

George
Washington

American Treasures II

Remembering What Made America Great

“No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand, which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of the United States. Every step by which they have become an independent nation seems to have been distinguished by some token of Providential agency.”

President George Washington

THE SAYINGS OF POOR RICHARD

Benjamin Franklin, 1733-1758

Background

At 23, when he got control of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Ben Franklin began to make a name for himself. Writing under the pseudonym of Richard Saunders, Franklin also authored and printed *Poor Richard's Almanac*. It was the witty, worldly-wise proverbs interwoven throughout this popular manual upon which the fame of Franklin rests.

1733

- Eat to live; don't live to eat.
- He that lies down with dogs shall rise up with fleas.
- Innocence is its own defense.

1734

- Hope of gain lessons pain.
- Take this remark from Richard, poor and lame — whatever begins with anger ends in shame.
- He that cannot obey cannot command.
- If the magistrate obeys the laws, the people should obey the magistrate.

1735

- Early to bed, early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise.
- Look before or find yourself behind.
- Keep thy shop and thy shop will keep thee.
- Three may keep a secret, if two of them are dead.

1736

- Fish and guests stink after three days.
- None preaches better than ants and they say nothing.
- God heals and doctors take the fee.
- Forewarned is forearmed.

1737

- Well done is better than well said.
- He that can compose himself is wiser than he that composes books.
- At the working man's house, hunger looks in but dares not enter.
- I never saw an oft-transplanted tree that thrived so well as those that settled be.

1738

- Let thy vices die before thee.
- Read much but not too many books.
- Keep your eyes wide open before marriage and half-shut afterwards.
- Since thou art not sure of a minute, then throw away not an hour.
- Wish not to live long as to live well.
- Reading makes a full man, meditation a profound man, and discourse a clear man.

1739

- No longer virtuous, no longer free.
- If thou injurest conscience, it will have its revenge.
- Blessed is he that expects nothing, for he shall never be disappointed.

1740

- Man's tongue is soft and bone doth lack, yet a stroke therewith may break a man's back.
- Those who in quarrels interpose most often wipe a bloody nose.

1741

- No wood without bark.
- Well done is twice done.
- If evils come not, our fears are vain, and if they do, fear but worsens the pain.
- Up, sluggard, waste not life; in the grave will be sleeping enough.
- Quarrels never could last long, if on one side only lay the wrong.

1742

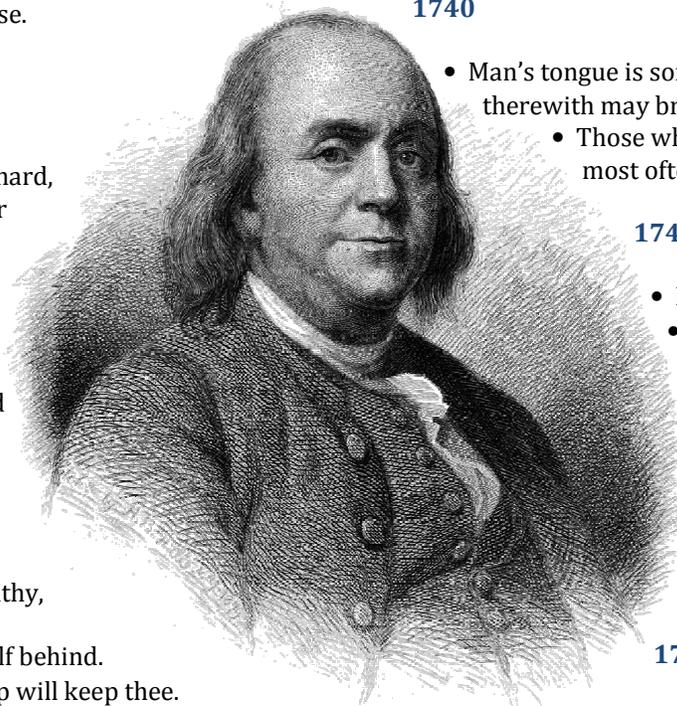
- Death takes no bribes.
- A closed mouth catches no flies.
- To err is human, to repent divine, and to persist, devilish.

1743

- The sleeping fox catches no poultry.
- He who would when he could is not able when he would.
- Experience keeps a dear school; fools learn in no other.

1744

- Make haste slowly.
- What you would seem to be, be really.
- Tart words make no friends. A spoonful of honey will catch more flies than a gallon of vinegar.
- Hear reason or she will make you feel her.



1745

- No gains without pains.
- A small leak will sink a great ship.
- He's a fool who cannot conceal his wisdom.
- 'Tis easier to prevent bad habits than to break them.

1746

- When the well is dry, we know the worth of water.
- Vice knows she's ugly, so she puts on her mask.
- Dost thou love life? Then, do not squander time, for that's the stuff life is made of.
- The sting of a reproach is the truth of it.

1747

- Courage would fight, but discretion won't let him.
- We are not so sensible of the greatest health as of the least sickness.
- A good example is the best sermon.
- He who won't be counseled can't be helped.
- Deceit must wear clothes, but truth can go naked.
- Better is a little with contentment than much with contention.
- A slip of the foot you may soon recover, but a slip of the tongue you may never get over.
- The Devil sweetens poison with honey.

1748

- Lost time is never found again.
- To pardon the bad is to injure the good.
- He is not well bred who cannot bear ill-breeding in others.

1749

- If passion drives, let reason hold the reins.
- Wise men learn from others' harm, fools by their own.
- Contentment makes poor men rich; discontentment makes rich men poor.

1750

- Little strokes fell great oaks.
- Many a man thinks he is buying pleasure, when he is really selling himself to it.
- Hide not your talents; they for use were made. What use is a sun-dial in the shade?
- Glass, china, and reputation are easily cracked but not easily mended.

1751

- Today is yesterday's pupil.
- Prosperity discovers vice, adversity virtue.
- Not to oversee workmen is to leave your wallet open.

1752

- To the boiling pot the flies come not.
- For want of a nail, the shoe is lost. For want of a shoe, the horse is lost. For want of a horse, the rider is lost.

1753

- Haste makes waste.
- If you would reap praise, you must sow the seeds — gentle words and useful deeds.
- Many have quarreled about religion who never practiced it.
- He that best understands the world least likes it.

1754

- The cat in gloves catches no mice.
- Love your neighbor but don't cut down your hedge.
- Willow branches are weak but they bind the bundle.

1755

- Speak little but do much.
- Two dry sticks will burn a green one.
- Being ignorant is not so much a shame as being unwilling to learn.

1756

- Be civil to all, sociable to many, familiar with few, friend to one, and enemy of none.
- Plough deep while sluggards sleep, and you shall have corn to sell and to keep.

1757

- To catch fish, one must venture his bait.
- Idleness is the sea that swallows all virtues.
- Be active in business, so temptation may miss her aim. The bird that sits is easily shot.
- Proportion your charity to the strength of your estate, or God will proportion your estate to the weakness of your charity.

1758

- Great modesty often hides great merit.
- He that is content has enough. He that complains has too much.



SINNERS IN THE HANDS OF AN ANGRY GOD

Reverend Jonathan Edwards, 1741

Introduction

Jonathan Edwards is, perhaps, the greatest intellect America has ever produced. He certainly ranks among its top theologians, philosophers, authors, and pastors. God used his discipline, zeal, and personal resolve to spark a timely and impactful revival in New England — the Great Awakening (1730-1760) — just prior to our Revolution. Here is a description of the revival in his own words:

“The work of conversion was carried on in a most astounding manner and increased more and more; souls did come by flocks to Jesus Christ. Northampton seemed to be full of the presence of God. The revival struck the hearts first of the young people and, then, of their elders, all over the town. The tavern was soon empty. People were done with their quarrels, backbiting, and meddling with other men’s affairs. God made it the greatest occasion of awakening that ever came to pass in the town.”

Only the Mere Pleasure of God

“Their foot shall slide in due time” (*Deut. 32:35*). In this verse is threatened the vengeance of God on the wicked unbelieving Israelites, that were God’s visible people. This expression, that I have chosen for my text, seems to imply the following things:

- That they were always exposed to destruction, as one that stands or walks in slippery places is always exposed to fall.
- It implies that they were always exposed to sudden unexpected destruction.
- That they are liable to fall of themselves, without being thrown down by the hand of another.
- That the reason why they are not fallen already is only that God’s appointed time is not come. God won’t hold them up in these slippery places any longer, but will let them go; and, then, at that very instant, they shall fall into destruction.

The observation from the words that I would now insist upon is this: *There is nothing that keeps wicked men, at any one moment, out of hell but the mere pleasure of God.*

There is no want of power in God to cast wicked men into hell at any moment. He is not only able to cast wicked men into hell, but he can most easily do it. They deserve to be cast into hell. They are already under a sentence of condemnation. They are now the objects of that very same

anger and wrath of God that is expressed in the torments of hell. The devil stands ready to fall upon them and seize them as his own, at what moment God shall permit him.

There are in the souls of wicked men those hellish principles reigning, that would presently kindle and flame out into hell fire, if it were not for God’s restraints. It is no security to wicked men, for one moment, that there are no visible means of death at hand. Natural men’s prudence and care to preserve their own lives, or the care of others to preserve them, don’t secure them for a moment. All wicked men’s pains they use to escape hell, while they continue to reject Christ, and so remain wicked men, don’t secure them from hell one moment. God has laid himself under no obligation by any promise to keep any natural man out of hell.

How Can You Rest?

Thus it is, that natural men are held in the hand of God over the pit of hell. They have deserved the fiery pit and are already sentenced to it; and, God is dreadfully provoked, his anger is as great towards them as to those that are actually suffering the executions of the fierceness of his wrath in hell, and they have done nothing in the least to appease or abate that anger, neither is God in the least bound by any promise to hold them up.

How can you rest one moment in such a condition? Are not your souls precious?

Are there not many here that have lived long in the world, that are not to this day born again?

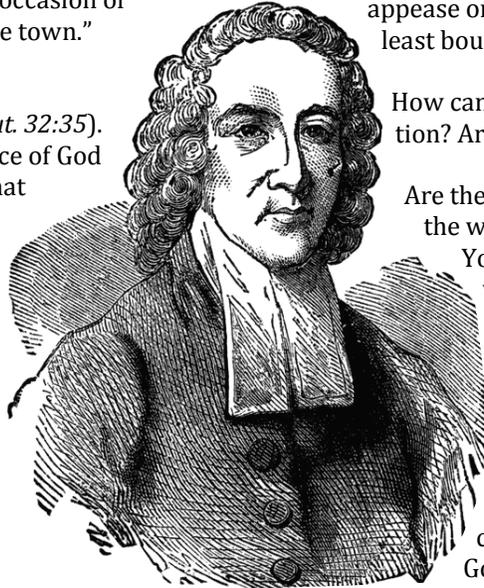
You had need to consider yourselves and wake thoroughly out of sleep; you cannot bear the fierceness and wrath of the infinite God.

Let everyone that is yet out of Christ and hanging over the pit of hell, whether they be old men and women, or middle aged, or young people, or little children, now hearken to the loud calls of God’s Word.

Now undoubtedly it is, as it was in the days of John the Baptist, the ax is laid at the root of the trees, that every tree that brings not forth good fruit may be hewn down and cast into the fire.

Therefore, let everyone that is out of Christ, now awake and fly from the wrath to come! The wrath of Almighty God is now undoubtedly hanging over a great part of this congregation! Let everyone fly out of Sodom!

Haste and escape for your lives. Look not behind you. Escape to the mountain, lest you be consumed!



THE CHARACTER OF A GOOD RULER

Reverend Samuel Willard, 1694

“You shall select out of all the people able men who fear God, men of truth, those who hate dishonest gain; and, you shall place these over them as leaders of thousands, of hundreds, of fifties, and of tens.” *Exodus 18:21*

Loves Righteousness

It is first required that rulers have a principle of *moral honesty* in them, that they *love righteousness* and hate iniquity, that they be men of truth, for every man will act according to the principle that rules in him, so that an unrighteous man will be an unrighteous ruler, so far as he hath an opportunity.

