

Thomas Paine:  
The Forerunner of Freedom

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Celebrated, then despised, but later appreciated, Thomas Paine endured a long journey to recognition as a Founding Father of the United States. No one would expect an unremarkable, 37 year old Englishman who arrived at the American colonies in 1774 with no political talent, to break political and social barriers while spurring on the American Revolution. It was his brilliance as a writer which equipped him. His style was graceful, yet easy to understand, passionate, yet reason-based, and nothing if not compelling. He was rational enough to suggest American independence, unorthodox enough to support the abolition of slavery, and radical enough that the same country he helped shape turn its back on him. Through everything Paine did, he had one goal: freedom. He reflected in 1806,

My motive and object in all my political works [...] have been to rescue man from tyranny [...] and enable him to be free [...] and I have borne my share of danger [...] in every attempt I have made for this purpose.<sup>1</sup>

Paine faced intense opposition because of his steadfast beliefs in freedom. An early and vocal advocate for American independence and the emancipation of slaves in the 18th century, Thomas Paine was widely misrepresented and overlooked. Despite this, he never ceased to share his radical ideas which eventually became reality in the United States.

Paine burst through the unspoken political barrier when he was one of the first to publicly and persistently voice his radical belief that America needed to pursue independence. This belief was set in stone on April 19, 1775 when the British first fired at the Battles of Lexington and Concord. Then, on January 10, 1776, the pamphlet which made Paine America's first best-selling author was published and the colonists' spirits were set ablaze with *Common Sense*. Paine began *Common Sense* with a history of government and the warped system of monarchy,

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Paine, "To John Inskoop, Mayor of Philadelphia," *Commercial Advertiser* February 10, 1806.

and ended it with his ideas for America's new government. While many people still believed independence from Britain was unnecessary or impossible, Paine repeatedly called the colonists to use reason. He disassembled the arguments for staying bound with Britain and insisted separation was inevitable. He urged,

I am clearly, positively, and conscientiously persuaded that it is the true interest of this continent to be [independent]; that every thing short of that is mere patchwork, that it can afford no lasting felicity, that it is leaving the sword to our children, and shrinking back at a time, when, a little more, a little farther, would have rendered this continent the glory of the earth.<sup>2</sup>

Moved by his plea for the good of future generations, the colonists listened and by the end of 1776, they had bought 150,000 to 250,000 copies. Paine relinquished his authors' rights so anyone could publish it, donated all profits to the Continental Army, and rejected all future royalties. The idea of independence grew popular and colonists started to consider themselves pioneers for a better future, not traitors.<sup>3</sup> *Common Sense* was the spark which ignited the colonists' battle for freedom as well as Paine's writing career. Before crossing the Delaware River, General Washington commanded *The American Crisis*, a subsequent pamphlet by Paine, to be read to his troops as encouragement.

However, not every colonist accepted the idea of independence. *Common Sense* began a "Pamphlet War" throughout the spring of 1776 as other authors weighed in.<sup>4</sup> For example, Reverend William Smith, a loyalist to Britain, wrote eight letters against *Common Sense* under

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<sup>2</sup> Thomas Paine, *Common Sense* (Philadelphia: W. & T. Bradford, 1776), 16.

<sup>3</sup> Craig Nelson, *Thomas Paine: Enlightenment, Revolution, and the Birth of Modern Nations* (New York: Penguin Group, 2006), 90-92.

<sup>4</sup> Gary Berton, *Thomas Paine and an Early Draft of the Declaration of Independence* (Thomas Paine National Historical Association, 2019).

the pseudonym “Cato”. Not one to shy away from confrontation, Paine responded in a series of five letters using the name “Forester”. Paine wrote,

To live beneath the authority of those whom we cannot love, is misery, slavery, or what name you please. In that case, there will never be peace. Security will be a thing unknown, because, a treacherous friend in power, is the most dangerous of enemies.<sup>5</sup>

In the wake of his radicalism, Paine used criticism to his advantage. “The Forester’s Letters,” expanded on Paine’s ideas from *Common Sense* and added new insight to his arguments. At this point in the Revolutionary War, nothing could erase the resentment between the two countries. Paine understood reconciliation would put America in a precarious position and only delay her separation. Under an “American” government, however, colonists would have complete freedom to start anew and thrive. In the midst of war, Paine reassured colonists independence was the only solution.

