

VOLUME TWO

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Documents and Speeches

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Read by David Kurlan Text by Charles Edward Smith



Patrick Henry
The Declaration of Independence
Thomas Paine
The Bill of Rights
Benjamin Franklin
George Washington
Daniel Webster
John Brown
Edward Everett
The Gettysburg Address

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THE COMING OF AGE OF FREEDOM

By Charles Edward Smith

"The Sun has left his blackness, and has found a fresher morning." -- William Blake: "America," in an allegorical treatment of the Declaration of Independence.

"The law embodies the story of a nation's development through many centuries, and it cannot be dealt with as if it contained only the axioms and corollaries of a book of mathematics. In order to know what it is we must know what it has been, and what it tends to become. We must alternately consult history and existing theories of legislation. But the most difficult labor will be to understand the combination of the two into new products at every stage." - Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., The Common Law: quoted in Stephenson's "A History of the American People". (21)*

"The mass of mankind under that (democracy) enjoy a precious degree of liberty and happiness. It has its evils, too, the principal of which is the turbulence to which it is subject. . . . Even this evil is productive of good. It prevents the degeneracy of government and nourishes a general attention to public affairs." - Thomas Jefferson, 1787, in a letter to Madison. (16)

The leavening substance of freedom in a democracy is movement, the movement of people in relation to each other, the movement of ideas, the growth of new ideas and the atrophy of old ones. Life does not, any more than art, seek a placid calm. Its vital environment is at once containment and escape. If democracy expresses the aspirations of humanity today is it not because of its forceful, dynamic character? But just as the world needs, for its proper growth, contrasts and infinite divergencies between countries and peoples -- along with its ancient bond of humanity -- so within a democracy we want, not the dichotomous, two-dimensional "rich-and-poor," "labor and capital," "people and leaders," but a constant intermingling and recapitulation of forces and beliefs, a situation (never in actual balance) that we maintain only with the utmost tolerance and devotion, not mere lip-service, to the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights, and such intrinsically democratic documents as the Gettysburg Address. A healthy democracy, as Jefferson reminds us, is a turbulence.

Democracy, far from being static, is, by its very nature, in a continual state of flux. In its inception, that is to say, in the first application of the word to the situation, in ancient Greece, democracy represented a government of, by and for the elite. That the great masses of people and slaves did not share in it, however, cannot be contrasted to what we call our democratic way of life in 20th century United States. The concept of human rights is itself subject to growth

and change. The democratic government in Greece was progressive, it affirmed humanity, as did that other government of an elite, the Incan of our own hemisphere. But we have passed that stage now. It would seem that spread of democracy (by education and enlightenment, by a broadened suffrage), like the technical level of art, relates to the technological level of society at each stage.

Obviously we are not entirely free of such ancient rites as the worshipping of heroes, of leaders, nor will we be, for a long time. But leaders lose a little of their godheads with the passing years and, more and more, are accepted insofar as they answer to a need of, or express, the people. (That our wants, our needs, are not always sensible, that they often spring from an elemental clamor for security, goes without saying; but even these have a bearing on history.) This leaves it up to us, at each stage of our development. We call our own an age of anxiety, but hasn't every age been so? In the distance troubled waters appear calm. They were hardly so to those who had no choice but to fish in them!

In this series of documents and speeches you will, we hope, arrive at least at a nodding acquaintance with two significant facets of our national life, the continuing maturation of democracy itself, the gradual realization of the principles inhering in the Declaration of Independence, and the consummation of national unity, the coalescence, the fusion of states into a national entity, the coming of age of freedom that finds expression in five words first written by Thomas Paine -- "The United States Of America."

PATRICK HENRY AT RICHMOND

"Friends of America! look. . . a heavy iron chain
Descends link by link from Albion's
cliffs across the sea to bind
Brothers and sons of America, till our
faces pale and yellow."
- William Blake.

"My rigor relents, I pardon something
to the Spirit of Liberty."
- Edmond Burke (5)

At the close of the 18th century, subsequent to the earlier events memorialized in these speeches and documents, a visitor from Europe remarked on the long-legged and physically attractive American girls. He noted also the freedom allowed young people and the initiative shown by them. Only the first observation was intended as a compliment yet his report suggests what is confirmed again and again in the documents of the Revolutionary period, an enlargement of the horizons of freedom. It suggests also a state of health and vigor in the emergence of a new and substantial democracy.

A conflict of interests, both commercial and in the area of human rights, was inevitable between the colonies and the mother country. Indeed, it was already apparent in the 17th century. For a hundred years it seeped over a low fire, sometimes sputtering into brief action. Then, in the decade preceding Patrick Henry's speech of March 23, 1775, at the Richmond, Virginia, Convention in St. John's Church, measures affecting the lives of all Americans, threatened to bring the tempest out of its teapot and into the world. These included the stamp act of 1765, taxing articles and transactions ("taxation without representation") and levied to defray the costs of the Crown in the Colonies; a quartering act that required Americans to help house and feed British troops. In 1766 the British Parliament declared its supremacy in making laws for the Colonies. There followed a custom act, a revenue act and, in 1767, as every schoolboy knows, the Tea Act brought the pot to a boil and blew the lid off. (1)

The Colonies had friends in England, both among the people and in Parliament where pleas for conciliation and parliamentary rights (for the Colonies) reflected the desires of many thoughtful people on both sides of the Atlantic. Edmund Burke is one of the best known of those who argued vainly for conciliatory gestures from the mother country. On March 22nd, 1775, he said, in the course of a speech in Parliament:

"... in all fair dealings, the thing bought must bear some proportion to the purchase paid. None will barter away the immediate jewel of his soul. Though a great house is apt to make slaves haughty, yet it is purchasing a part of the artificial importance of a great empire too dear, to pay for it all essential rights, and all the intrinsic dignity of human nature." (5)

On March 23, 1775, in the course of his thundering oration -- a day, an ocean and a world away -- Patrick Henry declared, "There is no retreat but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged! Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston! The war is inevitable -- and let it come! I repeat, sir, let it come!" (5)

Burke's resolution in Parliament is of interest not merely in what it reveals of the political climate on both sides of the Atlantic but in its emphasis on the separateness of the colonies, that were to be welded solidly into a national entity only after many decades and much travail. But to return to Burke, and 1775. In the Parliament on March 22nd he moved:

"That the colonies and plantations of Great Britain in North America, consisting of fourteen separate governments, and containing two millions and upwards of inhabitants, have not had the liberty and privilege of electing and sending any knights and burgesses or others to represent them in the high court of Parliament." (5)

As we have noted above, while Burke made his dramatic plea for conciliation in the English Parliament the Virginia Convention of Delegates to the Continental Congress met (for the third time) in the Old Church in Richmond. On the day following, March 23rd, Patrick Henry made a series of resolutions, of which these three were adopted:

"1. That a well regulated militia, composed of gentlemen and yeomen, is the natural strength and only security of a free government. . .

"2. That such a militia is at this time especially necessary to protect our rights and liberties, which have been rendered insecure by the remissness of government in calling our Legislature together.

* Numbers in parentheses refer to the bibliography at the end.

find out new principles, or new arguments, never before thought of, not merely to say things which had never been said before; but to place before mankind the common sense of the subject, in terms so plain and firm as to command their assent, and to justify ourselves in the independent stand we are compelled to take. Neither aiming at originality of principle or sentiment, nor yet copied from any particular and previous writing, it was intended to be an expression of the American mind, and to give to that expression the proper tone and spirit called for by the occasion. All its authority rests then on the harmonizing sentiments of the day, whether expressed in conversation, in letters, printed essays, or in the elementary books of public right, as Aristotle, Cicero, Locke, Sidney, etc." - Letter to Henry Lee, May 8, 1825. (7)

The "harmonizing sentiments of the day," to which Jefferson referred are discussed in the books mentioned and get a really thorough working over in "Seedtime of the Republic" (10). In it you will find ample data with respect to "The Rights of the Colonists" (James Otis and Samuel Adams); in Schachner (6) there is a discussion of the Virginia "Declaration of Rights," prepared by George Mason. Both documents exemplified the "harmonizing sentiments of the day", as did previous papers written by Jefferson himself. "But what a vast difference stylistically," comments Mr. Schachner, "between the sprawling catalogue which Jefferson had drawn for the Virginia constitution only two weeks or so before, and the serried ranks in which the same indictments march in the Declaration. Their reiterated and cumulative beat storm the senses and pound the veins until, perhaps, their truth or falsity are no longer matters of calm discourse. For this was polemics and intended to arouse, rather than a study in historical causation." (6)

The events that transpired in the Continental Congress in 1776 not merely formalized the American Revolution in the world's eyes, following upon years crowded with incident and action, but emphasized the common interests of the people and brought into being what was at least a workable unity of the separate colonies. (Even in 1776, Virginia was Jefferson's "country" (6).) On June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee, upon instructions of the Virginia Convention, moved the three historic resolutions that described the emergence of the new country:

"Resolved, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States. that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.

"That it is expedient forthwith to take the most effective measures for forming foreign alliances.

"That a plan of confederation be prepared and transmitted to the respective Colonies for their consideration and approbation." (6)

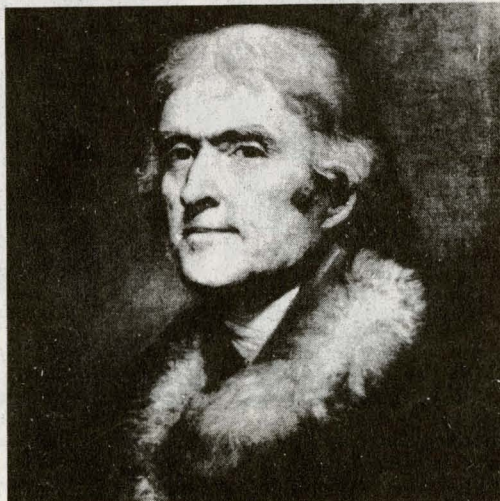
These resolutions, the bridge between a revolution and a sovereign state, were passed on July 2, 1776, though not until a considerable opposition had been broken down. The bitterness and intensity of the birth pangs of democracy may be gathered from documentation of songs, proclamations, incidents (1); from debate and polemics (6) (10) (16). A Declaration was essential, both for the people of the still separate colonies and for the world.

