brave Corsicans."<sup>8</sup>

At Petersham, near Boston, the Sons of Liberty met and drank several "constitutional" toasts, one of which was to "The Brave Corsicans."<sup>9</sup> The next year the Sons of Liberty of New York City met to celebrate the repeal of the Stamp Act. They dined at the house of Edward Smith, spent the day "in a joyous Manner," and drank toasts, one of which was "Success to that uncorrupted Patriot General Paoli, and the brave Corsicans."<sup>10</sup> In Massachusetts, even the House of Representatives honored him when they celebrated the king's birthday in 1769, the sixteenth toast being to "Paschal Paoli, and his brave Corsicans."<sup>11</sup>

Accounts of these meetings and the various toasts were printed in de-



tail in the Pennsylvania newspapers. Possibly this influenced the patriots of Philadelphia, but in any case they were not far behind in duplicating these demonstrations. A group met in 1769 at James Burne's house to celebrate Saint Patrick's Day. Several toasts were drunk, the twelfth one being to "Paschal Paoli and the brave Corsicans."<sup>102</sup>

In April, 1769, a group met again at Burne's in celebration of Paoli's birthday. Numerous toasts were given during dinner and later the "bells were set aringing."<sup>103</sup> The list of toasts provide interesting reading because they are indicative of the favorites of the patriots. They also indicate the patriots' trend of thinking. Loyalty and liberty were coupled together, but liberty seemed to be the dominant sentiment. In reading the list the most significant fact noted was that Paoli was toasted immediately after the king and queen. He preceded even Lord Chatham (William Pitt), Lord Camden, and Burke, the consistent friends to America. This prominence is more startling when compared with John Wilkes, another contender for liberty very much before the public and attracting attention in the newspapers at the time, who ranks twenty-ninth.

In these toasts the patriots expressed their linkage of Paoli and his struggle with their own difficulties. They advocated liberty and a "free America" and at the same time hoped for Corsican success; they believed that the supporters of their native freedom should be rewarded; and they also endowed the "Spirit of Paoli to every American." Toasts were given to the various legislatures who were repulsing the Townshend Acts and ended with the three Boston patriots, Cushing, Otis, and Adams. The following is the complete list of toasts at this meeting.

1. The KING.
2. The QUEEN and Royal Family.
3. Paschal Paoli.
4. Lord Chatham.
5. Lord Camden.
6. Lord Shelburne.
7. Colonel Barre.
8. Mr. Burke.
9. May Corsican Virtue prevail over French Policy.
10. The Friends of America and Corsica in Great Britain.
11. May Great Britain always be just, and America always free.
12. The Spirit of Paoli to every American.
13. May Paoli meet with equal Renown, but a happier Fate than the Younger Brutus.
14. Mr. Boswell.
15. The Parliament of Paris.
16. May the Spirit of a Wallace animate every Scotsman.
17. May the Attempts of France upon Corsica meet with the same Fate as those of Persia upon Greece—repulsed with Shame.
18. May every British Minister be convinced, that nothing is lawful but what is just.
19. Liberty to Mankind.
20. The glorious Sentiment of William III.
21. May Fortune encourage, and Honour reward, the brave Supporters of their native Freedom.

22. May the glorious Spirit of Corsica animate America to the latest Posterity.
23. May Misery, Contempt, and Infamy be the Lot of those who owe their Greatness to their Country's Ruin.
24. Liberty and Loyalty.
25. May the illustrious House of Brunswick be as auspicious to the Liberties of America, as it has been to those of Great Britain.
26. May Licentiousness never be mistaken for Liberty, nor Servility for Loyalty.
27. May the Enemies of Liberty feel every Calamity—except Slavery.
28. Mrs. McCaulay.
29. Mr. Wilkes.
30. Serjeant Glynn.
31. The County of Middlesex.
32. A speedy export to all the Enemies of America, without a Draw-back.
33. The Massachusetts Ninety-Two.<sup>104</sup>
34. The late Assembly of New York.
35. Ditto of Maryland.
36. Ditto of Virginia.
37. Ditto of South Carolina.
38. Ditto of Georgia.
39. The Town of Boston.
40. Unanimity to the Colonies.
41. Mr. Dulany.
42. Mr. Cushing.
43. Mr. Otis.
44. Mr. Adams.<sup>105</sup>