Historians have long theorized Paine inspired, if not helped write, the Declaration of Independence because it reflects the arguments and language used in *Common Sense*. Now, after years of analyzing and cross-referencing, the Thomas Paine National Historical Association has evidence that Paine had an authoritative position in the Declaration Committee, unbeknownst to Congress. An early draft of the Declaration of Independence from the third week of June 1776 confirms Paine’s involvement. Written on the copy which had been sent between members of the committee, in John Adams’ hand, is the phrase: “A beginning perhaps — Original with Jefferson — Copied with T. P. 's permission.” Benjamin Franklin had also initialed the document (See Appendix I). Research has established Thomas Paine was the only significant T.P. in Philadelphia during that time. The phrase, “Copied with T.P.’s permission”

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<sup>5</sup> Thomas Paine, “Forester Letter III,” *Pennsylvania Journal*, April 24, 1776.

accredits Paine with a significant contribution to the Declaration's writing. His involvement was not made known because he was not a member of Congress—in fact, his radical politics granted him multiple enemies in Congress—and his involvement could delay the Declaration's approval. Prior to this discovery, the Declaration Committee was known as: Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Roger Sherman, and Robert Livingston. Adding Paine to this group explains why *Common Sense* so closely relates to the Declaration. Secondly, his membership in the committee explains the origin of his lifelong friendships with other members. Lastly, it explains how in late June 1776, Paine published a newspaper article containing the first public use of “The United States of America,” a name yet to be announced in the Declaration.<sup>6</sup> Paine led the charge towards American independence and stood unwavering in the face of a literal and intellectual war. His work, both well-known and recently discovered, was vital for colonies gaining their freedom.

Although Paine doesn't have any well-known pieces on the emancipation of slaves, he was a staunch abolitionist. Moncure Daniel Conway, who wrote Thomas Paine's first biography in 1892, incorrectly accredited multiple writings on slavery to Paine.<sup>7</sup> New research methods have allowed historians to disprove the incorrectly accredited pieces while also proving his authorship of formerly anonymous pieces.<sup>8</sup> For instance, Paine partnered with Joseph Priestley, an English theologian, to write the pamphlet “Old Truths and Established Facts”. It states, “This barbarity [that is assumed of Africa] is, it seems, the justification of the Slave Trade [...] Has any one nation a right to plunder and enslave another, because it may deem its manners

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<sup>6</sup> Berton, *Thomas Paine and an Early Draft of the Declaration of Independence*.

<sup>7</sup> Moncure Daniel Conway, *The Life of Thomas Paine* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1893).

<sup>8</sup> Gary Berton, email to the Thomas Paine National Historical Association, May 10, 2020

barbarous?”<sup>9</sup> Paine and Priestley challenged the readers to question the legitimacy of their motives and put into perspective the slave trade’s lack of humanity. Even though Paine did not sign his name on this piece, he acted on his radical abolitionist beliefs, which helped popularize the anti-slave trade act in Britain.

Paine’s close friend, Thomas Jefferson, did not share his views on slavery. In 1808, while Jefferson was president, Paine went to great lengths to make a final attempt to change his mind. Because his health was declining and he didn’t want his handwriting to be recognized (See Appendix II), he dictated to his caretaker a letter to Jefferson (See Appendix III). As he spoke, he posed as a slave who was begging for the president’s help. A section of the letter read,

What say you sir, to this? can you plead ignorance in these vices and follies; and in this inhuman slavery? If not, what can be your reasons (since you have been rais’d to the highest office in the government) for suffering us to be used in this brutal manner?”<sup>10</sup>

Paine phrased his arguments as questions in order to force Jefferson to examine himself. Jefferson, as America’s president, had the ultimate power to abolish slavery if he pleased. In the name of humanity, Paine challenged Jefferson to put into perspective what society had deemed right. The twenty-four page argument against slavery used biblical allusions, logical reasonings, emotional pleas, and a significant amount of questioning Jefferson. Paine even quoted the Declaration of Independence back to Jefferson, reminding him: “all men (not all white men) were created equal.”<sup>11</sup> Paine died the next year, and Jefferson still had done nothing to diminish slavery. Because Paine’s beliefs about slavery were ahead of their time, he is not recognized for

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<sup>9</sup> Thomas Paine, Joseph Priestley, *Old Truths and Established Facts* (London, 1792).