Knows What Is Just

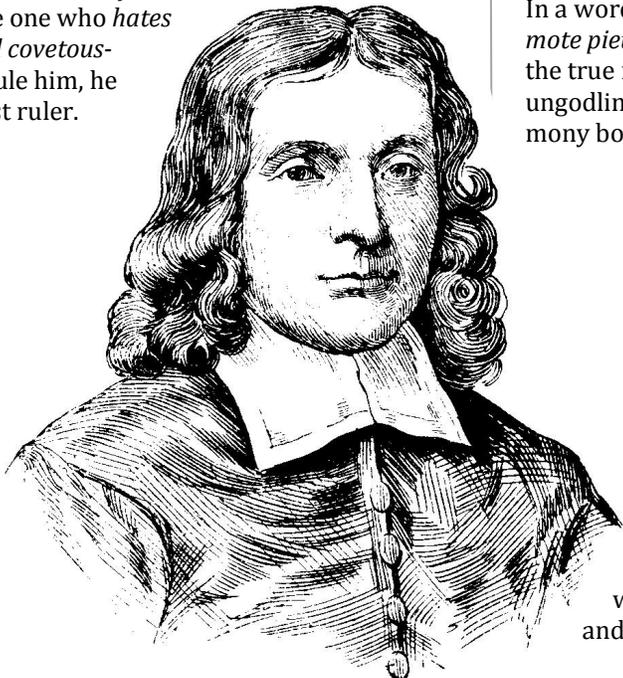
A ruler must also be acquainted with the rules of righteousness; he must know what is just and what is unjust. Though he may know and not do, yet without knowledge his mind cannot be good. *Ignorance is the foundation for error* and will likely produce it, when the man applies himself to act.

Respects the Cause

A good ruler must *respect the cause* and not the person, in all his administrations. If his affections over-sway his judgment at any time, they will be a crooked bias that will turn him out of the way, and that shall be justice in one man's cause, which will not be so in another.

Hates Ambition

He must be one whom neither flattery nor bribery may be able to remove out of his way. Hence, he must be one who *hates both ambition and covetousness*, for if these rule him, he will never be a just ruler.



Benefits the Public

He must be one who *prefers the public benefit* above all private and separate interests whatsoever. He who either, to advance himself or to be avenged on another, will push injurious laws or pervert the intention of such as are in force, is an unjust man.

Fears God

Justice cannot be looked upon apart from the fear of God but as maintained and influenced by it. He, therefore, that rules in the fear of God is one who *acknowledges God to be his sovereign* and carries in his heart an awful reverence. He owes that his commission is from Him and ere expects long to be called to give an account of his managing of it. Thus, this makes him to study all things that pleases Him and to be afraid of doing anything that provokes Him.

Studies God's Law

Accordingly, as he is a *student in the Law of God* and meditates in it day and night, making it the rule unto which he ultimately resolves all that he does in His place.

Makes Good Laws

If he hath anything to do in the making of laws, he will consult a good conscience, and what may *be pleasing to God*, and will be far from making mischief by the law. If he be to execute any laws of men, he will not dare to give a judgment for such as one as directly crosseth the command of God.

Exemplifies Obedience

The fear of God will make a ruler not to think himself lawless, nor dare to bear witness, by laws and penalties, against sins in others, which he encourages by living in the practice of himself. He is to use his utmost endeavors that his own life may be an *exemplification of obedience*, and others may learn by him what a veneration he hath for the laws that are enacted for the good of mankind.

Promotes Piety

In a word, a good ruler is one that will take care to *promote piety*, as well as honesty. He will do his utmost that the true religion may be seen and established, and that all ungodliness and unrighteousness may have a due testimony borne against it at all times.

Samuel Willard (1640-1707) was a Puritan pastor in Boston and President of Harvard University

WHEN IS IT RIGHT TO RESIST AUTHORITY?

A Discourse Concerning Unlimited Submission and Non-Resistance to Higher Powers, *Romans 13*

Reverend Jonathan Mayhew, 1750

Jonathan Mayhew (1720-1776) was a leading New England clergyman. He was famous, in part, for this 1750 sermon, in which he espouses the cause of liberty and the right and duty to resist tyranny. Founding Father John Adams identified Mayhew and this sermon as having "great influence in the commencement of the Revolution." It was written in response to the desire of King Charles to force the American colonies into the Episcopal Church.

Preaching Politics

The ensuing discourse is the last of three upon the same subject, with some little alterations and additions. It is hoped that few will think the subject of it an improper one to be discoursed on in the pulpit, under a notion that this is preaching politics instead of Christ. However, to remove all prejudices of this sort, I beg it may be remembered that "all Scripture is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness." Why, then, should not those parts of Scripture which relate to civil government be examined and explained as well as others? Obedience to the civil magistrate is a Christian duty; and, if so, why should not the nature, grounds, and extent of it be considered in a Christian assembly?

Those nations that are now groaning under the iron scepter of tyranny were once free. So they might probably have remained if it were for a seasonable caution against despotic (tyrannical) measures. Civil tyranny is usually small in its beginning, like the drop of a bucket, till at length, like a mighty torrent or the raging waves of the sea, it bears down all before it and deluges whole countries.

Tyranny brings ignorance and brutality with it. It degrades men from their just rank into the class of brutes. It dampens their spirits. It suppresses their arts. It extinguishes every spark of noble ardor and generosity in the breasts of those who are enslaved to it. It makes naturally strong and great minds feeble and little, and it triumphs over the ruins of virtue and humanity.

This is true tyranny in every shape. There can be nothing great or good where its influence reaches. For which reason it becomes every friend of truth, every lover of God and the Christian religion, to bear a part in opposing this hateful monster. It was desire to contribute a mite to-

wards carrying on a war against this common enemy that produced the following discourse; and, if it serves in any measure to keep up a spirit of civil and religious liberty amongst us, then my end is answered.

Is He God's Minister or the Devil's?

The apostle enters upon his subject thusly: *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God.*

Here Paul urges the duty of obedience from the argument that civil rulers are the ordinance of God. But how is this an argument for obedience to such rulers as do not perform the pleasure of God, by doing good, but the pleasure of the Devil, by doing evil? As such, they are not, therefore, *God's ministers*, but the Devil's!

Resist Those Who Resist God

Whosoever resists the power, resists the ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.

Here the apostle argues that those who resist a reasonable and just authority, which is agreeable to the will of God, do really resist the will of God himself, and will, therefore, be punished by him. But how does this prove that those who resist a lawless, unreasonable power, which is contrary to the will of God, do therein resist the will and ordinance of God? Is resisting those who resist God's will the same thing as resisting God?

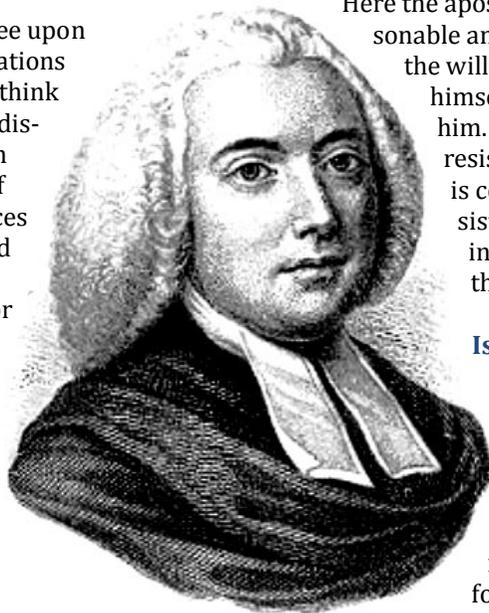
Is He an Enemy of Good?

For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same. For he is the minister of God to thee for good. Here the apostle argues more explicitly than he had before done, for revering and submitting to magistrates who would be enemies only to the evil ac-

tions of men and would befriend and encourage the good, and so be a common blessing to society. But how is this an argument that we must honor and submit to such magistrates as are not enemies to the evil actions of men but to the good, and such as are not a common blessing but a common curse to society?

Is He Unrighteous or Partial to Evil?

But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid, for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil. Here the apostle argues from the nature and end of magistrates, that such as did evil had reason to be afraid of the higher powers; it being part of their office to punish evil doers, no less than to defend and encourage such as do well. But if magistrates are unrighteous, if they are respecters of persons, if they are partial in their administration of justice, then those who do well have as much reason to be afraid as those that do evil. There can be no safety for the good. What reason is there for submitting to that government which does by no means fulfill the design of government?



Does He Encourage the Bad or Discourage the Good?

Wherefore ye must needs be subject not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake. Here the apostle argues the duty of a cheerful and conscientious submission to civil government, as the design of it was to punish evil doers and to support and encourage such as do well, and, as it must, if so exercised, be agreeable to the will of God. But how does what he here says prove the duty of a cheerful and conscientious subjection to those who forfeit the character of rulers, to those who encourage the bad and discourage the good? The argument here no more proves it to be a sin to resist such rulers than it does to resist the Devil.

Is He Endeavoring to Ruin the Public?

For this cause, pay you tribute; for they are God's ministers. Here the apostle argues the duty of paying taxes from this consideration, that those who perform the duty of rulers are continually attending upon the public welfare. But how does this argument conclude for paying taxes to such princes as are continually endeavoring to ruin the public, especially when such payment would facilitate and promote this wicked design?

Render to all their dues, to whom tribute, to whom custom, to whom fear, to whom honor.

Here the apostle sums up the duty of subjects to rulers. His argument stands thus—"Since magistrates, who execute their office well, are common benefactors to society, and may, in that respect, be properly called *the ministers and ordinance of God*, and, since they are constantly employed in the service of the public, it becomes you to pay them tribute and custom, to reverence, honor, and submit to them in the execution of their respective offices. This is apparently good reasoning. But does this argument conclude for the duty of paying tribute, custom, reverence, honor, and obedience to such persons as use all their powers to hurt and injure the public?

Rulers are, by their office, bound to consult the public welfare and the good of society; therefore, you are bound to pay them tribute, to honor and to submit to them, even when they destroy the public welfare and are a common pest to society, by acting in direct contradiction to the nature and end of their office? What can be more absurd than an argument thus framed?

Tyrants Have No Entitlements

Upon a careful review of the apostle's reasoning in this passage, it appears that his arguments, to enforce submission, are of such a nature as to conclude only in favor of submission to such rulers as he himself describes, to such as rule for the good of society, which is the only end of their institution. Common tyrants and public oppressors are not entitled to obedience from their subjects, by virtue of any thing here laid down by the inspired apostle.

I now add that the apostle's argument is so far from proving it to be the duty of people to obey and submit to such rulers as act in contradiction to the public good, and so to the design of their office, that it proves the direct contrary. A regard to the public welfare ought to make us withhold from our rulers that obedience and subjection which it would, otherwise, be our duty to render to them. If it be our duty, for example, to obey our king, merely for this reason, that he rules for the public welfare, it follows that when he turns tyrant and makes his subjects his prey, to devour and to destroy, instead of his charge to defend and cherish, we are bound to throw off our allegiance to him and to resist.

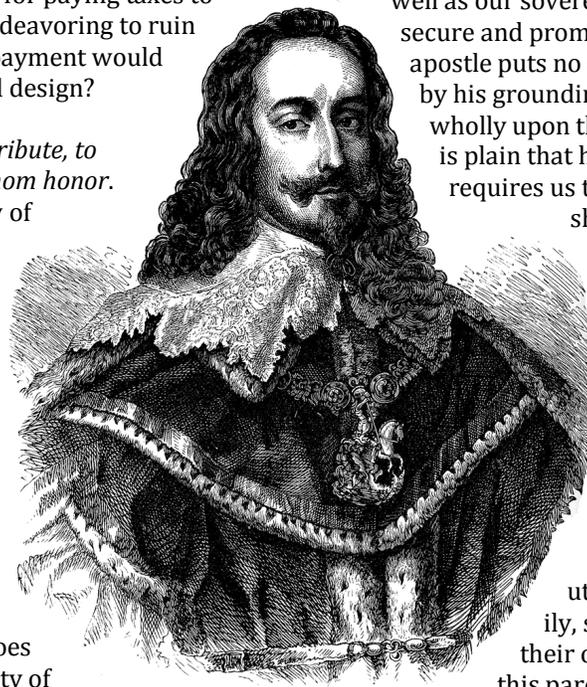
We Promote Slavery by Not Resisting

Not to discontinue our allegiance, in this case, would be to join with the sovereign in promoting the slavery and misery of that society, the welfare of which, we ourselves, as well as our sovereign, are indispensably obliged to secure and promote, as far as in us lies. It is true the apostle puts no case of such a tyrannical prince, but by his grounding his argument for submission wholly upon the good of civil society. Therefore, it is plain that he implicitly authorizes, and even requires us to make resistance, whenever this shall be necessary to the public safety and happiness.

Let me make use of this easy and familiar example to illustrate the point in hand. Suppose God requires a family of children to obey their father and not to resist him, and he enforces his command with this argument: that the superintendence and care and authority of a just and kind parent will contribute to the happiness of the whole family, so that they ought to obey him for their own sakes more than for his. Suppose this parent runs distracted and attempts, in his mad fit, to cut all his children's throats.

Now in this case, is not the reason before assigned, why these children should obey their parent while he continued of a sound mind, namely, their common good, a reason equally conclusive for disobeying and resisting him, since he is become delirious and attempts their ruin?

If we calmly consider the nature of the thing itself, nothing can well be imagined more directly contrary to common sense than to suppose that millions of people should be subjected to the arbitrary, precarious pleasure of one single man, so that their estates and everything that is valuable in life, even their lives, shall be absolutely at his disposal, if he happens to demand them. What man can think that God made all to be thus subservient to the lawless pleasure of one, so that it shall always be a sin to resist him? Nothing but the most plain and express revelation from heaven could make a sober man believe such a monstrous, unaccountable doctrine. There is not the least syllable in Scripture which gives any countenance to it.