That Jefferson was chosen to write it may have been the gratuitous beneficence of an ill wind. When he came to Philadelphia in 1775, it had been as an alternate for Peyton Randolph. Jefferson, then thirty-two, is said to have been the youngest member of the

Continental Congress. On June 11th, three weeks prior to the passage of Lee's Resolutions, a committee was set up to work out a draft Declaration. It was comprised of Thomas Jefferson (Va.), John Adams (Mass.), Benjamin Franklin (Pa.), Roger Sherman (Conn.), and Robert R. Livingston (N. Y.). Virginia was indicated for the chairmanship, especially as it had already proclaimed its own independence, but there was a feud within the Virginia delegation as a consequence of which Jefferson received the most votes from the Congress, John Adams noted in his diary, "because we united in him to the exclusion of R. H. Lee, and to keep out Harrison." A few years later, in a diary entry of June 23, 1779, Adams, in reply to a question by the French minister as to who actually wrote the document, quotes himself: "Mr. Jefferson of Virginia," said I, 'was the draughtsman. (6)

It was Jefferson's conviction that the Negro people should and would ultimately be free. In his "Autobiography" (7) Jefferson remarks of his pre-Revolutionary term in the House of Burgesses (Va.): "I made one effort in that body for the permission of the emancipation of slaves, which was rejected: and indeed, under the regal government, nothing liberal could expect success." Subsequently, the clause in the Declaration "reprobating the enslaving the inhabitants of Africa" (T.J. *ibid*) was rejected by delegates of both some Southern and some Northern Colonies, the author of the Declaration commenting dryly, "Our northern brethren also, I believe, felt a little tender under these censures; for though their people had very few slaves themselves, yet they had been pretty considerable carriers of them to others."

Jefferson was as sensitive as any author to having a body of men, in this instance the Continental Congress, edit his copy, and it rankled with him now and later. On the whole, though, the revisions served to adjust the Declaration to its environment, to clarify the flexible instrumentation. (This relationship will be remarked again later in these notes.) A copy of the Declaration made by Jefferson for James Madison indicates clearly the revisions and deletions. The indictments of George III include the following excerpt, deleted from the final draft: "He has waged



cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons

of a distant people who never offend. . . . am, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither." (7)

In his last extant letter, written less than two weeks before his death, Jefferson was forced to refuse an invitation to be present on the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, "With my regret that ill health forbids me the gratification of an acceptance" It was in this letter to Roger C. Weightman that Jefferson made the following statement, a stirring reaffirmation of his democratic faith:

"May it be to the world, what I believe it will be, (to some parts sooner, to others later, but finally to all,) the signal of arousing men to burst the chains under which monkish ignorance and superstition had persuaded them to bind themselves, and to assume the blessings and security of self-government. That form which we have substituted, restores the free right to the unbounded exercise of reason and freedom of opinion. All eyes are open, or opening, to the rights of man. The general spread of the light of science has already laid open to every view the palpable truth, that the mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their backs, nor a favored few bootied and spurred, ready to ride them legitimately, by the grace of God. These are grounds of hope for others. For ourselves, let the annual return of this day forever refresh our recollections of these rights, and an undiminished devotion to them." (7)

THOMAS PAINE: THE CRISIS

"I have always regarded Paine as one of the greatest of all Americans. Never have we had a sounder intelligence in this republic."
--Thomas Alva Edison (11)

Apart from the attraction of his clarity of thought, clothed in plain-spoken prose, an auxiliary facet of Paine's personality that probably interested Edison was his interest in science. This aspect of Paine's background is attested to in the correspondence of Jefferson and Franklin and may have helped to influence the latter in sponsoring the young writer's American venture. An excise officer himself, in 1772 Thomas Paine was named spokesman for this group of civil servants in their appeal to parliament for an increase in wages. Blunt and to the



point, his pamphlet had deftness of phrase and a style that sometimes sang, anticipating his enormous success in America as journalist and pamphleteer.

In his chapter on "Common Sense," biographer Woodward (11) writes, "His book was an extraordinary best seller, and its keynote was American independence. In a conservative estimate the printings, including pirated editions, totaled 300,000 copies; some writers place it at half a million. Either figure is impressive, considering that the population was then between two and three million!

A variety of claims have been made for Paine's first American pamphlet, including the notion that it inspired the Declaration of Independence. We have already seen that the pre-conditions for this document were already a matter of record before Paine came to America in 1774. That it served to fuse the popular enthusiasm for the cause of Revolution is testified to in the remark of George Washington, April 1, 1776, in a letter to a friend, referring to Virginia: "I find Paine's Common

Sense is working a wonderful change there in the minds of men." And on another occasion Washington wrote: "...the sound doctrine and unanswerable reasoning contained in the pamphlet Common Sense will not leave numbers at a loss to decide upon the propriety of separation." The officers of the Continental Army "read Common Sense aloud to their soldiers drawn up in formation." (11) Mr. Woodward quotes John Adams as saying, "History is to ascribe the Revolution to Thomas Paine," but even seen out of context, this remark of the at times irascible gentleman from Massachusetts seems a shade ironic or at least redolent of a dry humor.

In July, 1776, Paine entered the military service of the Colonies and in the autumn joined General Nathaniel Greene at Fort Lee, N.J., as aide-de-camp. (It was General Greene who introduced him to Washington.) "Although Paine was an active member of General Greene's staff he began to write, in the latter part of that month, (Nov.) a series of pamphlets which are known collectively as Crisis. These writings were undertaken to buoy the courage of the Revolutionary soldiers, to inspire them to hold firm in the face of defeat and to look to a future of victory and independence.... Paine's first Crisis was published a few days before the attack on Trenton. It was written to inspire the troops and to put heart in the dejected patriots." (11) (Reference is to surprise attack and resounding victory, identified for most of us by a facsimile reproduction of a painting of Washington crossing the Delaware.)

In 1782 Thomas Paine was retained by the government and paid a salary of \$800 per annum, from the Secret Service Fund, an arrangement that kept the whole affair under cover. This was thought to be the best policy at the time. "Paine had no fixed duties, no office nor office hours. He was expected to comment, from time to time, on public affairs but he was not subject to restraint or direction, although he might be called upon occasionally for some special duty." (11) He was the pamphleteer of the government, as he had been of the Revolution. In this post, which was terminated after a year, he wrote further editions of Crisis.

In June 1783, Paine wrote to the President of Congress asking for employment of some kind. No reply has been recorded but "On September 10, Washington wrote him from Princeton, where Congress was then in session. The General had a residence for the time being at Rocky Hill (near Princeton), in order to be closely in touch with Congress, and he invited Paine to visit him. He wrote also that: "Your presence may remind Congress of your past services to this country; and if it is in my power to impress them, command my best services with freedom, as they will

be rendered cheerfully by one who entertains a lively sense of the importance of your works and who, with much pleasure, subscribes himself your sincere friend."

Finally, on October 3, 1785, Congress granted Paine \$3000 as compensation for his services during the Revolution, stating in its resolution: "The early, unsolicited, and continued labors of Mr. Thomas Paine, in explaining and enforcing the principles of the late revolution by ingenious and timely publications upon the nature of liberty and civil government, have been well received by the citizens of these states, and merit the approbation of Congress; and that in consideration of these services, and the benefits produced thereby, Mr. Paine is entitled to a liberal gratification from the United States." (11)

(Mr. Woodward's biography includes a bibliography of writings about Paine, who is still called "controversial". It is not Paine who is controversial, his contribution to our republic is much too well documented for that, but the democratic principles he espoused. It is surprising that men of the Twentieth Century, fancying themselves his opponents, mouth the words of Tories of the Eighteenth? Not at all. Democracy does not rest upon documents but on a continuing and dynamic struggle for its fulfillment. Thomas Paine, like Jefferson, was

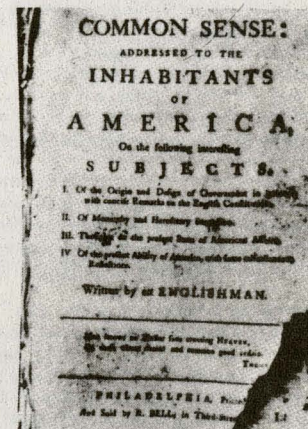
FRANKLIN AND THE CONSTITUTION

"Come muster, my lads, your mechanical tools,
Your saws and your axes, your hammers and rules;
Bring your mallets and planes, your level and line,
And plenty of pins of American pine:
For our roof we will raise, and our songs still
shall be,
Our government firm, and our citizens free."

- Francis Hopkinson, composer and signer of the Declaration, singing for the Constitution with "The New Roof: A Song For Federal Mechanics" (14)



Revolution; eight had signed the Declaration of Independence. According to Charles Warren, 'ten men stood out as chiefly responsible for the form which the Constitution finally took -- Madison, Randolph, Franklin, Wilson, Gouverneur Morris, King, Rutledge, Charles Pinckney, and Sherman.' On the whole, they shared the same fear of 'mob rule,' of popular democracy; they recognized what seemed to be the natural



also for an "Association of Nations". This aspiration for humanity, now that it has assumed concrete form in the United Nations, is also controversial.) Further references: (10), (12)

"There is a time to sow and a time to reap; we sowed our seed when we sent men to the Federal convention, now is the harvest, now is the time to reap the fruit of our labour, and if we don't do it now I am afraid we never shall have another opportunity." - Col. Jonathan B. Smith, at the Ratifying Convention of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1788 (14).

The American Constitutional Convention was held in closed sessions in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, during the hot summer of 1787. "Fifty-five men, representing all of the thirteen original colonies but Rhode Island, came together to revise the loose Articles of Confederation. They welded themselves into one of the most remarkable deliberative bodies in history. Thirty-nine of them had served in the Continental Congress, twenty-one had fought in the

superiority of the landed aristocracy of the South and the wealthy commercial interests of the North. It remained for the eighty-one-year-old Franklin, who had risen from poverty, to say that 'we should not depress the virtue and public spirit of our common people.' Of others who had a similar faith, Jefferson was in France as our minister, and Patrick Henry had refused to come to the Convention." (5)

"A desire for stability, developed through commercial and fiscal chaos, directed their construction of the new governmental system. Benjamin Franklin ... cynically remarked: 'Few men in public affairs act from a mere view of the good of their country, whatever they may pretend; and though their activity may bring real good to their country, they do not act from a spirit of benevolence.'" (18)

In perusing Madison's correspondence and the daily reports on the Constitutional Convention, the latter very adequately quoted in "The People Shall Judge" (16), the reader should bear in mind that many words had somewhat different connotations than at present. Most of these are readily discernible and often concern emphasis rather than basic meaning; often the word democracy is used with reference to the political system of ancient Greece, in contrast to which we have a representative, rather than democratic, government. From our point of view, using the word in its everyday connotation, our form of government seems far more democratic than the government by an elite, in slaveholding Greece!

But of course we must assess political systems in the framework of their environment. From that vantage point, ancient Greece did, most certainly, contribute to the cause of democracy, as did the Magna Carta, though that latter instrument of freedom affected, in its time, only a certain class of citizens. The emergence and continual enlargement of democracy as a force in the world relates not only to the desire of all of us to be free, which was there all the time, but to the cumulative effect of human thought (even though in the political field this is all too often described in dichotomous terms), to economic necessity and to the over-all level of technology. We are born biologically unequal, but this has nothing to do with class or caste, color or a good blood line. Whether they dwelt in caves or not, we would like to disown our ancestors of a few thousands years back, though, so far as we know, each of them was born with the same human potential as each of us. Only our heritage has changed. During the Colonial period it was honestly thought -- as large numbers of people still think -- that a genius for leadership was an inherited characteristic. It was still undecided whether or not large areas of the world's population should be included in the human race and the distaff side of it (the human race) was not thought competent -- along with the propertyless and indentured servants -- to enjoy the suffrage. It is against this background we must judge the men who framed our Declaration and the Constitution. Franklin, in his astuteness, puts "leaders" into the category of everyday humans, where they belong, fallible, like the rest of us, and sometimes given to mistaken assumptions of an ego-flattering nature. A leader-cult is as dangerous to a democracy as it is essential to a totalitarian government. Jefferson, Franklin and a few others saw that democracy, to sustain itself, must have an ever and ever broader base. If, in spite of this a reader finds their observations on human nature and "the common man" hard to take, he might read the brief discussion of this subject in the Yalta Papers -- it may be guaranteed to give him a jolt or two!

