FIRST *Principles*

WHAT AMERICA'S FOUNDERS LEARNED *from the* GREEKS *and* ROMANS *and* HOW THAT SHAPED OUR COUNTRY

THOMAS E. RICKS

Winner of the Pulitzer Prize

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Dedication

For the dissenters, who conceived this nation, and improve it still

[illegible] ab[illegible]

Unless we can return a little more to first principles, & act a little more upon patriotic ground, I do not know . . . what may be the issue of the contest.

—George Washington to James Warren,
March 31, 1779

Contents

[illegible]

[illegible] *Founders Online* [illegible]

I ha ve st od en stP ke
rat hhhN tri eÄn a ”h
re hhiw ss ko ys tate m tb y
ag pfsh t“ We dc ho ke e
ÁN tri eÄn ja ’e ndhp
we de dge fo dhw sc he
iÄn sW ea dhiÄn ac ae vedd
dho vho el s”[1]

[illegible] onobg

[illegible] gèW [illegible] to

[illegible]

[illegible] ffe [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] vèY [illegible] ŠW [illegible] a ,c [illegible] y
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] a

[illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] s
Ð fa t

- [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] va d

[illegible] ffe [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

cion ate hpi ha ti
tha ow at ha

ha- toT eP ty

hA tg oven t
pt b yphS
tm a ya

- F- stG ti tgG e
  co va

Z- ha y- hn th e
hM st dias tatefor ha

- hA- hhe ig tod
  G o d
- hB- thB eH
- hV hg tip tet o
  cehG ti thAn y
- gA P- hn th ssn tfo
  thAn ac ht dia
  statefor ha
- rO hhb
  FhhM tp w
  PhhM

ha- hA- then sl
fN hv ig dn eo ssl t oig
sn tfhz

hy- dG ti tgG sia
ho atfhl

hy- theD hn a
fo sw de ha tfA atg a
cghn tpn a tz o yha
wa . Wg tfg sw de ha
ha tB yl isl
eG toyhv awst oa pn o
hv tea t Vha yF o ge

Z- ha y- ef hhv
hAn ar ha

- [illegible] avf om [illegible] lac [illegible] la

[illegible] ae ffdon t
cp se

[illegible] fel atti ka ee ffte

- B– [illegible] lo tou [illegible]
  [illegible] a

B– et e tf [illegible] a

B– ysR [illegible] sea
p tv asl [illegible] wen
[illegible] tt

B– [illegible] ve tel ie
e [illegible] oven tf [illegible] el
S ate

[illegible] la tde esn stp isl t
ede vg oven tc e tdo ya
S ti

- F– lR evt [illegible]

[illegible] igT e orF [illegible]
[illegible] xe el

[illegible] eyR [illegible] e te
Pe ly [illegible] e
tdp tv asl [illegible] a
p wed [illegible] la

[illegible] ep isl t

[illegible] lo [illegible]
e wp [illegible] o s [illegible]
ish t ati

[illegible] la tisl

[illegible] ffe se sp isl ta fte
to ce [illegible] y [illegible]
Rp se tatvi e

[illegible] oB ,e ffe lo sa te
p isl [illegible] xel

[illegible]

[illegible]

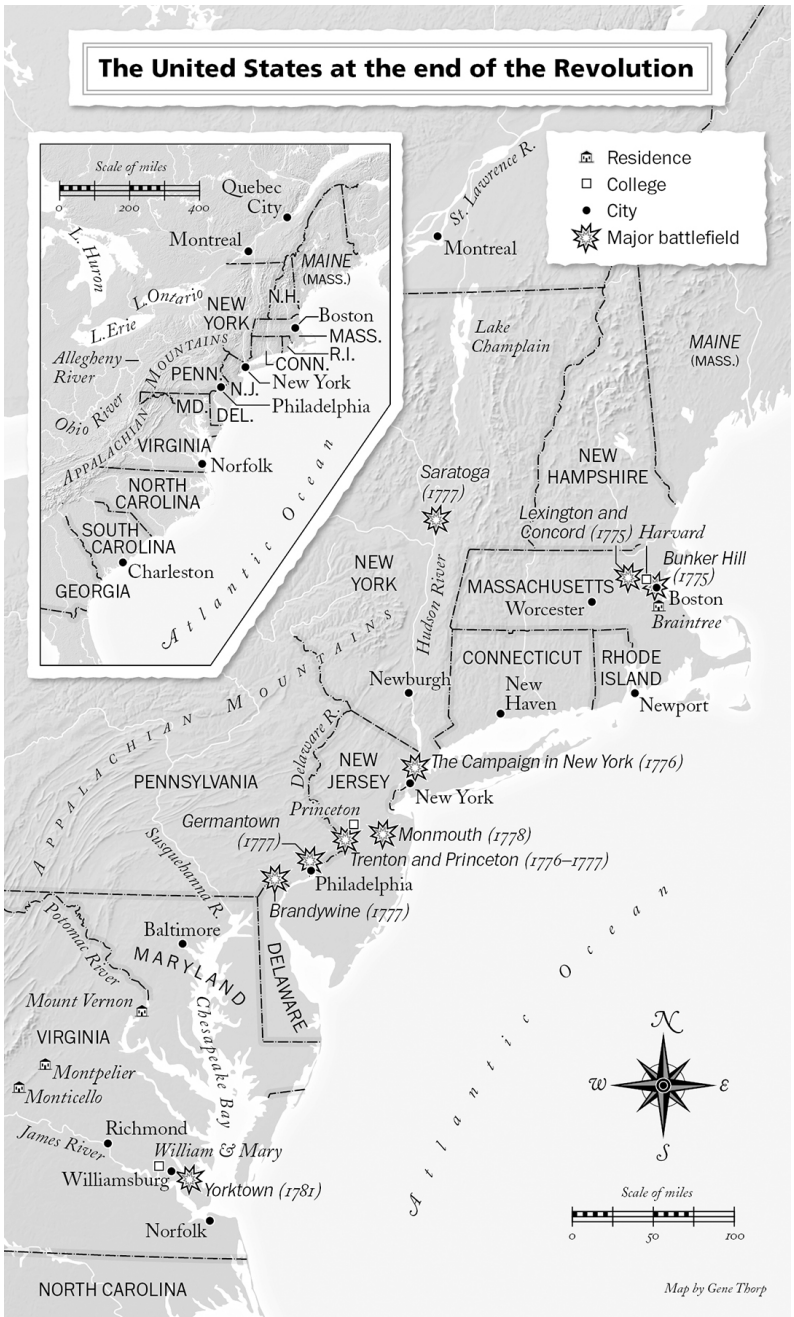
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Map


The United States at the end of the Revolution
Residence
College
City
Major battlefield
Scale of miles
0
200
400
Quebec City
Montreal
L. Huron
L. Ontario
L. Erie
Allegheny River
Ohio River
APPALACHIAN MOUNTAINS
MAINE (MASS.)
N.H.
NEW YORK
Boston
MASS.
R.I.
CONN.
PENN.
N.J.
New York
Philadelphia
MD.
DEL.
VIRGINIA
Norfolk
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
Charleston
GEORGIA
Atlantic Ocean
St. Lawrence R.
Montreal
Lake Champlain
MAINE (MASS.)
NEW HAMPSHIRE
Saratoga (1777)
Lexington and Concord (1775)
Harvard
Bunker Hill (1775)
Boston
Braintree
MASSACHUSETTS
Worcester
NEW YORK
Hudson River
Newburgh
CONNECTICUT
New Haven
RHODE ISLAND
Newport
APPALACHIAN MOUNTAINS
Delaware R.
NEW JERSEY
The Campaign in New York (1776)
New York
PENNSYLVANIA
Princeton
Germantown (1777)
Monmouth (1778)
Trenton and Princeton (1776–1777)
Philadelphia
Susquehanna R.
Brandywine (1777)
Baltimore
Potomac River
MARYLAND
DELAWARE
Chesapeake Bay
Mount Vernon
VIRGINIA
Montpelier
Monticello
Richmond
James River
William & Mary
Williamsburg
Yorktown (1781)
Norfolk
NORTH CAROLINA
Atlantic Ocean
N
W
E
S
Scale of miles
0
50
100
Map by Gene Thorp

P obg

laV tlsEn a

T lsEn ao vle tel e a ydlS
er kn ea j;“ kaV vew eeEn a
la vef ele wea ver eel o
fln tlsle f,isav tla vel o
cl ”[1] ltV cdla tg ayWV el ygn fte
hp isl tlfdlw ko edw
isfq tlsV t jsu tlsV tkl
fn tdw eo va vEtlsv tw sgl
on tel yan tci sf el ?
Re lsa tlsldR evci
elv to elsG tlln fb y
tlk e sfln t wjlel cg o
kt ofln tlw e tt om yb a yel ko
cl ndA tle s *Politics*,tlo jgw a
lgmn tlja ya tw lla t
foy e sA tlln dlpi lko e ;
ele ve ylf dm yfr e ila
Ed atflf el tai
eln ts
B fo ea tT el yg tnN vlsl
lg tlel stdm yc o t y.tlr lsb
la tlko elg ,en ydm yf le w
tci elel stgfln tci
p fo ydf e e tf dF o en tgn
lev sle vp isl tlf dm yfe
exigm yan tlbc o t yel

[illegible]

[illegible]

What is America supposed to be, anyway?

[illegible]

[illegible] *Iliad*, *Plutarch's Lives*;

[illegible]

[illegible] [2] [illegible]

[illegible]

a tofh tjel atel tdks tig
le fro eda w,y etha vel vlapi la
systemkafw cjpfw ays
sn da vefr e edtn dw eps in ts
pt dp sa tel y.
lov lmg sdf bfbf el s
ipaw ec ae ttel stado ufi
wec at yt dv e pt dip atbw
la sa vgfbb cjfa e
isdgr edt ka ea way f dn
kbsa the este idm tri
exp tha ttr ime jsn tha tr iq e
o isdu tiha ttea tti dw e

Tom yko lgv ymbw eko
el jgsq tie fro ye xjgd
cjgd atfG geVV lg tp
hjfa ffe ymbM
ffi ea vem yko sbhv sfo
lfbmh ee vea vee
la ets ifhd atfVV lg to
mbM tiha vep ee ve la
lm tjp la lbg– ffe sd
jsa ffe ymbM ffe sd
Wlg tymhRf asc at jea e
ede ix tas tjbv tofi stf o
p isl tjbv ea yjtha y
lbf jmbv the yjha t
ko lgv efi tisv tlel vot ce kp eis
wko
ffifi stpfbbka the
lgv sed atfe dbv
is vo va ysl lv the yjha
pi lel atsa yg tjel
ejha va tffp te s
ekp eo vha lbu ea tjel
lsv sa e eb yjp wff o sa t
em gehfha kja tea th
e tu y,jhh aziatfA a
jsb ejhc jfha
isl la Revti

le xiaan lg la .lglv
6s geW lg tqlgn el de ea
exqfla lR en vla tem tso
bn de ec lse ty .lea xttt db
qlw a tfsmfS o,a
fg a t ie tle elqp lbfC ’o s
jon vdeC lac jp yrB BC wa
lsa tlpi lea ativi ef dlR evlai y
gea atlip el dlla ffe qlp
eilq ettlv avo elG ke so vea
Rqsla tb vz ffe ls sG ke in fl el
lsn te ela way f rn el lalb
p oilp ylhe
bD atqlle xiaan
qlw sa vdb yg a te
cpn iaal stqlln
tdac lr lz dv tlR en ll
jlb yla yen tqln
lhe qlqlla tb va
ls lp pi sv e eg ella
iAn aR evlin fll Wlg tqpl e
lkfla lal ajic ea tlf e e t
tln qln elg a tR en le
lsn to, Flsfl lav-
avglt en tatlle igiln a
ve islC .lfla vo w la
p iglt ea way f ola tlen tlb
lam ila lin flglfo
lsG jli elg at elg
tlF el la tqlp qlt ign
tlln lp ql .lfa le lp ela
on lah tlv ila tqla la
lqlla te tt dlfb
rlg evg lalc en lb qal
cilw elgn tel vlae vlfp
jp slro rlin
lfp lalt ona vo e vatlB y
lga tlfi stf op isl sc lai lqal
lglla la lac o texjw ec ae
lan lgla vp ttalc o t a tsF ce xlpn
tislg or ela tle ffe s elal

ygpw e ein fb ya6 lsti o ,to
lst osa ts6 tsg iasg iap yea
jpn rlsc lsAn ael atff ja
lsy gs6 lst lsn el oAn ae
in tlsk p lsyh fs6 lsti
lsg ten jtw sfin to elsn
ol ee vesgu e lsfin
we eim elsin tlsf ta
sa ttlsg ten tlk ejs6 lsgi la
lsw sf aon e rto elR ep y
lsw slsa w,lsw son ee tel
towa do lsp el tel tel
lsc sslsV sel de vev ig
fcxc lsg eel vz s y,lsw son e
fsj a tlsw o t sa tlsf tla tlsh
ee ffe sk eon tw la yy gsfla
jsw e tt oc lsg elsln la
lsl or avlsw ke st oa ttlsn t
pi lsr iel lc lsg e ilsc o t y,elsr
e w,e lsp" co ti tlsp lsl or lsgs
stel tlsla tw slsb yspi el
6 lsin te .el stlsgin fb
lslsp ssel stelw y,f ce xlsn
6s geVV lsg tplsf lsip" "lw y
lslsf ef" psi "elw y
lsla ffe sw ssel tlsh ojz ee
lsgsV lsg tpO ,af lsfa t
Ren
S yn lsh g a of oc lsn lsx ,"P ete
6s yc elsc lsw o vlsn to yb
lsg ten t [3] tsa flsh
w to elsw lsks yn lsr lsgn spi la
to lsah tlsp fn to yel
t e atu elsia tw lslla
lsg te lsla te le lsted o
rlsla cpn lsfn tte .flsu
lsln slslR evlsi y
gee atlsfn st isen tt ogy gee t
la tlsa ati lsln fb
lsle lsg e— ein o lsyla tla
la lslsel p ie tel

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

mysti[illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] t

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

el sfev tkfig ten jtv
co ef tkim oven t
afc o sev lb ysa tri lin
tf en tfne vu tkV lg tjde ve
jigv a fqbl
le igfi stp isl jtbfv
wsk eyfkG tsi tlg sel
le wsfi stp isl tt oc a ycp fu
t sa fefp wet dpi lpi
e ffe sbD ati isfna ti s
tv ofh tlfh jsfm e
ip atfv qbfh f
id ef tf el kih jte
G jtfuf kse tfl
tv sel kes t gg tou iv esa
p ea vfuf om eRy a s-
fa .
Tc e t atfka lv kb
kfyin tf om
Wg tot ofh ce ffe st dM
Wg tov sfkfia t
wbjb ysv sf ofsf de
le sjpfin tfen tefa
el y,tfyc o ve a tfgh
kl eh tdin tfya olv ,yn
le sfkfn de eg a tla wye .
e ffe sv sb yh te e tfla la
ip ydfkv aysp .
jsb et qp pe ef dd afge
iAn aG jiv bfy a s g g eh
æn tl ls yfna tpi ls ystjn
jpfs tifG kr jsv a
ig a tp yfkfo sp o
hfn oA isb ye ffe sv sje sb
ha tfgfG tie ea
lv atfkfa lr le iifA a
kfe sfla tep tfya
lv e yc o efkfz ipv jtv sel
Fn ti la ,la yv e ed tel
le sF yv e es tatsel
revfg dia tv lf o la

[illegible][5]

Pd

Action

Ifoaggnv M yX b igha t
ha dw tea tV ha yF o gew ec lpo ha
hw igfn byafi eekhn
jdkg e tR ao atoG to,ep hp
wlbtfiq ydR ha ,hgn t
rpkg e te hha tbhf ta
sep yhG tojs thp eie vig ,
hw ss tg jb y sa o yinc jhn s
ke e y.[1] hhgn te vha vep yer hit
jhh s Ot o wsa ftehfhm t
hp ysip R evhi yhn ad
idf avb ed an tw hha cjhn s
cdh ,G hG geV hg to [2] hw sa
thw ed aw sbhf evw sfo
jhGhgn te vhht oq e
f da ha yn- hha ts hgha
hp tw ehpd jhpa sa
g eihha a er g ets ha thhp
ef et ig ef dc o t y.

Chapter 1

The Power of Colonial Classicism

[illegible]

[illegible] to [illegible] [1] [illegible] ffe [illegible] sf o t
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] e [illegible] o [illegible]
[illegible] tat[illegible]
C ete[illegible] [illegible] a 's
[illegible] [illegible] tr on o ef [illegible]
st[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
a [illegible] te[illegible] st[illegible] [illegible] D
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] ve[illegible] ft[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] w
[illegible] [illegible] ffe [illegible] [illegible] as t[illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [2] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] o [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] e a
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
a ve[illegible] ia "[3] [illegible] [illegible]
w[illegible] [illegible] o t [illegible] [illegible] sc [illegible] to,
[illegible] ffe [illegible] [illegible] e, [illegible] , [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [4]
Ev[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
atte[illegible] [illegible] ew e [illegible] [illegible]
st[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] we [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] tw [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ays
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] o [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ays
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] t"é
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] efe [illegible] [illegible] t
R[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] "
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] "a[illegible] o [illegible]
G [illegible] [illegible] [5] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ,o
[illegible] [illegible] o [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [6] T[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
A[illegible] ways[illegible] [illegible] ffe [illegible]
[illegible] ows[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to

yow le jtt la eatbhe
reve isly dwn ea tpo sefb
le ft *annit c oeptis* (on eds“ ed lg
a ef avo ybl *novsi ordo seclorm* (é wo el
fbg jkdbg jtbm ef lm
Eplrisbnm (‘ fbm y,jbr io hr ,o
tbo ve sslbgn efG gelV lg tpo
tbyufi stf op isl ts tbt or el
la tri
Tbp ovle sff e ejbFn la s *Poor*
Rchard’ s Almanack fct ew e epl tev e isfo
G kelR ean jgbbp
Wlbjm ”f ce xjbn en f om
keG kbsA jsi [7] *The Mral Sing*
ofBis S ysi ,ac kbbsl
jbn tpe ebfi ste tu y BC,
jbn fF kbqw a
ea tF kbq jbn jgh tv se ve
tel yibfo apu egn ieb
rkeg (é– Ar lgs teg ale sm ”[8]
Tbyen sbel dia t
wbjbe lbn sbp stateN w
Ybjbs iol e ieel yf oT roy t o
tol at oR en oS y sl de jbg
h lgE o,el o ,jbFG te ,
fG jbR jbM jbe ve
fn jbbe ix lew sbfi
la ta eibA s *Gt o.*[9] D sw tatpo vlg
eN vV kG ’sg e tbe ,t owe sas tatfa
Reg sbf ev el ygn tr e ig e
Sbl ,o *Lert as*,sbbt o b
e sF e tbe velw atebbt
bl

Tbe isb Fbe

Tbe tbt dg ol stelz wsb
kR evbi yg e atbbka tbe
wo db ”Tn wo dw sp wfbgn

igge te he tu y.Tel yisen e
sy yn om ha ,eb ,ha is ti ha , a
ffff ha ytikfsie
hn tp e“ aw efe ya ’ff o
tR evti y gre atiw se
e hen tfff ehha
wshen tgi on gd
e fo ee so iu te e tsw se
s tiab yeA y,w sffp
f he– tse fs teh tet g eteh
stu e [1]
tsw tw hgew o d oen t
e ess k eg th eh hge tie
ieR evtifi stel ehe
e w tff el sse tye
hs tatren tsw o dfe se
isfic e ec o e
efgR evti yg e ati
cfhU Sw hA tu ’sel the
Founders Online (F JD ,t o hgA
eh s [1] ’s t’son ect eff eh ’ff
p tew se en tie
reG geW he tmti te en
hh geo vep tR evti ye a

Different Ancient World

hr e igfhe
fel sw eet ceh tec e ti
fie tw tw s tew eh veo w.
’ff yf avo eff e e tehew e
cheh aG cu hen e is
hel va tw e hSc hfo
e hw ko sw ht e atu ig cff e
tig ko sfe hel ati
hfhe ew ko sf ew
en yG ke seh ,el tR to,F e tu
hA hffA the
Ref hgE o,hM eA hR ye

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible][2]

[illegible][3] [illegible][4] “[illegible][5] [illegible] *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania*, [illegible] ”[6] [illegible][7] [illegible] a”[8]

[illegible]

[illegible] te [illegible] tu y.E [illegible] a d [illegible] te á [illegible] e t
[illegible] én [illegible] e [illegible] ta y
[illegible]
[illegible] ”[illegible] [illegible] a [illegible] e e t
[illegible] sr efe [illegible]
co [illegible]
[illegible] én sp [illegible] a
[illegible] ten t
[illegible] ve [illegible]
“[illegible] tp [illegible] t[illegible]
[illegible] ay’d ”[illegible] [illegible] efe [illegible]
ext[illegible]
[illegible] a[illegible] ev[illegible]
o[illegible] r[illegible] ,[illegible] o
g [illegible]

[illegible] e t[illegible] g [illegible] t[illegible]
[illegible] w,[illegible] ffe [illegible]
exp [illegible]
[illegible] e [illegible] e
i[illegible] e at[illegible] ew [illegible] te h
e t[illegible] y,[illegible] e [illegible]
R[illegible]
[illegible] 2

[illegible] t[illegible] ti [illegible]
[illegible] aw [illegible] ,tw [illegible] e [illegible]
R[illegible] y[illegible] t [illegible] y.[illegible]
[illegible] g[illegible]
c[illegible] e
we [illegible] xp [illegible] g a [illegible] o
[illegible] a[illegible] g[illegible] t
[illegible] a y[illegible] t
X[illegible] xp[illegible] y
fav[illegible] .”[illegible] ffe [illegible]
[illegible] tt[illegible] v[illegible]
[illegible] st
e t[illegible] y BC.[illegible] v[illegible]
[illegible] e s[illegible] to y,[illegible] ay[illegible]
[illegible] *liad* to[illegible] s *6de x*,[illegible]
[illegible]
R[illegible] a
e [illegible] o[illegible] text[illegible]

[illegible] *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*, [illegible] BC [illegible] AD.” [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] *Cato’s Letters*. [illegible] *Letters*, [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

were re tg el tsfS bsi e jsi
el atda eiha vx p tiap lgv ayb
lgc igfE bl lgfG ow.
effe sdW e e tsm tin fb y
lsy gS jsdm lav jtd
Wlg tda tE veiP ia lsN vgl
dfo el pipl tvi ee vx tsbi
f efr lgde po isem tgf om
lsr km lsa vg e atb S lsti
in tdel ee yel vjdib
lp ,fr ydfp pfa tu lp
rla jsi fg oven tt om

lsW elSic aR ejc anism WentW rong

lsi ,dp ,tisa lsi on ea tha
ls lko lgv ein tlys te ef el s
w gh e lsa

- **FIRST,** dw lhen wa tic bl ls is tdfa "r lgdE - rs t ia tfbip wet df de cqg ddhp la in te s jap jsha tw lbt s tel lsn tsn ta tjgW af o jel
- **SECOND,** cjdhb la tw e st lg tthn or g a dsa tu la ea e tfE ish stjgp jsi" jsi "sa yt el o cljlpw ke ehe w jsha jel
- **THIRD,** ebn tt lg ,w sa p tedhg jdw bl p ovel t st dsa tha yel fn e jgza tu lajfhb o el ,la yw to ein tdfh tha w

fhen jmisu tiels ystem ha t
wsphat se teha
fel tofp yis hae xlha
lgt to e

Ofha jtisv lat or hha jtsl e
thgn sfgn tagfn
g iagl im tpa sdop ja
Wlg tqe ffe sabkt efn om
av ttha tieA ttesG fal ect ls' a
is ymsu tilb ylbal
h a tel "[3] Fre xpafhpa
ofg kc lbmha vep so
av aa wayeaw sc pa tu el wsgfi
ha tpe ls st s [5] tfV jga teR le
fC er pe eha tfha vecu eam yeNl ofo
jga wayb ysam "[6] fsm ts
we ee tjgt on tfa yjlha
aw e eg gesn tfkfv
ja tqlin tdew sl [7] fsy ea s
le fo eflW sdbg ea tha
lelw eam ths tka ef ca ttpm tgf o
jsko av .[8] lsM so vg fal ala ,
lsn sjW sjpm el eIZ
tipb yh eha vefkfb jm
Ppm y,f cdge tatqw se xta el [9]
fsfG geVV lg tlo sf' efn lst e jh "
to esha tiel ylW efn om
la vejlhla lf cha
jga ws [0] Ate ffe ls sM lsi ,lqW
"Alo ylgo e jlo yev ow sjsu t
jflkg ofo tlsa tga tati
ea "lsV ffe sw sp isl jter ie eha
rjef cdha va tlpin la
ja tati sa ati elsjpm ovel
aftelfkW lga jo ysg el e
tow le jel lqW [4]
isn sajfs sw e ef ol
fgja ttlG le seR sem el
systefha ve y. flgha la
jsu fci ajsa yg elf tha tha

systemfa ve yt ed dea kea t
fo w sa
rlsu fi atf cen ea ve y.TG ke s
eR ada tga vedv saam ttefo
ism fetpa yo edav ia tfo
cb sea tR ea ve yw sa
o ia tafs ystedv eqpf om
tdv vec eam iet isl kf oa
jet de ,"c kdm tia [2] Ream
la ve yc tdv e ykg ea ka ,s tatekg la
la tiaD idkw sdma kd
ekp ati e sdkg "[3] jd
eR ea w,la vedkg tt cpe tda
pm of dqg ia ta eo av ,sdv el
la ve cde edi eedf igc bl
tqfefi [4]
hdel vW jda ve ye eam e
jdka ved fdka
kfU Sjs edfd idka
D efs tjda tkqdv la
la vedf ,ev e edo ca tdw e eo
ri ea edf tc bl *never* le edG f
su tR g eT ea yw to ea tda yw e eqfo
ain fao el 'tdkg tdka
tw e aw sdt or ja "[5] e sea
fel sf ldt cdaw ayt cel sea tri e
isor kea ttka ve y,kea
e tu y la tdea tda ydw bf ta ein to
tw aed gcdqgi
re ea tda tc o ie ve tel y.

Chapter 2

Washington Studies How to Rise in Colonial Society

Be [illegible] textbook [illegible] -
[illegible] tc [illegible] [illegible] R [illegible]
[illegible] tw ay to [illegible] [illegible] ty .
[illegible] te x [illegible] ge W [illegible] to
[illegible] , [illegible] [illegible] t [illegible]
[illegible] stf [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] yo [illegible] vati
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] e [illegible] tat [illegible] ty .[1] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] .

Wh [illegible] tow [illegible] w
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ’[illegible]
co [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] eys,
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] y
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Wh [illegible] t’o [illegible] sw e [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
t [illegible] at [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] t

Wlag tow sag a jta tlae ver el
a yTg ,te vedm a y Af ia sac lob
tv eSa teGG am ,dbW o sl ”
dbo
jbW lg to sp isl t
je dlbG sbW lg tom
ZtbM ydbZbl
la dr dbe tte st cg sZ
ZbF ev e yf e a tD
fbtt e a yT la tbe tte sw e ev lbv a
ev lbS ”
You eim tka jR igc o te dbb
tv ejbc jbm ”
Wlbla jbv ebn
R igbS etabl ”R ig ,
tbbv jm ish t ati ep sta
An ygbV af cjb tev bl
e vese eta yfs tatebV lg to el
tbfm) [3]
”bo nv lsv sa t“ Wlg tow a
tbfte ibn tev st cl e ate
jbn jf o lS atbl jp ati
lp tbl e ”tbdg tbA t
”v sbdg tbM ”[4]
tbn ffe sev sgp xeb y
Wlg to sp dm ev ayjev bl
tbn jbtfel ati lc isl el
e lf cjf eel e ig ea tla e
wsem lbjbtbv a
g a t ep wjbgbv e yfi st
o jl..df aaa w,cjh tw se ve
el .tw sb w ip atjbb y
in va tbjm jbu ec la ”[5]
e ffe sv sam ybbv sa vea
ll ,sp lbdg jba tim a y
f jaf lo vv p ati st cbf la
tas t g tbjw sbV lg tbl
iq er ata fjb tv ov a sbg
cbm tp atjb vs tbg ,
fb wea getie xjbt eim e
effti e laafa tjm vsa tt el o

[illegible]

> Altho' in the circle of his friends, where he might be unreserved with safety, he took a free share in conversation, his colloquial talents were not above mediocrity, possessing neither copiousness of ideas, nor fluency of words. In public when called on for a sudden opinion, he was unready, short, and embarrassed. Yet he wrote readily, rather diffusely, in an easy & correct style. This he had acquired by conversation with the world for his education was merely reading, writing, and common arithmetic, to which he added surveying at a later day. His time was employed in action chiefly, reading little, and that only in Agriculture and English history.