<sup>10</sup> Thomas Paine, *A Slave*, 1808, Letter.

<sup>11</sup> Paine, *A Slave*.

his efforts as famous 19th century abolitionists are today. He used his connections in an attempt to persuade people in power to abolish the inhumanity, even when no one agreed with him.

Unlike most barrier-breakers throughout history, Paine was not celebrated. Instead, his character was assassinated and his legacy diminished. After *Common Sense*'s publication, most Americans and Founding Fathers admired Paine's work. However, two writings, one criticizing America's beloved Washington and the other about deism, earned him the scorn of many.

Paine's belief in a God who didn't intervene caused him to lose credibility in the sight of his readers because Christianity was the societal norm in America. His political opponents smeared his reputation with accusations of drunkenness and poverty. They ridiculed the first half of his life in Britain, claimed he had no talent in writing, and his success was a product of good timing. They said he was extremely conceited and just looking to start a fight. In 1797, an author under the name "An American Citizen" wrote a twenty-five page pamphlet called "A Letter to Thomas Paine." The title page read, "Intended as an alarm to the good people of these states, from being led astray by the sophistical reasonings of Mr. Paine". In this letter, the American Citizen first recognized Paine's pamphlets as important to America's independence, "however extravagant and ridiculous" they were. He went on to call Paine's talent "superficial and grub-street genius" and label him as "intoxicated with vanity."<sup>12</sup> Ironically, all the work Paine did was for the average American citizens and they turned their backs on him. Paine took unconventional stances on many topics, so some agreed with him politically, but not religiously or with his personal opinions. Unfortunately, many decided to dismiss his positive qualities and ideas all together. When Paine returned to his beloved America in 1802 after returning from

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<sup>12</sup> An American Citizen, *A Letter to Thomas Paine* (New York: John Bull, 1797), 1.

Europe, he discovered most Americans had forgotten his vital role in the fight for their country's independence. The same people who devoured his political work in 1776 would not allow him to vote in 1806 because he was no longer considered an American after his extensive stay in France.<sup>13</sup>

Despite the backlash he received, Paine maintained a strong alliance with Thomas Jefferson, but there were others who didn't agree with his radical politics. John Adams never saw eye-to-eye with Paine and often discredited his work. On June 22, 1819, Adams wrote a letter to Jefferson in reflection of Paine. He wrote, "What a poor ignorant, malicious, short-sighted, Crapulous Mass, is Tom Pains Common Sense."<sup>14</sup> Adams showed his disdain for Paine by referring to him as "Tom Pain," a name used only by his enemies. Adams completely belittled *Common Sense* and overlooked its influence in connecting the American people with the war for independence. Attitude like this from the Founding Fathers aided Paine's negative reputation. Paine had every right to be an American elite; among other things, he helped write the Declaration of Independence. However, Paine's ideas were too radical for him to be included in the government's inner circle. When he was—in the case of the Declaration Committee—it was in secret. In slandering his reputation, his enemies may have done Paine a service. His commitment to his convictions while gaining hatred, not social status, displayed the strength of his character.

Paine died on June 8, 1809 at age 72. There are conflicting reports, but approximately six mourners attended his funeral, at least two of which were black men.<sup>15</sup> It appeared no one remembered his services to America. *The New York Evening Post* published an obituary for

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<sup>13</sup> Nelson, *Thomas Paine: Enlightenment, Revolution, and the Birth of Modern Nations*, 318.

<sup>14</sup> John Adams, "John Adams to Thomas Jefferson, June 22 1819," The Adams Papers, Founders Archives.

<sup>15</sup> Eric Foner, *Tom Paine and Revolutionary America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 261.



Paine, which read, “I am unacquainted with his age, but he had lived long, done some good, and much harm”<sup>16</sup> (See Appendix IV). This was how Paine was remembered for the following century: a rabble-rouser who hurt a situation more often than he helped. Paine lived his life unapologetically radical. Even when he was ridiculed and shunned, his character tarnished, he stood by his convictions. His ideas and beliefs were often beyond what society was ready for, which consequently made him victim to the mockery of the people he served. Paine’s talent, passion, and bravery were taken for granted as soon as his ideas became too radical for the people at the time to handle. Paine stood firm even when his reputation was tarnished and the country he loved hated him. This demonstrates his dedication to the beliefs and freedom he stood for.