King Charles I

COMMON SENSE

From the Revolutionary Pamphlet by Thomas Paine, 1776, Citing the Reasons for American Separation

Government Is a Necessary Evil

Society is produced by our wants, and government by our wickedness; the former promotes our happiness positively by uniting our affections, the latter negatively by restraining our vices. Society in every state is a blessing, but government, even in its best state, is but a necessary evil. For were the impulses of conscience clear, uniform and irresistibly obeyed, man would need no other lawgiver; but, that not being the case, he finds it necessary to surrender up a part of his property to furnish means for the protection of the rest. Wherefore, security being the true design and end of government, it unanswerably follows that whatever form thereof appears most likely to ensure it to us, with the least expense and greatest benefit, is preferable to all others.

In order to gain a clear and just idea of the design and end of government, let us suppose a small number of persons settled in some [isolated] part of the earth, unconnected with the rest; they will represent the first peopling of any country. In this state of natural liberty, society will be their first thought. A thousand motives will excite them thereto; the strength of one man is so unequal to his wants, and his mind so unfitted for perpetual solitude, that he is soon obliged to seek assistance and relief of another, who in his turn requires the same. Four or five united would be able to raise a tolerable dwelling in the midst of a wilderness, but one man might labor out the common period of life without accomplishing any thing; when he had felled his timber he could not remove it, nor erect it after it was removed. Hunger, in the meantime, would urge him to quit his work, and every different want would call him a different way.

Thus, necessity, like a gravitating power, would soon form our newly arrived immigrants into society, the blessings of which would supersede and render the obligations of law and government unnecessary, while they remained perfectly just to each other; but as nothing but heaven is impregnable to vice, it will unavoidably happen that they will begin to relax in their duty and attachment to each other. This remissness will point out the necessity of establishing some form of government to supply the defect of moral virtue.

Some convenient tree will afford them a State House, under the branches of which the whole colony may assemble to deliberate on public matters. It is more than probable that their first laws will have the title only of regulations and be enforced by no other penalty than public disesteem. In this first parliament every man by natural right will have a seat.

However, as the Colony increases, the public concerns will increase, and the distance at which the members may be

separated, will render it too inconvenient for all of them to meet on every occasion, as at first, when their number was small, their habitations near, and the public concerns few and trifling. This will point out the convenience of their consenting to leave the legislative part to be managed by a select number chosen from the whole body, who are supposed to have the same concerns at stake which those have who appointed them, and who will act in the same manner as the whole body would act were they present. If the colony continues increasing, it will become necessary and best to divide the whole into convenient parts, each part sending its proper number of representatives. On this depends the strength of government and the happiness of the governed.

Here then is the origin and rise of government, namely, a mode rendered necessary by the inability of moral virtue to govern the world. Here, too, is the design and end of government — freedom and security.

Simple Government Is Best

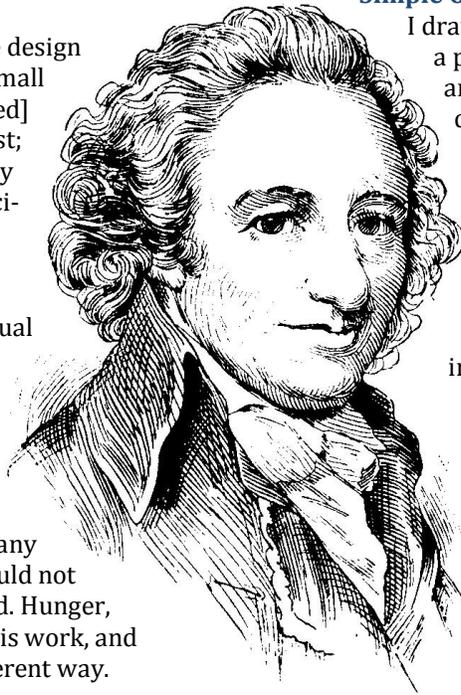
I draw my idea of the form of government from a principle in nature, that the more simple any thing is, the less liable it is to be disordered, and the easier repaired when disordered; and with this maxim in view, I offer a few remarks on the much boasted constitution of England. It was noble for the dark and slavish times in which it was erected. When the world was overrun with tyranny, at least it was a glorious rescue; but, it is incapable of producing what it seems to promise.

Absolute governments, though the disgrace of human nature, have this advantage — they are simple; if the people suffer, they know the head from which their suffering springs; they know, likewise, the remedy, and, they are not bewildered by a variety of causes and cures. But the constitution of England is so exceedingly complex, that the nation may suffer for years without being able to

discover in which part the fault lies; and, every political physician will advise a different medicine.

The Absurdity of British Government

In the English Constitution, we shall find remains of two ancient tyrannies, compounded with some new republican materials: first, the remains of monarchical tyranny in the person of the King, second, the remains of aristocratic tyranny in the persons of the Lords, and, third, the new republican materials in the persons of the Commons. The first two, by being hereditary, are independent of the people; wherefore, in a constitutional sense, they contribute nothing towards the freedom of the State. To say that the constitution of England is a union of three powers, [equally] checking each other, is farcical. The King is one, the people another; the Lords are a house in behalf of the King, and the Commons in behalf of the people. This hath all the distinctions of a house divided against itself.



Furthermore, the king is not to be trusted without being looked after; a thirst for absolute power is the natural disease of monarchy. There is something exceedingly ridiculous in the composition of monarchy; the state of a king shuts him from the world, yet the business of a king requires him to know it thoroughly. This begs a question, how came the King by a power which the people are afraid to trust and always obliged to check? The prejudice of Englishmen, in favor of their own government, by King, Lords, and Commons, arises as much or more from national pride than reason.

God Disapproves of Monarchy

In the early ages of the world, according to the Scripture, there were no kings; the consequence of which was, there were no wars. It is the pride of kings which throws mankind into confusion. Government by kings was first introduced into the world by the heathens, from whom the children of Israel copied the custom. It was the most prosperous invention the Devil ever set on foot for the promotion of idolatry.

As the exalting one man so greatly above the rest cannot be justified on the equal rights of nature, so neither can it be defended on the authority of Scripture; for the will of the Almighty, as declared by the prophet Samuel, expressly disapproves of government by Kings. Near 3000 years passed away, from the Mosaic account of the creation, till the Jews, under a national delusion, requested a king. Till then their form of government (except in extraordinary cases where the Almighty interposed) was a kind of republic, administered by a judge and the elders of the tribes. Kings they had none, and it was held sinful to acknowledge any being under that title but the Lord of Hosts. When a man seriously reflects on the idolatrous homage which is paid to the persons of kings, he need not wonder that the Almighty, ever jealous of his honor, should disapprove a form of government which so impiously invades the [right] of heaven.

When the children of Israel were being oppressed by the Midianites, Gideon marched against them with a small army and victory through divine interposition. The Jews, elated with success, and attributing it to the generalship of Gideon, proposed making him a king, saying, "Rule thou over us, thou and thy son, and thy son's son." Here was temptation in its fullest extent — not a kingdom only, but a hereditary one; but Gideon, in the piety of his soul, replied, "I will not rule over you, neither shall my son rule over you. The Lord shall rule over you." Words need not be more explicit — Gideon does not decline the honor, but denies their right to give it.

About 130 years after this, they fell again into the same error. The Jews came in an abrupt and clamorous manner to Samuel, saying, "Behold thou art old, and thy sons walk not in thy ways; now make us a king to judge us like all the other nations." Here we cannot observe but that their motives were bad, that they might be like other nations, whereas their true glory lay in being as much unlike them as possible. "But the thing displeased Samuel when they said give us a King to judge us; and Samuel prayed unto

the Lord, and the Lord said unto Samuel, hear the voice of the people in all that they say, for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them."

This accounts for the continuation of monarchy; neither do the characters of the few good kings which have lived since, either sanctify the title, or blot out the sinfulness of the origin. Though Samuel told them what evils a king would do, "Nevertheless the people refused to obey Samuel, and they said, nay, we will have a king over us, that we may be like all the nations." Seeing them fully bent on their folly, he cried out, "I will call unto the Lord, and he shall send thunder and rain that ye may perceive and see that your wickedness is great which ye have done in the sight of the Lord, in asking you a King. So Samuel called unto the Lord, and the Lord sent thunder and rain that day, and all the people greatly feared the Lord. All the people said unto Samuel, pray for thy servants unto the Lord thy God that we die not, for we have added unto our sins this evil, to ask for a King." These portions of Scripture are direct and positive. The Almighty hath here entered his protest against monarchical government; it is true, or the Scripture is false.

Hereditary Succession Is Folly

To the evil of monarchy we have added that of hereditary succession; and, as the first is a degradation and lessening of ourselves, so the second, claimed as a matter of right, is an insult and imposition on posterity. For all men being originally equals, no one by birth could have a right to set up his own family in perpetual preference to all others forever, and though himself might deserve some decent degree of honor of his contemporaries, yet his descendants might be far too unworthy to inherit them.

Second, as no man at first could possess any other public honors than were bestowed upon him, so the givers of those honors could have no power to give away the right of posterity, and though they might say "We choose you for our head," they could not, without injustice, to their children say "that your children and your children's children shall reign over ours forever." Such an unwise, unjust, unnatural compact might in the next succession put them under the government of a rogue or a fool. Most wise men, in their private sentiments, have ever treated hereditary right with contempt; yet, it is one of those evils which, when once established, is not easily removed.

This is supposing the present race of kings in the world to have had an honorable origin; whereas it is more than probable, that, could we trace them to their first rise, we should find the first of them nothing better than the principal ruffian of some restless gang, whose savage manners obtained him the title of chief among plunderers, and who, by increasing in power, over-awed the quiet and defenseless. What at first was submitted to as a convenience was afterwards claimed as a right.

It is not so much the absurdity as the evil of hereditary succession which concerns mankind. Men, who look upon themselves born to reign, and others to obey, soon grow

insolent. Selected from the rest of mankind, their minds are early poisoned by importance; and, the world they act in differs so materially from the world at large, that they have but little opportunity of knowing its true interests.

Another evil which attends hereditary succession is that the throne is subject to be possessed by a minor at any age; all which time the regency acting under the cover of a king has every opportunity to betray their trust. The same national misfortune happens when a king, worn out with age and infirmity, enters the last stage of human weakness. In both these cases the public becomes a prey to every miscreant who can tamper successfully with the follies either of age or infancy.

The most plausible plea which hath ever been offered in favor of hereditary succession is, that it preserves a nation from civil wars; and were this true, it would be weighty. Whereas it is the most bare-faced falsity ever imposed upon mankind. The whole history of England disowns the fact. Thirty kings and two minors have reigned, and there has been no less than eight civil wars and nineteen rebellions. In short, monarchy and succession have laid but the world in blood and ashes. 'Tis a form of government which the word of God bears testimony against, and blood [has and] will attend it.

Reconciliation with England Impossible

I offer nothing more than simple facts, plain arguments, and common sense. Volumes have been written on the subject of the struggle between England and America. Men of all ranks have embarked in the controversy. The sun never shined on a cause of greater worth. 'Tis not the affair of a city, a county, a province, or a kingdom, but of a continent — of at least one-eighth part of the habitable globe. 'Tis not the concern of a day, a year, or an age; posterity are virtually involved in the contest, and will be more or less affected even to the end of time, by the proceedings now.

It is but right that we should examine the contrary side of the argument and enquire into some of the many material injuries which these colonies sustain by being connected with and dependent on Great Britain. I have heard it asserted by some, that as America has flourished under her former connection with Great Britain, the same connection is necessary towards her future happiness. Nothing can be more [foolish] than this argument.

But she has protected us, say some. That she hath engrossed us is true, and defended the Continent at our expense as well as her own, is admitted; and she would have defended Turkey from the same motive, for the sake of trade and dominion. We have boasted the protection of Great Britain, without considering, that her motive was interest not attachment; and that she did not protect us from our enemies on our account, but from her enemies on her own account.

