

of yourselves. The faltering tongue of hoary age calls on you to support your country. The lisping infant raises its suppliant hands imploring defence against the monster slavery. Your fathers look from their celestial seats with smiling approbation on their sons, who boldly stand forth in the cause of virtue; but sternly frown upon the inhuman miscreant who, to secure the loaves and fishes to himself, would breed a serpent to destroy his children.

You then, who have nobly espoused your country's cause, who generously have sacrificed wealth and ease; who have despised the pomp and show of tinselled greatness; refused the summons to the festive board; been deaf to the alluring calls of luxury and mirth; who have forsaken the downy pillow to keep your vigils by the midnight lamp for the salvation of your invaded country, that you might break the fowler's snare and disappoint the vulture of his prey — you then will reap that harvest of renown which you so justly have deserved. Your country shall pay her grateful tribute of applause. Even the children of your most inveterate enemies, ashamed to tell from whom they sprang, while they, in secret, curse their stupid, cruel parents, shall join the general voice of gratitude to those who broke the fetters which their fathers forged.

Having redeemed your country, and secured the blessing to future generations, who, fired by your example, shall emulate your virtues and learn from you the heavenly art of making millions happy; with heartfelt joy, with transports all your own, you cry, the glorious work is done; then drop the mantle to some young Elisha, and take your seats with kindred spirits in your native skies!

## THOMAS JEFFERSON



THOMAS JEFFERSON, great American statesman, drafter of the Declaration of Independence, and President of the United States (1801-09), was born at Shadwell, Albemarle Co., Va., April 2, 1743, and died at Monticello, July 4, 1826. After an education at William and Mary College, he studied law under Chancellor Wythe and began the practice of that profession. In 1769, he became a member of the House of Burgesses, and with the exception of some brief intervals served with distinction until the outbreak of the Revolution. In 1775, he entered the National Congress at Philadelphia, where, despite his culture and interesting personality, he figured not as a debater or orator, but as a writer of state papers, the most memorable of which was his draft of the Declaration of Independence. It is to be noted that, although singularly successful at the bar, Jefferson was no orator, and, notwithstanding the fact that he was one of the foremost members of several deliberative bodies in the course of his life, he may truthfully be said never to have made a political speech. It was as a thinker, organizer, and writer that he surpassed all of his contemporaries. Many of his writings, however, are admirably suited for declamation, and may therefore be fitly described as "orations." In 1774, he was chosen a delegate to the State Convention of Virginia, and was the author of the instructions sent by that body to its delegates in the Continental Congress. This document, published in a pamphlet, attracted great attention on both sides of the Atlantic, and placed Jefferson among the leaders, if not at the head, of the revolutionary movement in America. The Declaration of Independence put forth by the colonies two years later, was but a perfected transcript of Jefferson's earlier paper. Jefferson resigned his seat in the Continental Congress in 1776, and also declined the appointment to go with Franklin to Paris, in order to take the place in the legislature of Virginia to which he had been elected, because he considered that the future of his State depended upon a drastic transformation of its fundamental laws. Among the measures introduced in furtherance of his views may be specially mentioned the repeal of the laws of entail; the abolition of primogeniture and the substitution of equal partition of inheritance; the affirmation of the rights of conscience and the relief of the people from taxation for the support of a religion not theirs; and a system of general education. From 1779 to 1781 we find him returned to Virginia, where he served as governor in his native State, and in the year 1783 he reentered Congress to take part in the legislation of the period. It was at this time that Jefferson formulated what has become our system of coinage, drafted a proposal for the administration of the territory lying to the northwest of the Ohio River, and offered the suggestion to abolish slavery and involuntary servitude in all states of the Union "after the year 1800 of the Christian era" — a proposal that had it then gone into effect would have saved the country the dire calamity of the War of Secession. From 1784 to 1789 Jefferson resided in France, succeeding Franklin in 1785 as United States minister. In 1790, he