While Paine witnessed the culmination of his America gain independence as he had urged, it wasn’t until 55 years after Paine implored President Jefferson to free slaves that President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation.<sup>17</sup> Paine was in too early a time for all of his ideals of equality and freedom to be acted upon. His reputation was defiled to the point where it was nearly impossible to tell truth from rumors. After over a century of no appreciation, the truth was rediscovered. Paine was finally recognized as a Founding Father of America. On May 18, 1952, Thomas Paine’s bust was added to The Hall of Fame for Great Americans at New York University. The Asheville Times wrote, “Of all the truly great men of his day Paine is perhaps the last to be given the honor and place in history that he so justly

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<sup>16</sup> Citizen, “Obituary,” *New York Evening Post*, June 10, 1809.

<sup>17</sup> Abraham Lincoln, *Emancipation Proclamation* (U.S. Executive Branch, 1863).

deserved”.<sup>18</sup> After a lifetime spent working towards others’ freedom, Paine and his legacy were finally set free from a disparaged reputation.

Today, historians are still discovering more about Paine and his work. His ideas which were radical 200 years ago are pure common sense in America today. Schoolchildren learn it was necessary for America to separate from Britain and slavery is now understood as an undeniable evil. Because of the groundwork Paine laid, America has taken strides beyond what her younger self could ever have imagined. When Barack Obama was elected president in 2008, an article from *The Nation* wrote, “When our new president says that his election proves ‘the dream of our founders is alive in our time,’ it is Paine’s dream of which he speaks.”<sup>19</sup> When Paine was surrounded by slaveholding politicians, he dreamed of making the slaves their equals. Obama rose to the highest position in American government and surpassed Paine’s dream. Thomas Paine saw the injustices in the world, and worked everyday to overhaul society. He truly believed he could “begin the world over again.”<sup>20</sup>

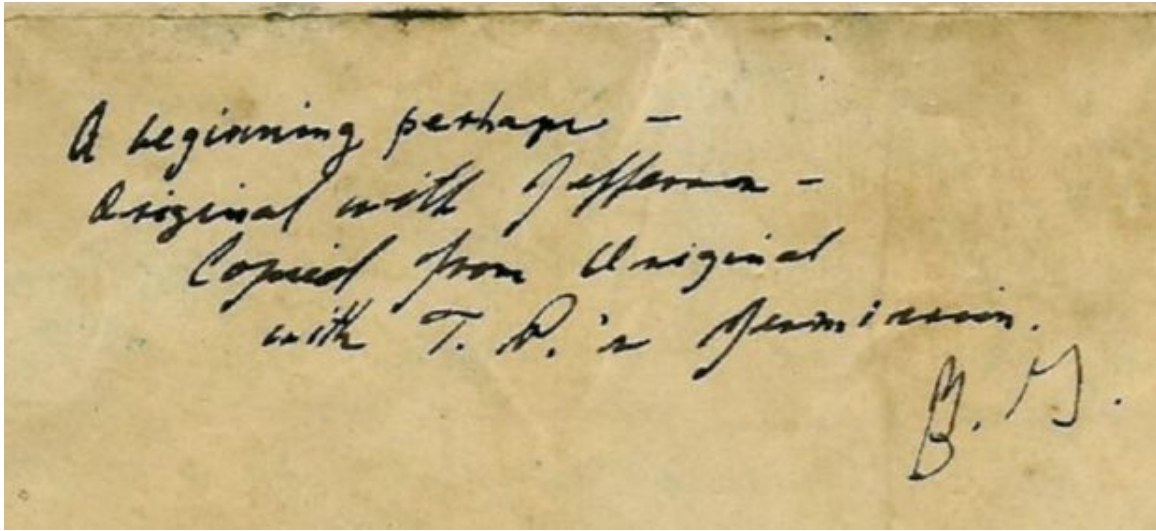
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<sup>18</sup> Sam Edwards and Morris Marcus, *The Legacy of Thomas Paine in the Transatlantic World* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017).

<sup>19</sup> John Nichols, “Obama’s Vindication of Paine,” *The Nation*, January 20, 2009, <https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/obamas-vindication-thomas-paine/>.

<sup>20</sup> Paine, *Common Sense*, 33.

## Appendix I



The above image is of John Adams' message and Benjamin Franklin's initials on the draft of the Declaration of Independence which signifies Thomas Paine's involvement.