But Britain is the parent country, say some. Then the more shame upon her conduct. Even brutes do not devour their young, nor savages make war upon their families. Europe, and not England, is the parent country of America. This new World hath been the asylum for the persecuted lovers of civil and religious liberty from every part of Europe. Hither have they fled, not from the tender embraces of the mother, but from the cru-

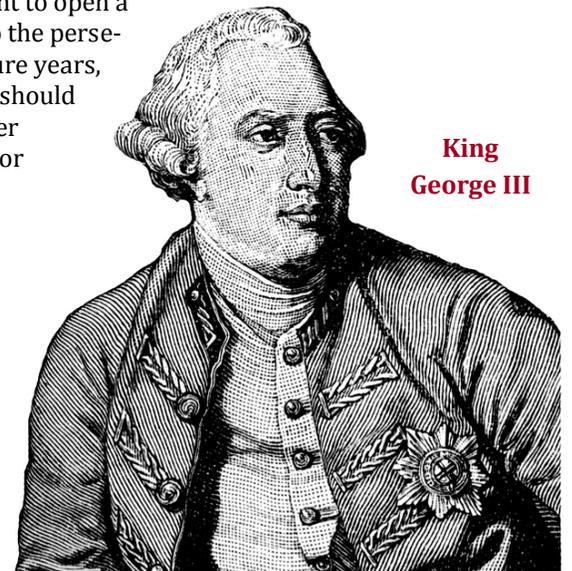
elty of the monster; and, it is so far true of England, that the same tyranny which drove the first immigrants from home pursues their descendants still. Wherefore, I [reject] the phrase of Parent or Mother Country applied to England, as being false, selfish, and narrow.

But, admitting that we were all of English descent, what does it amount to? Nothing. Britain, being now an open enemy, extinguishes every name and title; and, to say that reconciliation is our duty is truly farcical. The first king of England, of the present line (William the Conqueror) was a Frenchman, and half the peers of England are descendants from the same country; wherefore, by the same method of reasoning, England ought to be governed by France.

I challenge the warmest advocate for reconciliation to show a single advantage that this continent can reap by being connected with Great Britain. I repeat the challenge; not a single advantage is derived. Our corn will fetch its price in any market in Europe; but, the injuries and disadvantages which we sustain by that connection, are without number. Our duty to mankind at large, as well as to ourselves, instruct us to renounce the alliance, because any submission to or dependence on Great Britain tends directly to involve this continent in European quarrels and set us at variance with nations who would otherwise seek our friendship. As Europe is our market for trade, we ought to form no partial connection with any part of it. It is the true interest of America to steer clear of European contentions, which she never can do, while dependent on Britain.

Independence Is Common Sense

Europe is too thickly planted with kingdoms to be long at peace, and whenever a war breaks out between England and any foreign power, the trade of America goes to ruin. Every thing that is right or reasonable pleads for separation. Even the distance at which the Almighty hath placed England and America is a natural proof that the authority of the one over the other was never the design of heaven. The time likewise at which the continent was discovered adds weight to the argument, and the manner in which it was peopled increases the force of it. The Reformation was preceded by the discovery of America, as if the Almighty graciously meant to open a sanctuary to the persecuted in future years, when home should afford neither friendship nor safety.



King
George III

The authority of Great Britain over this continent is a form of government which sooner or later must have an end. Men of passive tempers look somewhat lightly over the offenses of Great Britain, and, still hoping for the best, are apt to call out, "Come, come, we shall be friends again." But tell me whether you can love, honor, and faithfully serve the power that hath carried fire and sword into your land? The utmost stretch of human wisdom cannot, at this time, compass a plan short of separation. Reconciliation is now a fallacious dream. Every quiet method for peace hath been ineffectual. Our prayers have been rejected with disdain and only tended to convince us that nothing flatters vanity or confirms obstinacy in Kings more than repeated petitioning. Wherefore, since nothing but blows will do, for God's sake, let us come to a final separation.

As to government matters, it is not in the power of Britain to do this continent justice. The business of it will soon be too weighty and intricate to be managed by a power so distant from us, and so very ignorant of us; for if they cannot conquer us, they cannot govern us. To be always running 3000 thousand miles with a petition, waiting four months for an answer, which when obtained requires five more to explain it, will in a few years be looked upon as folly. Small islands, not capable of protecting themselves, are the proper objects for kingdoms to take under their care; but there is something very absurd in a continent to be governed by an island. In no instance hath nature made the satellite larger than its primary planet, and as England and America, with respect to each other, reverses the common order of nature, it is evident they belong to different systems — England to Europe, America to itself.

I am not induced by motives of pride, party, or resentment to espouse the doctrine of separation and independence. I am clearly, positively, and conscientiously persuaded that it is the true interest of this continent to be so; 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.

The King Will Ruin the Continent

No man was a warmer wisher for reconciliation than myself, before the fatal nineteenth of April, 1775 (invasion of Lexington), but the moment the event of that day was made known, I rejected the hardened, sullen tempered Pharaoh of England forever; and I disdain the wretch that, with the pretended title of Father of his people, can unfeelingly hear of their slaughter and sleep with their blood upon his soul. But [what if the King prevailed? What would be the [result]? The ruin of the continent.

The powers of governing still remaining in the hands of the king, he will have a negative effect over the whole continent; and, as he hath shown himself an enemy to liberty, and discovered such a thirst for arbitrary power, is he a proper man to say to these colonies, "You shall make no laws but what I please." Is there any man so unwise, as not to see, that he will allow no law to be made here but such as suit his purpose? The whole power of the crown will be exerted to keep this continent as low and humble as possible? Instead of going forward, we shall go backward or be perpetually quarrelling or ridiculously petitioning. We are already greater than the king wishes us to be, and will

he not hereafter endeavor to make us less? To bring the matter to one point — is the power who is jealous of our prosperity a proper power to govern us? No, reconciliation and ruin are nearly related.

Self-Government, Under God, Is Our Future

From Britain we can expect nothing but ruin. If she is once admitted to the government of America again, this continent will not be worth living in. Jealousies will be always arising; insurrections constantly happening. Who will venture his life to reduce his own countrymen to a foreign obedience? [It has already been proven], the insignificance of British government, which fully proves that nothing but continental authority can regulate continental matters.

If there is any true cause of fear respecting independence, it is because no plan is yet laid down. Wherefore, as an opening into that business, I offer the following hints. Could the straggling thoughts of individuals be collected, they would frequently form materials for wise and able men to improve into useful matter. Those men would deserve the gratitude of ages, who should discover a mode of government that contained the greatest sum of individual happiness with the least national expense. A government of our own is our natural right.

Who, then, is the King of America? He reigns above, and doth not make havoc of mankind like the Royal Brute of Britain. Let a crown be placed thereon the Word of God, by which the world may know, that so far as we approve of monarchy in America, the Law is King. For as in absolute governments, the King is law, so in free countries, the law ought to be King, and, there ought to be no other.

Ye that oppose independence now, ye know not what ye do! Ye are opening a door to eternal tyranny! There are thousands, and tens of thousands, who would think it glorious to expel from the continent that barbarous and hellish power, which hath stirred up the Indians to destroy us.

Ye that tell us of harmony and reconciliation, can ye restore to us the time that is past? Can ye give to a prostitute her former innocence? Neither can ye reconcile Britain and America. The last cord now is broken. Can the lover forgive the ravisher of his mistress? Can the continent forgive the murders of Britain. The Almighty hath implanted in us these inextinguishable feelings for good and wise purposes.

O ye that love mankind! Ye that dare oppose, not only the tyranny, but the tyrant, stand forth! Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the globe. Asia and Africa have long expelled her. Europe regards her like a stranger, and England hath given her warning to depart. Oh, receive the fugitive, and prepare, in time, an asylum for mankind. The birthday of a new world is at hand, and a race of men are to receive their portion of freedom from the events of a few months.

THE AMERICAN CRISIS

Thomas Paine, 1776

The American Crisis is a collection of articles written during the Revolutionary War. The essays collected constitute Paine's support for an independent and self-governing America through the many severe crises of the Revolutionary War. General Washington found the first essay so inspiring, he ordered that it be read to the troops at Valley Forge.

These Are the Times That Try Men's Souls

These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but, he that stands by it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet, we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph. What we obtain too cheaply, we esteem too lightly; it is dearness only that gives every thing its value. Heaven knows how to put a proper price upon its goods; and, it would be strange, indeed, if so celestial an object as freedom should not be highly rated.

Britain, with an army to enforce her tyranny, has declared that she has a right "to bind us in all cases whatsoever," and if being bound in that manner is not slavery, then there is not such a thing as slavery upon the earth. So unlimited a power can belong only to God.

I have as little superstition in me as any man living, but my secret opinion has ever been, and still is, that God Almighty will not give up a people to military destruction or leave them unsupported to perish, who have so earnestly and so repeatedly sought to avoid the calamities of war by every decent method which wisdom could invent. Neither have I so much of the infidel in me, as to suppose that God has relinquished the government of the world and given us up to the care of devils. I cannot see on what grounds the King of Britain can look up to heaven for help against us; for a common murderer, a highwayman, or a house-breaker, has as good a chance as he. If we believe the power of hell to be limited, we must likewise believe that their agents are under providential control.

Not a Place on Earth Is So Happy

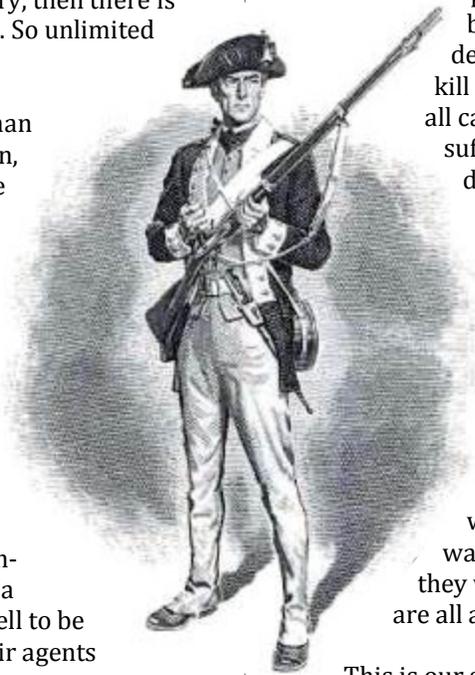
I shall make some miscellaneous remarks on the state of our affairs. Not a place upon earth might be so happy as America. Her situation is remote from all the wrangling world, and she has nothing to do but to trade with them. I am confident, as I am that God governs the world, that America will never be happy till she gets clear of foreign dominion. Wars, without ceasing, will break out till that period arrives, and the continent must be conqueror; though the flame of liberty may sometimes cease to shine, the coal can never expire.

America did not want force. From an excess of tenderness, we were unwilling to raise an army and trusted our cause to the temporary defense of a well-meaning militia. I always considered militia as the best troops in the world for a sudden exertion, but they will not do for a long campaign.

I turn, now, with the warm ardor of a friend to those who have nobly stood and are yet determined to stand the matter out. I call not upon a few but upon all, not on this state or that state, but on every state. Help us! Better to have too much force than too little, when so great an object is at stake. Let it be told to the future world, that in the depth of winter, when nothing but hope and virtue could survive, that the country, alarmed at one common danger came forth to meet and to repulse it. Throw not the burden of the day upon Providence, but "show your faith by your works." It matters not where you live or what rank of life you hold, the evil or the blessing will reach you all. The far and the near, the rich and the poor will suffer or rejoice alike. The heart that feels not now is dead; the blood of his children will curse his cowardice, who shrinks back at a time when a little might have saved the whole.

I love the man that can smile in trouble, that can gather strength from distress. 'Tis the business of little minds to shrink; but he whose heart is firm and whose conscience approves his conduct will pursue his principles unto death. All the treasures of the world could not have induced me to support an offensive war, for I think it murder; but if a thief breaks into my house, burns and destroys my property, and kills or threatens to kill me, or those that are in it, and to "bind me in all cases whatsoever" to his absolute will, am I to suffer it? What matter is it whether he who does it is a king or common man, whether it be done by an individual villain or an army of them? Let them call me rebel! There are cases which cannot be overdone by language, and this is one. There are persons, too, who see not the full extent of the evil which threatens them; they solace themselves with hopes that the enemy, if he succeed, will be merciful. It is the madness of folly to expect mercy from those who have refused to do justice. Mercy, where conquest is the object, is only a trick of war. Were one county to give up their arms, they would fall an easy prey to the Indians, who are all armed.

This is our situation. I thank God that I fear not. I see no real cause for fear. I know our situation well, and I can see the way out of it. By perseverance and fortitude, we have the prospect of a glorious issue, by cowardice and submission, the sad choice of a variety of evils — a ravaged country, a depopulated city, habitations without safety, slavery without hope, our homes turned into barracks and bawdy-houses for soldiers, and a future race to provide for, whose fathers we shall doubt. Look on this picture and weep over it!



QUOTES FROM WASHINGTON'S FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS

President George Washington
New York City, April 30, 1789

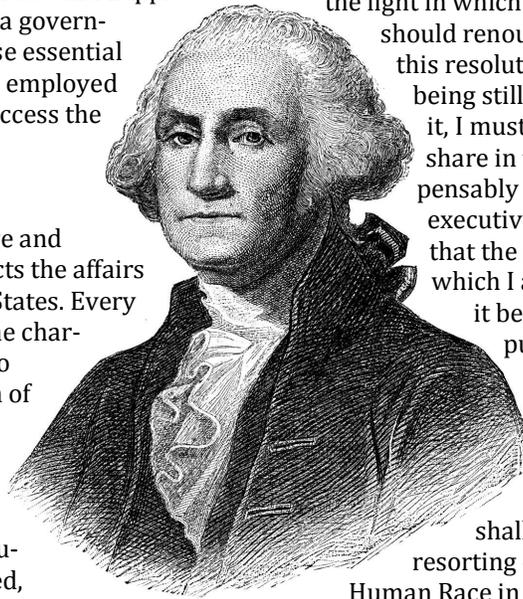
Fellow Citizens [of Congress]:

No event could have filled me with greater anxieties than that of which the notification was transmitted by your order. On the one hand, I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest hopes, as the asylum of my declining years. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my country called me could not but overwhelm with despondence one who ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies.