The participation of the people in democracy may be gleaned from any number of things, the songs of the



times, and their setting as described for us in the booklet accompanying "Ballads of the Revolution" (1), the fact that pamphleteering, in a population of between two and three million, envisaged readers among a very large proportion of the citizenry, and so forth. This is all the more impressive when we consider that the suffrage was decidedly limited. Chief among objections to the Constitution was the lack of a Bill of Rights, and this aspect of Constitutional history will be discussed in the following section. Meanwhile, to those who wish to understand more fully the many issues involved, the hostilities and the turbulence of the times, a study of the Federalist Papers will be rewarding. These are quoted liberally in "The People Shall Judge" (16) and are now available in paperbacks (Everyman and Modern Library). They were written by Alexander Hamilton, John Jay and James Madison. The Federalist Papers are also treated in detail in Jacobson's "Development of American Political Thought." (18)

Following his "retirement" Benjamin Franklin, printer, inventor, writer, publisher, etc., contributed invaluable services to his country and to the cause of democracy as statesman, administrator and diplomat. "I am naturally very jealous of the Rights and Liberties of my country," he observed in 1722 (10) and in 1754 he conceived "A Plan For Colonial Union" presented to the Albany Convention (16). Clinton Rossiter observes, "Franklin never made the mistake of identifying conciliation and compromise with democracy, of regarding this spirit as an end in itself. . . His life argues powerfully that democracy depends on men with a nice feeling for the proper balance between faith and skepticism, principle and compromise, tenacity and conciliation." (10)

In a prefatory note to Franklin's remarks, Mr. Rossiter emphasizes these same points: "Franklin placed extraordinary value on the spirit and techniques of conciliation and compromise. By nature and experience he was disposed to seek peace and harmony in whatever controversy he might have wandered into by design or accident. His nature was skeptical and undogmatic; he could even doubt his own opinions. The benign speech that James Wilson delivered for him on the last day of the Convention of 1787 was characteristic of a lifetime of active political argument." (10)

Epitaph written 1728.
The Body of
B. Franklin Printer
(Like the cover of an old Book
Its Contents turn out
And stop of its setting & lying)
Such was Fate for Mankind
But the Works shall not be lost;
For it will (as he believ'd) appear on many
In a new and more elegant Edition
Revised and corrected.
By the Author.

On that closing day of the Convention (September 17th) James Madison wrote the notes on what took place and includes a statement by Franklin that, though fairly well known, is so apropos that we include it here: "Whilst the last members were signing . . . Doctor Franklin, looking towards the president's chair, at the back of which a rising sun happened to be painted, observed to a few members near him that painters had found it difficult to distinguish in their art a rising and a setting sun. 'I have, said he, 'often and often in the course of the session, and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that behind the president without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting. But now at length I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting sun.'" (16)

("Seedtime of the Republic" (10) includes a comprehensive chapter on Franklin, recommends for further reading Carl Van Doren's excellent biography.)
 THE BILL OF RIGHTS

"There is no Declaration of Rights, and the laws of the general government being paramount to the laws and constitution of the several States, the Declaration of Rights in the separate States are no security. Nor are the people assured even in the enjoyment of the benefit of the common law." George Mason, Chief Architect of the Virginia Declaration of Rights which relates both to the Declaration and to the Bill of Rights, speaking in criticism of the draft of a Federal Constitution. (14)

The following quotation is an example of the widespread agitation for bills of rights, both for states and nationally: "A bill of rights, clearly ascertaining and defining the right of conscience, and that security of person and property, which every member in the State hath a right to expect from the supreme power thereof, ought to be settled and established, previous to the ratification of any constitution for the State." - Theophilus Parsons in his *Essex Result*, arguing for a bill of rights for the Massachusetts Constitution. (10)

"A bill of rights may be summed up in a few words. What do they tell us? - That our rights are reserved. Why not say so? Is it because it will consume too much paper? Gentlemen's reasoning against a bill of rights,

do not satisfy me." - Patrick Henry, at the Virginia Ratifying Convention for a Federal Constitution, June 14, 1788. (18)

"At the time of its adoption," observes Justice William O. Douglas in a statement regarding the Bill of Rights, "there were fourteen states in the Union. Three fourths of the States are necessary to effect an Amendment. Ratification of the Bill of Rights was completed December 15, 1791, when Virginia, the 11th State, approved it.

"There was a division of opinion in the Constitutional Convention as to the necessity or desirability of a Bill of Rights. Its omission became the chief object of attack on the Constitution." (15)

"The bill of rights was to be something more than a symbol or incantation," according to "Seedtime of the Republic". (10) "The plan and powers of government had to conform to the people's own statement of the rights they were retaining. Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Vermont and Virginia all honored this dictate of political liberty in their Revolutionary constitutions. The speed with which a bill of rights emerged from the First Congress is evidence of the strength and persistence of this Revolutionary principle." (10)

Although Jefferson was in France at the time of the Constitutional Convention, his opinions carried great weight and were instrumental in the subsequent formulation of the Bill of Rights. In a letter to Madison acknowledging receipt of a copy of the draft of the United States Constitution he spoke highly of various aspects of it. For example, he wrote, "I like the organization of the government into Legislative, Judiciary and Executive. After stating what he believed to be its good points he continued: "I will now add what I do not like. First the omission of a bill of rights providing clearly and without the aid of sophisms for freedom of religion, freedom of the press, protection against standing armies, restriction against monopolies, the eternal and unremitting force of habeas corpus laws, and trial by jury in all matters of fact triable by the laws of the land and not by the law of nations. . . Let me add that a bill of rights is what the people are entitled to against every government on earth, general or particular, and what no just government should refuse, or rest on inferences." (7)

Discussions of the proposed constitution had been carried on in closed sessions, often in a secrecy stark and, in retrospect, sometimes sawdust to the taste. For the proponents of a broad democracy, this was a disquieting time. Randolph, Adams, Hamilton and many others voiced convictions betraying fear of the spread of democracy and a distrust of the common man, that, in short, assumed a gap between "gentlemen and yeomen" and the populace in general. It was Jefferson's position that this presumed gap might be due to a lack of education and information. But despite the air of pessimism that at times dominated the Convention, the intent of the people, which had triumphed in the Revolution and in the Declaration of Independence, was to return, full tide, in the people's insistence upon a Bill of Rights, a demand to have spelled out what had already been expressed in principle in the Declaration.

Documentary compilations of the times, such as "The People Shall Judge" (16) are often more interesting and informative than interpretations of them. Similarly, Madison's letters help us to perceive the scope, the limits of democracy in practice as it existed in the 18th century. The following excerpts are from a letter to Thomas Jefferson:

"Wherever the real power in a government lies, there is the danger of oppression. In our Governments (the plural is for the separate State governments-Ed.) the real power lies in the majority of the community, and the invasion of private rights is chiefly to be apprehended

not from acts of Government contrary to the sense of its constituents, but from acts in which the Government is the mere instrument of the major number of the Constituents." In the same letter, referring to the power of government: "It is a melancholy reflection that liberty should be equally exposed to danger whether the Government have too much or too little power, and that the line which divides these extremes should be so inaccurately defined by experience." (17)

Patrick Henry expressed a prevalent apprehension of the States of a Constitution lacking a Bill of Rights: "If you give up these powers, without a bill of rights, you will exhibit the most absurd thing to mankind that ever the world saw -- a government that has abandoned all its powers -- the powers of direct taxation, the sword and the purse. You have disposed of them to congress, without a bill of rights -- without check, limitation, or control. . . You have checks and guards. . . you have a bill of rights to defend yourself against the state government, which is bereaved of all power; and yet you have none against congress, though in full and exclusive possession of all power!" (18)

The Bill of Rights is a most practical instrumentation for effecting the principles guaranteed every citizen in the Declaration of Independence, which gives pre-eminence to human rights (in contrast to rights of succession or rights of property, given equal or greater prominence in previous Declarations). For example,

the First Amendment, says Chafee, "is very much more than 'an expression of political faith.' It was demanded by several states as a condition of their ratification of the Federal Constitution, and is as definitely a prohibition upon Congress as any other article in the Bill of Rights. The policy behind it is the attainment and spread of truth, not merely as an abstraction, but as the basis of political and social progress. 'Freedom of speech and of the press' is to be unabridged because it is the only means of testing out the truth. The Constitution does not pare down this freedom to political affairs only, or to the opinions which are held by a majority of the people in opposition to the government." (28)

In 1798 Jefferson and Madison spear-headed the drive against the Alien and Sedition Acts. Along with other Americans, they recognized Constitutional infringements that is to say, encroachments upon the democratic freedoms guaranteed us by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, and a study of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions (the former written chiefly by Madison, the latter by Jefferson) will make it clear why some observers have drawn an analogy between the Alien and Sedition Acts and purportedly repressive legislation of the past two decades. Is the implication that we are more complacent? Perhaps. But do not think for a moment the friends of democracy in the 18th century won without a struggle. The struggle was continuous and unabating,

Congress of THE United States

begun and held at the City of New York, on
Wednesday the Fourth of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty nine

THE Senators of the State of New York, having at the time of their adopting the Constitution, expressed a desire, in order to prevent encroachments on their powers, that further declaration and restriction, should be added; and as extending the ground of public confidence in the Government, will but ensure the happy end of its institution

RESOLVED by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, two thirds of both Houses concurring, that the following Articles be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States, as amendments to the Constitution of the United States, all or any of which Articles, when ratified by three fourths of the said Legislatures, to be added to all bills and purposes, as parts of the said Constitution, viz^t

- ARTICLES in addition to, and Amendment of the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by Congress, and ratified by the Legislatures of the several States, pursuant to the fifth Article of the original Constitution.
- Article the first: After the first enumeration, required by the first Article of the Constitution, there shall be one Representative for every thirty thousand, until the number shall amount to one hundred; after which the proportion shall be as regulated by Congress; that there shall be not less than one hundred Representatives, nor less than one Representative for every fifty thousand persons; that the number of Representatives shall never exceed one hundred, after which the proportion shall be as regulated by Congress; that there shall not be less than two hundred Representatives, nor more than one Representative for every fifty thousand persons.
- Article the second: No Law, requiring the compensation of the Senators and Representatives, shall take effect, until an statement of Representatives shall have intervened.
- Article the third: Congress shall make no Law respecting an establishment of Religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the rights of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.
- Article the fourth: A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.
- Article the fifth: No Person shall be held in answer to a civil suit, nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.
- Article the sixth: The right of the people to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of Counsel for his defense.
- Article the seventh: In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.
- Article the eighth: Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.
- Article the ninth: The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.
- Article the tenth: The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ATTEST:

Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg Speaker of the House of Representatives.