The radicals in the colonies were prone to compare their treatment at the hands of the British with the situation of the Corsicans caused by the French. Even in Europe some saw the analogy between Corsica and the American colonies. A gentleman in Paris, writing to someone in London, berated the English for their treatment of the colonists. The writer admits that the French are wrong in their attempt to subjugate the Corsicans, but points out that the English are doing the same thing to the Americans. He points out that the English action is even less justified than the French because the Corsicans are alien to the French, whereas the colonists are brothers to the English. He wrote:

You English consider us French as enemies to Liberty; You reproach us for endeavoring to reduce Corsica to our obedience, and say that if we heard of a freeman on the other side of the globe, you suppose we should hasten thither to make a slave of him. How easy it is for men to see the faults of others, while blind to their own! The Corsicans are not so remote from us as the Americans are from you;—they never enriched us with their labour of their commerce;—they never engaged in our wars, and fought as brothers, side by side, with us, and for us, bleeding in the same cause;—they never loved and honoured us; they are not our children.—But all of this your American colonies have been and are to you. Yet at this very moment, while you are abusing us for attempting to reduce the Corsicans, you yourselves are about to make slaves of a much greater number of those British-Americans; depriving them of their property, by the authority of your laws; taking away the rights of giving their own money; arbitrarily dissolving their Parliaments, and dragooning their citizens. In short, you appear to have no idea of liberty, or real desire to see it flourish and increase: All the liberty you seem to value, is the liberty of abusing your superiors, and tyrannizing over those below you.<sup>106</sup>

From the tone of the letter it would seem that the best defense the French had for rationalizing their invasion of Corsica was to indict the English in their conduct toward the colonies. A letter of this type would be well received by the colonists and the parallel between them and the Corsicans would increase their admiration of Paoli, he being a militant leader who was shedding blood and risking his life in defense of liberty. However, in this case the writer was Benjamin Franklin, writing anonymously to conceal his identity.<sup>107</sup> Franklin was serving as the colonial agent for Pennsylvania during this period and was the best known American throughout Europe. He lived in London but made many trips to the Continent. It was probably during one of these trips that he wrote the above letter.

The first instance in which Franklin compared Corsica with America was in 1768, following the passage of the Townshend Acts. Expressing his views on empire in an article printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, January, 1768, he said, "If the old provinces should often exercise the right of making laws for the new, they would probably grow as restless as the Corsicans, when they perceived they were no longer fellow subjects, but subjects of subjects."<sup>108</sup> Later he drew a parallel between the Corsicans and Genoese and the Americans and English:

I am sorry to find an observation made concerning Corsica verified in England. Every Englishman considers himself as King of America and peculiarly interested in our subjection as it gratifies his pride, and he is at the time free from any apprehension of suffering himself. As to relief from the wisdom and tenderness of Administration, hope itself is gone, even with our most sanguine friends. We have no other resource but in our own virtue and resolution, which our enemies allow will prevail if we but preserve.<sup>109</sup>

And again that "cordial Amity" between England and America could be "converted into the most implacable Hatred, such as we see this day, between the Spaniards and Portuguese the Genoese and the Corsicans, which arose originally from the very same Misconduct in the governing Countries."<sup>110</sup>

Finally, in a draft which was not published in the newspapers, he drew a more impassioned picture:

A horrible Spectacle to Men and Angels is now to be exhibited on the State of this Globe. Two great and powerful Nations are employing their Forces in the Destruction of Civil Liberty! that heavenly Blessing, without which Mankind lose Half their Dignity and Value, one is oppressing and enslaving a handful of Men the last brave Assertors of it within the Bounds of the old Roman Commonwealth; the other crushing in its infancy, the first Appearance of it in the Western World. The former seems to have lost sight of its antient Name and State, Franks from the Freedom it once enjoy'd; the latter while it boasts of enjoying Freedom itself, would ruin others for vindicating their common Right to it. The first is acting a cruel, a mean and unmanly Part, thus to use its vastly superior Force against People so unable to resist it; but is however more excusable than the latter as the People to be oppress'd and enslav'd are NOT her own people.<sup>111</sup>

Thus wrote the strongest American advocate of colonial rights in England.