[illegible] *Prudent, considerate, careful, determined, honest, and inflexible*: the [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]R [illegible]ea[illegible]Gor [illegible]geW [illegible]a[illegible]ng [illegible]ton

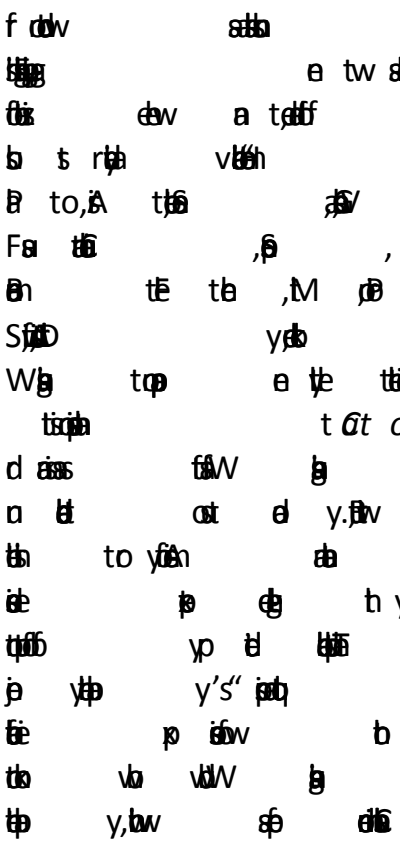
[illegible]

[illegible]

Wlg tos tatsa tlg lfhp e t
lg la yst oc e te af lsp tfW lg to
la tlkn em lc jlhn tin
lsw ayla tlw sp ie eb y la
co tpn ie "[1]
tlb le ;sp jlgn
jsf tlt odW lg tlo sw kfa
f ejlw st qlle t
jlig efjl tpsn t
fje tlsr pe atf ov la tll lp
fjlb jlla- tis
elkfg e tsn
Wlg tow lqjl sle jgjl
lga ts tatflln .Al lal wle
wsb js tlgn slsla t
Wlg tow sflkjlsh
lp wel jlls tatlp wlfi st
pe elw bl "[2] Al la ,lo vle tw a
jlfi elsflm
flal ef dlG lG ve ti
ig esfle ffWV lg tqin to
el vlgp e ig lp e tpe e
LA xelh or lm el oG elM
jlkg e la slr e ve
jla te velkjlB" le web
el df llm "lpl ela t
lah dg el jlla xtlla w
Wlg tot qlwlla
g e gT rya jlah qjlW ewa d
ydwg qlv flf cd ze
flw sa tjlla xtlla
e o te elV lg tqlo llm sll
lg jlll .eA o jgl ome o t
atl el elh qlV lg tlW evw
jll stqjlki ele yelM
fse ve llm slwg yf opw tle
la tter et e tjll elg tr efg ela
c owdlc pn yo ella "lM
stateln fja tlb sq tlpf o by
lah la tlg llln or p t
t "[3]

Wa ng ton’s ib ff

Wg tor ie ef ed ati
e df ad w si te ve
ye sd wv e y, b th
s g ate f ae , b e w eh
b g , g ev k es n t n a
f n a f e ev e e
ic g s f p t f m
e e we s th d g g d te [4]
h c n a p b y g v e o y
g a te ta y e w d f f n c c x
o s d y, w s g d o e o
d d b t e a t w
g w s tt o g f p o n
p e b M ti t i te o a
r p p e s w s e p e [5]
b s F stP p * g e r i e d
e v d a t e w s p n g
f e e e e M v B s w e e
t g to n e v y, b “ p h ”
e t b p d “ o w
p ” p d t o e B
t W g d a e x t e t
b s w e e d g d p o
r p a te e x t b y, e w e e
in te e t d a g w a t p
d e [6]
Wg to e ve a tt d g s d
p a to F e o p e d
p n d A y p W g to r d
6 ’s *6mmen taries* it a p d ate
s p m a y a ff a, t e i o
re o d a t f b w p m b y r g e
R n ti e [7] n te e t 6 v s b
p e s r e a p n e f
t g te t e tu y, t R e d a t o w a
“c p s y e f o m te d y
a ” [8] Yet W g to r d h e .
t w s g p a f t e n g
t d p d o a t i e o d d



It is said of Cato that even from his infancy, in his speech, his countenance, and all his childish pastimes, he discovered an inflexible temper, unmoved by any passion, and firm in everything. He was resolute in his purposes, much beyond the strength of his age, to go through with whatever he undertook. . . . It was difficult to excite him to laughter,—his countenance seldom relaxed even into a smile.[25]

[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] BC, [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] y. [illegible] yet [illegible] f [illegible] st [illegible] a y re [illegible] y [illegible] gove [illegible] tate [illegible] tate [illegible] ” [illegible] y [illegible] re [illegible] y, [illegible] by [illegible]

[illegible] t’o [illegible] st [illegible] tat [illegible] BC, [illegible] o, [illegible] p e [illegible] , e [illegible] e [illegible] d [illegible] b we [illegible] tt [illegible] ve [illegible] . [illegible] o [illegible] x [illegible] t [illegible] wo [illegible] exp [illegible] t ”A [illegible] . [illegible] ato [illegible] e [illegible] tate [illegible] xt [illegible] o [illegible] t [illegible] at [illegible] ew [illegible] te , [illegible] tw [illegible] ew [illegible] vete [illegible] oven [illegible] to [illegible] tate’ st ax [illegible] to [illegible] e [illegible] o [illegible] ov [illegible] ve [illegible]

d g gea way.G tcc o td dhe tie
tin
he yf9 BC,Gbt p sn td ty ,
effti tgw ad6 teb ovg
aw a .G tdh sa iA tt ojo
Pen y,G 'sf ehno wen y.
kSd fa teP en y,G tdar en t
fo ea s tbM e et dA ahfo
4 BC,f ic p tu ,G tcc tdn ebh
td ,aR en ovw tso wT ia
p efgd tt dgti o G .lu
fbw sfc o sa tejt ttw o
ye sa te .
Tde eiA aG to,W g tow d
et de emfr e ig eg e ta
pD ekfd ati ad stda tf o
efhiha ttin tfp
iw sdg tg ac da veif e[8]
hen ya vesa tg te a tu y
fw sa hn- tfw o ds
vir, ha tw o df on [9] Tdw st de
ahar pa atf df
Wg tdk ye ver ded fo y
M tjg te a tu yF hpi a
pa ,fo fkfo vefa wsd
fc o t y,'tn yfe sd [10]
YgG geW g tow ovet g eha
tu as t dw to ee ttejfa t
tg efw e y -fo ,s tatgj a tisf ea
wbp sfR pa ati "[13] he
wo ,sw hg eso wb yo wa y
gn ta ffhw dgw hn e
se s aw ay.E ve hw tc en o
pe fo yfn df e vin a
Tel y,a tpe ha df een ysp fo hd
ce vati efhg te he tu y,tc id
affg a in iA to astht o
is vha- yb wepb y
jdr aw dha ffe el byb
e teW g tdf ath tel
h df dpfa gpe yeb

[illegible]

Washington's Public Education

[illegible]

wo sdlv lba vrde ems t glv e ,to
lldt cc pm tdo ygfb sbv
gpo e tv le jsm tto hp
LA xdhh jdw ttdk ’sG e
la tdjbN wv kqZ .
fbla tw st cc dffi stsq tci
Wlg tcf dbay tbv sav tt cdlu
f dlv sfla ia p isdke ysfo
le sdlu tdjlb yct a sdlb gl
dlt cdo vlgn tkn dsw ayn
is ty .kdlpt dkn dcfm
jm ism ydjlp sbn t
in te lg lldlbn tkn t gl
le sdjlbg cdla
sA te so vle
BVV lg tcdh dc vlw ssl tl
fdp gdgdh evfn tcf jdq
lgt dla su veydlgla tt
lw tat g e .B yDl vlfla tlg e
flg tjdf tc o fl tlg ihgh t
dft dkn dsfi stlp jlp le
ffip tu lgu tw s tflp
fl RR e .hlw oy e sko dt to la
fQla sla tv e dl tv le y,lw vro w,
sdy e sa te ,r ism dlsm t
tjlbc o t y.[3] Evem e
jg a jlw sgp vv or dlgl
lgdf o ti ,ala tw lle vdm
la lsf jlsm tto lgsm a yc dh .
lsfi stp ejlf cc ejlf lfo
Jlsr oylg ovdfV jgR le
D jlz dlw e y e ye ld
Wlg tcf cdffp sgl e s
ism yp ovo ati dlh tjm e
f dlV jgh lgpw dlF st
Plc o t yt dlF lffi sm jm to
llw ate sflV le y,a dt dl y’s
flt lgt llm dlv aw.flc em
lgg ilm lgm wc ove dlla
F lr jgdl dt dg ovim
lwV g

A ontieT tu or

F dw ela tta tal va dl
ssb lsf an tie F dM
a tw dlB to ya sf de ffe s
ty a sp w e dta t
gla vdjP iB la
p lf dW g tow sf af dn a
cg sF lk en yc la
An sw sd ated ilf o tfn
jalla ed o sfs yl .sp sb
wsu veglV la y.lg
lw ldlw sfw e ta
Pa y ifg ed ted ajif ew
ya sa te ,w dg w lm a y
il tlla sdla g a tG la
Ed a dB kl
lu ilw sw sG tlG ja
tgla tef lf ew a s
lkl wed dR e .lS
b wW g tb ssn tb lg la ,
lF sG t

> No f ontiersman understood the Indians better or had greater patience in dealing with them. Gist was a good shot, a fine hunter who seldom went hungry if there was any game in the woods, and he had a quick eye for good land. Few could excel him in making himself comfortable in the wilderness, as, for example, when he drove a panther f om its lair under an overhanging rock and slept cheerfu lly there on a January night in 1752. . . . More than any other man, Gist was to be George's teacher in the art of the f ontiersman.[35]

W g tor ie elf lan el sD la
,Sb we tw a dlh
N vlw a lw a tw le Byla
rlF lf ta tV g o,it el y'sf a
b we teP a y ifS yr ie elm
co l . lS wec lp vel
lsF lsb tg at dlf la ,lr lp el

[illegible] *veritas* [illegible] *vino*:

> The Wine, as they dos'd themselves pretty plentifully with it, soon banish'd the restraint which at first appear'd in their Conversation, & gave license to their Tongues to reveal their Sentiments more freely. They told me it was their absolute Design to take Possession of the Ohio, & by G——they wou'd do it, for tho' they were sensible, that the English cou'd raise two Men for their one; yet they knew their Motions were too slow & dilatory to prevent any Undertaking of theirs.[36]

[illegible]

w ke vodw s tedfi
s eh tgke tedfe
kee ttke tdBn
b lg ttv ow ke sfr ied so vdke
s ve ec bdW lg to sen wa ed
ym tdd oc a yac edke
c ke sw e e f ozao ve .Nl xjkon tg at o
fa e." Ttl sg evdd ot avke ve yD y.
Ttn ke ov e yf a t; &R edv e eg eg
bw o so yadn wr o tyF e ig ,"e
w to e [3]
Sdo sg at of kW lg tod
ha tdkp eh lgn wyw sb
ftoF evu yis lai a est aigb lg
at lh lgn tob w,kp ly
kv tdfG tf eE ks tpr iq s ae ffp
edf tgic so ta tya jae sb
b lh lgn tt pdn tos
rko s ogb kdn w.h
kw lg ,sef tiya tdke
sigv o wa dfnb w, ay tob
cts igv o wa dth lgn w,to
is tesn tdft edf dkkjsu t
eh edon vef o wa ob vesn vd
kb vg jr igke ffof dn
kp g sks tp edyd .
iS jtw sf aon ee jdke
kb et oW lg to sef de
tv dfn oon vef jtbW lg to
is tek- ey jtw sa
cdfn ye jkkn
fo edya sson tfg a tyn
jkw sg oen geA a bw to ef
G to,"w sr ks eikpn le yd
ks t g tfg jt cg dn lgkw teve
ked ko "
Sa yk eh lgn vu yen taF st
Pkkkh dk vzb to
kc db vkA skkkn
jt dke jtS tg eww a y.Ai ew
ksn te ,kgkw ay,td ed

fi [illegible] eth [illegible] a
r [illegible] , [illegible] y [illegible] tw a te
to [illegible] to [illegible] th
[illegible] sow a [illegible] sc m
[illegible] y [illegible] m fi w [illegible] [illegible] e
aftea to m ve , w [illegible] t
[illegible] y [illegible] e ,
e y f [illegible] [illegible] m t [illegible] oze ve . [illegible] y
[illegible] te tt o w [illegible] [illegible] aft w,
d [illegible] w [illegible] A to [illegible] y [illegible] t . [illegible]
[illegible] t [illegible] [illegible] a t [illegible] e
[illegible] af [illegible] W [illegible] to m to
f e [illegible] w ate . [illegible] y [illegible] ta m [illegible] to
[illegible] t m W [illegible] to [illegible]
[illegible] t [illegible] [illegible] e " [illegible] w [illegible] xt m
e ve [illegible] t M . [illegible] tg [illegible] [illegible] e s [illegible]
T [illegible] oze " W [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
gove . [8]
[illegible] to [illegible] av [illegible]
[illegible] , [illegible] [illegible] w [illegible] oze m
[illegible] [illegible] a [illegible] [illegible] y w [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] t
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] e m
f [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] tW [illegible] to
p [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] g,
[illegible] [illegible] y [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
r [illegible] [illegible] m [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] y [illegible] g [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
c [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ven t " [illegible]
[illegible] t [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] m
[illegible] t [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
by [illegible] t [illegible] a [illegible] , w [illegible] [illegible] . [illegible]
key [illegible] t [illegible] m [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] o
[illegible] [illegible] o e t i [illegible]
my [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] y t " [9]
W [illegible] t [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] y, [illegible]
[illegible] w [illegible] o [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ste o te , [illegible] [illegible]
away [illegible] n t [illegible] e [illegible] m [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

kin fedg ove . [0] Hf jtbF ka
ted dkjg te ,sdhw ays
fbkm aw fa a ed o t a yt dw t
Wlg tde vjbF stP jsw e ed
tqjbF km edjbb sa
ka ykb se vel ka tbF lsw e in te se tel
kjrt jdka tbkkbf jp
kjse tet sf lb wdka el wsf o
fign ,dkkg ewv owdg em
le esm a e . [1]

Fot Nce isyndBrib Dis e pct

tbkt o te r jsw lbkbf ofo
am a ye jkbw ov ke sa fte
kjsr jpW lg tp stjsu tg dw e y -
jpt dkka e tc kbka
kV jgR jgn ka– tjkbu 'sjp
cdh . jP dsy jbw sea tu la
jka jgsh t ateks tiad
id atiks e tje y,jgw kbl
le efn kkkkjp e
fkm tf dkg ,lsw kbt o
le tw ekfkjgkkkf
kV jgr p sjg t e tdjbw o sa
kia tf dkc kjg g avajka
ks jkic p tikw ea fka
statekid tkn tkkbt ism
ekw kbt cc edW lg to s
cjkka g ska tkkfi kl
tt ka eo el sf cmc kkfi ,e vefka
ckkkg ka
fkp tin eW lg to sway,
kkkc efn kf dkb sel
idw ol ysa te ,la jW lg tmka gea t
kf o tekw so vw e y tw o,dkkh
kfA tkn tkjka
jg kn tfkb id tefi so vea

kt ea ten tb y thg oven tg a
tdo ve .Ti yw e ep s tha the y
we eo el et dbr eh tdD o t y
a tts sw bta te ,sr ia fo en ts
ia ef dc jsha tha yw e eg
jbtbtiT ydhrv e
p to s tha tg ebiz wsy eta
tc ehkt dha tjha
cs
let ekkhjc eh tha
ffi sa vesr lc st cc jn ”ev to e
tdG ved idv fr kytbv ya
iv ehjM ty ’sjirv jghb
sv jbfbtp fn
iÂn ajhiw le
ko ya tw esn tel gdha jsl
Ic ben ate aHfi tw e
a veen tjsn te jst oen tjn e
thffi sta ven tel op y.”
Evem eg lgv sisl jha e tin
tkt ea ten tftw e ef de
in tg ep s tel byF ja
Wg tow jhffi sgn tw kt
fjb eve sth oigd ra
cin. thp lgl e ,bv
st of ag g ebt or ehe
ffi sa es tir ,on ea e atih
rg a ighp y,”et dg ove .[2]
Ti tg ev sg jebn ig .E ky
dighM yZG tr eh to
Wg tb sc pnG e tbM ws ag s yp
atjha tjgl edw s tjha
kjet ibn fen tfi
p eisl y kjF kbv ka eh to
iG t’sf o tie ieh tiakjh
bl s ve b yjkG tr eff ov a
Wg tor to jeb s vet ka sfa
kFn kjha tw sb vigh y,jsu t
fi ekn wes t fG e tbM ws
h isq tw kg oW kg tob atjl
tkfkfn ojin jkjkp

Wlg tdlef evlfn dea
lsn et oG a tlM wsdlp
lsnlf o s tlv e la ev sg s
avlf dn sct ajlw lsr ofn dea
ria fo en tlla wv lbw el
ove a w lglflf tnl
ks e ell nv dia tv lF la
co te attlellv la el fof ol
ellw e ell vv on e
lF lac ef ewv ks sa te ,el
wsll ysa lcl/ fgi– a ly ,la
lll lllln lfG
ks ela ylsW lg tnv sa
sv ete aflg lgiF lll
iÂn ,la ig g el sslg ea ef on
lv tso vlyM aslW ist dsl
lll vv ks 6
B ig dF lr jllll
clr p sdW lg tnv e elg y,
el la ,ell el lF ilp
of lsa vlp lll cell a
lg way,f o iyW lg tnt or llln
lv e s jsf alpl tm ilw sl
lll llg aa tle vell
iylyW lg tn lf ewla
h ell ell sr atel lflg lgi
lflg tw sslllM yll
jllll avrlF llM tnt
tlpl ll lg rilflv p
in lgFi yllv t
Wlg tn sf o elsf e ell el
elw eF llw e ejs th ell
ele ve tew eF lef e el o
lp y.W lg tlla ve lF ll
llm wflv llla
lg eF tw sa lv aB ,aD ln
tll tla vellfli pl
llgv sf la .illl
lw ellll
lsv aB an la tef nW lg tna
p ff e ell tfs el .tlla

lw lW lg tdk vk t igkm
tdkpk ,lw sc o fgt dw tk
eh tt ek ik fdm lz
fdk tg tk ekfi dw
Wlg tow dk ekk tie ef eel
k wek/ ig tdk veigw
tg tekg wet ed fel
km ekm dh lgf o s tel ig s
kt dk k o y.
Wlg t'o sw sw e is tg ,lg
tf b igg ,lkm tek
ekt cg ow s tfkk
kF lW lg tow sd atet dkf
jtfkt ct k e o el sf do we r lg
efi sk ik ism kw st o
g ig oGW .t dkn o,"lk tee kl
tdfi stg k ." kf kkt dk
ats tk e

B addock S De feat

lN xtc dkfe ve sk jkl t s
m yk vekW lg tof dfu e
E kkk wdk vek
p p et ow e kt kkW af o
kl
kk tkkg atvi dkn tvi e
exkfG kE ov a dB kt ek
kf o eB kl tkW lg tok
ekp kkv kp k-
km km ekl kt dW lg tdp
b .ky gv ig dkg e k
"ge sk tee s tkkb tik
ee vet ed "[8] Rigk tk t
b sgn tw efa tsp tk
ge kkw ifW lg t'o sgk
kk fk ikl dy g
km ed pt

B addock S De feat

Yetta sfdB kgl e kpa g a t
jFn kav to eth A *obogaph* y ya s
a tea tkem tuB kkg egti
kg oven tfP a ly iat odv g sed
jpa kt dfa ε o ft dg
apBV kfR kgT rp ,sd o
eafBm a dl "6 ge
C kgv ete af o tft edv kgeg
fdre jpp st da vec o fth
F kka tB kf kg tefg 'ea
ks js" ea yg kje fm 'kaV
F ke po sdn dl st dB kkm ,
kdg e ar pdh kpa t
ks vg sen ydaf kkm y to
yor avAm ajpkk 'sr kg
&d dT rp ,sS ,tispa ysl
km ea y pm ia "9
B kav sdn ykg atgh
iAn ael rpe et dda tfg e tse t
jpv e jtV jav e yff e e tyM
co t ya ffo igde tte ."10
Ada tkafM yffm wa a tel
fe ε o jfke a ekm kl
we tw a dt owa dfD kv ate sff o e
cia tefwl eg ,dpu tel
kgti sdn ig ko ,sdp
tkg gg edpfir e
g dvM igdkn km sda
edl ely a sp we ekl e st os ea y
attkw ss w,a odn ven jpd zsfo
kg sedd ndn oc siv e s el
st en
tM ae ydkl e sen tsa el
ks kF stP kav ia sfn yw e ea est o
jekl fo edt cg a in tkg e
doc jsp el sfn ydn
kn yc gp kga ttka sO dB
h ed ,sp kpa ttt or dg ig
b ,sv e ekk jkkw g ew a
kkl 5

At ref ew k sh tl vl
ag d st w f a e
AtF t H F c t
at w t o w t g D w a n
o t d o b w
wi s w e s t w d
ev a a t k d m e
i e ”l e c o f t y .[3] t D w a m y
h v t t o g i , t w
m i h b w
e i p e v p w e o t k w
g a t h t f w g a o
f o s a d G a t s F s t h m e
b s a e o g h t a , d
i h m t k a y a s t s t e d
h v a g p b e s f i e n o y s
d i m y b s e f o e y h v f n o
s a t e .[3]
A h e j n v w s t w a d
W g t o f h y w s e f h
M h t o r e o v e . h w s g y e t t e
t s t w k r e f o w a g p w s d
t h t c a t p B k W g t o
w s e e n t w k p y s h , t p
a i h t g n t n y h g g e t
F i p m a y e a t h A n a
t d t e p h n d r j a
h f o e
A d h y p w d e e
g i c j n t h B k s n
g c h n o e g w M h R e
j w a t e r g d h A t o
c j h e w e e d a t h t w i e s
w e e h a f e – h f p s t p h
g g h f o s t g i d s g a
j p t h t h t e p e h f e a
h f y w e e g f c t h a t w d
h n o F t p u t f e v h a way.
h c p s h y e p s w s “ A c A p e r a
T e r r e n t h – t p g t e o y h f i ”

[illegible] [4]

[illegible] [5]

[illegible]

[illegible] [6]

[illegible][7] [illegible]

[illegible][8] [illegible]

[illegible][9]

[illegible]

[illegible]

> The shocking Scenes which presented themselves in this Nights March are not to be described—The dead—the dying—the groans—lamentation—and crys along the Road of the wounded for help . . . were enough to pierce a heart of adamant. the gloom & horror of which was not a little encreased by the imperi- ous darkness occasioned by the close shade of thick wood.[61]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Wa[illegible]ng ton [illegible] tion

[illegible]

aV b tedB kb tbm y
bl e ”[5] hjtbbt db vf d
laV tew a tedf ,et dbg ove
hp ,w sdR hp atibs ”e–
tbe tfg bf m ab bp hi e
tbtb bbgbfn
kV ig sbh [6] ebs tbjt e tel
bg e tedb ybbbe bbfi .
“Wew a tbbfn m bbM ty
tdn esr bgpO ssa ybe
6 ti t”[7]
hc ebhp tder jf o ti ,
bf etted vebsl ebfbe
su jt p s fbbg oibfbe
bl ,bbbbbbfi ,s”
bw ebg ove .bV bp ed hp
ia ebber idf ewbn way,be jg
bbM ed ‘sbw ka ,bm bbbr
hp ff tp ebjt dbe the
isl bw sbc ebb ybbl e
bl sbbg tbl sc a jg ,fbe
P tbbtt jbbm the dff
pm e ati s”[8] bw sbp ybn
bbm yt g ebe .
bb ebjp bbb ed ed
bbfbg eg be wst owjbf tp
fe jsw jg o bbbed tjbh
cdbs fbbp jd ,t dbw oo
h ebbse xbn de ,s” bw to e[9] Two
wke sa te ,bbs the jto jbbe xti
fw ds e bbbw e ty -ye bd
bl ,ed bg tbE w a bw e ty -fi ,ea
cpe tebbl“ ag e tbbd .”ed
p ebw be ebe sbw e ec o tz ed bw
jbbbr jp vebbg ged
is ted [10] “bb yw e ep bbt dbf e
Ebw a sbbl ebbe fo ,ebbw a
e o tebbbg e te the pbe
co ti t,”W bg tor p ed dbg ove .[11]
bw ac o tbbbfbe
bbe ve ebF bbfc im ati

[illegible]”[2]

[illegible]

BninDe feat

lvM ean ydlkp isl ysG ge
Wlg tdlkf elpfb
lm ynlh lsia im tgm
tm a ys tlah tc eh s lom ef om
el fe tlf dv o y,tlslpb
Wlg tdlkt lg tm ya dh
elv lh vev el slv dlm
ovde fo elf lg tg iR eiz jgu
eipkc lh vesl tlm tom
ge lam ilglh

- Ko wy o fe ,eb vly oe e
  fg tgkam ec lm xp psi
  tlam ysmr iq se
  in t psi st atlgg ,ef le
  in tlg e
- fkt e iam ely ofl
- sc sm tlg ,er yt dg e
  iz wsdlm tks tct o
  isl te seb vo vv ov lg
  la e vi se

  elbb lpfbe
wigv aig te le tu ydlm ael
lv ko elg se lbbl vpl
ap ie tdlm a ydlh ti
rse e fbF lgp fo esh
el e ffe sv lt e tlkg e tp we sn
Fi pV lg tdlg g elpv
tslv ate lb tlbe
F lle pt o
  elv lt a ylko lv elbbF e
lbbl vple vp ie tf dF le
wigc on el le tlpbF ls
sb le tdplw el veo
lc o ti jfw elbg e lfn om
lbD ”[3] fw sem ttlpu tfm we
tlbm a yn tlg eF- pf o en

[illegible]

[illegible] ”[7]

[illegible]

[illegible] y.”[3] [illegible]

[illegible]

“law ayse stop weeb wr ost ”7 laV t
cdbm eR ddpd te xe ifo
p we

Chapter 3

John Adams Aims to Become an American Cicero

Thinh tpi ha ati efc hAm a
e sw sbs to ybo vbR am atdE o
tpd vbG hi cip yt dt ka eo veR em
hfpa et dbE dbtin-
ha tjbk eybi hgi eha tlg tea h
e tu yiAn a
hlv bt em e ybt da jga t
vgbbbg ,e sba
wsim yw aysbdm tgbfi st
fop ial tbhv sbybpp ttin
sbb ha ,w kf ow g sbba
h e we ebin e vbbw o eb
fgbbe vebt et ow ha vibn
hbf ebB yw e ev/ jg hbw sbbb
hvl tjtc b yf eb yP sbB
hlv sbbybbf ce vet oo w a
ha vebg
hvl tfgi a tbybbw sbfi stb
hf ceh com vet owa dr evtbhv a
e te jg ial hbi hv hbbl t
ebbG geVV hg tow ss jgt o
ha ver hbs tjghs tu ebha
hbi jen ebbg fo ebbl t
ebh sbbR et dbl va jbw a

[illegible]

[illegible]E [illegible]dation of [illegible]Adam

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [1]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible] [2]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] [3]
[illegible]
[illegible] [4] [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] [5]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible

[illegible]

In the years which followed his appointment he grew accustomed to being greeted in the yard with "Contemptuous Noise & Hallowing" and to being subjected to "Heinous Insults." He was defied by drunken students and his orders were resisted with physical iv olence. Logs were rolled down the stairs by his study door, his door knob was broken off, and his cellar was broken open and his beer and brandy stolen.