It would be improper to omit, in this first official act, my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that He may consecrate, to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States, a government, instituted by themselves, for these essential purposes, and enable every instrument employed in its administration to execute with success the functions allotted to his charge.

We Must Thank God

No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the Invisible Hand, which conducts the affairs of men, more than those of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency. In the important revolution, just accomplished in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude, along with a humble anticipation of the future blessings. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking that there are none under the influence of which the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence.



Virtue and Happiness

I behold the surest pledges that, as on one side, no local prejudices or attachments, no separate views nor party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests, so, on another, that the foundation of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality, and the preeminence of free government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens and command the respect of the world. There is no truth more thoroughly established than that there exists in the economy and course of nature an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity.

Since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right which Heaven itself has ordained, and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty and the destiny of *the republican model of government* are justly considered, perhaps, as deeply, as finally, staked on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people.

I Seek No Pay

When I was first honored with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty required that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation. From this resolution I have in no instance departed; and being still under the impressions which produced it, I must decline, as inapplicable to myself any share in the personal [profit] which may be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the executive department, and must accordingly pray that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am placed may during my continuance in it be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require.

God Bless America

Having thus imparted to you my sentiments as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave; but not without resorting once more to the benign Parent of the Human Race in humble supplication that, since He has been pleased to favor the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquility, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government for the security of their union and the advancement of their happiness, so His divine blessing may be equally conspicuous in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of this government must depend.

A DEFENSE OF THE USE OF BIBLES IN SCHOOLS

Founding Father, Dr. Benjamin Rush, 1830

Dr. Rush was an outspoken Christian, statesman, and pioneering medical doctor. He was a prolific author, publishing the first American chemistry textbook. In 1797, President John Adams appointed Rush as Treasurer of the U.S. Mint, a position he held until 1813. He also founded America's first Bible society. At the time of his death, he was heralded as one of the three most notable figures of America, the others being George Washington and Ben Franklin.

Five Principles

Before I state my arguments, for preferring the Bible as a schoolbook to all other compositions, I shall assume the five following propositions:

1. Christianity is the only true and perfect religion; and, that in proportion as mankind adopt its principles and obey its precepts, they will be wise and happy.
2. A better knowledge of this religion is to be acquired by reading the Bible than in any other way.
3. The Bible contains more knowledge necessary to man in his present state than any other book in the world.
4. Knowledge is most durable and religious instruction most useful when imparted in early life.
5. The Bible, when not read in schools, is seldom read in any subsequent period of life.

The Mind Was Made for Truth

My arguments, in favor of the use of the Bible as a schoolbook, are founded, first, in the constitution of the human mind. The memory is the first faculty which opens in the minds of children. Of how much consequence, then, must it be to impress it with the great truths of Christianity, before it is preoccupied with less interesting subjects.

There is a peculiar aptitude in the minds of children for religious knowledge. I have constantly found them more capable of receiving the most difficult tenets of religion than upon the most simple branches of human knowledge. It would be strange if it were otherwise, for God creates all His means to suit His ends. There must be a fitness, then, between the human mind and the truths which are essential to its happiness.

The influence of early impressions is very great upon subsequent life; and, in a world where false prejudices do so

much mischief, it would discover great weakness not to oppose them by such as are true. I believe no man was ever early instructed in the truths of the Bible without having been made wiser or better. Every just principle that is to be found in the writings of Voltaire is borrowed from the Bible; and the morality of deists, which has been so much admired and praised where it has existed, has been, in most cases, the effect of habits produced by instruction in the principles of Christianity.

We are subject, by a general law of our natures, to what is called habit. Now, if the study of the Scriptures be necessary to our happiness at any time of our life, the sooner we begin to read them, the more we shall probably be attached to them; for it is peculiar to all the acts of habit, to become easy, strong, and agreeable by repetition.

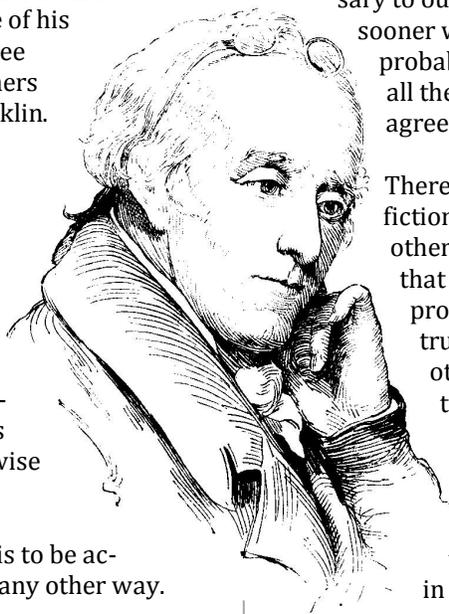
There is in man a native preference of truth to fiction. The Bible contains more truth than any other book in the world; so true is the testimony that it bears of God in His works of creation, providence, and redemption that it is called truth itself, by way of preeminence above other things that are acknowledged to be true. Now, if this book be known to contain nothing but what is materially true, the mind will naturally acquire a love for it; and from this affection for the truths of the Bible, it will acquire a discernment of truth in other books and a preference of it in all the transactions of life.

A People Are Blessed Who Honor the Scriptures

My second argument in favor of the use of the Bible in schools is founded upon a command of God and upon the practice of several of the wisest nations of the world.

In the sixth chapter of *Deuteronomy*, we find the following words, which are directly to my purpose: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might; and, these words, which I command thee this day, shall be in thine heart. Thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up."

It appears, from the history of the Jews, that they flourished as a nation in proportion as they honored and read the books of Moses, which contained the only revelation that God had made to the world. The law was not only neglected, but lost, during the general [apostasy], which accompanied the long and wicked reign of Manasseh; but, the discovery of it, amid the rubbish of the temple by Josiah, and its subsequent general use were followed by a return of national virtue and prosperity. We read further of the wonderful effects which the reading of the law by Ezra, after his return from captivity in Babylon, had upon the Jews. They showed the sincerity of their repentance by their general reformation.



The learning of the Jews, for many years, consisted in a knowledge of the Scriptures. These were the textbooks of all the instruction that was given in the schools of their Prophets. It was by means of this general knowledge of their law that those Jews who wandered from Judea into other countries carried with them and propagated certain ideas of the true God among all the civilized nations. It was from the attachment they retained to the Old Testament that they procured a translation of it into the Greek language, after they had lost the Hebrew tongue by their long absence from their native country. The utility of this translation, commonly called the *Septuagint*, in facilitating the progress of the Gospel, is well known to all who are acquainted with the history of the first age of the church.

But the benefits of an early and general acquaintance with the Bible were not confined to the Jewish nation; they have appeared in many countries in Europe since the Reformation. The industry and habits of order which distinguish many of the German nations are derived from their early instruction in the principles of Christianity by means of the Bible. In Scotland and in parts of New England, where the Bible has been long used as a schoolbook, the inhabitants are among the most enlightened, the most strict in morals, and the most intelligent in human affairs of any people whose history has come to my knowledge upon the surface of the globe.

The Bible Is Beneficial to Society

I wish to be excused from repeating here that if the Bible did not convey a single direction for the attainment of future happiness, it should be read in our schools in preference to all other books from its containing the greatest portion of that kind of knowledge which is calculated to produce private and public temporal happiness.

We err, not only in human affairs but in religion likewise, only because we do not know the Scriptures and obey their instructions. Immense truths are concealed in them. The time, I have no doubt, will come when posterity will view and pity our ignorance of these truths as much as we do the ignorance sometimes manifested by the disciples of our Savior, who knew nothing of the meaning of those plain passages in the Old Testament which were daily fulfilled before their eyes.

I know it is said that the familiar use of the Bible in our schools has a tendency to lessen a due reverence for it; but this objection, by proving too much, proves nothing. If familiarity lessens respect for divine things, then all those precepts of our religion, which encourage the daily or weekly worship of the deity, are improper. The Bible was not intended to represent a Jewish ark; and it is an anti-Christian idea to suppose that it can be profaned by being carried into a schoolhouse or by being handled by children.

It is also said that a great part of the Old Testament is no way interesting to mankind under the present dispensation of the Gospel; but, I deny that any of the books of the Old Testament are not interesting to mankind. Most of the characters, events, and ceremonies mentioned in them are

personal, providential, or instituted types of the Messiah, all of which have been, or remain yet, to be fulfilled by Him. It is from an ignorance or neglect of these types that we have so many deists in Christendom, for so irrefutably do they prove the truth of Christianity that I am sure a young man who had been regularly instructed in their meaning could never doubt afterwards of the truth of any of its principles.

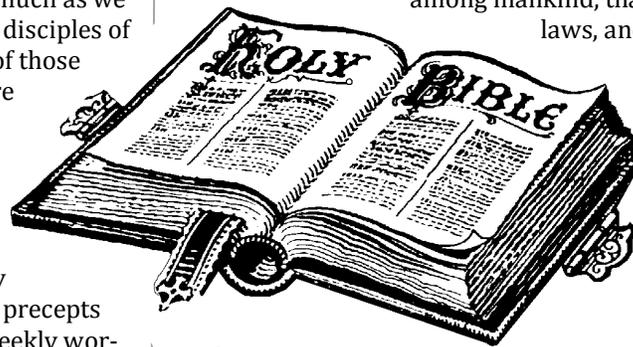
I know there is an objection among many people to teaching children doctrines of any kind, because they are liable to be perverted; but let us not be wiser than our Maker. If moral precepts alone could have reformed mankind, the mission of the Son of God into our world would have been unnecessary. He came to teach a system of doctrines, as well as a system of morals. The perfect morality of the Gospel rests upon a doctrine which, though often perverted, has never been refuted. It concentrates a whole system of ethics in a single text of Scripture: "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another, even as I have loved you." By withholding the knowledge of this doctrine from children, we deprive ourselves of the best means of awakening moral sensibility in their minds.

I cannot but suspect that the present fashionable practice of rejecting the Bible from our schools has originated with deists. They discover great ingenuity in this new mode of attacking Christianity. If they proceed in it, they will do more in half a century in undermining our religion than Voltaire could have effected in a thousand years.

Passing by all other considerations, and contemplating merely the political institutions of the United States, I lament that we waste so much time and money in punishing crimes and take so little pains to prevent them. We profess to be republicans, and, yet, we neglect the only means of establishing and perpetuating our republican forms of government, that is through the universal education of our youth in the principles of Christianity by means of the Bible. This divine book, above all others, favors that equality

among mankind, that respect for just laws, and all those sober

and frugal virtues which constitute the soul of republicanism.



Benjamin Rush

QUOTES FROM JEFFERSON'S FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Thomas Jefferson, March 4, 1801

Background

Thomas Jefferson was inaugurated as the third President, after being elected in one of the nation's closest contests. Jefferson tied with Aaron Burr for the office, which left the election to the House of Representatives. After the 36th vote, Jefferson was finally elected. In this, his first inaugural address, Jefferson sought to reach out to his opponents and heal the breach between Federalists and Republicans. Strongly criticized as a deist or even an atheist, Jefferson stated here his belief in the importance of religion.

One Heart and Mind

This [contest] being now decided by the voice of the nation, announced according to the rules of the *Constitution*, all will, of course, arrange themselves under the will of the law and unite in common efforts for the common good. All, too, will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable, that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal law must protect, and to violate would be oppression. Let us, then, unite with one heart and one mind. Let us restore that harmony and affection without which liberty, and even life itself, are dreary things.

Republicans and Federalists

Difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We've [been] called by different names, [but are] brethren of the same principle. We are all Republicans; we are all Federalists! If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed, as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated. I know that some men fear that a republican government cannot be strong; but, would the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm? I trust not. I believe this to be the strongest government on earth.