Levi Hollingsworth, a Philadelphia merchant who was an active supporter of the American cause,<sup>112</sup> had a son born in 1773 whom he named Paschall. This son later married Mary Wilson,<sup>113</sup> the daughter of James Wilson, another outstanding patriot of Philadelphia. If a man of Hollingsworth's position admired Paoli enough to name his son after him, undoubtedly many others of lesser rank but equal enthusiasm followed suit.<sup>114</sup>

One of the most enduring monuments to Paoli was the naming of a town in Pennsylvania after him. This took place in Chester County and was begun in 1769 when Joshus Evans "petitioned the Court of Quarter Sessions to grant him a license to operate a tavern at the intersection of the Lancaster Road and the Newton-Darby-Chester Road. In 1770 Caleb Jones applied for a license, 'having lately removed—to the sign of General Paoli, the Tavern lately occupied by Joshua Evans.' In 1774 the petition referred to it as 'Sign of Paoli.'<sup>115</sup> During the Revolutionary War a patriot army under General Wayne, a native of Chester County, was attacked at this place and the battle became known as the Paoli Massacre.<sup>116</sup> Its name was shortened by the inhabitants of the area to "The Paoli" in the same way that "The Old General Warren Inn" nearby "The Paoli" was shortened to "The Warren."<sup>117</sup> A town developed around the tavern and the name was gradually changed through the years until by 1832 it was listed as Paoli, which "bears the representation of the Corsican general and patriot."<sup>118</sup>

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Paoli's battle for independence coincided with the first part of the conflict between England and her colonies. At the time when his patriotic endeavors were in the limelight the colonists were seeking a hero and, along with other contemporary fighters for freedom, placed him on a pedestal to admire. The hero worship that was extended to him by those who never saw him<sup>119</sup> apparently passed unnoticed by him because he never referred in his writings to the difficulties of the Americans. After his defeat in Corsica, he was ignored by the colonists although probably not forgotten, and his place was taken over by new personalities and new issues such as the Boston Massacre, the Tea Act and the Intolerable Acts. He had served his purpose at a propitious time, but when vanquished, he was no longer someone for the patriots to emulate.

Paoli lived in England during the Revolutionary War but, contrary to expectations, remained silent with regard to that conflict. The Revolution offered a wonderful opportunity for him, and one wonders why he did not offer his services to the patriots. If he had duplicated the action of Kosciusko and Pulaski, the Polish patriots, or Lafayette, the young Frenchman, he probably would have been enshrined in the hearts of the Americans as a hero equal to or greater than the other patriots. However, his position in this case is understandable. A person in London summed it up by saying,

We are assured that the Love of his Country is the ruling Passion of a gallant Foreigner, whose distant Behavior to our Sons of Freedom, could be occasioned only by the large promises of the Ministry, from which he derives the most flattering Prospects for his dear Corsica: And is it to be wondered at, that he prefers being a Patriot to his own Country, to that of being a temporary One to England?<sup>120</sup>

If this were his position in 1769, it probably would be his position in regard to the colonies in 1776. His primary concern was Corsica, and he could not justify endangering those prospects by displeasing England, his only hope, or the king, on whose bounty he lived.

However brief his influence was on the American patriots, it was profound at the time and lasting in its effect. Slight mention is made of this seemingly forgotten man in American history, and the prominence he deserves is not accorded him.