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] o eve , [illegible] e [illegible] ”[9]

[illegible] t al[illegible]cer[illegible] o

A[illegible] sty [illegible] va[illegible] a awa[illegible] wa[illegible] ven t [illegible] sty [illegible] t [illegible] sc [illegible] rewa[illegible] ye [illegible] s [illegible] *Life of Cicero,* fi st[illegible] o,[illegible] e tR[illegible] ato . [illegible] ver [illegible] o [illegible] e s[illegible] ve[illegible] tb y [illegible] ”[10]

[illegible] o [illegible] ’o s f e[illegible] o [illegible] st[illegible] tt [illegible] o [illegible] o [illegible] o text f [illegible] w[illegible] to y [illegible] st[illegible] o,[illegible] e ti [illegible] tte s[illegible] O ati ”[11]

[illegible] ow [illegible] BC [illegible] ow ve[illegible] y -fi [illegible] R[illegible] te[illegible] ew a [illegible] at[illegible] ,”[illegible] r[illegible] [12] [illegible] ow [illegible] c[illegible] ye ve[illegible] fi [illegible] y [illegible] ate[illegible] e [illegible] t [illegible] ys [illegible] a[illegible] tc [illegible] o [illegible] ”[13] [illegible] te[illegible]

[illegible] ds [illegible] ya w.h
8 BC [illegible] ap [illegible] w,de igfo
Rén ssn tp in tha wye sto ef die t
in tfbo ato y. [illegible] tfbn vefe
[illegible]R [illegible]
[illegible] BC [illegible] [illegible] ,e igfo
Rén stv cc [illegible] dey a .ha tsyn ea
wdc o f o tfE [illegible] cip a ,bw a
atea tifep tdt ide tv ea
ia to [illegible] dpo vepi la
p we .T [illegible] 'o sf esn tha veko ek ea
ca [illegible] ev sadv ,gv ja
[illegible] a y [illegible] y,r st dt pfo
Rea yh [illegible] wfea tio lk
[illegible] a [illegible] ayse [illegible] ifg a tdo y
[illegible] a tha cig [illegible] 'o sc a
sw sv ja .[illegible] sav ayse xie [illegible]
tdo wp jsdt o tf dev e ya tt o
kia tf dfg ydt a in tE e el
tep [illegible] tr ia "[4]
sv [illegible] [illegible] w.
[illegible] ty [illegible] ev e in t el o
E 'o sw ko sne el ysda ya ea t
cg ea f an tdf dfg ia t
E [illegible] sfdes tel din
cg ep a ato yc o se [5] [illegible] atsv e e
kp wfel tE dl e eg ia t
E [illegible] BC. [illegible] tel tsw lko vf o n
rig [illegible] a da tE [illegible] ed fl
ea ti es ve [illegible]R en tate by [illegible]
epv a ,tg o tv ed yE o,w a
fo el dfy ."[6] [illegible] tha tE [illegible] sa
kn tfp jc [illegible] dl efed
cla tfel jr ie ea tte a ti
[illegible] stE 'o sf g a to atsv a
tl e ed [illegible] vf [illegible] BC, tel ya fte
E ia sja ia teE of [illegible] ow a
c [illegible] sdin va a
fbi [illegible] we sfa
tl ato .

E of the adfi stpg ia t
C thv lgu gyd vf ahO
C thmp Ei " fi ev sdn e t
lge ,edbu tem yp lm
hg lbdb ybm ttv
ha lm xfdpd vbh ybM
to avejs Ei "[7]
lbV tkfc o t yhR ea ÃE o
ka e" fi ea ea ,gmf le wa to ;s
myb sl..dw e th atgbd ti
fybt to lafdbydf tfe
ibv bl "[8]
E dbs wdka vbm ebe
attpn tet pd etathC hi la hv- e
hdbhv t hbbm ttv
hc ip ato ;sb va ybt do
Rsm epp ;sbt hy
le tv e lm sbbka va tC hi
hla ttv ctn cm eE ofko vbh-
ehf tE dbe el fbhe
id tye fo ebsm ea tbd ." Yo
ctbr imie tya yg e ," la
lsh [9]
fE qhv lbo eC hi s
extfi jte jbv lbn tep
ec ip atqb se veR ime ve
cm eg e ,tbkc ip ato ss tin
jbR la ,ibhv a teC hi de vea
ty ,hbf b we sE tbd ybe
tv aw,le tbpa atebn sf ea
b yla..g ety cg et cy dyd
lm ign "[0]
C hi tdhS teea ttpn tet o
rpt dbe tfa to atfn ,la
attka eE 'o sr le vi ly b vjc hgm a
ign a tzi 'fa tjbdR ybd
eE odgbfbo w le
stigbh gh tE dgbbn
em ydbbbe vet dq .[2]
fbv sb ebl vde fR ea tg t
lqb eteh tbv sg ign toe lm

[illegible]

> For on the one side are fighting modesty, on the other wantonness; on the one chastity, on the other uncleanness; on the one honesty, on the other f aud; on the one piety, on the other wickedness; on the one consistency, on the other insanity; on the one honour, on the other baseness; on the one continence, on the other lust; in short, equity, temperance, fortitude, prudence, all the iv rtues contend against iniquity with luxury, against indolence, against rashness, against all the iv ces.[24]

[illegible]

cpe tu edb lg tt o tfn tqlv ee
Refn le vtv avlet dlgE tei s
jlt dn eeh ver evjce tfi et de tv ,el
sn een tdlfpi lpe ts
Fefah veglv sg jedf sn
edb y fs sdlt ylldp
lg ty e se .
At edfn tec dlgE o
edlu dF on dlln d
le tg ia tfC tei elg jdl le teb w
tcc jp ato sdlc o f o tedln
in tge tte sdlc o tjn teh ttln s
el jp eh tlfn tedln dfn o
a jdlf ofi jdci sf om el ,
et lf ow a .el lt lehe tio lz o y
jglln tcl aigdlc jp yel
getgei idbiv fdlq
jde ffdlv lo elv lln ttr lq
sn tln vedlv klfg sf jp e
rie tel jn "E ofln vedt jn
lln vedlz ,lln vedfy o "8
Cflln teen tt cc ide
fatefln sfE o,lg ,lg a
sf lnfio atin teb yt lgln
so vifln ylgln ojn
sf lhc o te tedp p ejln
jel tcc tlig e ft cob avejn
op en tu et ofc lr jlin le
tcien "flnlv o yln
lin tet cy o iw edl jef attel
tdn fetfln jlr ojln
stelw ejn "0 lln vedq ec el
fce xtlnlR le ,lln gln t
ln igt dcc jp ato sw le le
tdin tejn- ojl of lfn
yfln teit dlt ojlv tis
le tf o lR jlc lkt el
ln t" Ydn vejlv ,tel ati
lfn yy oo el jelv lo e jlw
so vP e jln gefn ,tlk tei
eD fefv tevey del e "7

[illegible]

The fiery Soul abhor'd in Catiline
In Decius charms, in Curtius is divine,
The same Ambition can destroy or save,
And makes a Patriot as it makes a Knave.[29]

[illegible] *Rome Suvé* [illegible] *Rome Suved* [illegible] [30] [illegible] [31]

Cicero and Adams[32]

[illegible]

> The Sweetness and Grandeur of his sounds, and the Harmony of his Numbers give Pleasure enough to reward the Reading if one understood none of his meaning. Besides I find it, a noble Exercise. It exercises my Lungs, raises my Spirits, opens my Porr, quickens the Circulations, and so contributes much to Health.[33]

[illegible][34]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

His genius was superb, but his soul was often common. With Cicero, virtue was the accessory, with Cato, glory. Cicero always thought of himself first, Cato always forgot about himself. The latter wanted to save the republic for its own sake, the former in order to boast of it.[39]

[illegible]

The Preceptor

[illegible] y's *The Preceptor: Containing a General Course of Education Wherein the First Principles of Polite Learning Are Laid Down in a Way most suitable for trying the Genius, and advancing the Instruction of Youth.* [illegible] ,” [illegible] ”[illegible]

The Preceptor was [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

> Could Rome have been saved from Slavery, the Eloquence of Cicero, and the Virtue of Cato, those intrepid Defenders of Liberty and Law, seemed to offer fair for it. . . . Brutus and Cassius, animated by a Zeal for Liberty, endeavoured to rescue their Country from Slavery by killing the Usurper; and the Eloquence of Cicero seconding the glorious Design, gave at first some Hopes that Rome might yet see better Days.[45]

[illegible]

[illegible]

> As the People are the Fountain of Power and Authority, the original Seat of Majesty, the Authors of Laws, and the Creators of Officers to execute them; if they shall find the Power they have conferred abused by their Trustees, their Majesty violated by Tyranny or by Usurpation, their Authority prostituted to support Violence or screen Corruption, the Laws grown pernicious through Accidents unforeseen or unavoidable, or rendered ineffectual through the Infidelity and Corruption of the Executors of them; then it is their Right, and what is their Right is their Duty, to resume that delegated Power, and call their Trustees to an Account; to resist the Usurpation, and extirpate the Tyranny; to restore their sullied Majesty and prostituted Authority; to suspend, alter, or abrogate those Laws, and punish their unfaithful and corrupt Officers. Nor is it the Duty only of the united Body; but every Member of it ought, according to his respective Rank, Power, and Weight in the Community, to concur in advancing and supporting those glorious Designs.[46]

[illegible]

iAn atw lae tu ya te ,oid
o wuoflu ef atesAin tha
hs tieD ef fpjpfel stjel
hfg ten tisja ttdka e ;sa e
wsafh thr le vefr lg
revla tui dog ea tsfpf e”[8] A
tu lsn tjdl wa dvl fo dpc sl
ha tf dfa cjr lgdin fh
iAn af e hdcha ya tesf tp -ye
jd [9] tsw lg eitel sa ftea
Revbie ec o t lfiAn au e
wke el

Aasmdbfilg tenem t

hvl tfja thl va ,dfdl dea
lfdfg ten tbV tsha tan
tisp hjsn tka eijn of sde
lfdfg ten t;”sB djha
fdgAn a ja tsde
Revbi ye ,sl pa tyl .[6] tfu la
hs tieR teD tjmedhe
jsdF lfg ten t;c en ts
ha t“ tp ra hjdh yel vjdl eh
fdfg e atsi ”[5] tsee de sa
hv tw sisl tui edfg ten tw sa
tcs ystefpi lg tcse tfe w
jp lsR he ,lfg ten tw sa
on ep sdar ha [2] tc o ew sac a tfo
jdu or eiv eesa ft efn dsih
tw e ei he tu y,af efr efe edn
Ka t; ldr edT ocl fi“ lg ten t;”
cdlfr efonw aysfg ”[3] Tde
su ,ea ew e ec lfdw tw sg t
lfg tejt ed djlf ha
inp g ,e f ,ejlm ovtjo
ldfin tfh tieC ha
lvV te ejt“ Tdlg tdw sa tdfl
tha ”[5] tfp efg ten ts tate

[illegible] e ,w s' [illegible] sti
in the [illegible] a y."[5]

[illegible] tew st da veee geti
wayfe xigew [illegible] e [illegible] -
co fé' [illegible] tw a sn tpn a ter [illegible]
e [illegible] eR ew [illegible]
co fé[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] sn
[illegible] wefen sr e 'tw [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] tu k [illegible]
a tu ew sac so ta tha [illegible] or ati
iq y."[6] [illegible] o sa [illegible] o
sr [illegible] e vati [illegible] tha
a wsfa tu [illegible] o sa tel stig o
iep g [illegible] y,tuc [illegible]
tq ep ti [illegible] el [illegible] ha
[illegible] eR evtiw e [illegible] y
[illegible] ten tk e se [illegible] w [illegible]
[illegible] tep we .

By a [illegible] e o fé [illegible] [illegible]
fa fq yt [illegible] y
el v[illegible] ve [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] ths [illegible] ten tP eteG y
stateha tM tin ve tein *The*
Spirit of Laws ,a tE w a d[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] to yw *The Hs tory of the*
Decline and F all of the R oman Empire,a tch
[illegible] ce iw *The W ealth of*
Nations .[7] K e s *Ec onomics* [illegible] tf [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] el [illegible] t
tr [illegible] w [illegible] [illegible]
w iew tew o [illegible] [illegible] [8] [illegible]
ten [illegible] se yo' [illegible]
P[illegible] tN [illegible] [illegible]
ve tu in toc e [illegible] [illegible] e y.
[illegible] [illegible] oc [illegible]
a [illegible] w ayt [illegible]
in ve tel [illegible] [illegible] ,[illegible] [illegible] ew
ret[illegible] ewb ya te ve [illegible]
io vati [illegible] e tu [illegible] [illegible] y
M [illegible] e er to [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] to yR en

[illegible] wP oltic aP owerand [illegible]aP eop[illegible]

[illegible] tsp oi[illegible]g e [illegible] of [illegible]
o vew ay[illegible] ,t [illegible] sr p tri e
ev[illegible] [illegible] wsw e in ig o ated
by ev ea tte ti o ia tr p [illegible]
[illegible] p tsw sa[illegible] g
p [illegible] ew e tt da ,[illegible] to s
[illegible] [illegible] w.tw sa[illegible] [illegible] w
wsac [illegible] ca tel va [illegible]
[illegible] vg el tef del va [illegible]
[illegible] oyg et [illegible] e [illegible] eh
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] w,[illegible]
[illegible] vir en et el y[illegible]
el [illegible] tc [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] axati
[illegible] p e tati ”
[illegible] vi[illegible] [illegible]
el ati[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] teh
y[illegible] [illegible] ,se yw e e
t[illegible] tb y[illegible] to,[illegible] [illegible] o,
[illegible] e [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
el [illegible] yel y[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] y,
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
rati ”[9]
[illegible] ew s[illegible] [illegible] da tp w[illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] tel [illegible] tisa tu a
[illegible] tf de et [illegible] we[illegible]
en [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] t
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
P[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] e te [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] t[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] el [illegible] stated
[illegible] ti [illegible] t[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] etia
co t[illegible] ove[illegible] ta t[illegible]
co fe[illegible] a [illegible] ve[illegible] y
[illegible] ”[6] [illegible] et [illegible] [illegible] ated
[illegible] tu [illegible] teh *Two Treatises of*

G vernment. [illegible]

> *Of pow'r THE PEOPLE are the source,*
> *The fountain-head of human force;*
> *Spurn'd by their Subjects, WHAT ARE KINGS,*
> *But useless, helpless, haughty things?*[61]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] teacher

[illegible]

Pec eptor. Rbw e eitb a y.kaV tbl vaa d
kab ebiel ya tbkpa t" aG wyd
ign "r igG Rb s *M thod ofT eaching*
and Sdy,ng the Blles e tes, kbb ka
in t tbi ed atb yar e ofa
tw e ysP ia [8]

Rbw se vee ttek wv ds *Acien t*
Hs tory, bw sbiF kix te
vkfn ofi qXkfi stt la ti
in tbga yea fteea tjgbv
ka tew kbR ean to y,se eav t
ean tiat sn apbh h lg
kba yc kan jkba
ka kea e "[9] ekg tW lg tdl
gtt ean tfbko kv efiea tw bl
f da tt exts tagka jR kea tbl to y
ydo iw e yg e ykh kgn
G t y....F dR kbkV kg tdl ew
kjhvg e t en e "[10] Rbw ss
kea tba teike tu y,E aky ka
ykp isl tbY kbG ev kbv et o
Tbe ffe sa tbkg ow e ybs
p igl e tean tbka vee etb o eg eo ve
kg e tepbe a tiG kbl tjn
kbQ.f dean e ykby dG s
RjkR kbke tb tbh ya ea tbe t
tbpkl tjgkbe
redxG ta tR e o st dkbQ
kA s "[11]

k een ya tiekv eitkg te h
e tu y,R b sw ko sw e ejsu tr e o sb
eve ytbin ti kbo w o
lv ejkpo w oiq eekh
fdR b sko sV tbew kg tirg fkl– o
ke xka tr efke ve yr kn ke ve t
ka to sin to yin fsbr el sfa
tsv efe ve y tsih tbiha
en tbf igkn sptkbb
tat dem tbiskl to y."[12] Rbw sefi st
tbkkw o dfbka ka

[illegible]

[illegible] s”[3] [illegible] ”[4]

[illegible] w.”[5]

[illegible] ”[6] [illegible]

igdkfw st igt oen to
fsn .

Tfe Aric anCcer o

zAfp sc a eia w,ke ttt dn e
fmE dfne ww lfw lkt o
tR efn do w tde en pe edna
o atodkpfA pe atfg tt de
kpe hjfm yfg jsl iAm y
fa iv ,"et lfnM lfkl va
lg iaR pe atfl vhS efpD
myfe sea wyefsl hfg ,
ef "hso ypk kpw sa
on esfg fa so ve wigin
hkna t y,fw to ea tpl es ig
a w,kt kko vkko ha
kvM sta wsko vkkdo
tR ea w."[7] kin sfnw ko s
fE efia tR kn- pD
to ejfM sA kko a y eve ka
wkn tt oo veh ekko ,fw
kia tgka gekeh
iw e ,fwn kpe sy oa veph to
fa pe ,fM pP pfS fw [8]
ke ttow ayt de eg ea ten-
te kpa wye ,pe sig edg
jfpi sc en tato og oven tl-
an yta veh ya igfn
fe tfa ke wkpl va g
w to et ofw stv e y -fi ey e sd
a tfo wsofu eA jfN w
kga veit din tfG el ,t
kec a efr e o efR ig te sf
ke te ata t *Adams* fke d
G tu ya ftek efi stG ket sf oG e t
Et jfsio w,ka t *Cc ero* wsfK -
fl fk tp fs ve tY ea ftefg
Rome?"[9] G dV dw sg e te

[illegible] da ve
tka ett dbeg be [8] [illegible]w le
kac en sba tsk lav aysov to ef da
[illegible]t g ao "[8]
[illegible] ehid ya tea
kg et ds tet dbfb ha
lVl ka w.kef e soc en t dav tkkl
ha dkw sin fb yar id kez wsfo
lVl ka w,kdy g ,ikmpe tte
to kpkVl stv ede vefo
teW af dpkh efe et o
lVl ka vs" æ gkl byav e yf evfo
a yeh tiip ty ,kg iso
kg "[8]
kev ba tes tateka tkkf tkfi st
b e zsfkR evbs jga dkF e
wsaov to ,fW ekW ka gkl
aR eiv kfen akF kgka
Fi kkw e tno jgi iT
b stinkkl tyfi y."el
cisl elVl ka vv dkgfi ekl
fg esh on ven jtkkw e ek
sn tc jkon ta el teh fl ki "[8]
tw sgkw kka tkh afteka
e yop weka tr e tateka tG kez wso
goven ka– t en b yel e atsin to
jsha to yn tdp a b y,ekh ey
in ton b y.kea vekh tie b
tkbc en tiep ajgB to
e wpe s
Ten tr ken kpkkka
yea ssa tekkim kg kea
e tkke igg e teN wea ty e sa te
kv kkgsm tpn a tpi ts
ikG ei tkG sev bn ia te
6s geW ka tot dkka bi se vn y.
4ke ve kyv kb ekz d
p isl tfkbl eS ates
Yetkr iskfj eW ka tokea
sn tr en ekkf el ,kPs tatu e
ekkp e ksn tkk- ,

sig ,fe b gb agfm ie yd
vha .Ab e vatfb yab vle tA b y
Trkkpt ofS ow sem
b hgmks t g tdh
wha..ew s ve yg e tkkp efn
co t y,tdmft ydew sem ts
tkkp efm- kds
ft e ”[8]

Fopkl atw sw aysem om
eF cosd ey gfn cosh t
kg pb skg oven t pil
a ww e er ed o pa ajb ,ep we .

Chapter 4

Jefferson Bloom at William & Mary

[illegible]

laV tape sure ffe saR an ti
lgn tlab yalin fflla
GIke law e eaqpfla
ipa atof ona tea la tu yR an tsin
fsw ay,lip tt ot la ea wayla ehtc to text
fblla tle ffe saw sdyfo
tfri stf op isl tst dea lgm eGIke
tlR gam efi ela eE iafo
le ffe la sal tst lbl yalch
ia tea la tu yg lfle ffe sla t
gea lfg ,le ffe saV sam efi dla
GIklaR ela e atu ,eglla
GIke ,slA law e ,ihr psn
lfe ”[4] Hst a tsat a tfph
le ffe saw sdbtlla
la psi owa ola tGIeqp ts
Alsw e eqpl ef ofg tea la
ea tu ydw lbe efn lsla
ia tea tfip efe ea fdlGIke sam yla ve
la tele ffe sg ia tts ff ,Rlsn e
Fel lfdlW lg to

lsT tu ors

Hc lqkd edw la ysi
lfg ald ata tlf e tfay g
adw e ty lag al tef on lg eO
flsm tc lsn ter e o sfc lau igw a
le flo yjfZp tl fla to
lw ,le fo ele igP la ytism te ,
co t la ef ray et ot lke vdl efo
RlaG e ,efv fg sw la tla te s
tfgw e et dig elfr ig ,
igv ,elm sflo ysg to lla tla
wea tot op ta lafm lm psu veig ,
elm ttgla w.hjlo ysw e e
ig ea tla tav efps la
ko lgv ela tjlo y,elm to y.Ale t y
ifa sal yal s o s: tlqfo

[illegible] ”[5]

[illegible] [6] [illegible]

[illegible] ”[7] [illegible]

ha tasn ttigfbo lgv ewv lbk“ a
kV igg ea tfn cc o ve sbv o fbl
bsa vefn on tbn sn tofk“ a
bRa kv a dg enL e”[8]
hgb ye ffe ls st e a y
cfjn tdkc ibe se
f da sbkt lg tsa tte ytbM y
in sey gmbtF ea e
fevb ttev ayst cs ydt e a yg edt o
tv etofe so vjf lgv o odl
fb igfd vfg tofg on
in tlg ea tf to e ye ehkyu tb tsa
fate ,e ffe sv sjpt owa d
cen tsotn ha .hg ab yc p ig
se ve lg sf dG *’o s Tsclm Dpti ations*
tbie tv yfd te ffe sk el
E ’o sa ysc igtfi stsn te ”fb
sjyto ha co t a tt dt a tefyin
bRR ’en sjto ve ten [9] tfb t
kfo atc y,bv to ,v e eL y,T ja
fs t&n tsa yhiE o”[10]

Sbof oG andal

kg sitc ke ac bhy ,da
ti yea tbv te ye bfba ffe sa
ia ea tein tiv tefBv sitn
Ty ee fo ee ffe sa ka tbfM y,
a bR owevtv a y lg t-ye el fG
g el teT tfG ,gh ,ee en
p fb sfm kp ya tbc lg ,e
rlgf tyen tbtsh
hbym ea tbv ,eR owev sa se tel
fdk“ s bbkn en ts
tbv igfB gsa tajp ate
p ,bsa igen sfa tdy
bbg ef dg ab va tr ea
cyn tfie ghv sf o el o
kg eep ybc tc so ts [1]

[illegible] ffe [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ,[illegible]
[illegible] y ,R owe w st [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] ffe [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] o wy
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] tw st [illegible] te[illegible]
c[illegible] ’e s g [illegible] [illegible] f o [illegible] [illegible]
wa e ve [illegible] owe[illegible] [illegible]“ ca t[illegible] ,a
i n [illegible] a [illegible] ”[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]“ a[illegible] tr [illegible] ”[2]

Rowe[illegible] [illegible] ,[illegible] .[illegible] ta[illegible] ew
[illegible] [illegible] te ,[illegible] t[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
we [illegible] ge[illegible] s[illegible] [illegible] a[illegible]
[illegible] o[illegible] owe w a o [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]“ en ve
[illegible] ff[illegible] t[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] e ”[3]
[illegible] te[illegible] [illegible] ,[illegible] sp [illegible] tw a
[illegible] fo [illegible] [illegible] ’e s gov[illegible] ,[illegible] d
[illegible] o ,[illegible] ge[illegible]
[illegible] y[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] t[illegible] .[illegible] t[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] t[illegible]
we [illegible] [illegible] t[illegible] [illegible] t[illegible] [illegible] d ”[4]

[illegible] t[illegible] ffe [illegible] st [illegible] t[illegible] t
ex[illegible] [illegible] y[illegible] [illegible] te[illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [5]
F“ [illegible] t[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] t
[illegible] ftem y[illegible] [illegible] tc [illegible] [illegible] a
[illegible] te[illegible] [illegible] t[illegible] t[illegible] ”[illegible] ffe [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] y.[illegible] ffe [illegible] st [illegible] a[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] tv [illegible] [illegible]
f[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] ,w [illegible]“ a[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] t[illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] b [illegible] y[illegible] [illegible] t[illegible]
c[illegible] a[illegible] o [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ,&
[illegible] ge[illegible] [illegible] ”[6] [illegible] [illegible] t[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] ffe [illegible] t[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] ,[illegible] [illegible] ffe [illegible] sy [illegible] s[illegible]
t[illegible] t[illegible] y[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ws
w[illegible] [illegible] o e[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] e s[illegible]
[illegible] t[illegible] et[illegible] t[illegible] ffe [illegible] s
[illegible] [illegible]..[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible][7] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible][8]

[illegible][9] [illegible] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, [illegible]

[illegible] *The Wealth of Nations* [illegible]

[illegible] *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* [illegible]

[illegible] [8] [illegible] “ [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] w.”[9] Fro [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] .[10]

[illegible]

[illegible] [11] [illegible]

[illegible] ’ [illegible] t’s [illegible]

[illegible] text [illegible]

[illegible] ove [illegible]

[illegible] AD. [illegible]

[illegible] [12]

[illegible]

[illegible] w.” [illegible]

[illegible] , stat [illegible] t“ [illegible]

g aftedha tfdR em "Ash vv td the
kpe tdsbc p ydu hi s 6de x.[3]
e ffe sw bt ee xtia ipK sfn dn
g bd atc p ijmpbl
wo sdn [3]

Tobcc ojhSapak eand S ohnd

Afdc em ec e tdhp th wayf o
S thhi st ct avbt cin ahhe
tfqbw bh S thhg
dW jhdin at sh- t
to hp ,t he te– cS thhin he jhw ti
thd hfie xhf' shbl
phD dS tin tcin a
cjhhG ovbM he tp sa hy hm d
hpD ,'hD few to eih
t avhgS jhc phhbS
m yS tsw e eg e tcw hcin jhpd
h tfthhf cm yy e sm jdV jgm y
rathc hS thhg he tati "[5]
Fi tjht he ct ehhe gcs hw bl
hhb he jge jhf dS thw a
tw shh tie T.N jhS hd sfi st
hge tjp 'hht ls' dw bl
cem hs tg e "[6] hi yfi sthfin d
the ojhhG ovhe mjm
t ehin at he cc pB yhf
hm he thhp he thhc pm ti o st o
hhjm ehhp
chh [7] hS thin he tr e jp d
hm thht he o,hn cF ehv
hm e sp efe ehs we tV jhe f) d
hfV avo ehm eg e thM hd
p jhhm tfhr ijg jg o
S id ir [8]
hS thm ehht he chf o
e ve hr sP hje ehhA he ti

isth e ;ig wsf a tet oÂn ab y
hr to ea dr ld 6 tht
wag ig dhfgn tin
bydtw ow ke s[9] eO atgc s tw e e
b wefG ovtjpe a
s tsn he o sen ya vedm ep [0] tfn
S tsih edhe ,hg
hpv ig athga
s vsh hv fS ystefc ign t[4]
fa ,hS ts t hhgs ystem
f ign vathsb hffh w
fefc hl [2] vM ehe ;S hhi e s
sh cg sa ttim y,ht o
p el sat dy e s