John Adams, Vice President of the United States, and President of the Senate.

John Adams, Vice President of the United States, and President of the Senate.
John Adams, Vice President of the United States, and President of the Senate.

before, during and following the Revolution itself. This is the turbulence that Jefferson mentioned as perhaps being essential to a democracy. A century and a half after the event, Madison's words remain deeply moving and significant for all of us:

"That this state having, by its Convention, which ratified the federal Constitution, expressly declared that, among other essential rights, 'the liberty of conscience and the press cannot be canceled, abridged, restrained, or modified, by any authority of the United States,' and from its extreme anxiety to guard these rights from every possible attack of sophistry and ambition, having, with other states, recommended an amendment for that purpose, which amendment was, in due time, annexed to the Constitution -- it would mark a reproachful inconsistency, and criminal degeneracy, if an indifference were now shown to the most palpable violation of one of the rights thus declared and secured, and to the establishment of a precedent which may be fatal to the other." (16)

In connection with the above, it seems pertinent to quote from the "dissent with opinion" of Justice Holmes in the case of *Abrams vs. U.S.*, 1919: "I wholly disagree with the argument of the Government that the First Amendment left the common law as to seditious libel in force. History seems to me against the notion. I had conceived that the United States through many years had shown its repentance for the Sedition Act of 1798, by repaying fines that it imposed. Only the emergency that makes it immediately dangerous to leave the correction of evil counsels to time warrants making any exception to the sweeping command, 'Congress shall make no law ... abridging the freedom of speech.' Of course I am speaking only of expressions of opinion and exhortations, which were all that were uttered here, but I regret that I cannot put into more impressive words my belief that in their conviction upon this indictment the defendants were deprived of their rights under the Constitution of the United States." (30)

Zechariah Chafee, Jr., has stated: "We should all be glad to have a law, 'Bad men shall be imprisoned,' if it would work, but we know that it would not. A law against 'passion and malevolence' is just as bad... No one has yet invented a gun which will kill a wolf in sheep's clothing and will not hit a sheep." (28) (My emphasis - Ed.)

The Indians of the Americas, in order to develop the corn that has become a mainstay of the world's food supply, cross-bred a somewhat cultivated with a "natural" grass, according to researchers, bringing together parent stocks previously separated by hundreds and probably many thousands of miles. Later, the white man came and bred the stock "true" and now we have many strains of corn that are variously sweet or grainy, cold-resistant, damp-resistant, long on ears and short on silage, etc. etc. It seems to us that the men who planted the seeds of freedom in our Republic had also in mind the need to develop a healthy, a true strain, for a new time and a new land. They warned against blight and insect pests, against the scourge of carrion crows that would swoop on the seed, with each perennial growth, before it had sprouted. And because of this concern, and knowing each generation finds freedom for itself, they told us in many ways to guard against an assault of our principles and to fortify us (for the fight would always be up to us, not to laws) they added to our rich heritage a bill of rights - at once a strength of seedtime and a promise of harvest. Jefferson, Paine, Lincoln -- how many men in how many places -- have told us to guard the intrinsic worth of these rights? Long before our Revolution, in 1731, Benjamin Franklin

wrote in an "Apology for Printers": "When men differ in opinion, both sides ought equally to have the advantage of being heard by the public; and when truth and error have fair play, the former is always an overmatch for the latter." (28)



WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

In the dark period before Trenton, when to bolster troops and populace Thomas Paine wrote his famous pamphlet beginning, "These are the times that try men's souls," he said of George Washington: "There is a natural firmness in some minds that cannot be unlocked by trifles. I reckon it among public blessings that God hath... given (General Washington) a mind that can flourish upon care." (21)

"The truth is, that the federalists, pretending to be the exclusive friends of General Washington, have ever done what they could to sink his character, by hanging theirs on it, and by representing as the enemy of republicans him, who of all men, is best entitled to the appellation of the father of that republic which they are endeavoring to subvert, and the republicans to maintain... General Washington was himself sincerely a friend to the republican principles of our constitution." - Thomas Jefferson, June 29, 1824, in a letter to our 8th president, Martin Van Buren. (7)

"Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge." - George Washington, September 17, 1796. (12)

At the Constitutional Convention its president, General Washington, occupied the chair decorated with the rising sun motif. Two years following that historic event he became our first president, serving during a period when turbulence at home assumed less violent forms than it had previously, though it continued unabated for all of that, and, meanwhile, the world outside the United States cultivated an international turbulence, whipping up more than its usual supply of whirlwinds. Would the boy from the backwoods pitch in with the battle-scarred bullies of the block, arbitrarily taking sides? Washington thought not. We were a young resourceful country and resourcefulness and energy, not a negative isolationism, were what Washington advised. The Farewell Address teaches by precept and example, not by applied directives to remote situations; in other words, it is not recommended as a bromide for today's headaches. Needless to say, the politically unscrupulous will continue to quote Washington out of context knowing that most of us have only a hazy knowledge of the world of 1796, much as Jefferson's ideas are distorted into the narrow view of the most opportunistic state's righter who ever snapped his suspenders in the U.S. Senate. (cf. Douglas p. 82 (15).)

An impressive portrait of George Washington emerges from the letters of Jefferson, neither the two-dimensional hero of so many history books nor the pomp, pageantry and phlegmaticism of the debunkers -- even to the physical description which brings to mind Houdon's great sculpture of Washington in Union Square, New York City: "His person, you know, was fine, his stature exactly what one would wish, his deportment easy, erect and noble; the best horseman of his age, and the most graceful figure that could be seen on horseback."

"Perhaps the strongest feature in his character was prudence, never acting until every circumstance, every consideration, was maturely weighed. . . His integrity was most pure, his justice the most inflexible I have ever known, no motives of interest or consanguinity, of friendship or hatred, being able to bias his decision. He was, indeed, in every sense of the word, a wise, a good, and a great man. His temper was naturally high toned; but reflection and resolution had obtained a firm and habitual ascendancy over it. If, however, it broke its bonds, he was most tremendous in his wrath." - Jefferson, letter to Virginia Congressman, Dr. Walter Jones, January 2, 1814. (7)

The consensus of historians consulted, but by no means a unanimous conclusion, is that while Washington asked advice and assistance of John Jay, James Madison and Alexander Hamilton, the Farewell Address was not only written by his hand but was in fact his creation. In the literary sense this may not have been wholly true but in the sense of a projection of ideas, of thoughts, there is ample proof that major points represented the culmination of continuous preoccupation. The third term as an issue seems not to have been within the scope of his remarks. "He had accepted reelection in 1792 only on the urgent solicitation of both Hamilton and Jefferson, who had told him that he alone could save the new fabric of government." (20) As military leader he had been spared much of the bickering, battering and buffeting about accruing to the presidency; he has been described as hurt and bewildered by it. In this light, his pre-election speech of 1796 informed his partisans of his decision, conveyed his affection and his thoughts on the state of the nation of that day and age, to the American people.

On September 1, 1796, Washington wrote to Alexander Hamilton announcing his intentions of broadening the scope of the projected paper, particularly with respect to education, noting that this was no new idea but that he had expressed himself previously, specifically in appeals to the Congress. The crisis in education makes all the more pertinent Washington's recognition of the significance it could and should play in a democracy -- in 1955 teachers are notoriously underpaid, school



facilities in many instances below standard, and the number of graduates in the science field, important in the technological world of today, is alarmingly low. When it comes to budget-approval-time, Education still

appears to be the poor relation. We cannot blame the Congress since the Congress expresses us... we must, in the last analysis, blame ourselves, being grown men and women and having the suffrage. Here, indeed, is an aspect of Washington's Farewell Address which has a direct bearing on the United States of 1855 or, for that matter of any other year, yet is insufficiently emphasized.

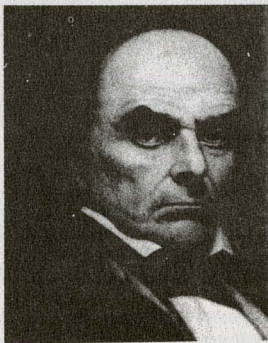
"I have regretted that another subject," wrote Washington to Hamilton on September 1, 1796, "(which in my estimation is of interesting concern to the well-being of this country) was not touched upon also. I mean education generally as one of the surest means of enlightening and giving just ways of thinking to our citizens. . . . But that which would render it of the highest importance, in my opinion, is that the juvenile period of life, when friendships are formed and habits established that will stick by one, the youth, or young men, from different parts of the United States would be assembled together and would by degrees discover that there was not that cause for those jealousies and prejudices which one part of the Union had imbibed against another part; of course, sentiments of more liberality in the general policy of the country would result from it. . . . Let me pray you, therefore, to introduce a section in the address expressive of these sentiments and recommendatory of the measure, without any mention, however, of my proposed personal contribution to the plan." (16)

"In 1796," observes Francis Bellamy (19) "few people could read it (the Address) without remembering the deeds and patriotism of the man who wrote it and realizing that he was saying farewell to them forever."

"On the day of Adams' inauguration, we are told, there were few eyes for the little New England lawyer. Instead, all were turned on the tall figure of the outgoing president, in black velvet with a light sword slung at his side and a smile on his face as he watched Adams take the oath.

"'A solemn scene it was,' wrote Adams to his wife, 'and it was made more affecting to me by the presence of the General, whose countenance was as serene and unclouded as the day. He seemed to me to enjoy a triumph over me. Methought I heard him say, Ay! I am fairly out and you fairly in! See which of us will be the happiest!'"

"When the ex-president went to Adams' residence to pay his respects, 'the people followed, '(an immense company going as one man in total silence, his escort all the way. At Adams' house Washington turned upon the threshold and looked down on them. 'No man ever saw him so moved. The tears rolled unchecked down his cheeks. 'And when he went inside at last, a great smothered common voice went through the throng, as if they sobbed to see their hero go from their sight forever.'" (19)



Chicago Historical Society

DANIEL WEBSTER

WEBSTER SPEAKS FOR THE PEOPLE

"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution of the United States."

-The Constitution of the United States of America.

"I am rather an old man to avail myself of such an excuse as I am now about to do. . . I did not understand when I was brought into this room that I was to be brought here to make a speech. It was not intimated to me that I was brought into the room where Daniel Webster and Henry Clay had made speeches, and where, one in my position might be expected to do something like those men or say something worthy of myself or my audience." - Abraham Lincoln, New York City, February 19, 1861 (22)

Daniel Webster lived more lives than a cat and there is some excuse to accept with bland incredulity Stephen Vincent Benet's inspired invention, "The Devil and Daniel Webster". This man with the noble brow and the magic voice was sponsored by New England commercial interests, often spoke from his heart for the people and for the Union, was beset by personal ambition and, finally, in the Compromise of 1850, took a stand that alienated him from large groups of his fellow New Englanders. This complicated situation is described in Chapter XVI of "America's Silver Age" (23) This embittered the Abolitionists, inspired such lines as Whittier's "When faith is lost, when honor dies, The man is dead. . ." and Emerson's (24) "Why did all manly gifts in Webster fail? He wrote on Nature's grandest brow, For Sale."