Berton, Gary. *Thomas Paine and an Early Draft of the Declaration of Independence*. 2019.

## Appendix II



The above image is a portion of the handwriting analysis of Mde. Bonneville, Thomas Paine's caretaker. It compares her handwriting in letters confirmed to be written by her and her handwriting in Paine's letter to Jefferson.

Thomas Paine National Historical Association, *Mde. Bonneville Handwriting Summary*.

### Appendix III

"That we & our children might live free from foreign, as well as domestic tyrants - Don't let their labours be lost - Don't let so much blood be spilt in vain, and so much treasure be bartered for a whistle - for Spanish jolly, or for British haught and pride. O raise, raise quickly, and sharpen your weapons, & unite your strength, & let us banish all tyrants, Tyranny and oppression from North America, and let us who were the fatal shock, form but one society, one great family." "And since human nature has but one constitution, let there in future (at least in America) exist but one law; that of nature; but one code; that of reason; but one throne; that of justice and but one altar; that of union. Then might the sons and daughters of America set under their vines and fruit trees, and enjoy the fruits of their labours, and the friendship of the whole human family. Then might they sit down in the joy of their hearts and sing with the birds in the following beautiful lines, viz.

Love & Liberty.

1. In briary dell, or thicket brown,  
On mountain high, or lowly vale,  
Or where the thistle sheds its down,  
And sweet fern sends the passing gale,  
There hops the birds from bush to bush,  
Love fills their throats,  
Love swells their notes,

The above image is page 20 of the 24 page letter that Thomas Paine dictated to his caretaker to be sent to President Jefferson. He posed as a slave during the letter and had it signed anonymously as "Love and Liberty".

Paine, Thomas. *A Slave*, 1808. Letter. From the Library of Congress.

Appendix IV

vie, 80 guns, Capt. Cuvillier—  
 April.  
 guns, Capt. La Tonie—burnt  
 te, Capt. Pooteau—burnt 16th  
 Capt. Bersögter.  
 Capt. Le Bigot,  
 te, Capt. Allgand,  
 30 guns—run ashore and wreck-  
 ruary.  
 the French ships, have got a-  
 o 74's; but the three decker  
 igh water—has not moved over  
 appatently still in a precari-  
 irrespondent at Washington,  
 e of Representatives.”  
 WEDNESDAY, June 7, 1809.  
 petitions were read and re-  
 l from the committee on fortifi-  
 ed a bill, making further up-  
 that object. Read a first, and  
 id. referred to a committee of  
 se tomorrow.  
 rom the committee appointed on  
 the subject of the seamen's ot-  
 tes, reported a bill for the pro-  
 erican seamen. Read a first  
 id and made the order of the

It is not believed that he will be confirmed in it by the Legislature. We hope that our federal brethren at the eastward will no longer contend that His Excellency Governor Huntington is a Federalist of the Washington School

MARRIED.

On Thursday evening last by the Revd Ralph Williston, Mr. BENJAMIN PITT GRIFFIN, to Miss JANE OLDRIDGE MILLET both of England.

Died, on Thursday morning, the 8th inst. THOMAS PAINE, author of the *Crisis*, *Rights of Man*, &c. Mr. Paine had a desire to be interred in the Quaker burying ground, and some days previous to his demise, had an interview with some Quaker gentlemen on the subject, but as he declined a renunciation of his deistical opinions, his anxious wishes were not complied with. He was yesterday interred at New-Rochelle, Westchester county, perhaps on his own farm. I am unacquainted with his age; but he had lived long, done some good, and much harm—*Cit zen.*

EVENING POST MARINE LIST.

No Arrivals—Signal for one schooner.

CLEARED.

Brig Fredonia, Briggs, Madeira.  
 Hicks Jenkins & Co.  
 Leon, Dorsey, St. Bartholomew's  
 Captain.  
 Holkar, Horn. New-Orleans

ry, the greatest number of Capital P have yet been drawn, viz.

No. 20,697, a prize of 10,000  
 28,500 5,000  
 3,109 5,000  
 7,593 2,000  
 23,193 1,000

And, in the last Lottery,

No. 20,931 25,000  
 25,405 10,000  
 20,799 5,000  
 20,310 2,000

And many other valuable prizes

The Lottery will commence drawing every week until the whole is drawn June 10.