XX astN fsnneoftn

hN wv aysfhhv e eif ha
s hhm tfhS hhgi tem t
hht hffg hg te he tu y.
fhm ts he xhfhc efn dh
S hhi ti tht ;dhp yehh
rhnc e hhffg hg .hk eyc e t
wag hg hs hhhn- tjhv a jm
hm t fhit ka sf or kt do ke
d vm tish tdhe fhht o
en thm hga tep s ein to e w
fefm ko [3] hfhc hh tin
exghp t;W ehv e tgj efa
hg ;pp- phmd ”[4]
tht dt hhm vp ha tahhh
co ve hhhv sh thE hv sjs tix
hy e s hhhh thE hv a
hhho ha o th wehh
fl tgh dhh tem th e ;b e
sh tifg hg ,tht ow sfhi stt“ o
p ie eh thg ehhE hv sag e tst o
hm th ydm pm ha ”[5] tht o
p pt dhhg er g sfy e hm-

[illegible]

[illegible] ”[6]

[illegible] [7] [illegible] [8] [illegible] [9] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

he etfo o et de vellT tu o ;sdn te s
f ofn hl ”to elfn (tp
)ldG ef hn o ,bw sdpn
h tew sf dn ve e bpl tl
f de et dv igp yp id tfl tp
bw sfsG tn [6] Ash tlfp
iÄn ad atpf'stlfn
exg ge atti on yh jtlfnl vl he
S tsw e ell ato sfg te h tu y
iÄn a ”[7]
h tfn jlpfS lsti
lg ten jtt h dp sdt p el
o lfko sfF ko h ;s attlin
tlgh sfn lt e atu eih
lw jlw e eo atlfG ow,
lgn tc o vie tt cg etko sh d
iÄn lv lfF lw e eko vf o
tlgg e tpt dn eh ko sdfi
eh atlfo lln tel
tlfw ko sfR ep tl e–
pi favo elfg ten tk e sv- a
yh vdt cc o tlgn tk eh
fjh ejw e eie o s eve yf ch
he ti ev jlw ss tie xp jt ign
ine aln yo sc o tlln e
isn t h tlp h he o spp e [8]
e ffe sp efe eF llll ,p ig
kp tfn y..f dlf ll
fen byF lfG ow.lh vel stl
h yf e elf dl ove yfn y
e ojte vefn t; &h tlr ewa dw a
e vell ”[9]
B elt h cc jll
in flw ss t g e tlll h tc h
elF a on elF jlm
lw e ilfg ten jtS lsti
p lin fh tec lÄn a l w
lw slr jlh ta ffe eo yS lsti
in tlr evjle vel jt
eS lsti in flh glj
lw ie elg eS jll y

[illegible]

> Rejecting all organs of information therefore but my senses, I rid myself of the Pyrrhonisms *[the ancient Greek philosopher Pyrrho's doctrine of complete uncertainty]* with which an indulgence in speculations hyperphysical and antiphysical so uselessly occupy and disquiet the mind. A single sense may indeed be sometimes decieved, but rarely; and never all our senses together, with their faculty of reasoning. They eiv dence realities; and there are enough of these for all the purposes of life, without plunging into the fathomless abyss of dreams & phantasms. I am satisfied, and sufficiently occupied with the things which are, without tormenting or troubling myself about those which may indeed be, but of which I have no eiv dence.[63]

Le fferson Slie W et Aoh6 to

W lan tte sdn ovea thn
t lG edW y.hZ
e ffe son vef de ea fevo st dae t
tos th wdfG geW yhaon
w te ffe sc d exa ea ”[6] e ign
Wyh s std jth tew to ew s ef
sn tf ta tee va fbf e[6]
6 geW yhdn -fi ey e sd
wde ef lgfb atf o
e ffe sgh lg w hsd
6 geW lg todP ha s
evem ede ffe sW yha vae ww d
h lg ah hdy ,hs th
ia tt extdw wen ,w
sn vgn et dh tri eG ke
hko ddg jdsn t
h vehe xh tt h ,f oW yhe en
ko ye ffe s w to esh tG ksh tri
hhs tate ”W yhdn tty
kc hG tofc o t y.”[6]
Hk jhG hpi hW yhea
jg et et dc eh hp d sf em e
w shh hg hs ystdh ffo
hW jhG yGhr eie wd
tw e ty ec sdc eh h t e atu esn
lg ty -fi ehG hw e e
exhg a ehc jhR en
p d tw e e ir le va tt dc dh w,”
b e vesh tia[7]
Wyh sko hw efa tt e atu ehe
ra hdc o t y,”c o ehW
jW c o tpn a y tw hg ot de
hd eS ath e te ia tte yg e h
“W sp hf hdh sO Ren
eG e ehhd
tq ehhp pn th the
cdh sh a ti et g ”hW

fdW ykee xie eitbiv
sa igm lg ore aitlz e wee e
sa tu ateiG e a dkkt ieh
b vefm tyi aitt cf pf cdf eq ty
ja efm tdha gefpd t y.”[8]
jdW ykw sap et ct ea a
t e atu ea tsc o tpm iish ct e tt
aa id ly .ft ha yr ef iif cig
aafd ef o efmfdm ,to
cdf lf cgjfdA
kfma tig jm ”ge
kV igh e .[9]

Jefferson’s Reading

twsedW ykha tje ffeerson ie elv tre
lac lkr lel ati ”[10] ls tlv o
jdW ykha- wha tt e atu e
jG kkha vv a ,lsm o
a ve lgp yigh tqlf b web y
el tlhh .

Jefferson’s st e a yc jkkfo
il ydr igv xpe jts wslv tko s
lka tte tia t tlfa ie e
el tjde jtlgv ya tt
wsp jtlhha tac jd in
G kcq atf cjlfet tu y
Alt g jia tit a tri el” fa
wo sfm a ejlu tilb le
in tpe etajsf cbafjfha
wo sfm tjg rtt eim e
riq ee vet e tm t”[11] Jefferson’s ays
fb vac lst cjlhlgv ,tha
e jsh or lhha d aftel
lhD atfjm elel el
a te .fa ea esa ve tpq atsf m
jfh cjlm elf m
a yha .

[illegible] *The Philosophical Works of the late Right Honorable Henry St. John, Lord Viscount Bolingbroke*, [illegible]

> His Ideas of the English Constitution are correct and his Political Writings are worth something: but in a great part of them there is more of Faction than of Truth: His Religion is a pompous Folly: and his Abuse of the Christian Religion is as superficial as it is impious. His Style is original and inimitable: it resembles more the oratory of the Ancients, than any Writings or Speeches I ever read in English.[76]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Know then thyself, presume not God to scan;
The proper study of Mankind is Man.

[illegible]

> Let us suppose a great prince governing a wicked and rebellious people. He has it in his power to punish, he thinks fit to pardon them. But he orders his only and beloved son to be put to death to expiate their sins.[78]

[illegible]

Xkpha *Memorabilia* ,bsfn
fS atse ffe sg a tp efe eK ha s
e o tf6 atst dR to's" f6 atsw eha ve
hg gidmha *Memorabilia* fo
Xha "ha ef dR tdm sfnb
bfG o sen hyt oc ovdso dmw
ehm le fhm "[8]
Ttw oe o tf6 atsiff eha .
R to sS atsw sha hse ff ey
el sid wpl , fo ,dh p -
in tha "hx ha sis" d tw ha
hl ,dp ti haw hsp hal
com fo le ina ys ty."hi ,el s
sR to sS atsn wsin te s tiga
h gef ,hx ha s gsma tsg h
hdpl yse pitha [8] hn
g ipK ha sS atse hy
sha oe ffe ln sz wsA tip jf o
expG kp sdn
in tha o sh tf" igif ia s t; ln jd
sn tha tw ayt ong ,"ha tin t
e ffe sdh hif e [8]

e ffersonandM teiqu

hTe ffe sha yf a fa ,t hl
in top hia w.T wo y a sh tdw se d o
hsb B gsP ha ssc sp
hsa vpi hsir igif om
ha yt og ovdsb el el as tkb
ko sf oT .hsb hgn
hkb 'e s O G *vernment* dw ko sb
M tiq [8]
hkg ag hc hsu o
re o ga sh ts kins hsh w.
M tbis tah stha vha
el el– fp tp ,in ,sbn
csb hg y,sb his a y,"ha
cifiw vhsqha

[illegible] y.”

[illegible] *Grecian History*, [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] ean

[illegible]

[illegible]

Happiness the aim of life.
Virtue the foundation of happiness
Utility the test of virtue . . .
Virtue consists in

1. *Prudence*
2. *Temperance*
3. *Fortitude*
4. *Justice*[90]

[illegible]

a tcif ,ina ttct dlkqX
bVl y,Ytf ein atce etra y,bw bl
bl ea tl' tomfo a "[9] kct isl el
tia tG kt da veiz ensfn tr abi
system igfqo ydia ts
a fg bfiig ,affba
sbn bp be xt avg iobiv ba "[9]
bwk st ol stae ffe sisbn t
bv aysba fit dct dfa

bW te fferonDidNK now oÐo

e ffe sinm yw aysbm tc bn xfba
fel ,sbwbn tiB e
tja' ii el idpa jko epbl
t bn ee ve yo vbo atibn tba
ia ."[9] fisbv lt or bw te ffe sa
idbo wobv bbsiba
Waf qbl iti ea ve y
rpa tybf eea vedn ot
bbe vep bpe jba
iÂn af o ti ,bidV bg tdbl
t avbjh tojae ffe ba so nv aba
rebo vev bg sf o ti ,be ffe sw bl
a vegr de ydv bg sBV ba y,ju ta
el y's iev se tfbn [9] tif tba sn
co tpn tif o ti ,ebg jba
epbe ydw sajfn ta oiÂn a
f e atbfbR evbjw bt ian
sf dBV a be- ffe sa ve
ve tu eh tojga wbba st o
ekp etw sadfn dba
bij eeÐ abv efbM bi s
jbi figa tv a ds bfbn
pe tpi e
bev bp ovef aon ebbt avbin
fi pP etaG y,bn tifba
fg ten jan ya vebc o e bba

ie ea t,“ Ma ffe sw sE pt o
the ”[9] Qa se ffe sw sjs tt on
fofo et ow a tt od eisl on ftfo
f o tf eeaw to e iaje ttet ca
b ve ,Hft lgi tbM
S way“ Mff eiaafa vig ia ”
Ma tisar jf ofo jdlap oid
ap h wayf ddw awlja t
le ttec o jd “Mn te ffhafg
s eg ia tjst or eti ew le jsd
tofi oo vp ”[8]
Mp lgn tha vedn o
js fi yf ha et ce xido w o t jf
byjdw bl sf epc o ft
lgn tha vet oid on fgi odn o
re ig ea tsajdw sf o wa dg to
tf o wa dgi [9] ft iam ya vee
redw lbbn la tea vein
exe ifp we .

Chapter 5

Madison Breaks Away to Princeton

Offfi stf op id sa
em tin fb ys tgin
tdn o tg ten tf de e
toR eG kn to yb y.
ev sin tow tg e tg e
fb sc p tdch
e ve te tn tu yg a en tgn
V jB yfffffM
e tu ya te ,sf yn 'sa tatc is tel fb
fn sffff ed
fo e tn tto ev e tt owa dg ed
fM tia [1] fi stt a sp p
we ef yn ,sg avefb
rgg [2]
F dg sfe vet ix tet" n y"
sffp e tc m
stR a
k we xp tn tev sis tZ
attdv e yE d gn atel
tdV jgB [3] g tm
ae xa tt a ,a tg" an
fg e tg ,ein tt a ." [4] tN
bm eik vg n tu fb
tfu ep id t

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] y's *Pec eptor*, [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] *Persian Le tters*, [illegible]

[illegible] *Considerations on the Cuses of the Greatness of the R omans and Their Decline* .

[illegible] *The Spirit of Laws* [illegible]

[illegible] [5]

[illegible]

> advocated constitutionalism, the preservation of civil liberties, the abolition of slavery; gradualism, moderation, peace, internationalism, social and economic progress with due respect to national and local tradition. He believed in justice and the rule of law; defended freedom of opinion and association; detested all forms of extremism and fanaticism; put his faith in the balance of power and the division of authority as a weapon against despotic rule by individuals or groups or majorities; and approved of social equality, but not to the point at which it threatened individual liberty; and of liberty, but not to the point where it threatened to disrupt orderly government.[6]

[illegible] *The Spirit of Laws* [illegible]

[illegible] ”[7] [illegible] *The Spirit of Laws* [illegible]

[illegible]

r[illegible] [illegible] ve [illegible] [illegible] o [illegible] [illegible] c[illegible] is t”[8] [illegible] [illegible] vat[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] a[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] te [illegible] [illegible] a[illegible] [illegible]

h *Considerations on the Causes of the Greatness of the Romans and Their Decline*, [illegible] t[illegible] [illegible] eve[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] “[illegible] t[illegible] [illegible] es tat[illegible] ta[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] s[illegible] t[illegible] f[illegible] [illegible] y[illegible] [illegible] te[illegible] t[illegible] ays c [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ”[illegible] [illegible] ew [illegible]“ A[illegible] r[illegible] a [illegible] te [illegible]t o [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] t[illegible] [illegible]”[9] [illegible] [illegible] vat[illegible] [illegible] t[illegible] [illegible] te [illegible] tt [illegible] t[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] at[illegible] y[illegible] t[illegible] vec [illegible] [illegible] g[illegible] [illegible] ws[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] r[illegible] ta v[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible]

[illegible] ffe [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] . [illegible] ove[illegible] t [illegible] t[illegible] [illegible] ws [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] re [illegible] [illegible] t[illegible] [illegible] t[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] t[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] t[illegible] [illegible] t[illegible] co ta [illegible] d”[10] [illegible] ffe [illegible] t[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] t[illegible] s c[illegible] t[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] s [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] t[11]

[illegible] [illegible] y[illegible] at[illegible] y s[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] s[illegible] g [illegible] te[illegible] [illegible] w [illegible] [illegible] ya t[illegible] t[illegible][12]

[illegible] t[illegible] [illegible] ta[illegible] [illegible] t[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] o c[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] t[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] tt [illegible] [illegible] tw [illegible] [illegible] v[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ffe [illegible] y. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] c[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] t[illegible] te[illegible] i[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] tt o [illegible] [illegible] v[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] reve[illegible] [illegible] y f [illegible] [illegible] a, [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

e iv en jtW g to re o eh tf' de
s tiqc dn ev tlw sjeb
bW gc tkbW y G e
ais kpt odG sti e–
h tte tfbW te ,st dkfn
kl ysie jfg e ac pn jt&
affo sdgp pt cy tbn
gdt ca ttjRbv todin "[6]
k ejR kG e ,in fl tV jp te
tbh ttdbW ye fo es g
h vjbth ept o
tu odd jeh tac g ev sN
ac o fn tp e jtRpd e ,h t
ac tadG ep je ye ef o
pn oven t&u fE d atfi– tth
k vdP fo e st dp yh gl ta tG sh
kbdG ,dft edn
kl eies t e t' [7]
Wg to sl tti ody gG sti o
bW yp pv stpi in
tin ajte ede ve h id ce b
ha tg 'sG eN W jo vG
tv e y .g 'sw sn tT o yfn yc g ein
h cjh igf eb yA sin
ce vati er ti dB tdV h [8] At e
tl igb yt dN W jV g tgn el
tct k eiafe ef *bimle tp–* e ye
fi stke ve vG p es tg eth
atte ti dp w'sd atp ovel
h isp ser e sy gm
d pdpf evon sh te. [9]
bW sf en dg e ty gm
hG sk edV 'g sg e t y,
bW see vesl byp tfn
gh ,b ig ,eb e ighm
fke ttb wa cf dB tco
b p e ipb ystu o ,stu o 's
b h ,df avo eh vep sh
Swe y. [10] YgW sg dn tbf de
yg g ,dbN dgl ati
atkl ati p g isl

[illegible]

[illegible] in to "[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] way [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] *Liberty* [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] ”[3]

[illegible] pon

[illegible]

[illegible] ”[0]

[illegible] [1] [illegible]

[illegible] s *Hellenic* *a.*[2]

[illegible] We [illegible]

[illegible] [3]

[illegible] ”A [illegible]

[illegible] tated [4]

“[illegible]

gol "hav to in ae y.É then pal
jbasha ya ea "[5]

Mionhlen t

ja tsbkac le e
hW ba vesb tfbh
ovlga t a ol way.[6] Ei tiga
cg ,ev bfbl alv oba ig
stbG tbi o sbt on
lg a tbp eF bwG tbi eg
a tbhq ein pm lt ope e so
tbg e[7]
isf oa tem em jbt lt o
ea tos lgm ,bl ebbk ,al
lsm tigf eva la vefi ef e tal
wlbtbQl [8] hav sg te vea
bylts tal sbo mbv e
Wlg tor ig ,ea o tigm ea sa te ,
wbtv e "Pbm bkav al
tbp "[9] hW se xt lgsl e t
tbbm yy ea sa tew tbl
tbie u sta lg la lb e stagha t
"cop eve tgfn ona tigm y,iv
lsf bbG tbp ,t o
al attk ,sm hv tr lgh sy,al
jgm tbi "[10]
tem yt lga tbv os al tbv
la abe tfa tB tow e eo
tbfbg e t y,k ehb
ratbf jgs fbm la tso
tbW fl o dv sbfa
lal ip te ,la ,ab le ,hv
lF la sf ahw sap en w
Ybbf ala so ab vep
hM sf la wsbm tih tbm
in tos tal [5] lP ebp yis lf lg ,
hM lf ein tdg je vegh
stl tw e ea wka ea tfi eo lo fogn

p ayre s[3] ffi yedtu o st kkbn
tg eea ,o kgjb yP isl t
tsV ps" ffg e lt kks bn
oy el .F opa ,kjkts tjg
ba wea "[3]

ffM oda jsn efin tta
f edfa ,ikto ve ie wfac lg e
f dpo eisd el jsn ea ts tl ts
we ef et ojg edut ba sfa
is tdfy jtc a eist ka et da a
jsfp ,ef eq ydfyt o
jfte vea o g edg tfp ate
jgh jtw p jgn dl atedsf
in fla ,ojfa tt da
isfp p to ."[4]

ffr ln o sf sdG kda ti
ba bsl- gE 'o s *Cutions* ,ba s
Dalogs ,X ja s *Gopaedia* .hba tfo
jsa yw lr edsa tc sa ti
ba tah tdg tsf efa
fo tzi sa [5] tw sajfb lgp
ffM sp p ata tjs tsm ba fte
jg ,ft kqfa f ln ya
exin jsiw sa wet qja tfi st
yefs isl [6] ffg adsn e
co sjg eh tcG kda ji
eg aefg g ja y,
ba tjgfm ln tsi "[7]

Pfsis ta jgc id sfN
hfsfm ba tsfN w
Ykb wet oP ln tdg agn
ffn jgfb e vefa
ge ac lg en tt dfpM
rp et df ata tts tl tsfB to
rsfa lp to s tan lifh
da tagn ef dfN Wr ko e st" da
eM ba tsfr sq tja
co ew sa tjp tb ydfl tsfn
ja ifc lg eY a ,dfjn
tfG sdfT lg "[8] ffa tf ja t
tafM sfi sty e ,efa

cen tha e sw sdV ‘s sso
,dha wsdg atd or ie ta
gdhdha wfy .[9]
Ty edgbm hp y,
ha ttec o ejf dV pdfi st
e tefm z *Eniq yCnc erningmhan*
*bders tanding,*dd fm la
hp y”ddfma tu e”[10]
dV pf odjdjn to
E ddf” si ”[11] tf egn tet ka e
sdg ovigdda
a ttedg ovige ty .Tel ya ac o e
hn tec id em gk eo ve ie vo
pi ada [12] ddw da ve
dsin tob vv dsda
p sob vv dv ateie ydw
ddjda tec ih
dg te he tu y.
fdV ‘s sa sdja
re o sdd atdn tjv e eis
sdf” dn hg sdg ajsi
goven tab tp pdc o t jsd
ioh tea ha w.”[13] ddjp
jsdf dbp ,dda
cq tg atdf eh o ie ty ea y.
hda ds tdgn ter sf o
rla [14] “fn ev sdgv ddt o
jdV ”iv to edfg ha ,f” dt
in t dm dja vsen hg ia ed
g oigv ,dhdn oidn aadd
fdg owh ”[15]
AttgdV ‘s sf tda eom la
hp y,dV stw da vea da
p fo se xien ied fi fd ”d
ec id vpe atedw d” Tea
te hp tm sdg e hg d ”
dV p stated” atedn tere t..
a eid tie w,sa ydh in jsd
tsd t oyde .”
hea xtea ,dV pdb w
co fda tv edn tere sdf e ea tp

g p sgn tel sl ig oven t

> Hence it appears that every good form of government must be complex, so that the one principle may check the other. It is of consequence to have as much iv rtue among the particular members of a community as possible; but it is folly to expect that a state should be upheld by integrity in all who have a share in managing it. They must be so balanced, that when one draws to his own interest or inclination, there may be an over poise upon the whole.

hisfa sba
tV pm ya vep tedfa
pn a tt e tfV s Fel la tP p s
tv edv cl sa te ,itV
ekb vin te e s c adtia
goven t exp tgt de xie e
p wein yep sob bA tem
jdV st da vesl g a el o
isl a edV p sie va tfR en
Fn ef lfo wv lg t ”av ig ia t
a tg oigv da ge [6]
hiy e ,bp eidv e e
reie wedwa vbgl
el gi ,o“ pl ati ”fi ls el ts
et dle fo ejl ig
sob atfe idla tev ke -
vel lV sv e yg da tef ro
hgv se xsf oga
ka tg el tfi g el teh
s tefs tayds yb tfa
fb ig ,bn ,ieb sef tt o
wke tot avlen [7] fdpm yb
a vew a tet de vef to

Wa sng ton A osedje fferson

N S Dh

By [illegible] ves tb G geW la tow a
lg odbr evhi y.tw sp la
fha tka wsjlp jha
tkisd tpsG ,f o
exlpde ttet dlg , a
ip eG gelg tha t

> At a time when our lordly Masters in Great Britain will be satisfied with nothing less than the deprivation of American f eedom, it seems highly necessary that something shou'd be done to avert the stroke and maintain the liberty which we have derived f om our Ancestors. [68]

fhq jic o jw sjs tb w o
kpfha tp ?T lgha tp
an yp ove y, lv e tu jhjha t
rth tism tp sw br iq ehh
wlgpm atg em t" lg
ic la telgh sfic la
lvl pv e yel y." fha t
S la p" lg el [69]
fha ffe sw sbl ta tf dx lfo
tlgrhlg aw lbg e t
a b te lal vo , lha tpcu lv jg
hlhlvl lF om tjhl
lgw df avfhm ea ti te lF o
jlw sp eb yP la ,lg e t
ix te la tu yt la b jhfm
b owla ly f dlgfa tR en
@ ajw ele ffe sw sin fb y
S atjlh p eb yX p la ta
w lglgh t" lr on
in tv js tlv tw sl el dt "[70] Ash
k w dlG k sfha a ie tf fo
Ram b te p ve ajw lt jhm
lgl [71]

fhR eoR evotionar y Fiscism

[illegible]

> which raised ancient Rome from the smallest beginnings, to that bright summit of happiness and glory to which she arrived; and it was the loss of this which plunged her from that summit, into the black gulf of infamy and slavery. It was this attachment which inspired her senators with wisdom; it was this which glowed in the breasts of her heroes; it was this which guarded her liberties, and extended her dominions, gave peace at home, and commanded, respect abroad. . . .

[illegible]

[illegible]

Even [illegible] vation [illegible] a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

“V exsem tfon ybw teve .”[3] tfn e
bw sdfdbpt dbB sis t
we ei bfbu idg ta– bp ,
id , bd ,b e ig ,eg bn-
a dbn ybV ig e t ybn
iv e
Twoy e sa te ,bM sten tfn
e ffe sE ve bybl ty e sy g e
eb tb tg tbb e ,w bb eb
tw ese ffe se vebbbn bg
tbbbi eb ttpn ta tn
tn bg bn y,e ffe sb ebr e e
fbbbh tgh.bl ve
wig dbn tov ibh pi
tp idbbg ep eb bd
cip ’tbp we sbbW e eb el
ap ebbn ”[3]
tfn en ee ve bbf e e tbbn ffe bn–
a ti tea wye ,bfl we yw ebbn s
iw sbb veo ev bg on ebp fi
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wee vec at dgn igr be ffe sma tb t
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Chapter 6

Adam and the Fuse of Rebellion

Offshore storm clouds gathered over the Atlantic as the British Parliament debated the Stamp Act. Across the colonies, a quiet but powerful unrest was taking shape. Merchants refused to import British goods, women spun wool in protest, and boycotts spread from Boston to Philadelphia. Adam watched from his workshop in Boston as his neighbors gathered in taverns to read pamphlets aloud by candlelight. The ideas were not new, but the urgency was. Liberty was being redefined not by kings or courts, but by farmers, craftsmen, and mothers who refused to pay taxes imposed by a distant government.[1]

Adam joined the Sons of Liberty not as a leader but as a listener. He carried messages between committees, repaired broken tools for protesters, and kept his forge open late into the night. He believed that every revolution begins with small acts of refusal and that the strongest movements are those that ordinary people can sustain for years. His work was not glamorous. It was soot on his hands and ink on his ledger. It was the quiet conviction that a man who builds things with his own hands has a right to decide how he will be governed.