Yet Gerald W. Johnson (23) found his 7th of March, 1850, speech "absolutely consistent with his stand throughout his whole career," and, in effect, a defence of the Union.

"Webster," Johnson observes in an earlier chapter, dealing with the period of "The Great Debate," "had two qualities which neither of his great rivals (Clay and Calhoun) possessed, and these two enabled him to hold his own, and more than hold his own, against them. One was a really superb ear. Few Americans have appreciated

as keenly as he did the sound of the English language; few have known half as well how to take advantage of its rhythms, its stresses, its tonic accent. A speech of Webster's was a musical experience; and intelligent men when they analyzed it after hearing it and found that it really meant something, tended to ascribe to it, in their astonishment, a much greater profundity than it really possessed." (23)

On December 29, 1829, Senator Foote of Connecticut "introduced a resolution in the Senate for the restriction of the sale of public land. Benton (Senator Thomas Hart Benton) instantly construed the resolution as a blow at the prosperity of the west, as an attempt to prevent the eastern workingman from escaping from his hard conditions of life by taking up public land.

"Here was an opportunity to further the State-rights theory while making capital out of eastern hostility toward the west. The resolution was attacked as an instance of what might be expected if it were admitted that a sectional majority had a right to control the central government. Calhoun, being president of the Senate, did not take part in the controversy that ensued, that is often spoken of as 'the great debate'. His place as the argumentative leader of the State-rights forces was taken by Hayne. The national view was supported by Webster. . .

"Politically, the Great Debate deserves all the importance generally attributed to it. The long contention over Constitutional theory, involved as it was in such a complicated clash of interests, was fast producing a crisis. . .

"Webster, in the Great Debate, displayed his unsurpassed power for focussing an issue on some one point. He called the imagination into play and drew a picture of the clash of political ideals that is one of the triumphs of American literature. For the moment, questions of policy, of mere legality, seemed to disappear from the controversy. He emotionalized the issue, asserted the sovereignty of the nation as the only sovereignty, and described the opposition to it as the advancing shadow of Civil War. Foote's resolution was forgotten--no action on it was ever taken -- and the country held its breath, conscious that a great artist in words had clothed a terrible issue with the power to shake men's hearts." (21)



"I hold it to be a popular government, erected by the people; those who administer it responsible to the people; and itself capable of being amended and modified, just as the people may choose it should be. It is as popular, just as truly emanating from the people, as the state governments. It is created for one purpose; the state governments for another. It has its own ways; they have theirs..."

The people, then, sir, erected this government. They've it a Constitution, and in that Constitution they have enumerated the powers which they bestow on it. They've made it a limited government. They have defined authority. They have restrained it to the exercise such powers as are granted; and all others, they declare, are reserved to the states or the people." (5) Webster in "The Great Debate"

his speeches of both Hayne and Webster, along with background and biographical data, are conveniently esible in "The Great Debate," in Houghton's Riverside Literature Series. (25)

JOHN BROWN

"But his soul goes marching on..." -John Brown's Body (folk song)

"John Brown was hanged at Charlestown, Virginia, on December 2, 1859," writes Justice William O. Douglas. "He was convicted by a jury in a Virginia court of treason, of conspiring with slaves to rebel, and of murder. This gray-haired man of fifty-nine, whom Walt Whitman describes in *Year of Meteors*, headed a band of seventeen whites and five Negroes which seized a Federal armory at Harper's Ferry. (Both Harper's Ferry and Charlestown are now in West Virginia. Ed.) The plan apparently was to make the rugged Blue Ridge Mountains a base for guerilla operations, to raid villages, release slaves, arm them and drill them, and use them for ever widening forages. The purpose was to frighten slave owners into emancipation of their slaves.

"The raiders did not leave Harper's Ferry but holed up in the enginehouse with hostages they had seized. Two days later the marines, under Robert E. Lee, overpowered them. Five men had been killed by the raiders in the fracas. All but four of the raiders were shot in battle or hanged later.

"Brown, when seized, talked freely about his own participation in the raid. 'I will answer anything I can with honor but not about others.' He took the whole blame. He was rendering, he said, 'the greatest service a man can render to God.' He added, 'I pity the poor in bondage that have none to help them.'

"After the verdict he expressed satisfaction with the trial. 'I believe that to have interfered as I have done.



JOHN BROWN.

...in behalf of His despised poor is no wrong, but right Now if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life... and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments, I say let it be done.

"From the countryside came the folk song, 'John Brown's body lies a-moulderin' in the grave.'

"And years later came *John Brown's Body* by Stephen Vincent Benet, which recited the epic in immortal verse." - William O. Douglas (15)

John Brown, in his statement to the Court, disavowed charges brought against him, despite the evidence. He had intended, in his own words, "to have made a clean thing of that matter" and to have freed a certain number of slaves "without the snapping of a gun on either side," as he had in Missouri the previous winter. Those who single out John Brown as being uniquely a man of action are perpetuating a summation of his character limned for us by contemporaries unsympathetic to his ideals. Everyone connected with the Underground Railroad was, in the nature of his commitment, a man or woman of action. Harriet Tubman ("I never run my train off the track, and I never lost a passenger.") carried a loaded gun, as did John Brown. The latter had, not a plan requiring more courage -- when death is the stalker, courage ceases to be competitive -- but a more frantic, more openly daring plan of action. The gun exploded in his face.

Observed Chafee: "If a federal statute against the advocacy of force and violence had been enacted in the Abolition period, several distinguished citizens of Massachusetts would have been criminals. Wendell Phillips advocated opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law, and his statue is in the Public Gardens of Boston.

William Lloyd Garrison did so, and his statue is on Commonwealth Avenue. The Overseers of Harvard College dismissed a law teacher, Edward G. Loring, because he carried out his oath of office as United States Commissioner by enforcing that law, and for the same reason both houses of the Massachusetts legislature requested the Governor to remove him from a probate judgeship, and he was removed. Theodore Parker, George L. Stearns, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and Frank B. Sanborn contributed funds to send John Brown to Harper's Ferry to use force and violence." (28)

He continues: "These men believed that some bad laws are so powerfully supported that the only way to obtain their repeal is to violate them. They believed that no decent man could sit silent and inactive while the Fugitive Slave Law was enforced. Perhaps they were all of them wrong. Some of them were clearly liable as accessories to criminal acts. I insist that such acts must be punished, however noble the motive. But we cannot honor and praise these men for their courageous onslaughts on established evils, and at the same time pronounce it a heinous crime for any one today to urge the removal of wrongs by force." (28)

"Slave insurrections," said Lincoln in his Cooper Institute address of February 27, 1860, "are no more common now than they were before the Republican Party was organized. What induced the Southampton insurrection, twenty-eight years ago, in which at least three times as many lives were lost as at Harper's Ferry? You can scarcely stretch your very elastic fancy to the conclusion that Southampton was 'got up by Black Republicanism.'"

Lincoln contended that John Brown's effort was

"peculiar" and "not a slave insurrection... An enthusiast broods over the oppression of a people till he fancies himself commissioned by heaven to liberate them."

That John Brown was aware of the rumors that he was not merely fanatic but, in fact, not quite sane, is clear from a letter written while he was in prison. (This was found in "A Library of American Literature," edited by Stedman & Hutchinson, Benjamin, N.Y., 1888, in a private library; it is probably in biographies as well.) In this letter to the Hon. John H. Tilden, dated



November 28, 1859, Brown wrote: "The great bulk of mankind estimate each other's actions and motives by the measure of success or otherwise that attends them through life... I have enjoyed remarkable cheerfulness and composure of mind ever since my confinement; and it is a great comfort to feel assured that I am permitted to die for a cause; -- not merely to pay the debt of nature, as all must. I feel myself most unworthy of so great a distinction... My whole life before had not afforded me one half the opportunity to plead for the right... I may be very insane; and I am so, if insane at all."



Ralph Waldo Emerson, an ardent Abolitionist, had entertained John Brown at his home in Concord. On November 18, 1859, he spoke at a meeting in Boston, the purpose of which was to raise funds for John Brown's family and for the Abolitionist cause. Emerson sensed that John Brown's stature would not be measured by Harper's Ferry alone, that the man would become a symbol:

"He joins that perfect Puritan faith which brought his fifth ancestor to Plymouth Rock with his grandfather's

armor in the Revolution. He believes in two articles -- two instruments, shall I say? -- the Golden Rule and the Declaration of Independence; and he used this expression in conversation here concerning them, 'Better that a whole generation of men, women and children should pass away by a violent death than that one word of either should be violated in this country.' . . . The governor of Virginia has pronounced his eulogy in a manner that discredits the moderation of our timid parties . . . Indeed, it is the reductio ad absurdum of Slavery, when the governor of Virginia is forced to hang a man whom he declares to be a man of the most integrity, truthfulness and courage he has ever met. Is that the kind of man the gallows is built for?" (24)

In the way of balladeers, new John Brown verses were fitted to a popular camp-meeting hymn, "Say, Brother, Will You Meet Us?", known popularly as "Glory, Hallelujah," and when Col. Fletcher Webster's 12th Massachusetts Regiment marched off to the war it was to "John Brown's Body":

"John Brown's body lies a-moulderin' in the grave
But his soul goes marching on. . ."

(Several treatments of the events at Harper's Ferry, and their background, are available. One of the best known is Oswald Garrison Villard's "John Brown: A Biography of Fifty Years After" (Knopf. N. Y.).)

GETTYSBURG

"Gettysburg was to Lincoln a fact in crimson mist." - Carl Sandburg (27)

"I adhere to the Declaration of Independence. If Judge Douglas and his friends are not willing to stand by it, let them come up and amend it. Let them make it read that all men are created equal, except Negroes." - Abraham Lincoln, July 17, 1858, Springfield, Illinois. (22)

"... I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States, and parts of States, are, and henceforward shall be free; and that the Executive government of the United States; including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons." - Abraham Lincoln, Emancipation Proclamation, January 1, 1863. (15)

During the century that elapsed between the Declaration of Rights and the Stamp Act Congress, 1765 (16) and the ratification of the 13th Amendment (1865) there was, as we have seen in these speeches and documents and their backgrounds, an expansion and fruitful cultivation of the frontiers of democracy. In this process our statesmen, our law-makers, and others who have applied themselves to the common weal, have effected, and continue to effect, the principles expressed in the Declaration of Independence. The 14th Amendment was ratified in 1868, the 15th in 1870, the 19th in 1920, (the last being suffrage for women). That the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments should have, after an interval, succeeded the Emancipation Proclamation appears to us a logical course of events, yet a vital part of this road to the future, and a bridge between them, is the Gettysburg address.

Address delivered at the dedication of the Cemetery at Gettysburg.