returned to this country and was appointed by General Washington, Secretary of State, which office he held until 1793. Politically adhering to his own views on State sovereignty, he became head and front of the Anti-Federalist party; but this attitude bringing him into collision with the centralization views of the President and several of his cabinet, Jefferson resigned office in December, 1793, and retired for a time to his estate at Monticello. Subsequently he accepted the Vice-presidency in John Adams's administration, and became himself President of the United States from 1801 to 1809. His two presidential administrations were not signally noteworthy, though by the first he secured to the country the vast territory of Louisiana. Refusing a third term, he was succeeded by his disciple Madison, in the presidency, and in his retirement at Monticello he interested himself in founding the University of Virginia, and in conducting his large correspondence with his old political allies and other notable public men and friends. Commenting on the literary merits of Jefferson, Prof. Carpenter wisely remarks that "in at least two important respects Jefferson is inferior to Franklin as a writer. Franklin possessed a style and has given us a classic. Nor is it at all clear that, judged from the point of view of mere readableness, Jefferson rises above or equals some of his contemporaries, such as Fisher Ames, or Alexander Hamilton, or his rival as a drafter of state papers, John Dickinson. Yet he was surely in one important respect a greater writer than any of these men, not even Franklin excepted. His was the most influential pen of his times upon his contemporaries, and it is to his writings that posterity turns with most interest whenever the purposes, the hopes, the fears of the great Revolutionary epoch become matters of study. If Franklin's writings reveal a personality, Jefferson's reveal, if the exaggeration may be pardoned, the aspirations and ideals of an age." Further, the writer from whom we have quoted thoughtfully remarks that "Jefferson is not a Burke, yet it is as true to say that he must be read by any one who would comprehend the origin and development of American political thought, as it is to say that Burke must be read by any similar student of British political thought." The following address, on "Democracy Defined," is from his first Inaugural.

#### DEMOCRACY DEFINED

FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS, DELIVERED MARCH 4, 1801

*Friends and Fellow-Citizens:*

**C**ALLED upon to undertake the duties of the first executive office of our country, I avail myself of the presence of that portion of my fellow-citizens which is here assembled, to express my grateful thanks for the favor with which they have been pleased to look toward me, to declare a sincere consciousness that the task is above my talents, and that I approach it with those anxious and awful presentiments which the greatness of the

charge and the weakness of my powers so justly inspire. A rising nation spread over a wide and fruitful land, traversing all the seas with the rich productions of their industry, engaged in commerce with nations who feel power and forget right, advancing rapidly to destinies beyond the reach of mortal eye; when I contemplate these transcendent objects, and see the honor, the happiness, and the hopes of this beloved country committed to the issue and the auspices of this day, I shrink from the contemplation, and humble myself before the magnitude of the undertaking. Utterly, indeed, should I despair, did not the presence of many whom I here see remind me that in the other high authorities provided by our Constitution I shall find resources of wisdom, of virtue, and of zeal on which to rely under all difficulties. To you, then, gentlemen, who are charged with the sovereign functions of legislation, and to those associated with you, I look with encouragement for that guidance and support which may enable us to steer with safety the vessel in which we are all embarked, amid the conflicting elements of a troubled world.

During the contest of opinion through which we have passed, the animation of discussions and of exertions has sometimes worn an aspect which might impose on strangers unused to think freely and to speak and to write what they think; but this being now decided by the voice of the nation, announced according to the rules of the Constitution, all will, of course, arrange themselves under the will of the law, and unite in common efforts for the common good. All, too, will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal law must

protect, and to violate would be oppression. Let us, then, fellow-citizens, unite with one heart and one mind; let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty, and even life itself, are but dreary things. And let us reflect, that, having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little, if we countenance a political intolerance as despotic, as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions. During the throes and convulsions of the ancient world, during the agonizing spasms of infuriated man, seeking through blood and slaughter his long-lost liberty, it was not wonderful that the agitation of the billows should reach even this distant and peaceful shore; that this should be more felt and feared by some and less by others; and should divide opinions as to measures of safety; but every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all Republicans: we are all Federalists. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union, or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated, where reason is left free to combat it. I know, indeed, that some honest men fear that a republican government cannot be strong; that this government is not strong enough. But would the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm, on the theoretic and visionary fear that this government, the world's best hope, may, by possibility, want energy to preserve itself? I trust not. I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest government on earth. I believe it the only one where every man, at the call of the law,

would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order as his own personal concern. Sometimes it is said that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he, then, be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels in the form of kings to govern him? Let history answer this question.