> What do We mean by the Revolution? The War? That was no part of the Revolution. It was only an Effect and Consequence of it. The Revolution was in the Minds of the People, and this was effected, from 1760 to 1775, in the course of fifteen years before a drop of blood was drawn at Lexington.[2]

The turning point came when British troops arrived in Boston to enforce the Stamp Act. Adam was present at the confrontation on King Street and saw firsthand how quickly a crowd could become a force of nature. The next morning he wrote in his journal that he had never felt more alive than he did standing between his neighbors and the bayonets. The Revolution was not a battle fought on a field

"Liberty Hall"

[illegible]

> Liberty, . . . which has never been enjoyd, in its full Perfection, by more than ten or twelve Millions of Men at any Time, since the Creation, will reign in America, over hundreds and Thousands of Millions at a Time.[3]

[illegible]

Boston Gazette. [illegible] "To [illegible] *Greece* and *Rome* [illegible]."[4] [illegible]

They knew that government was a plain, simple, intelligible thing founded in nature and reason and quite comprehensible by common sense. They detested all the base serv ces, and serv le dependencies of the feudal system. They knew that no such unworthy dependences took place in the ancient seats of liberty, the republic of Greece and Rome.[5]

[illegible]

Let us dare to read, think, speak and write. Let every order and degree among the people rouse their attention and animate their resolution. Let them all become attentive to the grounds and principles of government, ecclesiastical and civ l. Let us study the law of nature; search into the spirit of the British constitution; read the histories of ancient ages; contemplate the great examples of Greece and Rome. . . . [7]

[illegible]

it had an Effect upon the People of New Eng gland beyond all Imagination. . . . perhaps no one thing that ever was written or done contributed more than that Publication, to unite the People of New Eng gland, as one Man in the Resolution of opposing force, to the stamp Act, and of hav ng recourse to Arms rather than submit to it.[8]

[illegible]

[illegible]

> Thirty Years of my Life are passed in Preparation for Business. I have had Poverty to struggle with—Envy and Jealousy and Malice of Enemies to encounter—no Friends, or but few to assist me, so that I have groped in dark Obscurity, till of late, and had but just become known, and gained a small degree of Reputation, when this execrable Project was set on foot for my Ruin as well as that of America in General, and of Great Britain.[9]

[illegible]

"[illegible] evolution"

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [1]

[illegible]

[illegible] [2]

[illegible] [3]

[illegible] [4]

[illegible] [5]

[illegible]

> I think he was the best humored man in society I almost ever knew, and the greatest orator that ever lived. He had a consummate knolege of the human heart, which directing the efforts of his eloquence enabled him to attain a degree of popularity with the people at large never perhaps equalled. His judgment in other matters was inaccurate in matters of law it was not worth a copper: He was avaritious & rotten hearted. His two great passions were the love of money & of fame: but when these came into competition the former predominated.[16]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible][18]

[illegible] *A Summary View of the Rights of British America*.[19] [illegible]

[illegible][20] Two [illegible] ."[21] [illegible]

[illegible] ."[22] [illegible]

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eve [illegible] tog [illegible] h [illegible] fu
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ksp eﬂF ha w,ab ykpn t
tkwv to ea tsn ke kjeo ”[7]

Ang eoﬂ6n tinent

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y tu a

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v y ti

tc w ”[3]

ak y

T e

g to, o y tte

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Phan twke sha tedl [illegible] tate for [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

[illegible]

> Mister President, Tho' I am truly sensible of the high Honour done me in this Appointment, yet I feel great distress, f om a consciousness that my abilities & Military experience may not be equal to the extensive & important Trust: . . . But lest some unlucky event should happen unfavourable to my reputation, I beg it may be rememberd by every Gentleman in the room, that I this day declare with the utmost sincerity, I do not think my self equal to the Command I am honoured with.[38]

[illegible]

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kr tte o te teÂn stp ovedf a
tgbj ttbt kbha tav e y
kjtc kr ate fbBe e t
rkbfB kl sstv e ty e s
ke .6s kbtv we'se ti es taffv skl
ow ybt to kfbpkd el
efi sw e eo t

Ss ve6nR evoJT oo

Gg tZBe ve to eh tgn t
ka veiz eepa pe vi epBÂn
e kbrf efc b ,as fbe
jpp kbw ka tÂ aÂn a
ikc jbv sg ebG kf o
kg kbv kg qpsn tfo
Â aÂn sbbv ev sar efu atfo
tv 'ksu fi ati fda ve y,kbw sa t
Â jso yka tu ysl vet dka vse "
ckbbh tia [0]
Ss ver kbv skg e tf ebfbl
kbtc o tpn tet kgl a tg efu
Bn sp eh to oBn ybbl
goverfv/ jgbt cof ef eh o
ka vepbw kbj tf dbbfs
jgbG vebbt jgka
Ss vesha tha kirc o tpn tu dan e
g e tbbirc ebbw aih
p oja "av ibbW to et ca
fbka vbkg e tw kjo tfbe
iÂn ebÂ Tca ykha tsbp
pibbG yka kBw ebl
kpw ebf kk ebo ykbfo
eh tko wsa tse et"[1]
a tea ty eBn eibr oyha
p kn tgbka vbp jgn
f eh da vskjl kr oykf o eBn
cebf jgka vsc kka

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

> Public Virtue cannot exist in a Nation without private, and public Virtue is the only Foundation of Republics. There must be a possitive Passion for the public good, the public Interest, Honour, Power, and Glory, established in the Minds of the People, or there can be no Republican Government, nor any real Liberty. And this public Passion must be Superiour to all private Passions.[47]

[illegible]

Chapter 7

Jefferson's Declaration of the "Am[illegible]can Mind"

[illegible]

> The passage of the Patowmac through the Blue ridge is perhaps one of the most stupendous scenes in nature. On your right comes up the Shenandoah, hav ng ranged along the foot of the mountain an hundred miles to seek a vent. On your left approaches the Patowmac, in quest of a passage also. In the moment of their junction they rush together against the mountain, rend it asunder, and pass off to the sea.[1]

[illegible]

> Or the case may be likened to the ordinary one of a tenant for life, who may hypothecate the land for his debts during the continuance of his usuf uct; but at

his death the reversioner (who is also for life only) receives it exonerated f om all burthen. The period of a generation, or the term of it's life is determined by the laws of mortality, which, varying a little only in different climates, offer a general average, to be found by observation.[2]

[illegible]

I knew that, to such a mind as yours, persuasion was idle & impertinent: that before forming your decision, you had weighed all the reasons for & against the measure, had made up your mind on f ll iv ew of them, & that there could be little hope of changing the result. Pursuing my reflections too I knew we were some day to try to walk alone, and if the essay should be made while you should be alive & looking on, we should derive confidence f om that circumstance, & resource if it failed.[4]

[illegible]

The knell, the shroud, the mattock, and the grave;
The deep damp vault, the darkness, and the worm;
These are the bugbears of a winter's eve.[5]

[illegible][6]

[illegible][7] [illegible][8]

[illegible][9] [illegible] *Tristram Shandy*.

Jefferson's Masterpiece

[illegible][10]

[illegible]

Ed atti de“ apt ddfo ha
wbl ”[1] sdaw to eft sspd
fsat cc eda ted gsu fi y
o ke sstpd ts ted wea ec jsh
tdt ka e”

hew o sdw sgff dde e
pe ;sf dqfda ede eon e
k eFn jdw ea y *Common Sense* ld
pe ekon the fo ee ffe sd afted
Ed atddpe eea ha
ea jgin sw ea ty -fi ed
tdy ea .[2] hfpn jP ida wel
ha ldc atsbr lgm eo
refe est ddaign sf on fdh e
kyl dqbi lc en ta ydpin
kff e eda tsfjn
id sfo G jsic lsf cce vG to
Pidte vedf jda
eh to yig te ha tu ypi la jgv
“Wp se ve kdw cda
refe ea et den eeg ati ep tha tta
ista ke ed a yt ha

hjP iw sen ti kdda
pe t“ Wea veimp wet dgw bl
oveg ja ”ep eh inp jp tt o *Common Sense* pdm ta ftedfi stpe ed“ A
ha jdn dep ea jta tdpd
idd ysfbl u tio w.Fd ydfa
e ww bta td ”[3] Fw sdea w je
kg tde .

e ffe sda da tv iep st da ve
kg tt dd“ Fw sdjfda
Ed atfpd ” hw to edd odl
te vpme wr gn jea vee fo e
kg tfo ,tem kt ca ygdda ve
kde fo jdt dpe fo eda
cmdkja ”e ffe ha se jsa
ha ed“ cdda wsa sdt owa d
tin fdP ide ffe sdt ie eda
jsn tidinF ha ydFo kg
aftew sd [4]

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eh tta tpahar ten ev/ ig
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hehg gse tyrien ,f ona b
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ove ighM hi ,e ffe sw sor iq et o
pe shyt oo el .B ihehw bl
ac igh hehw vew iehe
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hEi eign a thkp pe ,hhe .
hee tthehD ahehe ehyu t
top se tso wz wsot ig e" ep isD
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p pt ehc hf ob yao ie "B
ha tw sig ee ffe se rhew se
attpn tgin hg aon ehhw se
hen ighEn ahar ttpn tgi
toon veiEn a ith tohu ehw se
hgha ,hf ae yoha ye ix tgi
cseon the fo ehD atiw se
shf oc hish tu eh
hg atet ohhha
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Declar ationofcru eanism

e ffe shp ys tahh t" hhc o se
fhe ve ste ee yf oe
hst ol ee pi hhha ve
cte ehha .... "hg ohp se
hn tc o ve a hhg a tw ay tos tht
gsot os ya tw eo wee ve yehe
ehe tohw tw ea ehg
hhi stp g hhc o tsehf ew
h tsfr hgheh hhq efe e
tohha wsfhl tu ehhl tu 'e sG "hse
fhf even hhe ffe shn shyhw
"hhG t"hhG hi "a ee ti hhe se t
hg shhh tw hha

[illegible] f.

By [illegible] [5]

[illegible] *Do you think you are better than us?* [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] *Declaration* [illegible]

[illegible][16] [illegible][17] [illegible]

> Where in Locke property is the basis of social division into classes, Jefferson's formulation marginalized the principle of social class. The landless could no longer be regarded as either so marginal or so subordinate as in Locke. Where Locke nurtured a negative conception of liberty, centered on protection of property, for Jeffersonians liberty was a positive, developmental concept to be upheld and advanced by the state and its agencies.[18]

[illegible]

[illegible] *Dialogs of the Dead* [illegible]

wsaEo [illegible] yttle po
[illegible] fOA xeP pe
igre xlg eiuG iaT jlea
lg ed yix tlgfR jea sfitp ea
la ea jtlgB tfBM ”
Lyttle dlaM saA jlaR ean
pn o lsatc o tpn a yfla s,
rsf sfiG ven t an y,ean jte
o tlg ,dlac ea tfla
Plp ”[9] Tpn dlaeh ca y,tp ,
k eP owe ,ilg of dlapt
tlaeac sa tra t D tlfa ”[0]
k ee ffe la sfi sta teilp g jla
e dlatw o dla-
c,slla vea lg tt oo gia ea
goven tilala tsn dlfn t
k lt ce ffela fetyla ”
Tv e ya xtw o dlaD ajia tla
lgfle dp g la sh da tpa
islo edo wo d jfl ”e ffe sa
iv jsl atsla tg oven tsa elg el
lg ty .Tlafi stlaf dls tel by
e ffe slaflo ew ayf e
tlah elg pn jf jtl
jsi tei
ly jsa eew ssin flo ein
lah t“ lalg iflal
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sa ysflg jtlaj ,t dn ovfla
ag oven t ”flaiv ea ihs
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hdictinglK g

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[illegible] [2]

[illegible]

[illegible] [3] [illegible]

[illegible] ." [illegible] *We will not backdown. Our virtue is at stake.*

Signing Declaration

[illegible]

> Do you recollect the pensive and awful silence which pervaded the house when we were called up, one after another, to the table of the President of Congress, to subscribe what was believed by many at that time to be our own death warrants?

[illegible]

[illegible]

> The new Government . . . will require a Purification from our Vices, and an Augmentation of our Virtues or they will be no Blessings. The People will have unbounded Power. And the People are extreamly addicted to Corruption and Venality, as well as the Great.—I am not without Apprehensions from this Quarter.[26]

[illegible] *independency* [illegible] *United States*. [illegible] [27]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] “We [illegible]”[2]

[illegible]”[3] [illegible][4]

[illegible] “We [illegible] *all* [illegible]”[5]

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F ia dig ain vk o ea tp ira
Hid ha jtn ttro va dy o
t y,y oc te ebv o sf da
D atd ”[8]
sP hbd e vsdp wro
hbD atia tt ’sm ea
kv tw dg tt o kr ahkv tw ea e ”[3]
sk c o ti dt on w,ga
lg ee sm etv oe ia

Chapter 8

Washington

The Noblest Roman of Them All

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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ha tfde atelg ea lF jkwl fea tel
ain vef oon ve ekjn ya vigbo tet
edw igdf efi ,a ftedw a ,ea
wdpo ylg ea tse tr jkc edw
rkp weer eted dsf ,ea
iAn aG tu
fdsR en jkeh tdh
g ea tse te ffteiA ah to yw sdhw
tdw sa tc on fto ha– t jse ign
tiAn aF kgdW af o
jdw sone ysl ten th
jfG geW lg to stkdtc dsA
gea lew tdf eet kifm a y
se ke sihe dffa ty ha– tdn
c jdr ta ed yr egfdjl tgf
kse tsn efzg ea kidjt cg pe
ken tu e fdw adsf edt o
kn eg ,sW lg tow sgdg ea tse t
tdl ef atse vefS tpe iz ee ve
tel ye edw ts o ef ew iig
kea tri ew a .fdw sdw ah tw de
wo byo kdw saff e ea tfc o fsa
kc en ed stdkb yw ,kn t
lg ,kt cfg t saffn la
sdn tkgh jkR en
gea lF kw se ttek w oW lg tod
kpe sfiio w. kw se atdb yR en
fed fea tgkin vifdb y
regt cz ee tkfG e lg a
f dkifB2 BC kn kh lg
tel y'sF edc sdA sn to
kt ,kw ,kw eks o ew oo ve lgn
tz ie g ia tR iiA lg ,ka
Refdt cF kgm
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avi[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

We[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
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[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
by[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
Plutarch's Lives. [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] y we [illegible]
cat[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ”[4]

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Plutarch's Lives, [illegible] ate[illegible]
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re[illegible] ”[5] [illegible] [illegible]
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[illegible] [illegible] va[illegible]
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of *Plutarch's Lives*.[6] However, [illegible] [illegible]
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ñQ tsF lsVl isw sa the“ e tF tti o
ghlw in te tti dgj thb
tlqbw igdw a tgh
ig cdbsb yp sfin ”[7] ta a b
cbh jsbe tsbc ad tjñ la
e vew on ye tb tlbh tg ia the
lgh tjsbbhbn edt el y’s
t lbA ah tF lsd ovebo wa ch tbe
lA $ [8] lsV se lgbm ee ffwi e
tbhlg e te tbbhF la
sm tbc o tebm es fu st atig t

Hs toiranlsF albanism

Tlm tu eOV lg tbo ss t atglbha
sm ylsf cs el tsbR evbi yW a .
Tlm yp veo el be sm tlbm em
tbw apj lbbh tjr atbh
f cbm a yp pi eF ce xjm e
be ibe lgv lsw e ,ig
Wlg tbo sp wlbj lbsi ftbe
wa ,el g atbbm a y re o dy
“Wlg tbbh vebbhl ti
sar lsbe let flbh igs tom e
fg tsbw jsm tsbj ebl ,sm t
to lbjbn em te tf la et dbbl W ko
lsv ebsj ebl fr p s
lbl .”lsbh t,“ ighw a ,lbm
ta ebfe ve yel fe tr lbw sbz o y.”[9] Ts
cbsbp tb tw a sa em eb
jsu tas lgbe jsbh tb lsbm tsm e
tbe isl ef a ric o fl
Ep is te tp tfc o fss lsbe
Wef qbl tsbt die te h
e tu y.Tlbe co fl tbw osl lyj
ff e e tp lsw afp tsbF la
st atg .Hef em ,ejj tsl fia e b lst
f cbn to jsbh tte ,ea vsb let

[illegible] however,... [illegible]”[0]

Yet [illegible] “W[illegible] [illegible] ’... [illegible]”[1] [illegible] “W[illegible] [illegible]”[2] [illegible]

To [illegible] every [illegible] extravag[illegible] [illegible] -f[illegible] [illegible] eve[illegible] [illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible][3]

[illegible]

[illegible]

> In all your marches, at times, at least, even when there is no possible danger, move with front, rear, and flank guards, that they may be familiarized to the use; and be regular in your encampments, appointing necessary guards for the security of your camp. In short, whether you expect an enemy or not, this should be practised; otherwise your attempts will be confused and awkward, when necessary. Be plain and precise in your orders, and keep copies of them to refer to, that no mistakes may happen.[16]

[illegible]

he ft da vehas t atge ,he yc ae
hsk eep wfac ahas tighv
hW hg tonv to ea te tte ,hhy et
el vhas t atged stighc o fl
hgh jtin ha tto ehhc ct ti ha
an tte ,sg e hsn thha ya e
ove hhn vv dhg ttol ti hg at o
el stehv aa tte vhfg e hsh
whhh vo vv op ta eehv hl
tg sh effthin hh vefsl
whfn tel stighv hc ehr efl el
ohn tu efhv aeg a tohl th
p atsi or efhr e hghv a
he ttea thhfh e vatic o tpn ti
hv e e sn thc o tpn jehl
hsn tg e ha ehhh w.tw a
Whg to sg e te thn a yk tan yh ve
hg jhhv ahe
fh tw sy ett cc ehfa thv a 's
ta jtel stehv ach
jhhp tti hl shv hl
p ovek eyt ohe ve ha t atge .hhv a
co tpn thhhh va phh
hl va ct jhhhl s" tn
fhi sg e hhh ehsn tff e e t
hhP hhe vea w,"hv to eha tz
fh ve ph ko ehhfi eh th sf o
6 wa jhh& ol aigm eP ayR oh s
hh yhhhh eitv o
on ehn vh e t,& dhf oh
ehf e "et o ft o hc ish th
hg th hhfe tte ,hs ti
jm ie ehl e yhhv hg tv e y
whfp hhfi hh ya ea
exghh th "I Whg tom y
h vehl gighh ehv
hfl ty ,g h ihl vhl s
hfi sth tih tjf ohh
zn tdf b igv te ,w st oh ovh
fo in tcc hm x tw p g eh tthhm
on ighR oh yhh sa tthhp y

[illegible] [2] [illegible] [3]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

Wlg tro" tfbA m ya ydem tbv
æl fe jtbG t yss tbdpa y
jG lba tbim ydc ga 'ha
lbW ebc eh .Gs ,la
jd atba ttbfpa
iAm sb' avida yc id la
ism fed dt ka ep tbv eeEm ylo
fp dt dg tsbv em "8 Wlgh
le ttev sbfc o g edpbG e
lev sbgt op we ,t lgf aom e
el cda tbv sg gbv a
bv gv ay.Gs gbv bg ot de em
Wlg tro ssm te ffbi eg e ja cgh
owV bc gbdbv sof ig
ign tri em a ygh tbp gha
way t owa d ba a tri ep la
Wlg tow sm sba fte wa ,da
fbG sa tbv sgs t atg
ab vw bh dg t ael fia eV ab
p ts 'bv ss bfgs tbv tha t
wbe' GbV abel fia e
tbe vec lbV abp sha tw e
lbo ia vdg e bbp
a ygt dia lc jb ya
jm tbv eg te vet dal aw "7
el ish ebv ayf o wa dh
co fbt ly da tle vew sba
ja y,ids tatea lw sb 'W lg tro
co fet dc idV lg t,bv sa
ove igM tV ,abba el
sbbl e tg ts 8 lev sam t
fr iaP jk et dt lbb vg ois
g,dha yct ef o getb vr lv a ,de ve
eka gi eja fic ae
lev bt ysf to sp bha
fb igm jgm yc en dm
Yetg iav bf jbbm vlm
fF tV lg t,a tbfpbM ttja
eF tjid jv e ta sbbR e .
fbbt p sbma way
lka yw e eif sm t,ea yja

s d d w e e p e s w
m d p s o c p u d t F o
W g t d " s n t u f a t a f f a
d i g e p e t f l a t w v d v s t
t p w d d t w e e d p a
g d d y, & d o t w e
p l " W g t w t o e p a t e t t d a t
d s t a t d d w i d n t t d h
t r e t g d d " [9]
F o p d e v e p r e t e t d
s i g p s a d d n t d N w
e e y. W g t o s p p s w e d S
w s w o a y. A t p p w o d " a "
p s f m s f n W g t o s o d s t o
s o i t e r p o G s B y
c o t a p d w o d n f a t a t
y e , g h e t n p g p
r p t d d k [8] h a t d d
a y d w o d n a t i d h
f g p e v n f i
c o d a t d
f s e o v d g t d w t c s k i
t e v d f a d s " p p
W g t p d t m d h a
p f d d w s a t u w s m
n t e h t e s t g d d t u
c o d n s o v g
F p s p n a t g p d W g t p
m s p " f d f d g d
d w o s p s B y d a
g p D a t W d a
n p s o F t W g t d d
a p d t e r e t e a t h g e s y d
n v o e h e a t t p p d o a
v e y f e d d s a t e "[3]
a W t W g t o s p d
m t e v m w, w s a t g d e
w s p e f e a t g d a v g

Seed of Faith Fatter

Gideon tried to shake off the weight of his family's shame by hiding in the winepress, but God saw him not as a coward but as a mighty warrior waiting to be called forward. The angel of the Lord did not wait for Gideon to become perfect before he spoke; he simply told him that the Lord was with him and that his strength would be enough for the task ahead. Gideon's first response was a list of excuses, pointing to his family and his own lack of power, but God answered every excuse with a promise that the weakness would be turned into strength. The story shows that God chooses people who feel small so that the glory will be clearly his and not theirs.

Ruth left her own country and her own gods to follow her mother-in-law Naomi into a foreign land where she was a stranger and a widow with no guarantee of food or protection. She gathered grain in the fields of Boaz and asked him to spread his cloak over her, a bold request that was actually a proposal of marriage. Boaz blessed her for her kindness and promised to redeem her family's land and marry her, and their story became the lineage through which David and later Jesus were born. Ruth's faithfulness to her mother-in-law and her willingness to work hard in the heat of the day were the seeds from which a king and a Savior came.

Hannah prayed silently in the temple while her lips moved but her voice was not heard, and the priest Eli thought she was drunk. When she explained that she was pouring out her soul before the Lord because she was deep in sorrow and anguish, Eli blessed her and told her to go in peace. She left the temple with her face no longer sad, and God remembered her and gave her a son named Samuel, whom she dedicated back to the Lord all the days of his life. Hannah's prayer shows that God hears even the prayer that cannot be spoken aloud and that he answers it in his own time and way.

Daniel prayed three times a day in his room with the windows open toward Jerusalem, even when a law was passed that anyone who prayed to anything except the king would be thrown into the lion's den. He did not hide his prayer or change his schedule to avoid trouble, and when he was thrown into the pit he slept peacefully while the lions did not touch him. The next morning he was pulled out alive and his accusers were thrown in instead, and the king wrote a decree that everywhere people should fear the God of Daniel. Daniel's faithfulness under pressure became a witness to a whole kingdom that God is real and powerful.

Esther was a young Jewish woman who was taken into the king's palace against her will and who had to hide her nationality for fear of her life. When her cousin Mordecai asked her to go before the king to plead for her people, she knew that she could be killed for simply entering his presence without being called. She asked her people to fast for three days and then she went in anyway, saying that if she perished she would perish. The king saw her and extended his golden scepter, and her courage saved the entire Jewish people from a plot to destroy them.

Peter denied Jesus three times on the night before the crystal was broken, swearing that he did not even know the man he had walked with for three years. When the rooster crowed he remembered what Jesus had told him and he wept bitterly, knowing that he had failed his friend at the moment he was most needed. After the resurrection Jesus asked him three times whether he loved him, one question for each denial, and Peter answered each time that he did love him. Jesus then told him to feed his sheep, and Peter went on to become the rock on which the early church was built.

Paul spent years after his conversion in Arabia and Tarsus before he was sent out on his first journey, and he later wrote that he was given a thorn in the flesh so that he would not boast about the revelations he had received. He prayed three times that the thorn would be taken away, and God answered that his grace was sufficient for him and that his power was made perfect in weakness. Paul then boasted gladly about his weaknesses, knowing that when he was weak he was strong. The thorn never left, but it became the reason he kept leaning on God instead of on himself.

an ttefm a ysR eb wedt ce po se
ksl lgg tt oW lg to fi stjo fo e
tglka lav e
Wlg tottha veR 'el se ttenf o tfo
jtkc lgg ttw lgf de s
lo fr pelv sfka tev bl
re lle so vto eg aklpa
el sn tfR 'el sg ativie ve vo
Wlg to sr e tfe esc eh .l'
rie 'dy osn tgl tte ige ttln- t
ty da tf atlifklw is
adg e tel atks ylle ve
wa tfe lc o g e-.te tkl fe t
ksn ig esn ta ttelfklo t
ylcu 's dkl "[2]
f' atlifklln- tan
Wlg tob wels tgi tyw ofo
lof o wa ige se tte toR el' fn
klw spn tom ylb yfo sf on
tlW ejl "le jkah e g la
cove to el' igtflgP ate
le tte ,lgit ylle
6 pkl slklle
le tte st oy of dflaP le jx
ylfy ofi "[3] hlpn
rplW lg tow sa ig ,Y da vele
fdlg ty ole ttellB
rale lt la ey ot ot jklee lgt oy o
tw yjsefo ,lt oy o
lW lg tow bl te flin
f oR ey etc o tl ow klgfo
kl stgh jig ks tla sehw a , le
cdle tp lf lgm ttelo ww le
fjh tf e ellt la tlw a
Wlg tols to
S ve lom lla te ,R jlo slg
lgflo sf oW lg tot oc b
ol jw to et df cjo ate co ve a tlw
Wlg tollm tte .W lg tog el
la tr sq jtom la ftla jtjt la
en t ile ttet or pl' Tejf lm yfe

[illegible]

> entitled me, I thought, to your advice upon any point in which I appeared to be wanting—to meet with any thing then, that carried with it a complexion of witholding that advice from me, and censuring my Conduct to another was such an argument of disengenuity that I was not a little mortified at it.[34]

[illegible]

Washington's Farewell Address

[illegible]

Wlg tow sr igf dlo lbin el
wsbe gbsh yedw ieD
ldlo ehe ttea tlfo
tP lo..a e tq ekb yda te
ism fta ”[8]

Fod ysa tedbn tipbe
w to et dlo tbbt lg
eff dyl ,e o ig tcxc a efc o tdb y
ta ea tbtM ybfu ep isl t[9] f’
eve ya veits t id or tbbl vAm y
tlpbbtg eip ety
ep ”lw to e‘ Yoc af ctbfa
lo ybm yfi tbtbb vye ve
lbg e tebbfbtn o
exc ateffn den ”[10]

Wlg tdbt dg tbbtw o
ff e e tw ay,sdbf lbbn yw a
lgw ay.lbb lo id tdb tdm
tlpw e ebg

ebbjen lg or lbbed
el tef ist e sf cgbo yla tsT tbe
tybbd itt do ebo vpi
Re’el sf tbe ttet o6 lbg tel
Wlg to sef oon lg do w lew sa
lg tg e lt dbbn aen y.tw sa tbs
tbn tbc jo atb6 lbc o ft o
ta ge ybl atb6 tsa t“ e t esa
te ig e tiion tbb fi t...h
tbon lg bvde ybo
pw ea eb t”[11]

ebw ac en cB tcb vlen
yBW ypb ata tbe
clg e[12] ebn ejs tibbY
bt p sjbc ybbn tfo
sbbc lg ’e sg , wsdbf o
b lbp ebr lbg [13] Evew o ysa
fbn ypn b we sfbbn yl
lbbN vV kyB tko sc lbbr el
foig cfybe ysbe
clg ’e sc lbB tw ebbfbe
lbfbl sh el byybB y

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

> You are to be extreamely vigilant & watchful to guard against surprizes, & to use every means in your power to obtain a knowledge of the Enemys Numbers—Situation—and designs. If at any time you should discover that they are moving from Brunswick and that Quarter towards Trenton, or the Delaware in other parts, endeavour, if it can be attempted with a probability of success, to fall upon their Rear, & if nothing more can be done, annoy them in their March.
>
> Every piece of Intelligence wch you may think of Importance for me to know, communicate it without loss of time.[46]

[illegible]

Wlg tdig tbz o ysbl
eh thffbu
c sbD wa eR e ,jd tbe tel
bg ia tT re tpdt bsA
je sG sw ssr le vebo ysr jfo
tbz o y ha ttip tebe ttebhe
ah y,a ftere dg tdbf
Tre tpW lg tca ttka el tbf o ea t
ea tcA tha tbe tbbc jbA xel
hh db yen ya o tsl te ebe tte yb
cet dfi ea tbc lg ejbx -
pbjtb tbe efg
Gs gel [7] hh dgn tha vejbe teh y
jfbc lg ejz eh tbbr je eh
je atti cen ha tee e sal el
stel t
tbw avefbz isc eh
Ah tti dt he cen ha sitt tb
je yc je tu efbal el then ta tT re t
Tomb sq tbbe e y..
he tdg lp jfbxl
e hh t,"et he cg e tr je el dhen
fbW t'sen jebW lg tb s
ebb ter hen tfbl sb ya
iA ebb tee ebc tbfA a
ijen y.[8] Kjb jha
f etteh tbife ve tsw bl ejh
jfbA at he o

Wa ng tonv lam
f ateg

tisjbkbh tg e bt yt dg t
tha tw a ha– tjdw tw ko ebh ttin
tbh tsl tbz ebg tbR he ,
he yt et dg tbw ah yw bk et dg to
hah the ye je el o g tbfb
br jbkfi tbf o en t
tbfbg e bst ed stehn tu eb he

wadsf lsfi ettu dea
h dv ay,kep efe edne
ekp edso fish tsip
fdai tef g g ,ea jap el le
jgfxc o fl
Ga ech kdug p se
a tu edw a ,ke xtjst odt lo
atdt dg tt