### FOOTNOTES

1. A. W. Ward, G. W. Prothero, and Stanley Leathes, eds., *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VI (New York: Macmillan Co., 1909) p. 609, hereafter cited as *CMH*. Many references, including the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee, eds., (London: Oxford University Press, 1949-1950 ed.) Vol. XV, hereafter cited as *DNB*, use the name Hyacinth which is the Anglicized form of Giacinto.
2. *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1956 ed.) Vol. XVII, p. 194, lists the following: N. Tommasso, "Lettere di Pasquali de Paoli" (in *Archivio storico italiano*, 1st series, Vol. XI); Giovanni Livi "Lettere inedite di Pasquale Paoli" (in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5th series, Vols. V and VI); see also the bibliography in *DNB*.
3. *DNB*, pp. 189-90, lists the following biographies: Marshal Sebastiani's *Life of Pascal Paoli*, under the pseudonym of Pompei's *Etat actuel de la Corse*, Paris, 1821; Arrighi's *Histoire de Paoli*, 2 vols., Paris, 1843; Klose's *Leben Paskal Paoli*, Brunswick, 1853; D'Oria's *Pasquali de Paoli*, Genoa, 1869; and, Bartoli's *Histoire de Pascal Paoli*, nouvelle edit, revue, Bastia, 1889. Occasionally Paoli is mentioned in works concerned with the Revolutionary period. For example, see John C. Miller, *Triumph of Freedom, 1775-1783* (Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1948) p. 4, where the author states that in 1769, "a French army under Count de Vaux overran Corsica despite the heroic defense of Pasquale Paoli and his countrymen."
4. This biographical sketch is included to show Paoli's activities in Corsica and as a reference to clarify later items. The major sources for this summary are the *CMH* and the *DNB*. Other sources are used but the writer has found that they sometimes contain conflicting statements. In case of conflict, the *CMH* and the *DNB* are used as the basic sources.
5. *CMH*, p. 609. The *DNB* lists the date as 1734.
6. *DNB*, p. 187.
7. For an interesting version of Paoli's activities in Corsica, see Walter Frewen Lord's "Pasquale de Paoli," *Nineteenth Century*, Vol. XXX (July-December, 1891). On page 517, he says, "The Genoese driven out, Paoli made himself dictator of Corsica and remained so for fourteen years." This contradicts most sources. For example, E. S. Shuckburgh in "Corsica Boswell," *Living Age*, 5th Series, Vol. 80, 1892, p. 606, says, "He was by no means absolute; his official position as general only, gave him a casting vote in a supreme council of nine, who were in their turn, controlled by an elaborate system of popular election."
8. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 5, 1766, carried the item: "General Paoli, besides all the political arrangements which he has made for the welfare of Corsica, is going to establish a public bank there."
9. *Boswell on the Grand Tour*, eds. Frank Brady and Frederick A. Pottle, Yale University (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1956), p. 183. Boswell describes the vendetta: "if a man had received an injury and could not find an opportunity to be revenged on his enemy personally, he revenged himself on one of his enemy's relations. So barbarous a practice was the source of innumerable assassinations."
10. *CMH*, p. 609.
11. Rose M. Bradley, "James Boswell and a Corsican Patriot," *Nineteenth Century*, Vol. LXIX (January-June, 1910), p. 134.
12. *CMH*, p. 609.
13. James Breck Perkins, *France Under Louis XV*, Vol. II (Boston and New York: Houghton-Mifflin, 1897), p. 229.
14. Lord, *op. cit.*, p. 515.
15. M. Guizot and Madam Guizot DeWitt, *History of France from the Earliest Times to 1884*, trans. Robert Black, Vol. V., (New York: John B. Alden, 1885), p. 186.
16. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 7, 1769.