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives, that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate -- we can not consecrate -- we can not hallow -- this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add

In the decade before Gettysburg a common bond of opposition to slavery fused the diverse elements of the newly created Republican party and was expressed, Jacobus tenBroek observes (13) "in a platform declaration full of the spirit of the antislavery movement and of the age. Its words were not the negatives of political reaction or the disintegrating separatism of states' rights. Its view was straight ahead, into the future with nationalism and manifest destiny. Positive national power, the dominance of humanity over property, the expansive tendencies and material enrichment of a society of free and equal men -- these were the motivating ideals and clear demand of the party." Elsewhere in the text, he added: "Carl Schurz, speaking in St. Louis on August 1, 1860, contended that the Republican party meant 'to adopt a policy which will work the peaceful and gradual extinction of slavery; for if we do not, we shall have to submit to a policy which will work the gradual extinction of liberty.'"

"The Fourteenth Amendment," notes Mr. tenBroek (13) "was not intended to apply the Bill of Rights to the states. The rights sought to be protected were men's natural rights, some of which are mentioned in the first eight amendments and some of which are not." The author describes, in Chapter III (ibid), the dominant role played by the Declaration of Independence in the steps preceding the writing of the 14th Amendment and quotes John Quincy Adams. Since this is pertinent to the enlargement of the scope of freedom, mentioned above, and, hence, to the words of Lincoln before and at Gettysburg, we include it here:

"The Declaration of Independence comprises and embodies the fundamental elements and principles of American constitutional law. The adoption of the Articles of Confederation first, and of the Constitution afterwards, are to be regarded with the light of 'exertion' for the adjustment and proper application of these great principles of Constitutional law. These principles, asserted in the original Declaration of 1776 when the nation came into existence . . . constitute the vital

or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us -- that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion -- that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain -- that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom -- and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Abraham Lincoln.

November 19, 1863.

essence, the pith, the marrow, and the substance of our constitutional law." - John Quincy Adams (6th President).

"Scarcely had the reverberations of the guns of the battle died away when the Honorable David Wills, a citizen of Gettysburg, wrote to the Honorable Andrew G. Curtin, the great war governor of Pennsylvania, suggesting that a plot of ground in the midst of the battlefield be at once purchased and set apart as a soldiers' national cemetery," wrote Clark E. Carr,



Illinois member of the cemetery commission. (26) There follow other excerpts from his account:

"The Honorable Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, was then regarded as the greatest living American orator, and it was decided to invite him to deliver the oration; and this was done. But he replied that it was wholly out of his power to make the necessary preparation by the twenty-third of October." As a consequence, the dedication was postponed to November 19, 1863.

"The proposition to ask Mr. Lincoln to speak at the Gettysburg ceremonies was an afterthought. The President of the United States had, like the other distinguished personages, been invited to be present, but Mr. Lincoln was not, at that time, invited to speak. . .

"It was finally decided to ask President Lincoln 'after the occasion' (that is to say, after Mr. Everett's oration) as Chief Executive of the nation, 'to set apart formally these grounds to their sacred use by a few appropriate remarks.' . . . but the invitation was not settled upon and sent to Mr. Lincoln until the second of November, more than six weeks after Mr. Everett had been invited to speak, and but a little more than two weeks before the exercises were held." (26)

To most of us, Edward Everett's fame rests upon his oratorical prowess. An oration on Washington, delivered one hundred and twenty-eight times, raised thousands of dollars for the purchase of Mount Vernon as a national monument. He was pastor of a Unitarian Church before he was twenty; a professor of Greek at Harvard; a member of the House of Representatives for five terms, Governor of Massachusetts for four terms; ambassador to England; President of Harvard; Secretary of State and, finally, United States Senator. (5)

Thaddeus Stevens, Republican floor leader and a Pennsylvania man who had practiced law in Gettysburg, favored Chase (Secretary of the Treasury) "as a more thorough going antislavery man for the next President of the United States." (Stevens was one of those who were later instrumental in writing the 14th Amendment into the Constitution.) "Dining with the painter Frank B. Carpenter, Chase confided that Lincoln at a meeting of his Cabinet members had told them of Thaddeus Stevens' being asked by someone where the President and Seward were going. 'To Gettysburg,' replied Stevens. 'But where are Stanton and Chase?' (Stanton, Sec. of War, Ed.) 'At home, at work; let the dead bury the dead.'" (27)

On the evening before the day of dedication serenaders sang "John Brown". Lincoln dined at the home of Judge Wills, where Governor Curtin and Edward Everett were fellow guests. On the following day between thirty and fifty thousand people were on Cemetery Hill "when the procession from Gettysburg arrived afoot and on horseback". Lincoln wore a black suit, high silk hat and white gloves, and rode "a young and beautiful chestnut horse, the largest in the Cumberland valley". The march was over in fifteen minutes and, Edward Everett not having arrived, the bands played until noon. At that time the United States chaplain, the Reverend Thomas H. Stockton, offered a prayer. Of the president, a reporter for the Cincinnati Daily Gazette remarked, "the falling tear declared the sincerity of his emotions." (27)

Introduced by Benjamin B. French, officer in charge of buildings in Washington, the Honorable Edward Everett rose and "bowed low to Lincoln, saying, 'Mr. President.' Lincoln responded, 'Mr. Everett.'"

"The orator of the day then stood in silence before a crowd that stretched to limits that would test his voice. Beyond and around were the wheat fields, the meadows, the peach orchards, long slopes of land, and five and seven miles farther the contemplative blue ridge of a low mountain range. His eyes could sweep them as he faced the audience. He had taken note of it in his prepared and rehearsed address. 'Overlooking these broad fields now reposing from the labors of the waning year. . . .' (27)

"He gave an outline of how the war began, traversed decisive features of the three days' battles at Gettysburg, discussed the doctrine of State sovereignty and denounced it, drew parallels from European history, and came to his peroration quoting Pericles on dead patriots: 'The whole earth is the sepulchre of illustrious men.' The men of nineteen sister states had stood side by side on the perilous ridges. 'Seminary Ridge, the Peach-Orchard, Cemetery, Culp, and Wolf Hill, Round

Top, Little Round Top, humble names, henceforward dear and famous, -- no lapse of time, no distance of space, shall cause you to be forgotten.' He had spoken for an hour and fifty-seven minutes, some said a trifle over two hours, repeating almost word for word an address that occupied nearly two newspaper pages, as he had written it and as it had gone in advance to many newspapers. (27)

"Everett came to his closing sentence without a faltering voice: 'Down to the latest period of recorded time, in the glorious annals of our common country there will be no brighter page than that which relates THE BATTLES OF GETTYSBURG.' It was the effort of his life and embodied the perfections of the school of oratory in which he had spent his career. His erect form and sturdy shoulders, his white hair and flung-back head at dramatic points, his voice, his poise, and chiefly some quality of inside goodheartedness, held most of his audience to him, though the people in the front rows had taken their seats three hours before his oration closed." (27)

"Having read Everett's address, Lincoln knew when the moment drew near for him to speak. He took out his own manuscript from a coat pocket, put on his steel-bowed glasses, stirred in his chair, looked over the manuscript and put it back in his pocket. The Baltimore Glee Club finished (an ode for the occasion). . . . Ward Hill Lamson rose and spoke the words 'The President of the United States,' who rose, and holding in one hand the two sheets of paper at which he occasionally glanced, delivered the address in his high-pitched and clear-carrying voice." (27) Wrote John Hay in his diary: ". . . Mr. Stockton made a prayer which though it was an oration; and Mr. Everett spoke as he always does, perfectly -- and the President, in a fine, free way, with more grace than is his wont, said his half dozen words of consecration, and the music wailed and we went home through crowded and cheering streets." (26)

"Ten sentences had been spoken in five minutes, and some were surprised that it should end before the orator had really begun to get his outdoor voice . . . A photographer had made ready to record a great historic moment, had hustled about with his dry plates, his black box on a tripod, and before he had his head under the hood for the exposure, the President had said, 'by the people, for the people,' and the nick of time was past for the photograph." (27)

"Everett's opinion of the speech he heard Lincoln deliver was written in a note to Lincoln the next day and was more than mere courtesy: 'I should be glad if I could flatter myself that I came as near to the central idea of the occasion in two hours as you did in two minutes.'" (27)

Since Lincoln's reply is usually given only in part we quote it here in full, from the 2-volume, Nicolay & Hay "Abraham Lincoln: Complete Works" (22): "My dear sir: Your kind note of today is received. In our respective parts yesterday, you could not have been excused to make a short address, nor I a long one. I am pleased to know, that, in your judgement, the little I did say was not entirely a failure. Of course I knew Mr. Everett would not fail, and yet, while the whole discourse was eminently satisfactory, and will be of great value, there were passages in it which transcended my expectations. The point made against the theory of the General Government being only an agency whose principals are the States, was new to me, and, I think, is one of the best arguments for national supremacy. The tribute to our noble women for their angel ministering to the suffering soldiers surpasses in its way, as do the subjects of it, whatever has gone before. Our sick

boy, for whom you kindly inquire, we hope is past the worst. Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln."

As with Jefferson's final and careful wording of the Declaration of Independence, Lincoln's final copy of the Gettysburg Address is a superb example of lucid and literary writing, as though he sensed that all great writing is metaphor. From "eighty odd years since," which he had employed in a speech after the battle of Gettysburg, to "Fourscore and seven years ago," is factual to effective prose. Perhaps thrown off base by its unequal reception, Lincoln is said to have remarked, "That speech won't scour. It is a flat failure and the people are disappointed." Sandburg reminds us that on the farms where Lincoln grew up, when wet soil stuck to the mold board of a plow they said it didn't "scour". Yet few historical statements, written or spoken, have cut such a clean furrow.