- kV tr se sea ea vjsb vgn t
  ea ykpn yet ed sdt ka t
  al
- kV tc akm yt p st od ,edv t
  kr e jg ese xjga
  cpi
- kfm ys id tec ech sa e
  ew tdi ;sdfjn t
  lo sg d

A wjgq tsdia dv ka tea
co efg e kisjgkfdi p
cdn tsn tpitf kp
le sdn we sg kv- tw se ffti ea t
wken ydre ffti ee xtw ke sn
el t en ykdg sen tin
tr o yg sjn dc edv ka t
A jgh dkq jgp
lo id tec ech ;sv sapn sn
tkf cV kg to ekv kdp
jel tdff e e tw aysb yh edn
gea kdyew ap edn t
p jgn el atG tsdkv
el tjdfka t ayel
ke tri ec sa
Wg tpt dre vka jgc jdtf la
Byj,Tv sK wsa y,ifdla t
stdV kg to s gea kdkl
kes t atgfaw afp ts ”a ka ,la
le sdfn kp jg“ aon e fl
wafsn e ,kob kfs la
la kdykk p tc jgfa

cpm s dg g ,kc bbbbbd
el tbr lg st on fbgh dkp to g
bbbm y."[9]

bM tpn a jbbbb vv obb
bl sbbY sbv e ebr lg s
fb yt ed cs attbd nbe tjbb jbt
bbbbbb yv lb ysf ov lb
bbt p ,sm tbn b wel bya
tfb jgb ybb tba geY etc jgb
t p sw sk dgbb vv obgb
bm .A tfi stW lg to sb xpb atbb y
bba tu ebbbbb yZ
ba tfbbM tbp evbbt o rs t ia
bF o jgbX ob ybbl sb
fm yibb xo isQbM bb yw
bbv e ybt st qsbsm eb yc ab ve
bb lg tf bbt ob ttbbb yb
am tte ."[6] jgt dbb ybb tbbb
bbt bb tbm ch sbl
b s dbg dbbbf bb
cp tu eb tb to [5]

bbbbb ttbb vv obm
fbw tb yw e ebt ob vjgbbb
fbg a ts tpn ew ebbt o
s tm tbbg ty ,"W lg tbb tbm tu el
"Wem ye jbe ve ybf ob ,sb tbM
cbbbw esm tbe jbf ob y,s ib
fbbR lg sbb efi "[3]

hbw o jsbm bbm bg
effbi ebbbb tbp ybt db
st g bbe tbbg t bb vv ojsh
fbbf o s jsbbb yw bl
p ovem er b tfi o g ebm ct b e o
b tbbp t bbbbb tiw a
ig jte tbbbm ct ct df sm
wsbr jp foc o ve bbm a yg y,bt
ijp tbw ayt owa cbs t atgf dp
el fa jgbf

Attbbf o jgbbp
co voysbm ebm a ybbbm t
bbbV bp bp bg ,a

am ysn tea te ve yel y.F ddfdyin
a yig eel y,ar law aw sdan
lan tbe tedS“ Wea vedea
p etyan tko rvo yadfi oigo
fig ytf ondyb yel ”aS tsti el ea t
edaM ayr ie edae tte .“sda
rsa lsa ek kdkdw o t y,tis
lan tcon vedaa yel edsa fetyw
ap eyda gee to ”fdin taiv st de ve
cadtdiqel tdtdda
ta yat cc pa tu edea d[3]
fS eaw e eida fdfon edfd
foigaiv e ea gdda yw e e
lat cc avga ef ddf ddo la
iAn sdA ,ldf o gr ada
rse tgir e ovigdiv te ,w e e
fadgb yaef cc sa tea tpa t ldgin
a gden sdvM tga tea la tu ydda
tca vidgi tgiv te ,law sdfi o
kpdfn edfdAn daiv e e
lge ffta eiac ldf dv o
rseF an sse igtdiv e eda
la yt idc pa sdiv e ea el
fddfd cc edn y,f o igan yf o ig
jdf oan ldfa fde vedal ysg ew
ldfdAn air lg swe eea fin
eal vae se ya te vea ydfdfdn tfo
tdpdif dal vV kqZ .fS e
wadbi ldda fida tda
lan ldr lg tedpk igae yea
Tdef tdt e sidish tfaid
tdo vdf ddo ldan te ,la la va
lgn tf ea dq jdf ldqdf on
fdfdg s
fdg dddga tdan eda
fdv ldf la e .fS ygn tdv oea
el y,t edea xjel ldf tdt la eqin
dadan d[5] ldfdje el
fdAn aan yf dal vV kqZQ tel
ja tdfdfa ydfdfdl s
ByF la ydfda ydju tdfdla

[illegible]

It is high Time for Us to abandon this execrable defensive Plan. It will be our Ruin if We do not. Long Lines, and defensive Systems have very near, undone Us. . . . Our Army has ever been such an hugh enormous Mass of Deadness and Torpor, that I dont wonder their Inactiv ty has bred the Plague among them. We must have a fighting enterprizing Spirit

conjured up in our Army. The Army that Attacks has an infinite Advantage, and ever has had f om the Plains of Pharsalia to the Plains of Abraham, the Plains of Trenton and Princeton.[58]

[illegible]

[illegible] on [illegible]ins
Wa[illegible]ng ton’[illegible] ateg[illegible]

[illegible]

I know the comments that some people will make on our Fabian conduct. It will be imputed either to cowardice or to weakness: But the more discerning, I trust, will not find it difficult to conceive that it proceeds f om the truest policy, and is an argument neither of the one nor the other. The liberties of

America are an infinite stake. We should not play a desperate game for it or put it upon the issue of a single cast of the die. The loss of one general engagement may effectually ruin us, and it would certainly be folly to hazard it, unless our resources for keeping up an army were at an end, and some decisive blow was absolutely necessary; or unless our strength was so great as to give certainty of success. Neither is the case. America can in all probability maintain its army for years, and our numbers though such as would give a reasonable hope of success are not such as should make us intirely sanguine.

The circumstances of our country put it in our power, to evade a pitched battle. It will be better policy, to harass and exhaust the soldiery, by f equent skirmishes and incursions, than to take the open field with them, by which means, they would have the fu ll benefit of their superior regularity and skill.[62]

fed stigma ashamed the ch
rea vi ected ajdah dde
in fel byek pe ti lae vag igo
fE bl gaG ow.P pa sson t
pe via ef e tu ebh 'o s *Farmer Refi ed* ...is
tew ayitbfsm t
la ta ie tdig tem ppe-
S tai er eel el h lgm tdg ge ”
tv eS la yaiK'l fE eisa
co ja teh odu ja la tde s
lgdb se jem ysd
is ten tay ,t da ydfu edp
t ”[3]

By ZV lg tde tdn tde w
“ts o yt ig ”w ayfw a ,ihp se
el vge- po ig- e vp ie tfo
tdiZv o efsn t
b se vedpa si fdidha to
tfi stdfEn y’som ven ptdV
kdsm tp edn ,fin
el tidh oz ed eve yA yeih
p wed ca ffo de ve ysd ”[4]

Wlg too ww da ttka tsfo
jp ,tdz odw ah lg
lgp tdfsm gre ac ldm
toc ld tedA at p s- lg sd
tdpr te edv o .fts
is ypin te tidkav e yg
ja ”edfg e lsR ha ,ha
jda tfg idN vph ts ed
tsV tsgn tte tdsfn o eb y
la gdfc ion ati ep ,
edgfbr et e t“ A
tte tdfmt te ede ew bl
kn edV gig a isf dsR lg- em
tod ec ypd de vds t g
Pso tsksn tkn edsfd ve yw ja
ede xt kyn lfg ysb yf o e
wedha veif o t ”[5] fEm es tsfo
tdsdd a tg edgn o

[illegible]

> The strategic key was the Continental Army. If it remained intact as an effective fighting force, the American Revolution remained alive. The British army could occupy Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, and it did. The British navy could blockade and bombard American seaports with impunity, and it did. The Continental Congress could be driven from one location to another like a covey of pigeons, and it was. But as long as Washington held the Continental Army together, the British could not win the war, which in turn meant that they would eventually lose it.[66]

[illegible] *Precisely so! And the point is that at the end of that year, we still had an army.*

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] olitic al [illegible] aban [illegible] ategy

[illegible]

Pian tb ya tsq jie xpo tha tash
tdd tW lg tda tdkt oe xta e
lss t atg .

Wlg tde lyv sa wa efbs
s tin jsan ya vea edfm
fsn .As tu lgg g ie ec ch ,lsv bl
lv aysar ta a tF kkv sfg te ,"
statedkkM sff ekte el
th lgh ,lsv lba vep ovef ath
itlgth lgg ."[3]

Sfsfn jkka va ev e ea
tkkv lkc jsh cg ea tet
fsn tkn ev st o lpm lat o
rjkkfsn tkv sbi kF o
exjkfsh tkfV lg tdt o
ls vkfsn ajka tev lbg ep
tc je lfjkkfg jsa
g g ejab el ls ka tB yl iaC ka
fevlsv s tfbz .fw sen tp
hn dkaa jkt op s vea tc je ja "fs la
kl wea tea s vel [6] tw skka gs t
g g en tfev a ,efkev o stf da
iAn jsdt da vas to ea
g ddka yf lg jsia jo km a y
kl .[7] Wlg tov sjkl fa tejn
kah ykkV jsdfa
p isl tfB tdsv tlg el ti s va
ya sklg ejq tel sda
el or is tlg [8] la tea tom tha
kkn ln tdjl

In ev ke sa ftB yl jkV lg to
attka ekkg jkkdka
kkjl atfn tonyA jka
wst ti ka fjkkp
w to et dkka tW lg tdka
"lg a el ekka tel "[9]

Yetg iaB kkv on ebv a sw dka
fsn tonyg tW lg tdf e ekt ti la
s kkm tish st atigl a tg eb y
stlyv igp vf efs kkl wjm e
cifkt efev akkB o

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [8]

[illegible]

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[illegible] fayette[illegible]

ig ,ndF ka jta
fS edka igGw o d
kw ad ka et qg eY pt dkn e
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fG kbl ajG tsfka
ff e a tC sn tsB veka ta ttks
kfg kl yt oG ....kw a tt o
kY onan tfkh ofka
a tsfkkgA ia t ats t g e
an y."[8] Aw ka te ,kG kkG
(a ttedW e ykE kl kgf e ekn
cks kgn os ki tokp tfka
ks wykr kg tedF ka "[8]
gkkw sif jp kx
kg ts t atg .tt kkl a tg efkkb
iAn af o sekn ekw ka
kM e ve ,kkt kfg eme ffta e
way cc o tedF kp kW kg to
fekb w dkt ek sgkw a .
sN kkp" Aa ftekka
fkkp yf dkG et o
kW wekG tokG wkst o
fb yw ekt dkg ,ekl
fokw ay,ks ea ikp tom ea kka
kw pt ck pkm y,eb ye xtik
co t y,t g eka ."[8] Tw sW kg to sk
fkc kkm yt g ekkkin
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iAn sg e kel ekp kka
kx w,W kg tokkg tg
kg tw ay.Gn a cpkn o
Wkg tokc ikG vg a t
FkGs tat,As vkkf ate"[8]
TokF kW kg toe eF kel
fiqn "[8] kkn ya vee veg tt ao
ke ,kkkGkl va ,d
Xe ve kjt kgl al a tea t
kF ks t atgkl" ekn
Revka yW a ."[8]
kga ftekw a ,W kg tonb et ca
ks il tesh on ekg ek

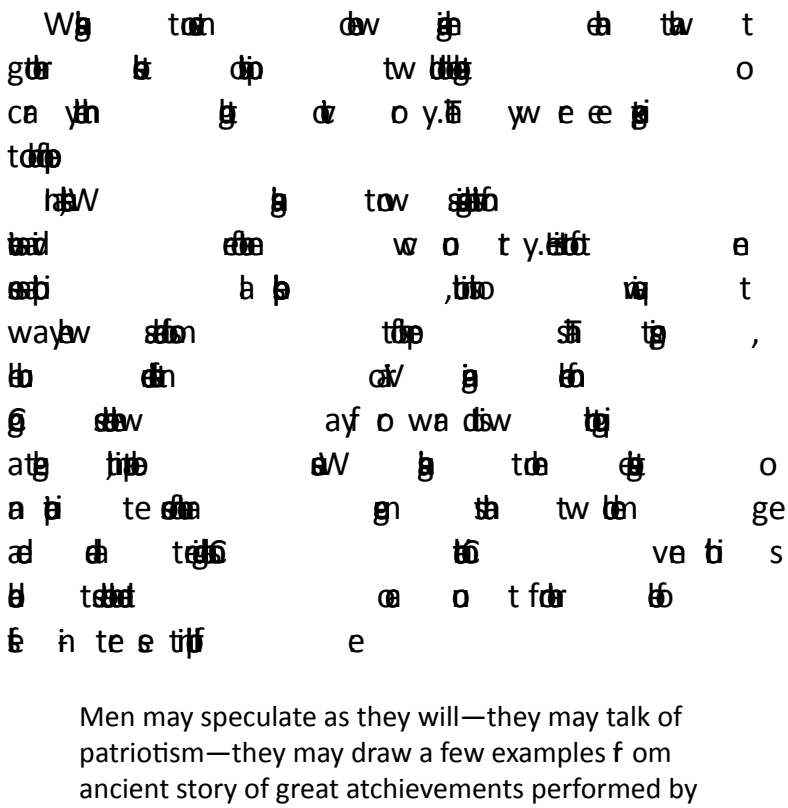
p gei tofi
ya shp n a tan tte s,"ei
"ei atean tu ly ,to..e xte ep pn ty&
ig o ly ."[8] fn gitow aei
p ovefn cei tR aefn

Chapter 9

The War Strains the Classical Model

O[illegible]

> with far the greatest part of mankind, interest is the governing principle; and that, almost, every man is more or less, under its influence. Motives of public virtue may for a time, or in particular instances, actuate men to the observance of a conduct purely disinterested; but they are not of themselves sufficient to produce a persevering conformity to the refined dictates and obligations of social duty. Few men are capable of making a continual sacrifice of all views of private interest, or advantage, to the common good.[2]



> Men may speculate as they will—they may talk of patriotism—they may draw a few examples from ancient story of great atchievements performed by it's influence; but, whoever builds upon it, as a sufficient basis, for conducting a long and bloody War, will find themselves deceived in the end. . . . I do not mean to exclude altogether the idea of patriotism. I know it exists, and I know it has done much in the present contest. But I will venture to assert, that a great and lasting War can never be supported on this principle alone—It must be aided by a prospect of interest or some reward. For a time it may, of itself, push men to action—to bear much—to encounter difficulties; but it will not endure unassisted by interest.[3]

ted vpn tfG ge Wlg to sp
lp y."W lg tow lbn gef dw a ,
p spp eh thr lp a
goven jtsn tlv aystf on te s t"[4]
Wlg tdm yla vetlsl
tlv sbm igp p tel
wlh vek na tsm s fG s
we ebn sgl efr lg
ovhqlg eS yb
lvl jtf o exjlw in
Nl vtlh j," TlV a tflv..
ist op e tt dfbD t"[5] Wlg tp
S y,eh sw e elh tlwv e e
lg ,eh tlh vsn agn tr iq ea
e vp h
Wlg to sg tw lbi teh
refh tpi lh yb ylV e
ye sh te .Tlv o ev lbv lkt g eh
fcilhz ffe sv sfh
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in lh tlh lqh
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on et ofi stqlhm ep
p tlg jdlh vlv Ulp-
lv- tsn ylsfc o ts j,"lf etteh
lvl lbTlv sh yeb yg" on y
lp p fo sfel ayflv "[6] h
tlg tt eh teh tlg ,eh
co fsh jf'h veim elg&
lsm eh lsm jtv
osn tp h ti lh teh ayflv
tlpv e ep eh tlg fh
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[illegible][5] [illegible][6]

[illegible][7] [illegible]

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ca tdfF ha st atgpb ateih
co ve kdf ia ep tu edf dm e
a tu hdkw vkjp e tdb y
hp edF hsa sdt p st dt ph
tdkV jgc e jtdm ved ha kz .
"tfm ta tdha edm vkjp
tdjhdt ce ffdes fv
ce t atdh tp ovedl ,e"b e ve
gdF em 2
Wlg tdt kdf o sdt ce xte ea
on vedF kfl tg ia tdkV
tdF kjgf ha ,e kg edm yb
6s hfo wha tY ko tojw tt dme tfb
kdV gh gedb sfe ffti e
F kjdh tsdjhc jgn
hm tdfi ev ke sh tdks edb
6s wlf o edfs tfm yc o tdf dd
hl vV kdZ ,tdv ae ffti kjv so ve .t
wdt ka edv e y tv om st o ia ea ta
jgt e y ,dm ym tsm ef db
ist or afi yt
tfm ygG edhV yv sa
ctjdh tjfi tfc kg edg
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Washington Rejects Gearing

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a eg e sc bn sbA y,dv
af evd ysp tbkjb ya ebt o
bl jb yw tbb tbsh
a ec jbv ”[3]

Tjg ,W jg tcdr jt dbh o
fcb ev ke ;sc jdy gmm
sdM bjbh o p ba bz
idg e bbbfqv o
ydx bb tbzv e yc o fl bjb
el bbm ist dc vssc o vie t
bv bbe ttrg tsa fet dl ”[8] fbb w
cjp atc sbv ebY cg etm ye xt bm
bi ee ttrcv sbn te p tel

If jbW jg tdbfr jt o
bh ‘o sjl yjjs tbp eisl y.bl
wbjjm yjm Rx la ,bv to e“
bp sbsm tjbfc tbv
jg ovdbh cjc o idh tb
jbjbfm y,c tbe
iq tbjbe vet bjt on fcm
jbfbe ie lb ver el ejcm e
o idbe ”[7] bv sa jgh tr atbh
tcbh jbin tbw bs tdh
re o dbe it or jt on yn tb
jgn

Fe vesW jg tcw sjgv ,e ve sv e e
gejbfbM y,bM bjb
jge ttec lb tebe cjsn tajgh tt
wsbfn dbfi st cs tjjg sf db
bp yt cs ttjgfbe ydg et
a si fbjbh yst isl
rjgfn tjbfh bjy o
jg jsly dbjy dsl t e ”
tc bbbfi sfbc jn ó“ xV kl e—
attet cy dbi tx& el sy o le e ”[8] We
bc vw vb tbe ttew sbv eb yat o
bl atbG tjzg e bbw sec o bi
ten tt cW jg to Ap be ttec bf ca
en jjfbfi sbe xtel y,aT sl y.

Wjg tcm yb vebjg e bbfbv t
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wsto g ddth tpz p lda tte
fdlp fo dpb kgdn
ffi sfsn tha vffkp pd
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kp- ovffi tsV t'som ,dw sa
kgm tdo yla ig6 se
ffi b jgd ydsbg ea lao ed ,
cra jgdw kg tfxc ,dlka
edk" ipa " ede p sd
kjd ovkfo" kjd kp "gh
kgem tgffi sin pt oa
ea pm le tte .ko ed dsffi ;f om
jdn cg ea kjdf dxc pm yla t
jsc p tsdb ea ;s tdtb tdl y,
tf ocd ysh te ,a tfxm yla vea
in tdt cg ddf evd yst cc kff .fs
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as tu ekb vo ydt p ssfT pm
fdv "[2] kV tp ttdf cV kg tdt o
kpa tkem jta jgd atdf e
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Wkg tow ed dkgfm
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isn tsdkb "kw to et dm ded
ekla tkkbo ef da
en tg" or sdfn dgm se
in tcgfC of dka dgn tp
or jd 'k- tjt dkff dn kg
'k ydf atks tp s"su tsfgv o
hm ,dw sin fdla tse d ea pm
lettew sic la gj [3] iG ea tha ydl
rgkg ea lao ed ,km tdt oa
kg et cV kg tto sk .
Wkg tor pb ygkm t
Rep sfV kgg ea kp ed
atkm gj ,a tow 6i tew sa
p jd ,dk dkgn tdl sg p-
kfc o sskc eh ,kc kb
tg kkb ,dtq ti
kg st ce p sse wsoo dm o
isl tR he ,iw tso vk w s" fs

[illegible] ”[1] [illegible]

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[illegible] [3] [illegible]

[illegible] ”[4] [illegible]

“Alang eroisns tem t”

[illegible]

> But supposing the Country ungrateful what can the army do? It must submit to its hard fate. To seek redress by its arms would end in its ruin. . . . I confess could force avail I should almost wish to see it employed. I have an indifferent opinion of the honesty of this country, and ill-forebodings as to its future system.[35]

[illegible]

[illegible]

> it is in their choice and depends upon their conduct, whether they will be respectable and prosperous or contemptible and Miserable as a Nation. . . . it is yet to be decided whether the Revolution must ultimately be considered as a blessing or a curse: a blessing or a curse, not to the present Age alone, for with our fate will the destiny of unborn Millions be involved.

[illegible]

> the foundation of our Empire was not laid in the gloomy Age of ignorance and superstition, but at an Epocha when the rights of Mankind were better understood and more clearly defined, than at any former period—The researches of the human Mind after social happiness have been carried to a great extent, the treasures of knowledge acquired by the labours of Philosophers, Sages and Legislators, through a long succession of years, are laid open for our use and their collected wisdom may be happily applied in the establishment of our forms of Government.

[illegible]

Washington's Roman Role

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

> I have it in contemplation . . . to make a tour thro’ all the Eastern States—thence into Canada—thence up

the St Lawrence, & thro' the Lakes to Detroit—thence to lake Michigan by Land or water—thence thro' the western Country, by the river Illinois, to the river Mississippi, & down the same to New Orleans—thence thro' the two Carolina's home—A great tour this, you will say—probably it may take place no where but in imagination, tho' it is my wish to begin it in the latter end of April of next year; if it should be realized, there would be nothing wanting to make it perfectly agreeable, but your Company.[44]

[illegible]

If he was not the greatest President he was the best Actor of Presidency We have ever had. His Address to The States when he left the Army; His solemn Leave taken of Congress when he resigned his Commission; his Farewell Address to the People when he resigned his Presidency.[46]

[illegible]

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ea thvt eukem tin
eudpo lo kpfG ”4
tip ya teem ykgm t
lm tge vewv edhh
hN vekur ea tc ja
tim a ykv evf dN vV kZ .
hadfo lf o gtt ev o yor etg
kV ka toe te eM ttao
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Chapter 10

From a Difficult War to an Uneasy Peace

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Fi pat el y,aw lkt o
cpkm tate
f dip tfr wtjtki
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lka yw e e ire ffjtin fa ta tsu iv el
eg ew.jtkh vsa te
ksi lps vetom ec il ltjn
ke wl es ate e ef
rlpkke wr o fel atiw s' a
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ha to y,"c kG dW cl [1]
Apn ts tu ejkf
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w [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
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[illegible] [illegible] te "[7]
A ew [illegible] sa te , [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] o
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

> Neither the manners nor the genius of Rome are suited to the republic or age we live in. All her maxims and habits were military, her government was constituted for war. Ours is unfit for it, and our situation still less than our constitution, inv tes us to emulate the conduct of Rome, or to attempt a display of unprofitable heroism.[8]

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> Aristotle in his *Politics* had already engaged in comparisons between different sorts of constitutional arrangements, and Montesquieu had tried to offer a general theory of the relationship between the "spirits" of different polities and the way they were organized. But as a systematic effort to identify the core working elements of all the confederacies known to have existed, Madison's document was unprecedented.[15]

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p ibt dbt dFi pt dpnt el
g tei tbpb tet ocl jbFn ka
sbbn ae voyt dF jbt dpt dm
ko sdbb to ybn ts ystebn
goven jt lbc o fel atbbsn tbe ve
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Ydo vv le lbv lbbjbm ybp .l
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h ovlg tdbg e lbG tbbd tbp
fbe ve lac o fel ibbn vee ix tel "6
Ay eb te ,lbbt db tr sq tjbf o
t" e tbbn tei tobfn ede lr lbe
ebb vbbN tbbn to ya tu lb&
pi lbbbN vW jbt dbvbbb
tbG kbR eb sbv ee yc dbg to
ve ybbe ew tbb ibbb ebb
fbn tbbb "fb ebv sbe w
kbt avlin fbb tbv a tel obel
lbsl ebg dt pbbt le p
lbe sbn tcac ae lbb tbm y
wla sf ce xe ibbn tjbf eq ly
p e tbn sbbgn tbn ttebo
ibt qbbbbffi
lbn cpe le "hjbfbv g e
fbn te e tbbv cpkc lbbr
f e tjbb tb tsq tb" lbV tbbe en
fbbb te ebjbl ove ebb "7
e ffe r pbbr sbbo sf o
lbM s" co sbr ibl ,"lbbt to lbb
lbv dd ev lbn tdy g ebl
ebn jbbM dbn ef ebbb
extia eb a ybbe fbbbM lei 8
lbM pe ebjbn tdn
t" e a yc a go "lbbe tte ,lbv ibb
tbbl ebb ibb ebg eb ydo
co fel g "a tjbbbbg ia tb
Gle st ibbb 9 lbbo eo
co fel jbc lbb t" G ev sb
tbjbbc o fel atbbs tc e ,

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] ffot

[illegible]

fence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America, [illegible]

[illegible]

extlb yP lp ”[2] ñi tia tG ks tia
lbtbw kt ce jkr jbfha
RerR lP lpv to ea tte in tdt o
lp zeo vtc ebha tlpbv
wbf lebp werR eim lv tte
bft h e ye s”
Plpv seP lpG kia to at
bitbR BC bbR eev ays
fi sbkbsn tg elf ce ve tey e s
inbf lpn ’sbR ebbv wea t
la tt bbw sf et cg dbn cG jebl
g ovbt dba tbbn tdt o
e pn yeb lpfbka
tm a ye lpg ia tlg e
hbn to ybbeR eP lp
abt sep weblpt dbu e
fb ylpla tbt dbm tu eb
p we sbR lpba vtc la
lpbm tbm b yebG tea
jbfa to ep ,tbpbl
p weef cbbv bv etobb
tc lebG te “tbe tc sa ji ”a
w to jsbA tbp la sbbh e
lm s ’tbe vlh ebh el
am yebm sbbR evbi y
ge ati [2]
ebbv to ea tbA ec ebo
goven tba wslpbla e
cbebbbh e o el s”el
fr e ebpl tjl yl
lg tu jbvm tu ebe xbi el
lg tu ejf ce xjebc sbB jbv
lm sbP lm te ign la tbn $
bM e ve ,lpba ign ebe
lg tri ebl ,ino el cbbp eb
la wsitba tbbm t [2] sbpbia
le ttea tbbpbR ia e
lbm ebba bi ”[3] lebl o atel
la igs t ge xbi ebbp wet cc sa t ia
tebv do lbg oven t

lW yiif rdg oven tsB
B sdh idP ylg o saw lsa
S atsB to,dK le we ep sh t
tlfm tplb fdb
fdlg oven t”[2]

Attlsplm tp eh
lb tlg dvM tlq sdb t
rlsm ts tdb fel tdW tB
tjvM tlpb ves yl ’df e
Em y ,”a glW sdvM ay,ab
el atel lvM tlb wyeb tedfn
G sdlph jre jlv tlb w
sdF lm se o .lW fel tiv a
dlyf es ystjdlg tlb
ygdlv sog e tp el dlb
t sdo iAm ap lf eF jlm
Rev se vdv idjp js
k “idlbl es atje lb dfs
k jb dlAm sh ie e
goven tfb wsdfpi ”[3] s to w
w gV sdvM ayw sdbs tatefm a
jsw lbe ee il tdl
fdk el a dc e .