For freight or Charter  
 The new and very excellent  
 MANLIUS, burthen 300  
 can be ready to receive a  
 board in 4 days. A freight to London  
 would be preferred. Apply to  
 BUCKLEY & ABBOTT  
 South

Who have for Sale  
 150,000 lb St Domingo Coffee in bag  
 20,000 lb Jamaica do in casks  
 36 bales Upland Cotton  
 400 bbls Baltimore Superfine Flour  
 200 do Richmond ditto  
 150 do Rye Flour  
 2,500 bushels of Wheat  
 2,700 do Delaware Yellow Corn  
 New-York Superfine and Fine

The above image is of Paine's uncomplimentary obituary in the *New York Evening Post* on June 10, 1809. It is located in the middle of the middle column.

Citizen. "Obituary." *New York Evening Post*, June 10, 1809.

## Annotated Bibliography

### Primary Sources

Adams, John. "John Adams to Thomas Jefferson, June 22 1819." Letter. From National Archives, *The Adams Papers*, <https://founders.archives.gov/?q=crapulous%20mass&s=1111311111&sa=&r=2&sr=>. Accessed January, 2020.

This is a letter John Adams sent to Thomas Jefferson which helped me understand his disdain for Thomas Paine. Other sources referenced an unfriendliness between the two, but this letter gave me a concrete quote to use in my paper.

An American Citizen. *A Letter to Thomas Paine*. New York: John Bull, 1797.

This is a pamphlet that was published against Paine in America in wake of his very radical works. It showed me how much the public's opinions towards Paine shifted from support to hate which gave me a better idea of what Paine went through and the values that were important to people in the 1700s. I pulled a quote from and paraphrased this piece in my paper.

Citizen. "Obituary." *New York Evening Post*, June 10, 1809.

This is a section of a newspaper that was published after Paine died. It showed me how unimportant the majority of Americans thought Paine was and the level of disregard people held for him. It was an interesting primary source to look at because I found a photo of it in its original printed form and I quoted it in my paper. I cited "Citizen" as the author because in the original print the obituary section was signed "Citizen" instead of giving a name.

Paine, Thomas. *A Slave*, 1808. Letter. From Thomas Paine National Historical Association.

This primary source was very important to my project. I obtained it after contacting the Thomas Paine National Historical Association. It is the very letter that Paine (posing as a slave) wrote to Jefferson and showed me the lengths Paine was willing to go for the cause of abolition and Paine's talent writing with logos, pathos, and ethos. I used a quote from it in my paper to support claims about how deeply Paine cared about slavery and included an image of one of the pages that I found on the Library of Congress's website.

Paine, Thomas. *Common Sense*. Philadelphia: W. & T. Bradford, 1776.

This is Paine's most famous pamphlet initiating his first authorship. In it, he tells the American colonists for the first time that they need independence from Britain. Reading it helped me connect with the colonists as I was compelled by his arguments, even after 200

years. I used two quotes from his writing: one during my arguments and one at the very end of my conclusion.

Paine, Thomas. "Forester Letter III." *Pennsylvania Journal*, April 24, 1776.

This is a response that Paine wrote after his *Common Sense* was attacked. It strengthened my understanding of his reasoning behind his arguments. It highlights his ability to not bend under pressure, but continue fighting for his beliefs. I used a quote from this in my paper.

Paine, Thomas, and Priestley, Joseph. *Old Truths and Established Facts*. London, 1792.

This is a pamphlet that Paine collaborated on while he was in Europe. It gave more depth to his belief against slavery, specifically that he was against the slave trade. I quoted this piece in my paper to prove how Paine acted on his beliefs. It has been proved by the Thomas Paine National Historical Association to be written in part by Paine.

Paine, Thomas. *Thomas Paine to Benjamin Rush*, March 16 1790. Letter. From Thomas Paine National Historical Association, <http://thomaspaine.org/letters/other/to-anonymous-march-16-1790.html>. Accessed January 2020.

This is a letter that Paine wrote to Benjamin Rush when he was overseas expressing his wish to abolish slavery. This was the first source I found about slavery that was truly written by Paine; many writings had been falsely credited to him, so this letter proved to me that he actually was an advocate against slavery in his personal life.

Paine, Thomas. "To John Inskeep, Mayor of Philadelphia." *Commercial Advertiser*, February 10, 1806.