17. Carl Van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin*, 9th printing, (New York: Viking Press, 1952), p. 402. Franklin's interest in this event is significant from the standpoint that Boswell was in communication with Paoli and yet Franklin was aware of his arrival first. The fact that Boswell maintained close correspondence with Paoli is shown by a news dispatch from London dated July 11, 1769. "We hear that James Boswell Esq., received a letter on Friday last from General Paschal Paoli, informing him of his safe arrival at Leghorn and that he expected soon to be in England." Printed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 7, 1769.
18. *DNB*, p. 188. For example, in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. XV (1950 ed.), p. 194, the contributor asserts, "On the outbreak of the French Revolution the government allowed the Corsican exiles to return and after visiting Paris, Paoli landed at Bastia in January, 1791, with the rank of Lieutenant-General of Corsica." Lord, *op. cit.*, declares that Paoli was elected to the French National Assembly in 1789, but gives no specific dates. He states (p. 517), "Paoli was elected to the General Assembly and took his seat, resolved if possible to play in Paris the part he had so long presented on the minor stage of Corsica."
19. *Ibid.*, p. 189. This does not correspond to Lord's interpretation. Lord says, "What ruined the English rule in Corsica was not the weakness of the Army, not the faults of the administration, but the persistent malignity of Pasquale de Paoli. After having, in the most solemn manner, pledged his word to Elliott to support his administration, he no sooner learnt that he was not to be Viceroy, than he sought our ruin by every means in his power—not stopping short of the foulest." p. 518.
20. Bradley, *op. cit.*, p. 145.
21. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 3, 1766.
22. "In the *Corsican Gazette*, published by authority, it is said, 'On the tenth of November last arrived at Sollacoro, where the Court of Syndicato was sitting, Mr. Boswell a Scots gentleman, who was received by our general with particular marks of friendship and esteem. This gentleman is the first British subject who hath visited, the internal part of this island. He appeared very curious in informing himself of the customs of our people, and the system of our government.'" *Pennsylvania Journal*, December 11, 1766.
23. *Boswell on the Grand Tour*, eds. Frank Brady and Frederick A. Pottle, p. 147.
24. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 3, 1766.
25. *Ibid.*, January 29, 1767
26. *Boswell on the Grand Tour*, *op. cit.*, p. 162.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 163.
28. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 7, 1769.
29. *Pennsylvania Journal*, March 16, 1769.
30. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 11, 1768.
31. *Ibid.*, October 1, 1767.
32. *Ibid.*, February 4, 1769.
33. *Ibid.*, December 1, 1768.
34. *Ibid.*, September 8, 1768.
35. *Ibid.*, August 25, 1768.
36. *Ibid.*, May 5, 1768.
37. *Ibid.*, October 13, 1768.
38. *Ibid.*, January 24, 1765.
39. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, February 21, 1765; also reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 6, 1768.
40. *Ibid.*, August 27, 1769.
41. *Ibid.*, November 24, 1768.
42. *Ibid.*, September 22, 1768. This apparently was written to Mr. Boswell who passed it on to the newspapers. At the head of the article was the notation, "Communicated by Mr. Boswell."
43. *Ibid.*, November 3, 1768.
44. *Ibid.*, August 24, 1769.
45. *Ibid.*, September 7, 1769.
46. *Ibid.*, September 15, 1763.
47. *Ibid.*, June 5, 1766.
48. *Ibid.*, December 1, 1768.
49. *Ibid.*, February 23, 1769.
50. *Ibid.*, May 4, 1769.
51. *Ibid.*, March 2, 1769.
52. *Ibid.*, May 4, 1769.
53. *Ibid.*, May 4, 1769.
54. *Pennsylvania Chronicle* (Philadelphia), January 11, 1767.
55. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 8, 1769.
56. *Ibid.*, November 23, 1769—extract of a letter from the Hague.
57. *Ibid.*, March 2, 1769.
58. *Ibid.*, September 22, 1768.
59. *Ibid.*, March 5, 1767.
60. *Ibid.*, September 13, 1768.
61. *Ibid.*, May 4, 1769.
62. *Ibid.*, January 6, 1769.
63. *Ibid.*, July 17, 1766.
64. *Ibid.*, January 26, 1769; March 9, 1769; June 8, 1769.
65. *Ibid.*, December 28, 1768.
66. *Ibid.*, September 1, 1768.
67. The French may have soon decided that they had a "white elephant" on their hands. Four years after the conquest the following item appeared: "We are well informed that the Court of France has made an offer of Corsica to General Paoli if Great Britain will advance them one Fourth of the Expenses they have been at in conquering that Island." *Virginia Gazette*, August 19, 1773.
68. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, February 2, 1769.