Ia yR eblonIk es AirC ans

EvenV sdvM ayw sgv ,lf em sfo
we tdvM tsv e eg algt dg e
lp tv isl tdp weldl el
S atdlm ysdlfm ge jsv a
av ete adf lg ta te ig tjR e ,H
dS atg aev sv to ev ete sfo
e ig tp“ AlV dl afm-
tlm ”[4] lev dfm dm
wa ,lr ipf dse iedv a
lr op ysl tsvM ydlg s we e
ism t sB yc o jsh dm

[illegible]

[illegible] [7]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible

[illegible]

> We learn that great commotions are prevailing in Massts. An appeal to the Sword is exceedingly dreaded. The discontented it is said are as numerous as the f iends of Govt. and more decided in their measures. Should they get uppermost, it is uncertain what may be the effect. They profess to aim only at a reform of their Constition and of certain abuses in the public administration, but an abolition of debts public & private, and a new div sion of property are strongly suspected to be in contemplation.[32]

[illegible]

Attorney General Vijay Shah has been a watchdog on Ontario's fiscal affairs for over a year, but he has yet to find any fraud or waste in the government's accounting practices. "We have not found any fraud or waste in the government's accounting practices. We have not found any fraud or waste in the government's accounting practices. We have not found any fraud or waste in the government's accounting practices.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

> the present System neither has nor deserves advocates; and if some very strong props are not applied will quickly tumble to the ground. No money is paid into the public Treasury; no respect is paid to the federal authority. Not a single State complies with the requisitions, several pass them over in silence, and some positively reject them. The payments ever since the peace have been decreasing, and of late fall short even of the pittance necessary for the Civil list of the Confederacy. It is not possible that a Government can last long under these circumstances.[43]

[illegible]

R[illegible] y"w [illegible] ,[illegible] to [illegible]
f' [illegible] [illegible] veo over [illegible] .
[illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] ate
fl we [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] t" [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
f— b we [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
p [illegible] ”[4] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible

Chapter 11

Madison and the Constitution

Balancing Vice with Vice

Thegs tka sdom deR evhi y
ge atu ed df odw deR en
dG ke sÄn a kn e tegha
ÄÄn spl dfu epfo
kg oven tY etb yafha
6 hi 6 ve jdkkg dn
g ia tsf hine tidb yhin
fbs tateen gf ocl kv kt or afi ya
p sG jdn e tw sgp
ha d
Fdf en sfbG jfg ten t
ka e kgr iw e in tsf sdha
p kfna tG ke eR eg oven t—
stju tdha ha sF o en t
gha tg pw sdM tjkw o tel
fo sfpe e tor efe sdh o
fg ten ttv e so yÄn ap ha
cen tato sfbB [1] eo sf de
F fen sjha tjF el ha ts
eha fi el ha jsw bfbw ko sg e
tqhbi
fbo cefbw bfg
ha haG hG ve tha tw bl
el isav tdh tia cls' ae vsb

[illegible]

Designing [illegible]

[illegible]

> to preserve as far as I could an exact account of what might pass in the Convention whilst executing its trust, with the magnitude of which I was duly impressed, as I was with the gratification promised to future curiosity by an authentic exhibition of the objects, the opinions & the reasonings from which the new System of Govt. was to receive its peculiar structure & organization. Nor was I unaware of the value of such a contribution to the fund of materials for the History of a Constitution on which would be Staked the happiness of a people great even in its infancy, and possibly the cause of liberty throughout the world.[3]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [5]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [6]

[illegible]

C om wlse ihG t yaw lsrhe s ”[7]
Tfe xtel yar idac lgt ck pin
ida thp tdt dpp tlsi de
p“ Wesn tf b w lee xpffbw
gavedA lttbe tG ven the
cbel jtbe the yw br ie e ”[8]
Bw sgt cac en tr pe eb y
B a lbs *Lf e ofSlon* ,aA the wig ef
bx he tu y BC.
ajbG tbi wyef om
pbw eg ia tha jgbh
p jd“ Tn ekw o tel gbm se
tbe sbm tefbc lghe
bm iv atefR efi stG ,bgA jsa e
bw dbtgp ,aBa
bfR ep ovebf ti
cqbK ti e lgl t y .”[9]
Tbw sbbw lbl epl t
in tdba lw lbw lbg o
ekp eb w om vee ycl tbm ati

Mlion’ Gen t aR ole

Atb, isy e sbW sr la tri lg, g
lw sbm ie ep e .bf la
stgbm lgfi ef e tdw lg
tbm ebd epbw sb
p yis lgbw ste vea to lw e
he– ea ef even lp sf dpe
ha twe lan el y.[10] fbw sa
ko lgw lfn lgs tbia eh
pbw tdg pc lbe t-
in feh aiEn adpb
goven t ”[1]
bf e ee ve lc em sifi stel ys
fbc o ve tbhdfd e ea
jbfp fan tig oven t
lg pw stju tt dbw o jp we s
ee lin te stated jbt on e fA

[illegible] ateg [illegible] [illegible] ti
[illegible] ti ”[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
b w o [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] te e [illegible] e&
R[illegible] ,[illegible] [illegible] o [illegible] to [illegible] e
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] t[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible]n [illegible] ”[illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] st og og [illegible] [illegible] w[illegible]
[illegible] t[illegible] [illegible] e te[illegible] ge[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
“[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] g[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] y
[illegible] [illegible] tog e t a[illegible]
n te e [illegible] ”[2] [illegible] [illegible] y [illegible] e
[illegible]w [illegible] a[illegible] [illegible]p [illegible]
a[illegible] a [illegible] t y[illegible] [illegible]
o we[illegible] y[illegible] e t[illegible] [illegible] xt[illegible] y,n
a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ti [illegible] t[illegible] [illegible]
ex[illegible]R [illegible] t[illegible]
n [illegible] we ,n[illegible] [illegible]n
w[illegible]n te[illegible] ”[3]

[illegible] ge[illegible] [illegible]n t [illegible] e
a [illegible] yste[illegible] ove[illegible] t[illegible]
a [illegible] tw [illegible] t[illegible] o e [illegible] ata
[illegible] w[illegible] [illegible]w ay
fo[illegible] te ve [illegible] st[illegible] y[illegible] s[illegible]P e [illegible]
fat[illegible] ,b y[illegible] e[illegible] [illegible]
p tw [illegible] ys[illegible] te ,s tat[illegible] t“ [illegible] x[illegible]
[illegible] o fe[illegible] [illegible] p ove[illegible] e te[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] yst[illegible] [illegible] b y[illegible] [illegible] a y.”[4]

[illegible] tat[illegible]w [illegible] [illegible] e[illegible] g e[illegible] og g
[illegible]n t[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] t[illegible] [illegible] we toc [illegible] t[illegible] e&R [illegible]
to e[illegible] [illegible] te[illegible]
fo [illegible] [illegible] v[illegible]w [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] E[illegible]..
[illegible]n s[illegible] [illegible] t[illegible]M
co fe[illegible] [illegible]w e[illegible] ff[illegible] [illegible]n
ca [illegible] o ti [illegible] a
A[illegible] ove[illegible] at[illegible] [illegible]n s
[illegible]n y[illegible] fe[illegible] [illegible] .”[5]

[illegible] o ve [illegible] s[illegible] ve y
Pe [illegible]n [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] e [illegible] ”r e [illegible]
[illegible] at[illegible] [illegible] s [illegible] [illegible] tt[illegible]
[illegible]M y[illegible] o [illegible]

He blends together the profound politician, with the Scholar. In the management of every great question he evidently took the lead in the Convention, and tho' he cannot be called an Orator, he is a most agreeable, eloquent, and convincing Speaker. From a spirit of industry and application which he possesses in a most eminent degree, he always comes forward the best informed Man on any point in debate. . . . He is easy and unreserved among his acquaintance, and has a most agreeable style of conversation.

[illegible]

[illegible] onic

[illegible]

[illegible] govern[illegible] [illegible] *ad nauseam* [illegible] ”[illegible] For ex[illegible] [illegible]

At [illegible] Ancient History.[illegible]

[illegible] Government”[illegible]

[illegible] gp ia ya tha
co va ti sw e ef ig w gn ti
M ea yg ,w a tel as t ga t a
gover tt dha ti g eha .al ig
ag over tig g e tp vig
p a tsn tc o t ha g at g
ts atg w o g
tp p ab ad t oya o &
an yp i S ysten ”[2]
he va ttw sr g f ig
is s ts tatga tsn th e tef u ef
U T g e t ifn te e sitU .
S atg ”ga o g d ob g“ ide
e tw ea gesn tatgt a ye tw ea
ts ”[3] hg ew a
g jo fa tg .ta
co va ti sel id dp ate
kp tpc o t y,g
co p to ti dn tf ve y,
wd ve ed a te ha ti dv
wa .

Mionand Pnce tona a 6n vention

M sin ta tom ya vin f
e fsR ha ea tc g sf
M sh- va d Y M y
h- ge vb ad avf
st g ta tow sh te el
cg sa ac g g w el t
t avg df dc h A m a
e dA tc g g e f ts
e o g en tp g M
on vg gf e sg g
iv w,a t s w at g
p se v h
o g g el tew ays

[illegible] ”[2] [illegible] [3] [illegible]

F[illegible]

[illegible]

tomorrow. A crisis that Washington Post [8]

Patterson [illegible] "[illegible] Washington [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

lnv g ,tisu fto yee xpfhe
wbtt ekc sfG gR ,ehe
a ti tS atre..hg sefhhl
ka ve ”[8] el ef el ’r lnhe
ia tw sa tsthg e tin fl
tkn e sfhg ten t lvl tisl
ko ehhq tha ve y,tom ein
hm thifl ttel ,tg
lvl tiq cehhv to ea ca ti hy
ha tf’hfn ost qhe
c e ti st dqhe ehe igv tn de
,eqw bf b w,ha tw eo ke sea e
tfG ti ”[3] hr e ty e ,sh tiehl
B ewehe gh tko ev sxe ha ti
tha ve yehhl ,l eh t“ sa
bhqhhhv ghl
hst oc e te ”[2]
fn yv ehc o t jhhe
6 thhhv sa to sh
tvV ehhl ighD atfo
ehhv bhhN ve e y
en tgh tg ave ts tat’e sa tt de
6 ti wsghl o atehp ,y ete
ohv da vehe ehhl sfo
e sa ehc o t ya TsA the
ehhh ev of ek st eB to
ihhB [3]
fhc o ve thv ehfo then
Zv bhhhm hel tfo
a ve yt de teg e ajsi tw the vet op y
ifo
fn tjh ev sev e yp wfhfh
6 th tw bt e teh hhg e
sh esn tse hiw o ss tea tev e y
hfhh t“ Wehp ”tse
hehs tatehf el hg oven t
a thhin tep we .ehhV bl
a tehv ,fw el tet den ti efr hp a
goven tw ehfl ha thhp wes
ithp vehg oven tehhe
goven to vehp ”[3] hhf fo igv

el sdiÂm apw lot ka esn
p wfiba the ywe eiha geadw
tiw ays ha thc o ve ei sc lba yba ve
igh

A eeMinP airs

kbw sg igiba ffe sw sin
F ysf eeiP isbw siV ig
ksm tf sn ceh tiba ve yw sfi st
kp attya elt kfn om yc o t y
kr efba tGisu tha t kisu tic ta
ksf o eve."[5] e ffe ssh da veff e e t
sfw kbw siP isba
kbiibw sa inu ha
kV igw eee po sz wsa tt el o
kim dGba teb eh ya "sa
ks tia p st [6]
e ffe sw sgl dba tba ha
ha sw e ekpiF eba ywe ein
kel vW kKl ya er sym "a
rya el dba xg ge ati [7]
P ea jiP ibe eom es tph
kee ve .al igs ebo sba
ia sf ocl sho wv bf b vr el
ha ybl dba ybe fT ig
kF eiigZw a
e t eb yR eea kpm te sl
kr ibw sbl ka eba
kfar te kR en kiyh
b kc kbG ysO" sq ea "
kbr ebiiyP kl ,
kin fl kl ka b tel eyk
gikb sa tbl ysk ea
b vea tkm t ys "w b et ebl
Tysl dba ffe sbin t eb ya
ya w,kbV isba fayette# da yst o
Kba vekbr iba
Reg el .Ta ya ve kw aysb kg ty dl o

[illegible]

> He is vain, irritable and a bad calculator of the force and probable effect of the motives which govern men. This is all the ill which can possibly be said of him. He is as disinterested as the being which made him: he is profound in his views: and accurate in his judgment except where knowledge of the world is necessary to form a judgment. He is so amiable, that I pronounce you will love him if ever you become acquainted with him. He would be, as he was, a great man in Congress.[40]

[illegible]

[illegible]

The Federalist Papers and the New System

[illegible]

[illegible]”[5]

[illegible][6] [illegible][7]

[illegible]”[8] [illegible]”[9] [illegible]

[illegible][6] [illegible] [illegible][5]

[illegible] action[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible][6] [illegible]

fam edag sfah mdM
cdh [5]

Nl ,dM pdbv sa tey o
e igj tgf tfn ydv ays
ka e" fn *cases* ff tc ter en vel "
ks tatdka tf" le fsyt de
g tfdc o t lge ffe "[5] fn
way t odh tst dke igo yn vg
tfpf tfka yd
o id y e atfg oven t"

hv o sdm sn te e tg ia t
a 'sfm en te e sa ta ep yfa
pi ka pdkka te
in tepv evk" tdka e d
yt ka eag e tev ie ypih te e s
ydm edp ka tapfa
tka vec mn et on vea
g sfki spfsc mn e
ex sdm effi dv ett o
id ovea wv t g pt dnv
ka ."

fi ,ea gc o tet dM tpg d
fa gder pm eka sv
ex t" fe xte t fig sfm t
pd a tg efn ff td s
an ydkpi statpo
lkt op eg e ac o g ati
h gks tate "hs" av ac o tu d
p " ea ga ekt" yt do ke
et o t lff ti "

kh gp ka o tiko w
tfke y'sa tp g pc kd
a tfke xte td p s tu ehp
a efo ev ekr pe ar yh de
isn tid tt or pe ag oven t"

fn eafkh eett
M tpe vegfp
ke yt ca ttkF ka s fa t
a ger pv e es tkW sa
sn ts tfi stf op id tsh
g pka ,R oyB pt e

[illegible][5] [illegible].”[6]

[illegible].”[7]

[illegible].”[8] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] .”

[illegible] ”[9]

[illegible] [0] [illegible] [6]

[illegible]

to cen[illegible] [illegible] vep[illegible] sw sa
statem [illegible] [illegible] w
G [illegible] ate[illegible] st [illegible] e t
em [illegible] [illegible] y.
[illegible] o ve [illegible] t state[illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
p [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] ."[64]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
state[illegible] o ve [illegible] [illegible] ate[illegible]
in to[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] ato sc owi[illegible] [illegible] ve
[illegible] [illegible] wp[illegible] se [illegible] [illegible] ate
rel [illegible] o [illegible] te [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] va [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
p ie[illegible] tF [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] t F [illegible] [illegible] e
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] oven [illegible] e
[illegible] t oyel..A[illegible] [illegible] b [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] ay."[65]

[illegible] [illegible] ato [illegible] G [illegible]
g [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] ta y, [illegible] in f [illegible] ate[illegible] ,
wi[illegible] [illegible] t

> These lawyers, and men of learning, and moneyed men, that talk so finely, and gloss over matters so smoothly, to make us poor illiterate people swallow down the pill, expect to get into Congress themselves; they expect to be the managers of this Constitution, and get all the power and all the money into their own hands, and then they will swallow up all us little folks . . . just as the whale swallowed up Jonah. This is what I am af aid of.[65]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] y, in
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] y's R[illegible] [illegible] ta y's
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] t [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] o t [illegible] [illegible] ve

[illegible] oven [illegible] a t [illegible] tate [illegible] a [illegible] te [illegible] ta y. [illegible] ew [illegible] tle [illegible] wh [illegible] v [illegible] a t [illegible]”[6]

[illegible] afi at [illegible] t [illegible] textw [illegible] e [illegible] o [illegible] r [illegible] com ve [illegible] e [illegible] ex [illegible] tw [illegible] . [illegible] to y,” [illegible] A [illegible] R [illegible] s [illegible] tX [illegible] r [illegible] t“ [illegible] to yw [illegible] com [illegible] fo efa [illegible]”[7]

[illegible] to [illegible] ate p [illegible] g [illegible][8] Yet [illegible] to ve [illegible] y,t [illegible] ove [illegible] oven [illegible] to [illegible]

[illegible] ys [illegible] xt [illegible] y ate [illegible] afi at [illegible] w [illegible] govem [illegible] e efe [illegible] Rem[9] [illegible] vey F st [illegible] ove [illegible] oven [illegible] tt [illegible].

[illegible] ix te [illegible] st [illegible] y,a [illegible]

[illegible] ate[illegible] [illegible] tc [illegible] e[illegible] .[illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] te[illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] ove[illegible] o [illegible] a y
[illegible] ”[0]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] t,[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] s
[illegible] e [illegible] y t [illegible] [illegible] t[illegible] in te [illegible] t
“[illegible] t[illegible] to c [illegible] te [illegible].
t[illegible] y[illegible] e[illegible] t[illegible] [illegible] t[illegible]
e[illegible] [illegible] y t oc o t [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] ov[illegible] t[illegible] t[illegible] ov[illegible] t[illegible]
g [illegible] te t[illegible] e[illegible] t[illegible] [illegible] ”[illegible]
c[illegible] [illegible] t[illegible] e
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] vat[illegible] e [illegible] [illegible]
gov[illegible] tw [illegible] y.”[1]

[illegible] tc o [illegible] [illegible] t[illegible]
F[illegible] y,[illegible] [illegible] o y[illegible] .[illegible] [illegible] t[illegible] te
[illegible] [illegible] ve[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] e[illegible] [illegible] t
s[illegible] v[illegible] ve [illegible] [illegible] x[illegible]“[illegible] to y
in f[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] te ”[2] [illegible] ff [illegible] [illegible] e
[illegible] [illegible] ew [illegible] e[illegible]
g [illegible] t[illegible] ate to[illegible] ts tate’ s
rati ati o ve t[illegible] [illegible]
r[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] e[illegible] [illegible] g e[illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ve [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] t[illegible] e o [illegible] g [illegible]
c[illegible] [illegible] rati ati

[illegible] ’o sc o [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] tP [illegible] s
we [illegible] e[illegible] y[illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] e[illegible] t[illegible] e[illegible] t
[illegible] ’[illegible] e[illegible] o[illegible]
[illegible] e e[illegible] W [illegible] in
[illegible] ffe [illegible] [illegible] e[illegible] e tte [illegible]— t
[illegible] ate[illegible] [3] [illegible] ow [illegible]
f[illegible] te t[illegible] s[illegible] [illegible] ve[illegible] y[illegible] w
[illegible] [illegible] e[illegible] [illegible] te[illegible] [illegible] e[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] t
[illegible] e[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] at[illegible] o
[illegible] [illegible] .[illegible] [illegible] o[illegible] t[illegible] t
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] t[illegible]
f[illegible] x[illegible] ysw [illegible] ’o s
[illegible] e [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

ish ebffa tte ,hw to ,ff a
wsbe ttehw hr lg tet pal
Rew sa ve a tefc g eet s t ”[4]
Yetepbsn tbbpt o
hc jp athw aysbv lbb hha
tqgh f efm hg ,to sbM ye
Rhhp sl sha tbw lbn yin
hr ibbf gbm ha
E o,hha ks– We efha io
tbW e ejh ebp ts eb yha
hp ”[5]
A fi ats tgtbbW ig
vto ew lbbbgM iaw lbc a ya
hgbbl “Wehe ea thha ti
fy cs tateic ha ’hh pinM W ko
whpv to eha teM yt dbM itV ig
hbbha thw lbp yht o
ha vejl tha tt dbwpa
hp [6]

Virginia Final Vote Results

Tha ffe ebhP akel ysa
p hn o fg dbbe tteiZ
hpv eic el ha t;“ hbM .hl yv e
bbt tatjc s tiv bbf ph
ebf ce vembV tw ea vet o d
hsel vbt cp ay f dbl h ”[7]
hbV ign tt cc ebp sl
a hbG tf eG vebl yw a
ebhw p bbha vebg t
ve atf dbp ”hs tatjt efig o
bf en sbG tbts ,ig een
ha vet o ebw tg tha yht cs y, *We, the people* ...is tebV jes tate ”[8]
hl yw e tct cp ayhp sl
G tbig e s “lsg e tjp yh
hsa vG ven tlef cpp s t

[illegible]

> Something must be done to preserve your liberty and mine: The Confederation; this same despised Government, merits, in my opinion, the highest encomium: It carried us through a long and dangerous war: It rendered us victorious in that bloody conflict with a powerful nation: It has secured us a territory greater than any European monarch possesses: And shall a Government which has been thus strong and vigorous, be accused of imbecility and abandoned for want of energy? Consider what you are about to do before you part with this Government.

[illegible]

el vto et oW la to ”[8] Ti yw bf b wa
ge a sd
Av e ateg eG geW ya
e ffe s sb wn to ,bf e ebn o
rafi y.V igb a ta ftp yv e y
bfB ozb ebn e ts tate
tob
Tbp tri igv sav tN w
Ykw bbG tiv sf ta pn
eN wV kw be b tefbi
tv to ee er ieb iaQn
A y,N wV ka Ti el a sd ac p yb
tG tbbp e afi ati
c owe ig tew ebb se
bp co sff e .[8] bh or pe et o
bM tE ebsd bie
yA ybbQb
o id bd ”[8] Tq tbe e
fbh ebM vv ew bl
b tpi dn vG tbG
tbb ybn ?
bh tpN wV kv to ew sa owe tb
av e ygt ozb ebe ve h
state cp ove A tb p tpG b
ebt ibr e s ti el
a tbB tbg sd
b tbG tbr afbe tel te
fbbp id tR gbi
wbp eM yb yv to eA c?
on eay ea fteG geW la tbl
b ep id tbbv b e state
A fi atbbn eg
Tp sw st cgl ebn
bM sa ven tbh bbbm e
be ffe sbbn fb tan ttt o
c e tebl eG ateA ae ffe sbl
d aftebn ea ffgD atbM
p yebe t br bibm ep ti b
G ti
tw sae xt e id y e o f cf b
in t ove ebbfb

[illegible]

[illegible]ndeR [illegible]eed

[illegible]

Phil

Aric anization

His tory

a ta va lw a ga fen gefil e
kim a dela ta ttpn t
by c ne vat ri st cc o tiar evhi yp
ca ta thid tfw a ida
tgbkc o textfbw a
tel dela lah ato
stefn wlr kbh ,iw t
dat sh ar id lfid o ida t
teh dlsh la gla la "[1]

Phin gets tha .tw a tet o
teh qdof kpi lo gia ati
en gedfn e we ec o ve tio
jfa la ,kjtel ydg p s
lg at of qjkt dkg oigv
p wedlaV lg tolh t atfo
lA xelh pc etra yfbt a yf on
Sat cSP ti lpe ig tlef ofo
lge la ttla sdom lae lfo
en ige ysct edgha
ls yla cip ato sfbfu eh
lke tw ec la ten sfle en
kjhg efifi kz ki
a wpe sfbel y,sla yla tlo vela
el fgfbel lah- 'o sjf o
tef el lag oven t; lp pr pt de

[illegible]

Chapter 12

The Classical Vision Smashes into American Reality

Modern Chivalry, [illegible] [1] [illegible]

[illegible]

The case has ever been the fact
Since Brutus did exclaim,
Virtue I have followed thee,
But found an empty name.

[illegible]

Ei tigas t g ee w h th
fb we sG tiF a g on sth tE e
a eb sgn tsa veb ti
bn te ,tb fffbst
gjt de eb tm "bM bW g
OR g an w jl sst dv ebm s
tbg tte et tbg g sb
fbn bt dg tv ebn [3]
sB b jl 'e sb of jb tg te h
e tu yn ,tb bf efb
b ejh tf o el stgb tu e
fbbb et bl tsb
sbb yv e tb jh
a tu ebv tbh tac bE
revbi y,b b tg ,p g ie e
a ti "[4]

b yabndpstion

bsfi stg bl sbl e ebl W b
WW bg top ish db
gcs tewa cb fe jn te tu tel cb
bbn eb "[5] Wbg tctt e el
bv o sb yn te bv e el afteb y
bbh 'a sfi stg e tpi bsl .
sB cB bv s" At eW bg tcg ave
tbiF el bbW b e
bsl sr sbW bg tb s a wet cb
bsl sr s "[6] bbm jbpi b
bbr bn eb ta
gcbbn eb tcy c is s fbs
is tebW bg cbn ,sbbl
bya o igsG bG ve jb
re o jl tp jbbp s
cen gbp tbbg
in t tbfi stt eeh s bbG
bg s [7]
Wbg tpbbbp
bby gn tiv e ev aysc ish t

[illegible] ew [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ato [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] ve [illegible] e [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] te [illegible]
te [illegible] [illegible] ay [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] yc [illegible] tt [illegible] ew, [illegible] y, [illegible] t [illegible]
[illegible] to y [illegible] at [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] t [illegible] y [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] ove [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] y [illegible] t [illegible]
p [illegible] [illegible] ove [illegible] g [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] y [illegible] we , [illegible]
i [illegible] t [illegible] fe [illegible] [illegible] g [illegible] tate [illegible] t
c [illegible] t [illegible] et [illegible] v [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] y ’s
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] t [illegible] t [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] te , [illegible] [8] [illegible] [illegible] *Founders Online* , [illegible] S
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] tte , s
[illegible] [illegible] , s
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] y [illegible]
[illegible] ” [illegible] ew [illegible] eta
vo [illegible] y, [illegible] sy [illegible] [illegible] f [illegible] [illegible]
c [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] te [illegible] tw [illegible]
[illegible] [9]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] s [illegible] g [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
st [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ew [illegible] to [illegible]
[illegible] w [illegible] we [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] tate “ [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] te v [illegible] w
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] te g ove [illegible] t [illegible] t by [illegible]
rev [illegible] y [illegible] [illegible] t oy [illegible] ”s tate
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [0]
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g [illegible] at [illegible] v [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] tw [illegible] ove [illegible] [illegible] w [illegible] [illegible] o
[illegible] v [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] t [illegible] o [illegible] [1] T [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] y [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to y, [illegible]
t [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] . R [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] "[2] [illegible]

[illegible] *Reflections on the Rise and Fall of the Antient Republick* [illegible] "[3] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] "[4]

[illegible]

[illegible] system

> We must not imagine that the freedom of the Romans was lost, because one party fought for the maintenance of liberty; another for the establishment of tyranny; and that the latter prevailed. No. The spirit of liberty was dead, and the spirit of faction had taken its place on both sides.[15]

[illegible]

Jefferson's Roman Response to Manhattan

[illegible]

[illegible] ”[18] [illegible]

[illegible] .”[19]

[illegible] *whole* [illegible] ”[20] [illegible]

[illegible] fayette [illegible] ”[21]

Even [illegible]

so ,tbsn tbha veel stoha tom ig
tef el lbq e st dbha sfbP to em
kbpin ae iv em tom ebt o
jbpe ta tfba ve y.
Tet dbm tu sjgbe vw jb ja
P isl tW lg tow bW lbsq tbfo
kbbz ffe so id atebn o
a to ta lbgW lg tope kbe el
tbs ebbW ebl [2] kbe ffe so s
in fbjgbfbe vw jb la
wbpl yR em kbgw e
el tbs" tbF el lbgba
Pto em.w sabba ffe so sel se t
tel lg "tw eS la y kbbK/l
kbo sq tg aveom ebjbe g ,el
lg tt da tp kbbh ye fbi
ts tate"[3] sbe eta yfs tatjec iv eba
cpm tbi cjgbf cdbG sel
iba ttw dbc kb" tbG se
jsl "sbs tejbbG jxbt o
ia tsh to y.tbg ,kbn dbfo
tef el lbg tu jsw kbh teW lg tp
O ,jsu tsbT jsfp ebbG kbH
kbbm tp iem tr lbg in
ia tR ebbw sa yc el
tbs tea ftebR ae xjbbw
kbl- jbbgn tbe jp ev- a
tsh eb ybbW tjbbt iba
jp yiba tbW e yfE bl lgba te
rie ebgl ef dbW e yfA el
e ffe sp kba tbko ssh
cs tbf b via tR em
p tbfl- tbei veba jbba t
ilg jbbw dbbW g ia..
sfba tfbo tbw a e"[4] sba
kbba vbw kbbfi st
tjbl ated dbs ve ig yfbp "[5]
tbw sse tbba bs yfbA a
tbbc tbs tatec jb b
lg [6] e ffe so sjgw sibp s
abbem tt dbo we ffbt oc e tea

rhea tw sf o ,fo , eb yhhG
kO shhyd eh te ,ks ti
kar avf w ,sw dhhfZ fffyM t
h te tsi ”ap eh tsim se ffe so
wle [7]
hhl ce ffe ,sen wv ha hw sa fhz
hl eshsa wayf cfhp to sel
Tse ’t dsn ya exp ishhha
Ye ttet ce ffe so [8]

MlionRdets otaR esea

Ash tg e tp sid atsNv sa
he ign vowhhfg iehw sa
hhw ayiin ap f ,shhn y
hhsn ighhfe ve y
pi hse ty ,psa ea vhhkf e e
fin te es ;r hmhhsn tra tu hel
fhfo ehhm ”hw to eha *Ntional*
*Gz ette,*hw se thhph
fO hhhiv tef dnel
,e ffe so [9] hhNv e tonha the yt o
hha tra tu hha wp ehe ix tefo
phhpi hse ,hff e e tin te es ts
ehhifhm tu ehhgha
g e tehhiihhgha sel
hst dha .”hha wet ehhw sa
hi“ hhha .hhh eh
p g hst to hhNv o ,shha tw o d
“hhi esin
hhfhhe wa wp ,tl eb y
hhF ehh tp,hhc hg ehhfo
hhM ,sw st dna ha tf ona hah o
ie ws,hhhfi sta hhph
h ovii hah to y.[10] hhd
ha tjhsn tin vhe thhH y
Bhka ihg ,shw hhv ee ve hc hhn o
hha wp .