Let us, then, with courage and confidence pursue our own Federal and Republican principles, our attachment to union and representative government. Kindly separated by nature and a wide ocean from the havoc of [Europe], possessing a chosen country with room enough for our descendants to the thousandth generation, entertaining our equal right to the use of our own faculties, to the acquisitions of our own industry, enlightened by religion, professed and practiced in various forms, yet all of them inculcating honesty, truth, tem-

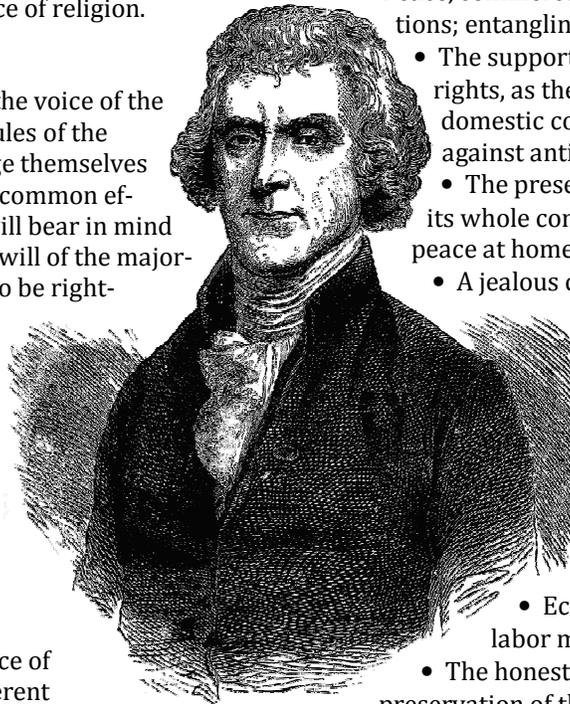
perance, gratitude, and the love of man, acknowledging and adoring an overruling Providence. With all these blessings, what more is necessary to make us a happy and a prosperous people? Still one thing more — a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government.

Principles of Our Government

About to enter on the exercise of duties, it is proper you should understand what I deem the essential principles of our government, and consequently those which ought to shape its administration. I will compress them within the narrowest compass they will bear, stating the general principle, but not all its limitations.

- Equal and exact justice to all men
- Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations; entangling alliances with none
- The support of the State governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for domestic concerns and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies
- The preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad
- A jealous care of right of election by the people
- Absolute [yielding] to the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which is no appeal but force, the immediate parent of despotism
- A well-disciplined militia, our best reliance for the first moments of war till regulars relieve them
- The supremacy of the civil authority over the military authority
- Economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened
- The honest payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith
- Encouragement of agriculture and commerce
- The diffusion of information and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of the public reason
- Freedom of religion and the press
- Freedom of person under *habeas corpus*
- Trial by juries impartially selected

These principles form the bright constellation which has guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages and blood of our heroes have been devoted to their attainment. They should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civic instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust. Should we wander from them in moments of error, let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety. May that Infinite Power, which rules the destinies of the universe, lead our councils to what is best and give them a favorable issue for your peace and prosperity.



LETTERS TO A SON

John Quincy Adams, 1811

Background

Secretary of State and, later, President John Quincy Adams is widely known as one of the most eminent men of the second generation of Americans. He is often referred to as our “Last Puritan.” The following advice was taken from a series of letters he wrote to one of his sons. Their purpose was to instill in him a love for the Scriptures and to instruct in his studies. Here is a beautiful portrait of a father taking his duties seriously, “to train up a child in the way he should go.”

To Make Men Wise

My Dear Son: In your letter to your mother, you mentioned that you read a chapter of the Bible each evening. This information gave me real pleasure, for great is my veneration for the Bible and so strong my belief that when duly read and meditated upon, it is of all books that which contributes most to make men good and wise; and, the earlier my children begin to read it, the more lively and confident will be my hopes that they will prove useful citizens to their country, respectable members of society, and a real blessing to their parents.

Young people boast of how many books they have read, when, instead of boasting, they ought to be ashamed of having wasted so much time, to so little profit. I advise you, in reading the Bible, to remember that it is for the purpose of making you wiser and more virtuous. I myself have made it my practice to read through the Bible every year. My custom is to read four or five chapters every morning, immediately after rising from bed. It employs about an hour of my time and seems to me the most suitable manner to begin my day. Every time I read the Book through, I understand some passage I never understood before. I thought in addition to that hour, I should communicate to you my reflections, to assist your advancement in knowledge and wisdom.

To Grow in Self-Government

It is essential, my son, in order that you may go through life with comfort to yourself and usefulness to your fellow creatures, that you should form and adopt certain rules or principles for the government of your own conduct and temper. Unless you have such principles, there will be numberless occasions on which you will have no guide but your passions. In your childhood and youth, you will be under the authority of instructors, but you must soon come to the age when you must govern yourself. You already know some of these duties. It is in the Bible that you must learn them and from the Bible how to practice them.

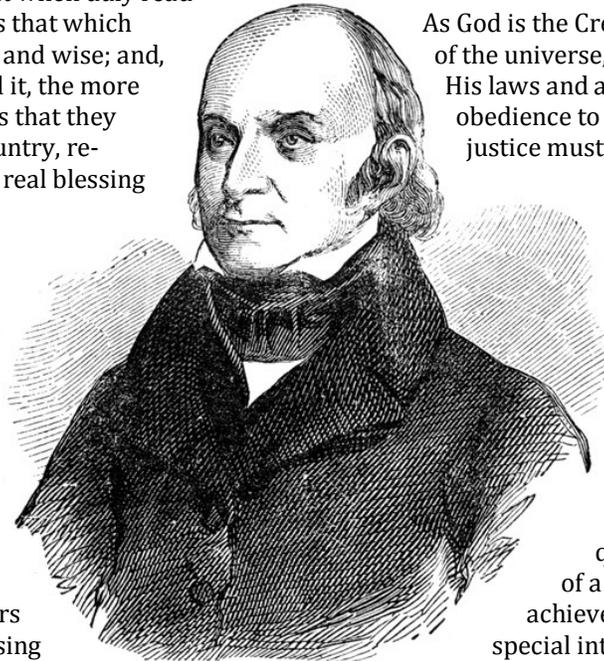
To Develop Conscience

There are three points of doctrine that form the foundation of morality: first, the existence of God, second, the immortality of the soul, and, third, a future state of rewards and punishments. If a man disbelieves any of these articles of faith, that man will have no conscience. He will have no other law than that of the tiger or the shark.

Regarding the existence of God. It is obvious to every reasonable being that he did not make himself; and, the world which he inhabits could as little make itself. The moment we exercise the power of reflection, it seems impossible to escape the conviction that there is a Creator. It is the nature and piety of the Creator God that is the foundation of all virtue. It cannot be separated from Him.

It is equally obvious that the Creator must be a spiritual and not a material being. There is also a consciousness that the thinking part of our nature is not material but spiritual. Hence arises the belief that we have a soul.

As God is the Creator, He must also be the Governor of the universe, and mankind must be bound by His laws and are accountable to Him for their obedience to them. This completion of divine justice must be reserved for another life.



To Discover Christ

I must tell you that in yielding to the impulses of the passions, man only follows the dictates of his nature, that to subdue them entirely is an effort beyond his powers. Let it be admitted that a perfect command of the passions is unattainable to human infirmity. This is the unfading glory of Christianity — the conquest of self, which, without the aid of a merciful God, none of us can achieve, and which it was worthy of His special interposition to enable us to achieve.

To Build a Solid Foundation

To read the Bible is a praiseworthy occupation and can scarcely fail of being a useful employment of time; but the habit of reflecting upon what you read is equally essential. I recommend that you set apart a small portion of every day to read the Bible. Make it also your practice to write down your reflections. You may, at first, find it irksome and your reflections scanty and unimportant, but they will soon become easy and beneficial. May He who gave the Scriptures for our instruction bless your study of them.

Endeavor, my dear son, to discipline your heart and to govern your conduct by these principles. Be meek, gentle, and kindly affectionate to all mankind. Never show yourself to be yielding or complying to prejudice, which would lead you away from the dictates of your conscience. Till you die, let not your integrity depart from you. Build your house upon the Rock. Let the winds blow, the rains descend, and the floods rise; it shall not fall.

THE ROCK OF PLYMOUTH PAST AND FUTURE

*Daniel Webster on the 200th Anniversary
of the Arrival of the Pilgrims, 1820*

Are We Unworthy of Our Origin?

We are assembled on this memorable spot to perform the duties which the present occasion impose upon us. We have come to this rock (Plymouth Rock), to record here our homage for our Pilgrim Fathers, our sympathy in their sufferings, our gratitude for their labors, our admiration of their virtues, our veneration for their piety, and our attachment to those principles of civil and religious liberty, which they encountered the dangers of the ocean, the storms of heaven, the violence of savages, disease, exile, and famine, to enjoy and to establish. We would leave here, for the generations which are rising up to fill our places, some proof that we have endeavored to transmit the great inheritance unimpaired, that in our estimate of public principles and private virtue, in our veneration of religion and piety, in our devotion to civil and religious liberty, in our regard for whatever advances human knowledge or improves human happiness, we are not altogether unworthy of our origin.

An Inspiring Location

There is a feeling connected with this occasion, too strong to be resisted, a sort of genius of the place, which inspires and awes us. We feel that we are on the spot where the first scene of our history was laid, where the hearths and altars of New England were first placed, where Christianity and civilization made their first lodgment, in a vast extent of country, covered with a wilderness, and peopled by roving barbarians. We are here, at the season of the year at which the event took place. The imagination irresistibly and rapidly draws around us the principal features and the leading characters in the original scene. We cast our eyes abroad on the ocean, and we see where the little bark, with the interesting group upon its deck, made its slow progress to the shore. We look around us and behold the hills where the anxious eyes of our fathers first saw the places of habitation and of rest. We feel the cold which benumbed, and we listen to the winds which pierced them.

Beneath us is the Rock, on which New England received the feet of the Pilgrims. We behold them, as they struggle with the elements, and, with toilsome efforts, gain the shore. We listen to their council. We see the unexampled exhibition of female fortitude and resignation. We see the mild dignity of Carver and of Bradford, the decisive and soldier-like air and manner of Standish, the devout Brewster, and the enterprising Allerton (businessman representing the Pilgrims). We see the general firmness and thoughtfulness of the whole band, their conscious joy for dangers escaped, their deep

solicitude about danger to come, their trust in heaven, their high religious faith, full of confidence and anticipation. All of these seem to belong to this place, and to be present upon this occasion fills us with reverence and admiration.

Our Nation Since Plymouth

The nature and constitution of society and government in this country are interesting topics, to which I would devote what remains of the time allowed to this occasion. Of our system of government the first thing to be said is, that it is really and practically a free system. It originates entirely with the people and rests on no other foundation than their assent. To judge of its operation, it is not

enough to look merely at the form of its construction. The practical character of government depends on a variety of considerations, besides the abstract frame of its constitutional organization. Among these are the condition and tenure of property, the laws, the presence of a military power, an armed citizenry, the spirit of the age, and the degree of general intelligence.

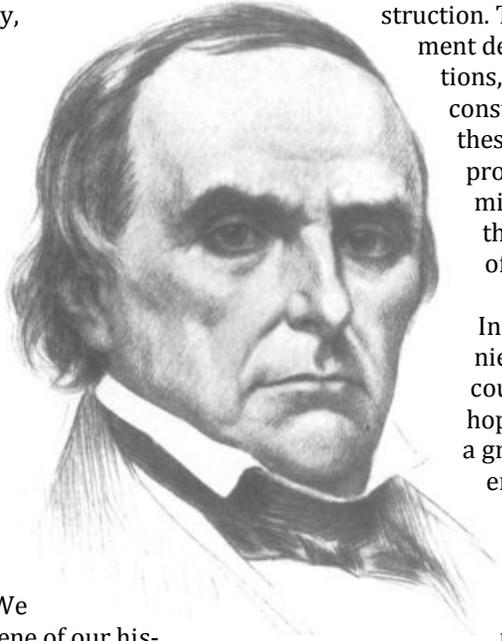
In these respects, it cannot be denied that the circumstances of this country are most favorable to the hope of maintaining a government of a great nation. [Regarding how property is held and distributed], there

is a natural influence, whether it exists in many hands or few; and it is on the rights of property that both despotism and unrestrained violence ordinarily

commence their attacks. Our ancestors began their system of government here, under a condition of comparative equality in regard to wealth, and their early laws were of a nature to favor and continue this equality.

A republican form of government rests not more on political constitutions, than on those laws which regulate the transmission of property. Governments like ours could not have been maintained according to the principles of the feudal system; nor could the feudal constitution exist with us. Our New England ancestors brought hither no great capitals from Europe. They left behind them the whole feudal policy of the other continent. They broke away at once from the system established in the Dark Ages.

They came to a new country. There were, as yet, no lands yielding rent, and no tenants rendering service. The whole soil was unclaimed from barbarism. They were themselves, either from their original condition, or from the necessity of their common interest, nearly on a general level in respect to property. Their situation demanded a division of the lands, and it may be fairly said, that this necessary act fixed the future frame and form of their government. The character of their political institutions was determined by the fundamental laws respecting property.