This is a letter by Paine that was published in a newspaper. It was written in Paine's later life and included clarification on what his motives behind his work were. I quote it in the introduction to my paper because it very clearly lays out the same points that I am arguing. This source reinforced my assumption on what Paine wanted.

U.S. Executive Branch. *Emancipation Proclamation*. Abraham Lincoln. 1863.

This is the Emancipation Proclamation issued by President Lincoln. It helped me gain perspective on how early Paine was in his belief to abolish slavery. I reference this document twice in my paper.

## **Secondary Sources**

Berton, Gary. *Thomas Paine and an Early Draft of the Declaration of Independence*. Thomas Paine National Historical Association, 2019.



I believe that this source was the most important to my paper. It is an essay written by the Secretary of the Thomas Paine National Historical Museum and I received it after I contacted them. This source includes photos of primary source drafts of the Declaration of Independence that prove Paine's involvement. Berton's explanation of the primary source was very helpful to my understanding of it. I quoted the primary source and paraphrased the explanation in my paper.

Conway, Moncure Daniel. *The Life of Thomas Paine*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1893. This is considered the first biography on Paine. It was the starting point to many misconceptions about which pieces Paine wrote, which still holds confusion today. I mention this dilemma in my paper because of how prominent it is for historians.

Edwards, Sam, and Morris, Marcus. *The Legacy of Thomas Paine in the Transatlantic World*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2017.

This is a book that was written about Paine, but I only used it for one quote in my paper. It included information about the Thomas Paine bust at the New York University Hall of Fame, which I was previously unaware of and helped me understand how the public's opinion of Paine changed overtime.

Foner, Eric. *Tom Paine and Revolutionary America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.

This is a book that was written about Paine by Eric Foner, an American historian and professor at Columbia University. It focuses a lot on the other influential occurrences in America while Paine was at work. I read a section of it to help me better understand Paine's life before he came to America and the condition of England when he lived there and paraphrased some information in my paper.

Levin, Yuval. *The Great Debate*. New York: Basic Books, 2013.

This is a book written by Yuval Levin, a political journalist and analyst. It discusses how Thomas Paine and Edmund Burke were the first representations of the modern American left and right, respectively. It brought to my attention a very interesting impact Paine made that my other research did not, which gave me a broader view and understanding of Paine's long time importance.

Nelson, Craig. *Thomas Paine: Enlightenment, Revolution, and the Birth of Modern Nations*. New York: Penguin Group, 2006.

This is a biography on Thomas Paine written by Craig Nelson, an editor and author of multiple historical books. This book goes into detail in every section of Paine's life. I read multiple sections which gave me much more background knowledge on Paine's life

in general and more specific details about *Common Sense* and his late life. I paraphrase information from this book in my paper.

Nichols, John. "Obama's Vindication of Paine." *The Nation*, January 20, 2009.

<https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/obamas-vindication-thomas-paine/>.

This is an article that was published after Barack Obama was elected president. It takes an interesting perspective on how Paine's work towards abolition was completely fulfilled when an African-American became the President of the United States. I used a quote from this article in my paper to support why Paine is still important now.

Thomas Paine National Historical Association, *Mde. Bonneville Handwriting Summary*.

This is the handwriting analysis summary that I received from the Thomas Paine National Historical Association upon inquiry. It helped me understand the process that historians go through when determining the author of a letter that was written hundreds of years ago. I included a portion of the analysis in my appendix.

"Thomas Paine National Historical Association." Thomas Paine National Historical Association. Last modified 2020. Accessed January, 2020. <http://thomaspaine.org/>

This was my main contact. The Thomas Paine National Historical Association's website includes virtually everything Paine ever wrote, they study history to figure out whether or not Paine actually wrote a piece and use disclaimers when the authorship is questionable, and have answers to dozens of frequently asked questions. When I contacted them directly, they were extremely helpful by supplying me with my three most important sources and answering questions I had.

*To Begin the World Over Again: Life of Thomas Paine*. Directed by Haskell Wexler. 2016. Los Angeles: NETA.

This is a one-man play that was performed by Ian Ruskin, a trained British actor, who portrays Paine. This film was extremely helpful because it gave me a basic understanding about everything that happened during Paine's life and helped me become an expert on Paine, even in the areas that my paper doesn't focus on.