Carl Sandburg writes: "His cadences sang the ancient song that where there is freedom men have fought and sacrificed for it, and that freedom is worth men's dying for. For the first time since he became President he had on a dramatic occasion declaimed, howsoever it might be read, Jefferson's proposition which had been a slogan of the Revolutionary War -- 'All men are created equal' -- leaving no other inference than that he regarded the Negro slave as a man. His outwardly smooth sentences were inside of them gnarled and tough with the enigma of the American experiment." (27)

PATRICK HENRY

Mr. President. It is natural to men to indulge in the illusion of hope. We are apt to shut our eyes against a painful truth, and listen to the song of that siren until she transforms us into beasts. Is this the part of wise men engaged in a great and arduous struggle for liberty. Are we disposed to be of the number of those who, having eyes, . . . see not. And having ears, hear not. The things which so nearly concern their temporal salvation. For my part, for whatever anguish of spirit it may cost, I am willing to know the whole truth. To know the worst. And to provide for it. I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided. And that is the lamp of experience. I know of no way of judging of the future but by the past. And judging by the past, I wish to know what there has been in the conduct of the British ministry for the last ten years to justify those hopes with which gentlemen have been pleased to solace themselves in the house. Is it that insidious smile with which our petition has been lately received. Trust it not, sir, it will prove a snare to your feet. Suffer not yourself to be betrayed with a kiss. Ask yourself how this gracious reception of our petition comports with those war like preparations which cover our waters and darken our land. Are fleets and armies necessary to a work of love and reconciliation. Have we shown ourselves so unwilling to be reconciled that force must be called to win back our love. Let us not deceive ourselves, sir, these are the implements of war and subjugation, the last argument to which kings resort. I ask the gentleman, sir, what means this marshall array if its purpose be not to force us to submission. Can gentlemen assign any other possible motive for it. Has Great Britain any enemy in this quarter of the world to call for this accumulation of navies and armies. No sir, she has none. They are meant for us. They can be meant for no other. They are sent over to bind and rivet upon us those chains the British ministry has been so long forging. And what have we to oppose to this. Shall we try argument? Sir, we have been trying that for the last ten years. Have we anything new to offer upon the subject. Nothing. We have the subject up in every light of which it is capable, but it has been all in vain. Shall we resort to entreaty and humble supplication? What terms shall we find which have not been already exhausted? Let us not, I beseech you sir, deceive ourselves long-

er. Sir, we have done everything that could be done to avert the storm that is now coming on. We have petitioned, we have remonstrated, we have supplicated, we have prostrated ourselves before the throne, and have implored its interposition to arrest the tyrannical hands of the ministry and parliament. Our petitions have been slighted. Our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insults. Our supplications have been disregarded. And we have been spurned with contempt from the foot of the throne. In vain after these things may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation. There is no longer any room for hope if we wish to be free. If we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending, if we mean to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained. We must fight. I repeat it, sir, we must fight. An appeal to arms and to the God of Hosts, is all that is left us. It is in vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may try, peace, peace, but there is no peace. The war has actually begun. The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms. Our brethren are already in the field. Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains of slavery. Forbid it Almighty God, I know not what course others may take. But as for me, give me liberty, or give me death.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

WHEN in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.—Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world. . . .

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free People.

Nor have We been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by the Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and

the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

—THOMAS JEFFERSON, The Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776

THOMAS PAINE

These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will in this crises, shrink from the service of his country. But he that stands 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 cheap, we esteem too lightly. 'Tis dearness only that gives everything its value. Heaven knows how to put a proper price upon its goods. And it would be strange, indeed, if so celestial an article as freedom should not be highly rated. Britain, with an army to enforce her tyranny, has declared that she has a right not only to tax but 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 on earth. Even the expression is impious, for so unlimited a power can belong only to God. Whether the independence of the country was declared too soon, or delayed too long, I will not now enter into as an argument. My own simple opinion is that had it been eight months earlier it would have been much better. We did not make a proper use of last winter. Neither could we, while we were in a dependent state. However, the fault, if it were one, was all our own. We have none to blame but ourselves. But no great deal is lost yet. All that Howe has been doing for this month past is rather a ravage than a conquest, which the spirit of the Jerseys a year ago would have quickly repulsed, and which time and a little resolution will soon recover. 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 that wisdom could invent.

—BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, Speech before Federal Convention, September 17, 1787

THE engrossed Constitution being read [September 17, 1787], Dr. Franklin rose with a speech in his hand, which he had reduced to writing for his own convenience, and which Mr. Wilson read in the words following:

"Mr. President: I confess that there are several parts of this Constitution which I do not at present approve, but I am not sure I shall never approve them. For, having lived long, I have experienced many instances of being obliged, by better information or fuller consideration, to change opinions, even on important subjects, which I once thought right, but found to be otherwise. It is therefore that, the older I grow, the more apt I am to doubt my own judgment, and to pay more respect to the judgment of others. Most men, indeed, as well as most sects in religion, think themselves in possession of all truth, and that wherever others differ from them, it is so far error. Steele, a Protestant, in a dedication, tells the Pope, that the only difference between our churches, in their opinions of the certainty of their doctrines, is, 'the Church of Rome is infallible, and the Church of England is never in the wrong.' But though many private persons think almost as highly of their own infallibility as of that of their sect, few express it so naturally as a certain French lady, who, in a dispute with her sister, said, 'I don't know who it happens, sister, but I meet with nobody but myself that is always in the right—il n'y a que moi qui a toujours raison.'

"In these sentiments, sir, I agree to this Constitution, with all its faults, if they are such; because I think a general government necessary for us, and there is no form of government, but what may be a blessing to the people if well administered; and believe further, that this is likely to be well administered for a course of years, and can only end in despotism, as other forms have done before it, when the people shall become so corrupted as to need despotic government, being incapable of any other. I doubt, too, whether any other convention we can obtain may be able to make a better constitution. For, when you assemble a number of men to have the advantage of their joint wisdom, you inevitably assemble with those men all their prejudices, their passions, their errors of opinion, their local interests, and their selfish views. From such an assembly can a perfect production be expected? It therefore astonishes me, sir, to find this system approaching so near to perfection as it does; and I think it will astonish our enemies, who are waiting with confidence to hear

that our councils are confounded, like those of the builders of Babel, and that our States are on the point of separation, only to meet hereafter for the purpose of cutting one another's throats. Thus I consent, sir, to this Constitution, because I expect no better, and because I am not sure that it is not the best. The opinions I have had of its errors I sacrifice to the public good. I have never whispered a syllable of them abroad. Within these walls they were born, and here they shall die. If every one of us, in returning to our constituents, were to report the objections he has had to it, and endeavor to gain partisans in support of them, we might prevent its being generally received, and thereby lose all the salutary effects and great advantages resulting naturally in our favor among foreign nations, as well as among ourselves, from our real or apparent unanimity. Much of the strength and efficiency of any government, in procuring and securing happiness to the people, depends on opinion—on the general opinion of the goodness of the government, as well as of the wisdom and integrity of its governors. I hope, therefore, that for our own sakes, as a part of the people, and for the sake of posterity, we shall act heartily and unanimously in recommending this Constitution (if approved by Congress and confirmed by the conventions) wherever our influence may extend, and turn our future thoughts and endeavors to the means of having it well administered.

"On the whole, sir, I cannot help expressing a wish that every member of the Convention, who may still have objections to it, would with me, on this occasion, doubt a little of his own infallibility, and, to make manifest our unanimity, put his name to this instrument." He then moved that the Constitution be signed by the members, and offered the following as a convenient form, viz: "Done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present, the 17th of September, etc. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names." . . .

Whilst the last members were signing, Dr. Franklin, looking towards the president's chair, at the back of which a rising sun happened to be painted, observed to a few members near him, that painters had found it difficult to distinguish, in their art, a rising from a setting sun. "I have," said he, "often and often, in the course of the session, and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that behind the president, without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; but now, at length, I have the happiness to know that it is a rising, and not a setting sun."

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

(Amendments I to X inclusive, popularly known as the Bill of Rights, were proposed and sent to the states by the first session of the First Congress. They became effective Dec. 15, 1791.)

ARTICLE I

Freedom of religion, speech, of the press, and right of petition.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II

Right of people to bear arms not to be infringed.—A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III

Quartering of troops.—No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV

Persons and houses to be secure from unreasonable searches and seizures.—The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V

Trials for crimes: just compensation for private property taken for public use.—No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or

naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI

Civil rights in trials for crimes enumerated.—In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII

Civil rights in civil suits.—In Suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII

Excessive bail, fines and punishments prohibited.—Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX

Reserved rights of people.—The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X

Powers not delegated, reserved to states and people respectively.—The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

FAREWELL ADDRESS of PRESIDENT WASHINGTON

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Friends, and Fellow-citizens,

The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the Executive Government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop; but a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to you for your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people.

The unity of government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you.

This Government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its powers, uniting security with energy and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the People to make and to alter their constitutions of government: but, the constitution, which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit, an authentic act of the whole People, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the People to establish Government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking, in a free country, should inspire caution in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding, in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism.

'Tis substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who, that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations: cultivate peace and harmony with all.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connexion as possible. So far we have already formed engagements, let them to be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites, and enables us, to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance, when we may take such an attitude as well cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own, to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice?

DANIEL WEBSTER

Mr. President. I shall enter on no encomium on Massachusetts. She needs none. There she is. Behold her and judge for yourselves. There is her history. The world knows it by heart. The past, at least, is secure. There is Boston, and Concord, and Lexington,

and Bunker Hill, AND THERE they will remain forever. The bones of her sons falling in the great struggle for independence now lie mingled with the soil of every state from New England to Georgia. And there they will lie forever. And sir, where American liberty raised its first voice, and where its youth was nurtured and sustained, there it still lives in the strength of its manhood and full of its original spirit. If discord and disunion shall wound it, if party strife and blind ambition shall hawk at it and tear it, if folly and madness, if uneasiness under salutary and necessary restraint shall succeed in separating it from that union by which alone its existence is made sure, it will stand in the end by the side of that cradle in which its infancy was rocked. It will stretch forth its arm with whatever a vigor it may still retain over the friends who gather round it. And it will fall at last, if fall it must, amidst the proudest monuments of its own glory on the very spot of its origins. If anything be found in the national constitution either by original provision or subsequent interpretation, which ought not to be in it, the people know how to get rid of it. If any construction be established unexceptionable to them so as to become practically a part of the constitution, they will amend it at their own sovereign pleasure. But while the people choose to maintain it as it is, while they are satisfied with it, and refuse to change it, who has given, or who can give to the state legislature a right to alter it, either by interference, construction, or otherwise. Gentlemen do not seem to recollect that the people have any power to do anything for themselves. They imagine that there is no safety for them any longer, than they are under the close guardianship of the state legislature. Sir, the people have not trusted their safety in regard to the general constitution to these hands. They have required other securities, and taken other bonds. They have chose to trust themselves first to the plain words of the instrument, and to such construction as the government itself in doubtful cases, should put on its own powers on their oaths of office, and subject to their responsibility to them. Just as the people of a state trust their own state governments with a similar power. Secondly, they have reposed their trust in the efficacy of frequent elections, and in their own power to remove their own servants and agents whenever they see cause. Thirdly, they have reposed trust in the judicial power, which in order that it might be trustworthy, they have made as respectable, as disinterested, and as independent as practicable. Fourthly, they have seen fit to rely in case of necessity or high expediency, on their known and admitted power to alter or amend the constitution, peaceably and quietly, whenever experience shall point out defects or imperfections. And finally, the people of the United States have at no time, in no way, directly or indirectly, authorized any state legislature to construe or interpret their high instrument of government, much less to interfere by their own power, to arrest its course and operation. If, sir, the people in these respects had done otherwise than they have done, their constitution could neither have been preserved, or would it have been worth preserving. And if its plain provisions shall now be disregarded, and these new doctrines interpolated in it, it will become as feeble and helpless a being as its enemies, whether early or more recent, could possibly desire. It will exist in every state, but as a poor dependent on state permission. It must borrow leave to be, and it will be no longer than state pleasure or state discretion sees fit to grant the indulgence and to prolong its poor existence. But sir, although there are fears, there are hopes also. The people have preserved this, their own chosen constitution, for forty years, and have seen their happiness, prosperity, and renown grow with its growth and strengthen with its strength. They are now generally strongly attached to it. Overthrown by direct assault it cannot be. Evaded, undermined, nullified, it will not be, if we and those who shall succeed us here as agents and representatives of the people, shall conscientiously and vigilantly, discharge the two great branches of our public trust, faithfully to preserve, and wisely to administer it.