Let us, then, with courage and confidence, pursue our own federal and republican principles; our attachment to union and representative government. Kindly separated by nature and a wide ocean from the exterminating havoc of one quarter of the globe; too high-minded to endure the degradations of the others; possessing a chosen country, with room enough for our descendants to the hundredth and thousandth generation; entertaining a due sense of our equal right to the use of our own faculties, to the acquisitions of our own industry, to honor and confidence from our fellow-citizens, resulting not from birth, but from our actions and their sense of them; enlightened by a benign religion, professed, indeed, and practiced in various forms, yet all of them inculcating honesty, truth, temperance, gratitude, and the love of man, acknowledging and adoring an overruling Providence, which by all its dispensations, proves that it delights in the happiness of man here and his greater happiness hereafter; with all these blessings, what more is necessary to make us a happy and a prosperous people? Still one thing more, fellow-citizens—a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good

government; and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities.

About to enter, fellow-citizens, on the exercise of duties which comprehend everything dear and valuable to you, it is proper you should understand what I deem the essential principles of our government, and consequently those which ought to shape its administration. I will compress them within the narrowest compass they will bear, stating the general principle, but not all its limitations. Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none; the support of the State governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies; the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet-anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad; a jealous care of the right of election by the people; a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution, where peaceable remedies are unprovided; absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism; a well-disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened; the honest payment of our debts, and sacred preservation of the public faith; encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid; the diffusion of information and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of the public reason; freedom of religion, free-

dom of the press, and freedom of person, under the protection of the Habeas Corpus; and trial by juries impartially selected. These principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us, and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages and blood of our heroes have been devoted to their attainment; they should be the creed of our political faith: the text of civic instruction; the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; and should we wander from them in moments of error or of alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety.

I repair, then, fellow-citizens, to the post you have assigned me. With experience enough in subordinate offices to have seen the difficulties of this, the greatest of all, I have learned to expect that it will rarely fall to the lot of imperfect man to retire from this station with the reputation and the favor which bring him into it. Without pretensions to that high confidence you reposed in our first and greatest revolutionary character, whose pre-eminent services had entitled him to the first place in his country's love, and destined for him the fairest page in the volume of faithful history, I ask so much confidence only as may give firmness and effect to the legal administration of your affairs. I shall often go wrong through defect of judgment. When right, I shall often be thought wrong by those whose positions will not command a view of the whole ground. I ask your indulgence for my own errors, which will never be intentional; and your support against the errors of others, who may condemn what they would not, if seen in all its parts. The approbation implied by your suffrage is a great consolation to me for the past; and my future solicitude will be to retain

the good opinion of those who have bestowed it in advance, to conciliate that of others by doing them all the good in my power, and to be instrumental to the happiness and freedom of all.

Relying, then, on the patronage of your goodwill, I advance with obedience to the work, ready to retire from it whenever you become sensible how much better choices it is in your power to make. And may that Infinite Power which rules the destinies of the universe lead our councils to what is best, and give them a favorable issue for your peace and prosperity.

## JOSIAH QUINCY, JR.



JOSIAH QUINCY, JR., American lawyer and patriot, son of a Boston merchant, and grandson of Edmund Quincy (1681-1738), was born at Boston, Mass., Feb. 23, 1744, and died at sea, April 26, 1775. Educated at Harvard he soon afterwards attained distinction as a lawyer and took an active interest in the political occurrences of his time. After the Boston Massacre, he, with John Adams, defended the British soldiers at their trial for murder, a course which for a time injured his popularity, although his conduct was generally approved after the first excitement over the affair had subsided. This speech is here appended. In 1774, he published "Observations on the Act of Parliament commonly called the Boston Port Bill, with Thoughts on Civil Government and Standing Armies." This work shows much thought in its preparation, and its author manifested considerable courage in then issuing a publication which might have brought him condign punishment. In September of that year, he proceeded to England on a confidential mission on behalf of the patriotic party; and died of consumption on the return voyage, off Gloucester, Mass. He left one son, who achieved distinction as statesman, historian, and educator. Quincy earned a well-deserved reputation as an orator.

### SPEECH IN DEFENCE OF THE SOLDIERS

[Delivered at the trial of William Weems, James Hartigan, and others, soldiers in his Majesty's Twenty-Ninth Regiment, for the murder of Crispus Attucks, Samuel Gray, and others, on Monday evening, the 5th of March, 1770.]

**M**AY IT PLEASE YOUR HONORS, AND YOU GENTLEMEN OF THE JURY,—We have at length gone through the evidence in behalf of the prisoners. The witnesses have now placed before you that state of facts from which results our defence. The examination has been so lengthy that I am afraid some painful sensations arise when you find that you are now to sit and hear the remarks of counsel. But you should reflect that no more indulgence is shown to the prisoners now on trial than has