69. *Ibid.*, April 18, 1765; May 8, 1766; March 23, 1769; August 3, 1769.
70. *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, January 11, 1767.
71. *Boswell in Search of a Wife*, eds. Frank Brady and Frederick A. Pottle (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1956), pp. 26-27.
72. *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.
73. Chauncey Brewster Tinker, *Young Boswell* (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1922), pp. 111-12, p. 109.
74. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 10, 1766.
75. *Ibid.*, March 2, 1769.
76. *Ibid.*, March 9, 1769; June 15, 1769.
77. *Ibid.*, September 7, 1769.
78. *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, September 18, 1769.
79. *Ibid.*, August 17, 1769.
80. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 7, 1769.
81. *Ibid.*, August 31, 1769.
82. *Ibid.*, August 3, 1769.
83. *Ibid.*, July 20, 1769.
84. *Ibid.*, December 20, 1769.
85. *Ibid.*, December 7, 1769.
86. *Pennsylvania Journal*, December 7, 1769.
87. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 8, 1770.
88. *Ibid.*, August 10, 1769.
89. *Ibid.*, June 16, 1768.
90. Philip Davidson, *Propaganda and the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941), p. 225.
91. *Ibid.*, p. 230.
92. *Pennsylvania Journal*, June 30, 1768. The advertisement was continued several weeks.
93. *Ibid.*, September 21, 1769.
94. September 22, 1769, Samuel Coates Letter Book, 1763-1787, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia).
95. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 25, 1769.
96. George P. Anderson, "Pascal Paoli, an Inspiration to the Sons of Liberty," *Colonial Society of Massachusetts* (Publications), Vol. XXVI, Boston, 1927, p. 200, has an advertisement of this ship reproduced from the *Boston Post Boy and Advertiser*, January 14, 1769. The *Pennsylvania Journal* announced on November 2, 1769, that the ship *Paoli* cleared the Philadelphia port for Halifax. It could not be determined if this was Hancock's ship.
97. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 2, 1769. Dulany later turned Tory.
98. *Pennsylvania Journal*, March 31, 1768.
99. *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, October 10, 1768.
100. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 23, 1769.
101. *Ibid.*, June 22, 1769.
102. *Pennsylvania Journal*, March 23, 1769.
103. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 13, 1769. Evidently they were confused as to the date of his birthday.
104. The ninety-two legislators who refused to rescind their famous circular letters in 1768.
105. The usual number of toasts at this time was forty-five, after Wilkes' No. 45 *North Briton* for which he was prosecuted by the English government. Probably the author omitted one toast. From the number of toasts it makes one wonder if they were suffering from dipsomania or just extremely patriotic. However, at times the number drank at these meetings was ninety-two after the Massachusetts Non-Rescindors.
106. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 20, 1769.
107. Verner W. Crane, *Benjamin Franklin's Letters to the Press* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950), p. 161.
108. *Ibid.*, p. 111. Also printed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 5, 1768.
109. *Ibid.*, pp. 212-13. Printed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 6, 1770.
110. *Ibid.*, p. 157. Printed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 13, 1769.
111. *Ibid.*, p. 160.
112. J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts and Co., 1884), Vol. I, p. 217.
113. Edward L. Clark, *A Record of the Inscriptions of the Tablets and Gravestones in the Burial Grounds of Christ Church, Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Collins, 1864), p. 1156.
114. For an account of how Paoli's name was used as a given name among the patriots of the colonies at this time see Anderson, *op. cit.*
115. This information was kindly supplied by the Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, Pennsylvania.
116. For a thorough account of the battle see J. Smith Futhey, "The Massacre of Paoli," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (Philadelphia: Publication of Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1877), I, pp. 285-310, and official correspondence pp. 310-19.
117. Elise Lathrop, *Early American Inns and Taverns* (New York: Robert M. McBride and Co., 1926), p. 156. In reference to "The Warren," the author says, "Major Andre stopped here with the forces which attacked Paoli."
118. Thomas F. Gordon, *Gazeteer of the State of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: T. Belknap, 1832), p. 336.
119. This long-distance worship is more striking when one considers the fact that Paoli never visited America, that could be determined. See Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 182. Probably the nearest he came to setting foot in America was expressed in a news item in 1772 which said, "General Paoli is to have the Grant of a considerable tract of Land on the Ohio, whither he intends to carry a Colony of Corsicans." *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 7, 1772. Why the project mailed to materialize could not be determined, however, it is safe to assume that it was not for want of a welcome from the colonial patriots.
120. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 21, 1769.

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