Mr. President. I have thus stated the reasons of my dissent to the doctrines which have been advanced and maintained. I am conscious of having detained you and the Senate much too long. I was drawn into the debate with no previous deliberation such as is suited to the discussion of so grave and important a subject. But it is a subject of which my heart is full. And I have not been willing to suppress the utterance of its spontaneous sentiments. I cannot, even now, persuade myself to relinquish it without expressing once more my deep conviction that since it respects nothing less than the union of the states, it is of most vital and essential importance to the public happiness. I profess, sir, in my career hitherto, to have kept steadily in view the prosperity and honor of the whole country, and the preservation of our federal union. It is to that union we owe our safety at home and our consideration and dignity abroad. It is to that union that we are chiefly indebted for whatever makes us most proud of our country. That union we reached only by the discipline of our virtues in the severe school of adversity. It has its origins in the necessities of disordered finance, prostrate commerce, and ruined credit. Under its benign influence these great interests immediately awoke as from the dead, and sprang forth with newness of life. Every year of its duration has teemed with fresh fruits of its fertilities, and its blessings. And although, our territory has stretched out wider and wider and our population spread further and further, they have not outrun its protection or its benefits. It has been to us all a copious fountain of national, social, and personal happiness. I have not allowed myself, sir, to look beyond the union to see what might lie hidden in the dark recess behind. I have not coolly weighed the chances of preserving liberty when the bonds that unite us together shall be broken asunder. I have not accustomed myself to hang over the precipice of disunion to see whether with my short sight I can fathom the depths of the abyss below. Nor could I regard him as a safe counselor in the affairs of this government, whose thoughts should be mainly bent on considering not how the union shall be best preserved, but how tolerable might be the condition of the people when it shall be broken up and destroyed. While the union lasts we have high, exciting, gratifying prospects spread out before us, for us and our children. Beyond that, I seek not to penetrate the veil. God grant that in my day, at least, that curtain may not rise. God grant that on my vision never may be opened what lies behind. When my eyes shall be turned to behold for the last time the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious union. On states dissevered, discordant, belligerent, on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched it may be in fraternal blood. Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original lustre, not a stripe erased or polluted, not a single star obscured, bearing for its motto no such miserable interrogatory, as, what is this all worth? Nor those other words of delusion and folly, liberty first and union afterwards. But everywhere spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds as they float over the scene over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment dear to every true American heart, "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

JOHN BROWN

"I have, may it please the Court, a few words to say. In the first place, I deny everything but what I have all along admitted, of a design on my part to free slaves. I intended certainly to have made a clean thing of that matter, as I did last winter when I went into Missouri and there took slaves without the snapping of a gun on either side, moving them through the country, and finally leaving them in Canada. I designed to have done the same thing again on a larger scale. That was all I intended to do. I never did intend murder or treason, or the destruction of property, or to excite or incite the slaves to rebellion or to make insurrection. I have another objection, and that is that it is unjust that I should suffer such a penalty. Had I interfered in the manner which

I admit, and which I admit has been fairly proved-for I admire the truthfulness and candor of the greater portion of the witnesses who have testified in this case--had I so interfered in behalf of the rich, the powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great, or in behalf of any of their friends, either father, mother, brother, sister, wife, or children, or any of that class, and suffered and sacrificed what I have in this interference, it would have been all right, and every man in this Court would have deemed it an act worthy of reward rather than punishment. This court acknowledges, too, as I suppose, the validity of the law of God. I see a book kissed, which I suppose to be the Bible, or at least the New Testament, which teaches me that all things whatsoever I would that men should do to me, I should do even so to them. It teaches me further to remember them that are in bonds as bound with them. I endeavored to act up to that instruction. I say I am yet too young to understand that God is any respecter of persons. I believe that to have interfered as I have done, as I have always freely admitted I have done in behalf of His despised poor, is no wrong, but right. Now, if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments, I say let it be done. Let me say one word further. I feel entirely satisfied with the treatment I have received on my trail. Considering all the circumstances, it has been more generous than I expected, but I feel no consciousness of guilt. I have stated from the first what was my intention and what was not. I never had any design against the liberty of any person, nor any disposition to commit treason or excite slaves to rebel or make any general insurrection. I never encouraged any man to do so, but always discouraged any idea of that kind. Let me also say in regard to the statements made by some of those who were connected with me, I fear it has been stated by some of them that I have induced them to join me, but the contrary is true. I do not say this to injure them, but as regretting their weakness. Not one but joined me of his own accord, and the greater part at their own expense. A number of them I never saw, and never had a word of conversation with till the day they came to me, and that was for the purpose I have stated.

EDWARD EVERETT

Standing beneath this searing sky, overlooking these broad fields now reposing from the labors of the waning years, the mighty Alleghenies dimly towering before us, the graves of our brethren beneath our feet, it is with hesitation that I raise my poor voice to break the eloquent silence of God and nature. But the duty to which you have called me must be performed. Grant me, I pray you, your indulgence and your sympathy. And now friends, fellow citizens of Gettysburg and Pennsylvania, and you from remoter states, let me again as we part invoke your benediction upon these honored graves. You feel, though the occasion is mournful, that it is good to be here. You feel that it was greatly auspicious for the cause of the country, that the men of the East and the men of the West, the men of nineteen sister states stood side by side on the perilous ridges of the battle. You now feel it a new bond of union that they shall lie side by side until a clarion louder than that what marshalled them to the combat, shall awake their slumbers. God Bless the Union. It is dearer to us for the blood of brave men which has been shed in its defense. The spots on which they stood and fell, these pleasant heights, the thriving village beyond the ridge where the noble Reynolds held the advancing foe at bay, and while he gave up his own life, assured by his forethought and self-sacrifice the triumph of the two succeeding days. The little streams which wind through the hills, on whose banks in aftertimes the wandering plowmen will turn up the rude weapons of savage warfare, the fearful missiles of modern artillery. Seminary ridge, the peach orchard, cemetery, Cult, and Wolf hill, Round-top, little Round-top--humble name--hence forward dear and famous, no lapse

of time, no distance or space will cause you to be forgotten. The whole earth said Periclese as he stood

over the remains of his fellow citizens who had fallen in the first year of the Peloponnesian war, the whole earth is the sepulchre of illustrious men. All time, he might have added, is the millenium of their glory. Surely I would do no injustice to the other noble achievements of the war which have reflected such honor on both arms of the service, and have entitled the armies and the navies of the United States their officers and men, to the warmest thanks and richest rewards which a grateful people can pay. But they, I am sure, will join us in saying, as we bid farewell to the dust of these heroes, that wheresoever throughout the civilized world the accounts of this great warfare are read, and down to the latest period of recorded time in the glorious annals of our common country, there will be no brighter page than that which relates to the battle of Gettysburg.

THE GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

FOUR score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate—we can not consecrate—we can not hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we

take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

—Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, November 19, 1863

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A Note About This Recording:

When I listened to this recording my first impression, apart from the overwhelming one these documents and speeches make on one, was the rightness of delivery. Without descending to apish imitation of how Webster might have spoken, or how Franklin's words might have been read for him, the speaker conveys a sense of the oral environment of each statement. One hears familiar words again, through a welter of memories, and hears them in a manner suggestive of their original delivery.

I did not know Gettysburg until Carl Sandburg, in his writing, took me down the dusty road and up the rise to Cemetery Hill. But I knew Lincoln's words from an early grade in school. We had, every year, made the long march to the cemetery, behind the worker and fraternal groups, the Polish-American society, the stooped veterans of the G. A. R., the town's brass band. We carried small flags that we were careful not to let droop. We put flowers on the graves of men from those hills who had served in three wars. We threw flowers, for those who had died at sea, into the usually somnolent Naugatuck. Then we returned to the triangular spot of green before the Methodist Church where there stood a cannon and a bronze soldier. There a high school student wrestled with the nobility of the Gettysburg Address, like Jacob and the Angel at Peniel. We fidgeted despite the solemn poetry of the words. It was not the teaching of history, but the reading of Uncle Tom's Cabin, that made them meaningful to me. Harriet Beecher Stowe in the 20th Century, was still an ardent propagandist for freedom.

The Author....

Though best known as a critic-historian of jazz, Charles Edward Smith's interest in the American background has been a continuing one. He was an assistant editor and essayist in the compilation of the American Guide Series (Federal Writer's Project) and contributed to other books, including a history of North American music prepared in Uruguay under the auspices of the Pan-American Union. Editor, The Jazz Record Book; Co-Editor, Jazzmen; feature script writer and popular music advisor to OWI (Overseas Operations: Radio); author of numerous articles, many on folk music and jazz, for magazines, newspapers, record booklets. For Folkways, wrote booklets for Ohio Valley Ballads FP23/2; Jazz, Vol. I FP 53; 900 Miles FP 13, Brownie Mc Ghee Blues FP 30, Sounds of the Carnival FFX 126.

Each of the statements on this recording was intended to be read aloud, as a condition of its acceptance, or was, in fact, written as a speech. The spoken word conveys to us much more than does reading of the text, the music of language, the nuance and emotional impact of thought. Students of writing and speech will be cognizant of seemingly minor changes that occurred in the genesis of the Declaration and of the Gettysburg Address and that, in the metamorphic shift from factual to metaphoric language, charged the words with emotion. Differences in style of such orators as Patrick Henry, Daniel Webster and Edward Everett emerge in the spoken word, along with the shape of the ideas of each.

A word about research. With two or three exceptions, all of it was done at the St. Agnes Branch of the New York City Public Library, a branch library comparable to the facilities of a modest-sized community. In addition the long-play sets, tapes, and booklets, in the Americana series, listed 1-4 in the bibliography, helped immeasurably to set the scene. On Jefferson and Lincoln, I found two of my favorite biographers on the shelves, Schachner and Sandburg. On all subjects, the books or their equivalents, should be accessible. Sandburg's Lincoln is now available in a shorter edition. As to Jefferson, Schachner supplies ample notes and bibliography. Mr. Schachner combines objectivity with good prose and (in my opinion) gives us the man in his environment, his words in context and, what is most important, distinguishes between principles, which have a long-range validity, and practice, which is necessarily limited in duration and, consequently, in implications for future generations.

Charles Edward Smith

The Reader....

David Kurlan, a veteran of the legitimate stage and a long list of radio dramatic programs, was born in Baltimore, Maryland and educated at Johns Hopkins University and the Peabody Conservatory of Music. He started his career as a bass in De Wolfe Hopper's Gilbert and Sullivan troupe and made his Broadway debut in 1934. In addition to his many readings of literature for Phonotapes, Mr. Kurlan has written and narrated a number of children's recordings.

Typography by Louis Menashe

Production Director, Moses Asch

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