The true principle of a free and popular government would seem to be an interest in its preservation. The stability of government demands that those who desire its continuance should be more powerful than those who desire its dissolution. This power, of course, is not always to be measured by mere numbers. Education, wealth, talents, are all parts and elements of the general aggregate of power; but numbers, nevertheless, constitute ordinarily the most important consideration, unless, indeed, there be a military force in the hands of the few, by which they can control the many.

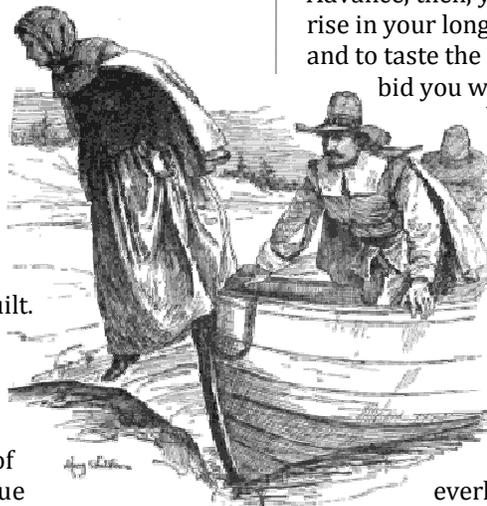
The freest government, if it could exist, would not be long acceptable, if the tendency of the laws were to create a rapid accumulation of property in few hands and to render the great mass of the population dependent and penniless. In such a case, the popular power would be likely to break limit and control the exercise of popular power. The popular vote could not long exist in a community where there was great inequality of property. The holders of estates would be obliged, in some way, to restrain the right of voting or else such right would, before long, divide the property. In the nature of things, those who have not property, and see their neighbors possess much more than they think them need, cannot be favorable to laws made for the protection of property. When this class becomes numerous, it grows clamorous. It looks on property as its prey and plunder, and is naturally ready, at all times, for violence and revolution.

It would seem, then, to be the part of political wisdom to found government on property; and to establish such distribution of property, by the laws which regulate it, as to interest the great majority of society in the support of the government. This is, I imagine, the true theory and the actual practice of our republican institutions.

Let Us End Slavery in New England

I also deem it my duty on this occasion to suggest, that the land is not yet wholly free from the contamination of a traffic, at which every feeling of humanity must forever revolt — I mean the African slave-trade. Neither public sentiment, nor the law, has hitherto been able entirely to put an end to this odious and abominable trade. At the moment when God in his mercy has blessed the Christian world with a universal peace, there is reason to fear, that, to the disgrace of the Christian name and character, new efforts are making for the extension of this trade by subjects and citizens of Christian states, in whose hearts there dwell no sentiments of humanity or of justice, and over whom neither the fear of God nor the fear of man exercises a control.

In the sight of our law, the African slave-trader is a pirate and a felon; and in the sight of Heaven, an offender beyond the ordinary depth of human guilt. There is no brighter page of our history, than that which records the measures which have been adopted by the government at an early day, and at different times since, for the suppression of this traffic; and I would call on all the true



sons of New England to cooperate with the laws of man and the justice of Heaven. If there be, within the extent of our knowledge or influence, any participation in this traffic, let us pledge ourselves, upon the Rock of Plymouth, to destroy it.

It is not fit that the land of the Pilgrims should bear the shame longer. I hear the sound of the hammer, I see the smoke of the furnaces where manacles and fetters are still forged for human limbs. I see the visages of those who by stealth and at midnight labor in this work of hell, foul and dark, as may become the [administrators] of such instruments of misery and torture. Let that spot be purified, or let it cease to be of New England. Let it be purified, or let it be set aside from the Christian world; let it be put out of the circle of human sympathies and human regards, and let civilized man have no communion with it.

May Our Posterity Be Proud

The hours of this day are rapidly flying, and this occasion will soon be passed. Neither we nor our children can be expected to behold its return. They are in the distant regions of futurity, they exist only in the all-creating power of God, who shall stand here a hundred years hence, to trace, through us, their descent from the Pilgrims and to survey, as we have now surveyed, the progress of their country, during the lapse of a century. We would anticipate their concurrence with us in our sentiments of deep regard for our common ancestors. We would anticipate and partake the pleasure with which they will then recount the steps of New England's advancement. On the morning of that day, although it will not disturb us in our repose, the voice of acclamation and gratitude, commencing on the Rock of Plymouth, shall be transmitted through millions of the sons of the Pilgrims, till it lose itself in the murmurs of the Pacific seas.

We would leave for consideration of those who shall then occupy our places, some proof that we hold the blessings transmitted from our fathers in just estimation, some proof of our attachment to the cause of good government, and of civil and religious liberty, some proof of a sincere desire to promote every thing which may enlarge the understandings and improve the hearts of men. When, from the long distance of a 100 years, they shall look back upon us, they shall know that we possessed affections, which, running backward and warming with gratitude for what our ancestors have done, run forward also to our posterity, and meet them with cordial salutation.

Advance, then, ye future generations! We would hail you, as you rise in your long succession, to fill the places which we now fill, and to taste the blessings of existence where we are passing. We

bid you welcome to this pleasant land of the fathers. We bid you welcome to the healthful skies and the verdant fields of New England. We greet your accession to the great inheritance which we have enjoyed. We welcome you to the blessings of good government and religious liberty. We welcome you to the treasures of science and the delights of learning. We welcome you to the transcendent sweets of domestic life, to the happiness of kindred, and parents, and children. We welcome you to the immeasurable blessings of rational existence, the immortal hope of Christianity, and the light of everlasting truth!

NOT YOURS TO GIVE

From the Life of Colonel David Crockett
By Edward S. Ellis, Philadelphia, 1884

A House Bill

One day in the House of Representatives, a bill was taken up appropriating money for the benefit of a widow of a distinguished naval officer. Several beautiful speeches had been made in its support; it appeared to me that everybody favored it. The Speaker was just about to put the question to a vote when Mr. Crockett arose. Everybody expected, of course, that he was going to make one of his characteristic speeches in support of the bill.

"Mr. Speaker," he said, "I have as much respect for the memory of the deceased, and as much sympathy for the sufferings of the living, as any man in this House, but we must not permit our respect for the dead or our sympathy for a part of the living to lead us into an act of injustice. I will not go into an argument to prove that Congress has not the power to appropriate this money as an act of charity. Every member upon this floor knows it. We have the right, as individuals, to give away as much of our own money as we please in charity; but, as members of Congress we have no right to appropriate a dollar of the public money.

"Some eloquent appeals have been made to us upon the ground that it is a debt due the deceased. Mr. Speaker, the deceased lived long after the close of the war; he was in office to the day of his death, and I have never heard that the government was indebted to him. I wish not to be rude, but I must be plain. Every man in this House knows it is not a debt. We cannot, without the grossest corruption, appropriate this money as the payment of a debt. If it is a debt, then we owe more than we can ever hope to pay, for we owe the widow of every soldier who fought in the War of 1812.

"Mr. Speaker, I am the poorest man on this floor. Now, I cannot vote for this bill, but I will give one week's pay to the object, and if every member of Congress will do the same, it will amount to more than the bill asks." He took his seat. Nobody replied. The bill was put upon its passage, and, instead of passing unanimously, as was generally supposed, and as, no doubt, it would, but for that speech, it received but few votes, and, of course, was lost.

Conversation with Crockett

Like many others who had not thought upon the subject, I desired the passage of the bill and felt outraged at its defeat. I went early to Mr. Crockett's room the next morning and found him writing letters. I broke upon him rather abruptly, by asking him what devil had possessed him to make that speech and defeat that bill. Without looking up from his

work, he replied, "You see that I am very busy now; take a seat and cool yourself." After about ten minutes, and when he had finished his work, he turned to me and said, "Now, sir, I will answer your question, but thereby hangs a tale, and one of considerable length, to which you will have to listen." I listened and this is the tale which I heard.

"Several years ago, I was one evening standing on the steps of the Capitol with some other members of Congress, when our attention was attracted by a great light over in Georgetown. It was a large fire. We jumped into a carriage and drove over as fast as we could. In spite of all that could be done, many houses were burned and many families made houseless, and, besides, some of them had lost all but the clothes they had on. The weather was very cold, and when I saw so many women and children suffering, I felt that something ought to be done for them. The next morning a bill was introduced appropriating \$20,000 for their relief. We put aside all other business and rushed it through as soon as it could be done.

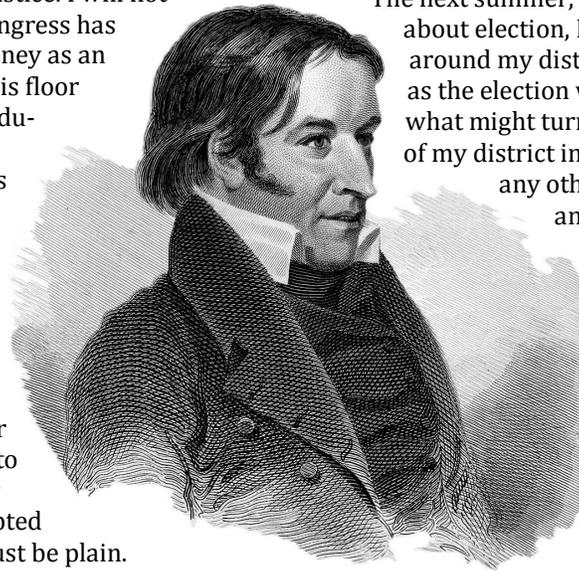
"The next summer, when it began to be time to think about election, I concluded that I would take a trip around my district. I had no opposition there, but, as the election was some time off, I did not know what might turn up. When riding one day in a part of my district in which I was more of a stranger than any other, I saw a man in a field plowing and coming toward the road. I gauged my gait so that we should meet as he came to the fence. As he came up, I spoke to the man. He replied politely but rather coldly.

"I called out to the man, 'Hello, friend, I am one of those unfortunate beings called candidates, and...'

"'Yes I know you,' he said. 'You are Colonel Crockett. I have seen you once before, and I voted for you the last time you were elected. I suppose you are out electioneering now, but you had better not waste your time. I shall not vote for you again.' This was a sock in the jaw. I begged him to tell me what was the matter.

A Lesson from a Farmer

"Well, Colonel, it is hardly worthwhile to waste time or words upon it. I do not see how it can be mended, but you gave a vote last winter which shows that either you have not capacity to understand the *Constitution*, or that you are lacking in the honesty and firmness to be guided by it. In either case you are not the man to represent me. But, I beg your pardon for expressing it in that way. I did not intend to insult or wound you. I intend by it only to say that your understanding of the *Constitution* is very different from mine. I believe you to be honest, but, an understanding of the *Constitution* different from mine I cannot overlook, because the *Constitution*, to be worth anything, must be held sacred, and rigidly observed in all its provisions.



“ ‘I admit the truth of all you say,’ said I to the farmer, ‘but there must be some mistake about it, for I do not remember that I gave any vote last winter upon any constitutional question.’

“ ‘No, Colonel, there’s no mistake. Though I live in the backwoods, I take the papers from Washington and read very carefully all the proceedings of Congress. My papers say that last winter you voted for a bill to appropriate \$20,000 to sufferers by a fire in Georgetown. Is that true?’

“ ‘I may as well own up. You have got me there. But certainly nobody will complain that a great and rich country like ours should give the insignificant sum of \$20,000 to relieve its suffering women and children, particularly with a full and overflowing treasury; and, I am sure, if you had been there, you would have done just as I did.’

“ ‘It is not the amount, Colonel, that I complain of; it is the principle. The government ought to have in the treasury no more than enough for its legitimate purposes; but that has nothing to do with the question. The power of collecting and disbursing money at pleasure is the most dangerous power that can be entrusted to man, particularly under our system of collecting revenue, which reaches every man in the country.

“ ‘So you see, that while you are contributing to relieve one, you are drawing it from thousands who are even worse off than he. If you had the right to give anything, the amount was simply a matter of discretion with you, and you had as much right to give \$20,000,000 as \$20,000. If you have the right to give to one, you have the right to give to all; and, as the *Constitution* neither defines charity nor stipulates the amount, you are at liberty to give to any and everything which you may believe is a charity, and to any amount you may think proper. You will very easily perceive what a wide door this would open for fraud and corruption and favoritism, on the one hand, and for robbing the people on the other.

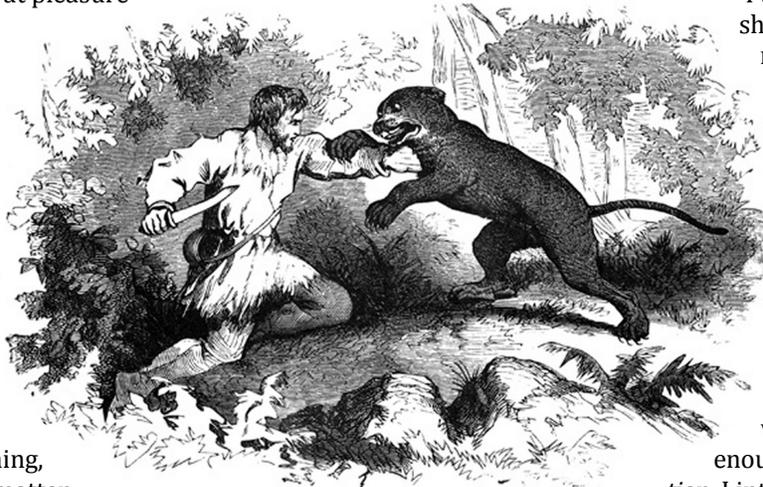
“ ‘No, Colonel, Congress has no right to give charity. Individual members may give as much of their own money as they please, but they have no right to touch a dollar of the public money for that purpose. If twice as many houses had been burned in this county as in Georgetown, neither you nor any other member of Congress would have thought of appropriating a dollar for our relief. There are about two hundred and forty members of Congress. If they had shown their sympathy for the sufferers by contributing each one week’s pay, it would have made over \$13,000. There are plenty of wealthy men in and around Washington who could have given \$20,000 without depriving themselves of even a luxury of life.

“ ‘The congressmen chose to keep their own money, which, if reports be true, some of them spend not very creditably; and the people about Washington, no doubt, applauded you for relieving them from the necessity of giving *by giving what was not yours to give*.

“ ‘The people have delegated to Congress, by the *Constitution*, the power to do certain things. To do these, it is authorized to collect and pay moneys, and for nothing else. Everything beyond this is abuse of power, and, therefore, a violation of the *Constitution*.’

“ ‘So you see, Colonel, you have violated the *Constitution* in what I consider a vital point. It is a precedent fraught with danger to the country, for when Congress once begins to stretch its power beyond the limits of the *Constitution*, there is no limit to it, and no security for the people. I have no doubt you acted honestly, but that does not make it any better, except as far as you are personally concerned, and you see that I cannot vote for you.’

A Second Chance



“ ‘I tell you I felt streaked. I saw if I should have opposition, and this man should go to talking, he would set others to talking, and in that district I was a gone fawn-skin (might as well be dead). I could not answer him, and the fact is, I was so fully convinced that he was right, I did not want to. But I needed to satisfy him, and so I said to him, ‘Well, my friend, you hit the nail upon the head when you said I had not sense enough to understand the *Constitution*.

I intended to be guided by it, and thought I had studied it fully. I have heard many speeches in Congress about the powers of Congress, but what you have said here at your plow has got more hard, sound sense in it than all the fine speeches I ever heard. If I had ever taken the view of it that you have, I would have put my head into the fire before I would have given that vote; and if you will forgive me and vote for me again, if I ever vote for another unconstitutional law I wish I may be shot.’

“ ‘The farmer laughingly replied, ‘Yes, Colonel, I will trust you again upon one condition. You say that you are convinced that your vote was wrong. Your acknowledgment of it will do more good than beating you for it. If, as you go around the district, you will tell people about this vote, and that you are satisfied it was wrong, I will not only vote for you, but I will do what I can to keep down opposition, and, perhaps, I may exert some little influence in that way.’

“ ‘If I don’t,’ said I, ‘I wish I may be shot; and to convince you that I am earnest in what I say, I will come back this way in ten days, and if you will get up a gathering of people, I will make a speech. Get up a barbecue, and I will pay for it.’

“ ‘No, Colonel, we are not rich people in this section, but we

have plenty of provisions to contribute for a barbecue, and some to spare for those who have none. The push of crops will be over in a few days, and we can then afford a day for a barbecue. This is Thursday; I will see to getting it up on a week from Saturday. Come to my house on Friday, and we will go together, and I promise you a very respectable crowd to see and hear you.'

"I will be here. But one thing more before I say good-bye. I must know your name.'

"My name is Horatio Bunce.'

"Well, Mr. Bunce, I never saw you before, but I know you very well. I am glad I have met you, and I'm very proud that I have you for my friend.'

"It was one of the luckiest hits of my life that I met him. He mingled but little with the public, but was widely known for his remarkable intelligence and incorruptible integrity, and for a heart brimful and running over with kindness and benevolence, which showed themselves not only in words but in acts. He was the wisest man of the whole country around him, and his fame had extended far beyond the circle of his immediate acquaintance. Though I had never met him, before, I had heard much of him, and but for this meeting it is very likely I should have had opposition, and had been beaten. One thing is very certain, no man could now stand up in that district under such a vote.

A Humbling Barbecue

"At the appointed time I was at the farmer's house, having told our conversation to every crowd I had met, and to every man I stayed all night with, and I found that it gave the people an interest and a confidence in me stronger than I had ever seen manifested before. Though I was considerably fatigued when I reached his house, and, under ordinary circumstances, should have gone early to bed, I kept him up until midnight, talking about the principles and affairs of government, and got more real, true knowledge of them than I had got all my life before.

"I have known and seen much of Mr. Bunce since, for I respect him — no, that is not the word — I reverence and love him more than any living man, and I go to see him two or three times every year; and I will tell you, sir, if every one who professes to be a Christian lived and enjoyed it as he does, the religion of Christ would take the world by storm.

"But to return to my story. The next morning we went to the barbecue, and, to my surprise, found about a thousand men there. I met a good many whom I had not known before, and they and my friend introduced me around until I had got pretty well acquainted — at least, they all knew me. "In due time notice was given that I would speak to them.

They gathered up around a stand that had been erected. I opened my speech by saying: 'Fellow-citizens — I present myself before you today feeling like a new man. My eyes have lately been opened to truths which ignorance had before hidden from my view. I feel that I can today offer you the ability to render you more valuable service than I have ever been able to render before. I am here today more for the purpose of acknowledging my error than to seek your votes. That I should make this acknowledgment is due to myself as well as to you. Whether you vote for me is a matter for your consideration only.'"

"I went on to tell them about the fire and my vote for the appropriation and, then, told them why I was satisfied it was wrong. I closed by saying, 'Now, it remains only for me to tell you that most of the speech you have listened to with so much interest was simply a repetition of the arguments by which your neighbor, Mr. Bunce, convinced me of my error. It is the best speech I ever made in my life, but he is entitled to the credit for it. Now, I hope he is satisfied with his convert and that he will get up here and tell you so.'

"Mr. Bunce came upon the stand and said, 'Friends, it affords me great pleasure to comply with the request of Colonel Crockett. I have always considered him a thoroughly honest man; I am satisfied that he will faithfully perform all he has promised you to-day.'

"He went down, and there went up from that crowd such a shout for Davy Crockett as his name never called forth before. I am not much given to tears, but I was taken with a choking then and felt some big drops rolling down my cheeks. I tell you that the remembrance of those few words spoken by such a man, and the honest, hearty shout they produced, is worth more to me than all the honors I have received and all the reputation I've ever made as a member of Congress.'

"Now, sir," concluded Crockett, "you know why I made that speech yesterday in Congress. There is one thing now to which I will call your attention. You remember that I proposed to give a week's pay. There are in that House many wealthy men — men who think nothing of spending a week's pay, or a dozen of them, for a dinner or a wine party when they have something to accomplish by it. Some of those same men made beautiful speeches upon the great debt of gratitude which the country owed the deceased — a debt which could not be paid by money — and the insignificance and worthlessness of money, when weighed against the honor of the nation. Yet not one of them responded to my proposition. Money with them is nothing but trash when it is to come out of the people. But it is the one great thing for which most of them are striving, and many of them sacrifice honor, integrity, and justice to obtain it."



THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER

Francis Scott Key, 1814

Background

During the War of 1812, the British decided to strike a demoralizing blow to the U.S. by invading Washington D.C. To humiliate the Americans, the British burned their new Capitol building and looted and vandalized the White House. Upon their departure, the British arrested Dr. William Beanes and imprisoned him on a warship in Chesapeake Bay. Friends of Dr. Beanes pleaded with Georgetown lawyer, Francis Scott Key, to secure his release. He agreed.

During the effort, Key witnessed the terrible bombing of Ft. McHenry, which protected Baltimore from British invasion. Throughout the night of September 13, 1814, as a thunderstorm pounded the area, Mr. Key watched the rockets' red glare and the bombs bursting in air, as well as brief glimpses of the U.S. flag waving in the wind. Since the British warships had moved outside the range of the fort's cannons, there was no sign of life from the American shores. It was not until the next morning that Key saw the banner that inspired his poem. The flag was still there! The fort had not surrendered; and, the British, having decided that the harbor was impassable, retreated down the Southern coast.

Key penned the words of that inspirational scene, a poem entitled, "The Defense of Fort McHenry," and later put them to the tune of "To Anacreon in Heaven." Though it was played for the first time in 1814, it was not adopted as our national anthem until 1931.

Verse One

Oh, say can you see by the dawn's early light
What so proudly we hailed at the twilight's last gleaming?
Whose broad stripes and bright stars thru the perilous fight,
O'er the ramparts we watched were so gallantly streaming?
And the rocket's red glare, the bombs bursting in air,
Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there.
Oh, say does that star-spangled banner yet wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?

Verse Two

On the shore, dimly seen through the mists of the deep,
Where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes,
What is that which the breeze, o'er the towering steep,
As it fitfully blows, half conceals, half discloses?
Now it catches the gleam of the morning's first beam,
In full glory reflected now shines in the stream:
'Tis the star-spangled banner! Oh long may it wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave!

Verse Three

And where is that band who so vauntingly swore
That the havoc of war and the battle's confusion,
A home and a country should leave us no more!
Their blood has washed out their foul footsteps' pollution.
No refuge could save the hireling and slave
From the terror of flight, or the gloom of the grave:
And the star-spangled banner in triumph doth wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave!

Verse Four

Oh! thus be it ever, when freemen shall stand
Between their loved home and war's desolation!
Blest with victory and peace, may the heav'n rescued land
Praise the Pow'r that hath made and preserv'd us a nation.
Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just,
And this be our motto: "In God is our trust."
And the star-spangled banner in triumph shall wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave!

My Country, 'Tis of Thee

Before the U.S. adopted an official national anthem, many songs were used, including this one written by Samuel Francis Smith. The words were written to the British tune "God Save the Queen."

Verse One

My country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing;
Land where my fathers died,
Land of the pilgrims' pride,
From ev'ry mountainside
Let freedom ring!

Verse Two

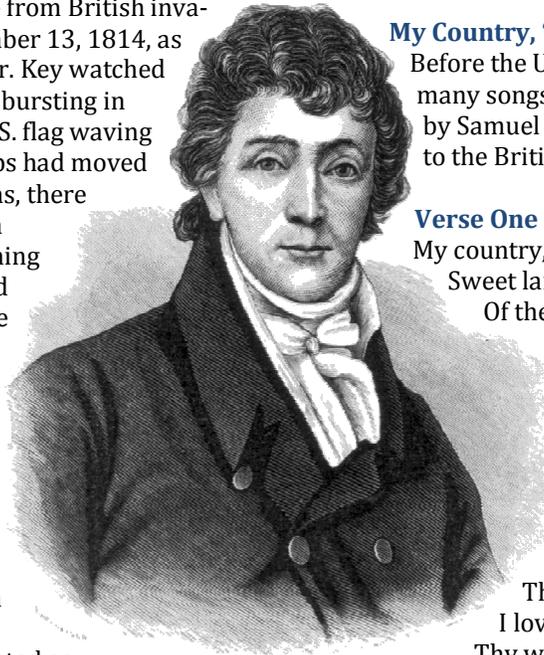
My native country, thee,
Land of the noble free,
Thy name I love;
I love thy rocks and rills,
Thy woods and templed hills;
My heart with rapture thrills,
Like that above.

Verse Three

Let music swell the breeze,
And ring from all the trees
Sweet freedom's song;
Let mortal tongues awake;
Let all that breathe partake;
Let rocks their silence break,
The sound prolong.

Verse Four

Our fathers' God to Thee,
Author of liberty,
To Thee we sing.
Long may our land be bright,
With freedom's holy light,
Protect us by Thy might,
Great God our King.



Francis Scott Key

American Treasures II

Excerpts Included

The Sayings of Poor Richard

Benjamin Franklin, 1733-1758

Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God

Reverend Jonathan Edwards, 1741

The Character of a Good Ruler

Reverend Samuel Willard, 1694

When Is It Right to Resist Authority?

Reverend Jonathan Mayhew, 1750

Common Sense

Thomas Paine, 1776

The American Crisis

Thomas Paine, 1776

The First Inaugural Address

President George Washington, 1789

A Defense of the Use of Bibles in Schools

Benjamin Rush, 1830

Inaugural Address

Thomas Jefferson, 1801

Letters to a Son

John Quincy Adams, 1811

The Rock of Plymouth Past and Future

Daniel Webster, 1820

Not Yours to Give

Colonel David Crockett, 1884

The Star-Spangled Banner

Francis Scott Key, 1814

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