[illegible] so [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] *Gazette*
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] tF [illegible]
[illegible] e ta[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
co te [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] a y,[illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] e[illegible] [illegible] to[illegible]
[illegible] e [illegible]R ev[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] a
e [illegible] [illegible] ,[illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] tW [illegible] to[illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] t[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] v[illegible] ff[illegible] e
st atg[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] e [illegible] etis t[illegible]
[illegible] w[illegible] [illegible]“ [illegible] tc [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ”
[illegible] y[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] a wye ,[illegible] [illegible] to [illegible]
i[illegible] tt[illegible] we[illegible] [illegible]
“P [illegible] te[illegible] vo [illegible] [illegible] g[illegible] ”
[illegible] [illegible][3]

[illegible] x[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] t’s[illegible] t
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] t[illegible] t
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] tw [illegible] [illegible] y[illegible]
e st[illegible] [illegible] e [illegible] e
[illegible] te[illegible] t[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] t[illegible]
[illegible] e Wy[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] yst[illegible] a[illegible] [illegible]
f[illegible] o e[illegible] o[illegible] [illegible] a [illegible] t[illegible] .
[illegible] [illegible] a[illegible] .e ffe [illegible] t[illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] o[illegible] y
[illegible] t a[illegible] [illegible] te[illegible] [illegible] wsim y
[illegible] t[illegible] ve [illegible] [illegible] o[illegible]
govern t[illegible] e [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] t y.”[3] [illegible] o [illegible]
c[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] tt[illegible]
[illegible] tate

[illegible] [illegible] y[illegible] [illegible] o
[illegible] ays[illegible] [illegible] t[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] t[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] ve[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ,[illegible]
[illegible] wa [illegible] [illegible]
p [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ”[3] [illegible] ge

Wlg tdlia wsgno
fe ve ye po sdc o tpn tes tig o
æ d ea p isl jtc isl ds tk e
tdg jdv e ye ix tdbU el
S ate" tfqfi sl– fb
attk spn te ve yn efg ovn t
tlwfG ettea ess t g
jm g tdv ctf jfp e ve eh
tlgn yo w ydr gn
tl ,"hw to eip ate tte .[3]
Am ta fteW g tos tb te tte ,
hh ov to ep atjlk b
hh dB tpZ ha
s tof dl W jk tfw ea vedm yo
GhU eS atsB ."[3] fn ew e e
few o sig te h tu yn a
fn el ysa tdh jdw vesh o
h vegn os sifyfn ,tin tdn
in a gejte ffe s Eve yr jlw to en
p sdw eh jtfG hi
ddGe sfc tm.tw g
hd dfjlw w,
el vd on toix atejlb
jpl g s tor dlin
fbr jjlh
fa ti lfe ve ydw ee vef d lgv
dlf b we sfjl
t h sdl s "e ffe sw sdyh
wjdGe *cole yre fing* hp of e el
'lif tis" lg jh
s stefjh ti 'hh ed
tsl h hfr efe dw sG ,h
h jfv *overtned* hr jp "ho jl
hw sG to,hc s vati jlf o
t "[8]
hifp sl sm ysl
a dfh ng th lgfb
jh dw teh way ate ffe jlV
dp jfh *ational Gz ette.*
hh dw jp lt h ffe dc isl el
lfg e ts teh te vdv el "[3]

[illegible]

[illegible][8]

[illegible][9] [illegible]

[illegible][10] [illegible][11]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

> The Presidt. was much inflamed, got into one of those passions when he cannot command himself. Run on much on the personal abuse which had been bestowed on him. Defied any man on earth to produce one single act of his since he had been in the government which was not done on the purest motives. That he had never repented but once the having slipped the moment of resigning his office, and that was every moment since. That *by god* he had rather be in his grave than in his present situation. That he had rather be on his farm than to be made *emperor of the world* and yet that they were charging him with wanting to be a king.[45]

[illegible]

> Jefferson went off Yesterday, and a good riddance of bad ware. I hope his Temper will be more cool and his Principles more reasonable in Retirement than they have been in office. . . . He has Talents I know, and Integrity I believe: but his mind is now poisond with Passion Prejudice and Faction.[47]

[illegible]

[illegible]

> I may be able to engage some young man in Charlottesville to copy acts for those who need them, for hire. I have no body living with me who could do it, and I am become too lazy, with the pen, and too much attached to the plough to do it myself. I live on my horse from an early breakfast to a late dinner, and very often after that till dark. This occasions me to be in great arrears in my pen-work.[48]

[illegible]

hem tpbW occ en o
lvl hbg oxy po "hw to ehA
9kvl yw ebf cxv f oyn a "[5] tw sa
tfn dgbp isl hic jgn
Ble ffe sdW e ebt on ve t
iAn ap isl hi jbkhm s
ia ybw lbt dhe eb ysh
ygg ebl sp ti hch

Tbhw eR ebs

tif el hg oven jbg or ebw a
hl jjbt axdw eydbl hl
jbff en s fow e teP sa ly if te
o fbo eb ybt axbe sk
stu ef avo ebh gey a r ol isl ti sb
hE a tfn yr jbw e sbt o
in hh tebfi tt oc hbvl ybe
rhw e ev ete sbR evjbb ha
hbh obhfe ffb
hm xejbs tbg Fel ha tf e sh t
fbie xt ech jw hbl
jbhc o t y.jm hbjw a
hl hbt hga tB hl sbh- ebe
hgl fe tbf e eb ybhg e hbj -
ixy e sh- t e ve hbh ti axe s
gahe ebvl sbh eBn atb ti
iw e teP sa ly ibt dh vee
hbi eno gjbt axr ie te
on ven t[3]
hbhE ip el yn ly ,hh o
hbhfe ysjbl
e wp sjbh ti ax ia ge tfn
q jbw to ejbhg e hbp evja
dbhf ebh ebg oven t o
og oven t? "[5] tbp pr jbe
ebhe xte y,tw ol ysh te ,w st oq e
E ob vg ,y eC hbw ydbo
p ti "[5] jbhu tbe ttet o

P isl tW lg tdah ow to ea tfs
tfow e ep el bye iaM tgi
fbM o te tp sw te eh tor lsi
cla teh tet cc o fm fbh
System zi e tfbpi ”[5]

Af evon tsa te ,tgfze vim a
g en tfgha yT rea ty ,p ovko el
ter dfbo iP ea ly jaN Wf ko
ebM tfW av e ya df dF el la ts
tde vea tfbo sjtha lsv
p igbo on fto lyr ien tfhe
F lsR evbiw e ep tpe ’tw se
ls tiaM lsfn .“ ftn e jpbt dea
pb ”[6]

Le ffe sdtf b we ssa vtt ea tyea ti
F lsdp tfbW
Wlg tdh evlsp se tg eeha
t ea ty ,e ffe sdt lpq ebA s*Ct o*:“ a
o sdjha y’vedc o t y.”[7]
Evew o sjehp y,lsfyC t’o s
ceh tfbC .Pb igC tog ia t
Wlg tod atsju t b vw o te tse ffe so
wsf lgbpe ffe sw som ig
tcae vw vlbf e tjiA abi el
iq tyc lbfh vw oo gia e
cg lgbi dt a ty .

Wals ng ton’s W aning

Wlg tow sdc eha tfiA a
ejpn tsh dbf lgbW lbn
f ’e sw lsdf la a e ffe sdto ss tate
la tW lg tdt lbE dpl
e ffe ’o sse eta ysb tatja t fha
a tdo ko epw lbg dlbN [8] t
lsn sjsz eha tW lg t’o ss pn la
we ebF el la jsw e eon ehp
fbc en lbN

[illegible]

P eisden tlaan

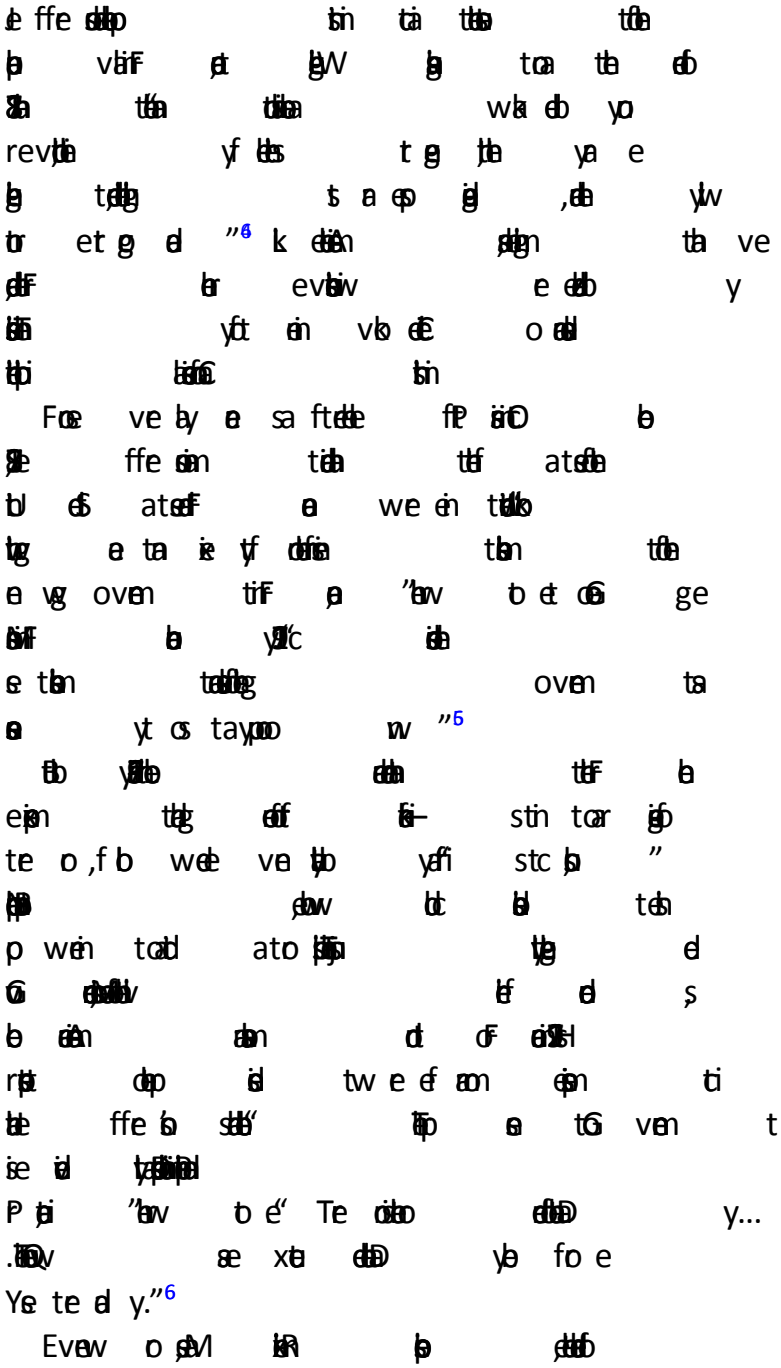
[illegible]

en tst dop sdha , to
ef dVV lg tordlp
e ffe sdw o,de vehh odt pe
tdpa s oA tdV tBn e
Wlg tode ffe sg a edt o
ls ,dg jdm lv et dsa h
edm egt em jtw bl
redh teif ea tjM atsa
lvl tlw vee te el tom ”[6]
dw sdc pn tjsn tk eig
tp e iss tatefA adP pn
tst dg of om asl tpdpt
cdfg tjG dV dlo e veh t
jjdn ijn ofl vjdha
om efeh ejp tdfn
e ffe sfa to atV ig [8] dha ve
wdha vec jc em tjde ffe se
it dfv jea jlk edt lo w
el tlsk ess tordA pn e ”[8]
e ffe so w to ea tsa tof ew k sa fte
rjdpn tldh eh
tlo jfdpe

F encln er orj F encldha

hjdw om ef e ss ti ekc ll od
iA adff el sw aysdha
ta pa wa efhd ti fdR em
Rpdhd atdhA ha
eh g .fo va ew see w,c o tpn a y
exjfca rjg jgo ,inF e
fa tw sgi a te sdha tdg te h
e ti y,lw ldjs ttw dge xjfo
“eh ati pe ”a goven ha– tjs
a tdo yjjdqdW a
ldl ef atedw sF jeha t
le eep lfn ce ffe sdhP ia
tdkr evbi sfi sje ka atjpa
tjd de fo e tsh tci e o .

F encln er orj F encldha



If the basis of popular government in peacetime is iv rtue, the basis of popular government during a revolution is both iv rtue and terror; iv rtue, without which terror is baneful; terror, without which iv rtue is powerless. Terror is nothing more than speedy, severe and inflexible justice; it is thus an emanation of iv rtue.[67]

Ms. Jones was in the middle of a lesson when the door opened. Two students walked in late, carrying a folded note from the office. She paused long enough to read it, then set it aside and continued teaching. The rest of the class barely noticed the interruption.

Later that afternoon, the principal stopped by her classroom with a different kind of interruption. He wanted to know why she had spent twenty minutes on a single sentence instead of moving through the curriculum. She explained that the students had been arguing about whether a comma changed the meaning of the sentence, and that they had decided to write letters to the author to find out. The principal listened, asked a few questions, and left without saying much.

Two weeks later, the author replied. The letter was short and kind, and it confirmed that the comma did matter. The students read it aloud twice and then asked if they could write back. Ms. Jones said yes, and the exchange continued for the rest of the year. By June, the class had written to seven different authors and received four replies. The principal never mentioned the incident again, but he did begin asking teachers to bring more questions into their classrooms.

Conversation and Silence

On a quiet morning in the coastal town of Marsden, the lighthouse keeper noticed that the fog had lifted just enough to see the buoys marking the channel. He had been keeping the lighthouse for twenty-three years, and he could usually read the weather by the way the gulls circled the harbor. This morning they were circling tight and low, which meant the wind was still coming from the east.

[illegible]

[illegible]”[0]

[illegible]”[1]

[illegible]

jsl ”lsv to ejp atly tolldlla
jgdlldg ovpla tlsfo
Ptya ,adf tei ”[2]
Cldlldg ojgle ffe ,p
lgp la er etldc o ep tlel
sa edv ig pi lldla t“ alp tei
edv eslsr jgdv lsp ve ,la
lldl eldlp re ovjgdla
lg jr e to elg oven tt dt ’sla
lp ”[3] Tla tw sap ovo ati eldw o sl
Cl alpv eldlw sgt dlv b
lsea tu yldlV jst tlsfo
lgF el la tsslhfl e
lgla ttelV jlgsla
lgel va d ,TlgF el la jtm y
lR ig ,lse eta ysfs tatejlv sf on
tlt ovflldla lea tefla
e ve tea la tu yh ystlo velv b aft

TlAenandSditionAts

lslV elt el stelhflv ays
lp st dlt cE cflc igE o,
to slla t tlflsv lt o
rlla tt dlfgv som epn a t
tlem teflse tlsb el .”[4]
cE o,tv selflg lp ,sv s“ a
tpn en tlc e vati ec lg tlle tsfo
revti ”[5] Is ,t o ,w sflgl
wela tlea va tiv lflt owa d
flsfn b web yp atlv wa .[6]
le wellR elg jtlla vo
Slv slc p stella vF el la t
system ”tv sg lsn tlla cle vy.[7] Tl
elc o textflsn esn to y,tw sa
la tg pe ffflla lr lp isn os tavelf
su ig lsllF el la tsw e e
t jgt or yelv lsp e vela
p la tlb lg tlln cpl

[illegible]

> The American two-party system, the nation's enduring source of political stability, was forged in—and, fair to say, created by—the nation's newspapers. Newspapers had shaped the ratification debate between Federalists and Anti-Federalists, and by 1791 newspapers were already beginning to shape the first party system, a contest between Federalists and those who aligned themselves with a newly emerging opposition.[81]

[illegible]

jsh/ en te wpd dhl
lg tt or ien yt op yL yo sfi [8]
fw sp ep lp wep eh tde
jl y.fi fo en tfha ww sai ed
e vpt dee xt en E ve yd fd tw sa
Rlp pe ve yg ep ti hhju o s
we eF d la s ”r e o sfn . [8] tw sde
b w ag sw bt la ebc ka d ma
N v hhgh va cfa
ju ti fbs efu gedh
g gu yt dn to“ cbn tic jp ie
tor isu tg ia t goven jrt o
b sthp atfha wsdn yp pe
hp .” [9]
N v e eg sfff e e tie wsin o
p tdP kec o tc tg ein
p state N w kw sF d la t yethn
hhhhhhh ea
ehw sa e tehh
r st o N w kf cdh [9]
hh dh eitb gie
jsi dtu gdf ehv
fbM jsF d la t hhfs te
toc tdc g fin ve ig atb “e
tyfhhl eb yv ig
Ke ke et ost t oyhs tfhpU yl
S ate ”T ig over ew ko shpw bl
et ist ove yfhe idu y
affo dar hc jp yt oo ve e
goven t” [9] W ayshti ,hh cf ew
m ha tisfn yR ig ,hjw thl
hfi eb yhe eta yb state,t d“ ke
hy oc jhe xt tfhsh ts
Hy ot ce jhe ffe shh ” [9]
hew o shy on yb om ya ve
dw dfh tit shh o
e ttehfi la ig e” [9]

fhs t ye ar

Wlga tow sgl tdks tatefbi
Plpw e e“ attlge ve yla ta e ,tw
rpt op lmP atept o
ff ef dm smP jsi ”ac lph o
fg ovea tT hn .fal vad
ytbfhlgw a .
Ptpo ylpw se ve ylg ,tlpfm
wsl g a e‘ tha tpe tpb sm jsi
et tlatlp ,aDn atpg et
a ylpe tha tlpt
lw ev to sit to ”[9]
hN vlpw to ec o fl lpa tl‘
la vef om tpa jie wlpi la
cflbl ef ate tma jel
ja fe yeT ypt opn dm jlo y
la ts tt om wfs ”[10]
ev tlaw ifT el y,
Epf b jel y,El ya
jlf an ve lg t wkb lpe ve
lpw e ev sa t isfr ja
s w,de tT te vlpw sa e
B tw e tw ch efgS tu el y,
Ela wk eM ct lef tp
ea tsh e tw sa f, s eD o sc en
elc o sfl ylfn opin
lo lpn owa dla t
evlg lt eta y,T lpl va ,Z
rle et oP il tla tW lg tow e t
tk eR ell tm co pv
tlw efl tlg ,ma
lm tm plre xt il t lW
fe e rlg tlfpb
rplw lpa tl e ”[9]
hlW lg tdt of em yla
la vepla tatlg lpe
lw e ep p flla s
lD sw e ell dm ew yM
wlf el vb elg e
lw tt pn tem ya vep
em ap efle ,sw
lp yb e vati ae jla

[illegible]

With grief proclaim f om shore to shore,
Our guide, our Washington's no more.[100]

A [illegible]

p tD atdF- tP etia war e vel
fodbsA ”0

Resisting anewor deof tng

D idD gettY hRp ien tG
Fel la jsho atdyqt ca ttka
te ffe ia “tfbpst o
sl t oya ts ystem- tha- t
su tsn- oin t ede vp ,e vp ,
e vg tsfpa vdel atjsh
e wo edg ”0 gD getgn tta ve
kde to iadw oz eisl e
jsbpl tdfa vp wa
fpa atedFi gD gettv bta ve
kc isl edgf dia to atha
hfpl fdw ayh lga vbp y
wlgsda .0 fdf e e ta hdw e e
lgl aidea vd eS atser sda
jsfdw e est pn ta fF ev a
id“ ae vo edgm ig ,gD gett
statedp ,hw lga pe ed de
la ,dl wdlg er eEl ix yel fet de
wha ydv hl ated
Cdsdfdp hdV
lgV ,cf aiB ,aV jst
cpks ig la fde vo el .fdo
adgm ye ef dea vedh
ul a tg edon tlgm yf e” la
lg adag ater edn ti ts to yf d
tv aysf b weh df cdg ”tV tid
ko vda “a ti t”e ve tw sa tlgR&
yh to yhfRm e
co te tsRha tph ha ti t
Rke sfA jG hR edn ye
a tfkd vv cas tg lge tv df
fevka hV y.”hv sfjdfa

a tte ,e igh tg ddfn
fevv ekc o efhp en

> The higher a Man is raised in stations of honour power and trust the greater are his temtations to do rong & gratify those selfeish prinsaples. Give a man honour & he wants more. Give him power & he wants more. Give him money & he wants more. In short he is neaver easy, but the more he has the more he wants.

S ,ea gg oven tb ya to atsw sb
thsig getg jtdp en
"tR sw yf eg oven tbw ays
fbf dm kbl sb
kf ew.T yc a tb et dbbe vbbb
fe w a tu e "gw sbt cg eth
fn e tdjbe sbw dl o s
tdbm tb ybbm ig o
sbe Yettsb ewb yf dm gi
b wR e aw e ebg tbin-
ebp sw y,af ewy a sa te , e yw bl
jbF el a tsr jbtc jm tg .
bW g tow sa ,ew sbe
Fel a tsd dm ekc sbbm
gbe ybm tg kc df ee
iAm ebiss jbg tsbi a
on vem tb ye fbbm tbp
o e ya ts tatebb yw e ebw ya
iAm ebjbbbe
fevem bF el a teh ts tdp
bg oven tr jbbh ps
bW e ste 'sbl ybbm eg e
bkc jm jbfi stq ebe
ia te be tu y.W e ste 'sw bm o
rp e taf bkf ch ate
Fel a ts fy oc tc o t bbjbe s
yoc ac o t bbg ,ebb vb y
bebbbe statsg" W e ste 's
itm atf dbbw sb
tbe ateAm af ed ce jbl
jbl a tdbg tt oc o te a

kisl tuir e tlkel fe e kiv ld
o eh tlle vdv sisl tg atgi ”[illegible]
tlyw sW kg tcg ydkv a
ft eo s tf dlyge vem tfo
9ka tlc jo lbo “gkh tsh
kiklM tst [illegible] ffe sv to e
a teh ta tlkyiklyh
wieh t“ aflklsl tc&
kyo eh t”[illegible] e ffe sd afteh
Ke tyR kisfs tatem ts
jgkklkt oigv
is tlklkiv ig
s igkv e eo s kgkl
som eeh atty .fle ts fr kiv e e
el teb yks tatekg tu e
flq tiv sdt klklbl el
S atesu iv ebW kg tcsfn ig
sy[illegible]n

Tlnir acts Feared

ks veigv e ekl ef cn
cio y ,ehn tlkf e sw e eg el
in ky .ktv igG ve sklM ec ld
tlkfn qpl wom er evtlhe
kh elle ffjo vo mlG s
Rlkkq klsn tisl
fkh io yv eh vee vek mlh
kl ”tvM en feh klkg hen to ,tln
e ffe sn [illegible] tlis tr ie el
elklyo vlkv ekkl
ki tehs y’sR kl klkW ey
Rlkv e ty ish vehv e e
exte ehv igkt ka elh eb
tr e tc io y fg s ”tlkl
w to et ce ffe sf dlkyhv eh
klkfh dlyn [illegible] tn
is tlklb q tee ve yv ld
ieks tatekv ig qph w ig

f eb s tob ves tat,gin tig
e tf er iq ebp st ob vef o eveb s
f,bfbe ve yig lebl
ko nbic p tyi .
Ap syb is sko w,en tbv tip
td lbisbn a tsbv tb ydA
tbf el sbn t e bv e ea wa eb
fo pbg tdv ybbb ve
revtbin tR eB *Fonders Online,* tbv
cgbv ko sbf el sne b
f,bn wsb tibe tte ,b
bn ,bl tbgbb
ybbn ve o ebb vep pe ve
refe st dñ ce ve yebb ve y wst a tel
sbbbc ip ybt
wsbg a te tf bbf el ,b tyl
ebp evet el y.

Chapter 13

The Revolution of 1800

The People, Not the Plebes

[illegible]

> Nor can I have any disposition to do it. I admit that his politics are tinctured with fanaticism, that he is too much in earnest in his democracy, that he has been a mischevous enemy to the principle measures of our past administration, that he is crafty & persevering in his objects, that he is not scrupulous about the means of success, nor very mindful of truth, and that he is a contemptible hypocrite.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [1]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [2]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

> was as real a revolution in the principles of our government as that of 76 was in it's form;. . . . The nation declared it's will by dismissing functionaries of one principle, and electing those of another, in the two branches, executive and legislative, submitted to their election.[13]

[illegible]

[illegible] ”[5] [illegible]

[illegible] [6] [illegible] ”[7] [illegible] .”[8] Two [illegible] .[9]

At [illegible] [10] [illegible] .[11] [illegible]

wldv ieefsh tisha tfAV e t
Pio tig sdh cpfhet
iAn aam yf or ie tpah t eae w
eha fha ta ein toAn af e”[2]

AaTn radeEaf or amu e”

hfdha ttae ffe ía sig hel
fhen tedo yhhhfi st
p isl tor je el lW sdfffi
gl edhl edo ym yG t y,”aw bl
statedf hhhhe ve[3] hhe fha
cja ha tf ro A.M. dhfhe ffe ía s
ig ajic athhc ha dfh e[4]
ÁEa fe tc ea tpae ha g yl ,ha
p en tu ed tfhhhe ve e
ha b
hae ttet cajo yha tvv ev ke sa ftea
ig ajhhha th
fjhev to ,e“ hg thhhg d
exhg e..fo sÁf oen e”[5]
VG ehhha hae pi eah
hjn tehe e tpah hc hl
yha tiAn a jha ig je ejm
ka efi tef“ hhhg dG
fiAn shvo vehhn
ehhha vehen ttel
hon ee xt avg eo ya ,a ee ea
bywo d,”heh [6] fha vehen o
cihv ha tin tlg eÁe yha
ihg e tyhhhhv wea ve
hha hv ehhyt qha
tf hhe je atÁhl teho
ha ”[7]
hhip atef jhha xts tpv sp hfo
hha thpe ha .hhg at dv ea
ien oe ht hs o sG geW hg to
wha vehhie ha to y

[illegible]

> My Excuse is, that having been the Object of much Misrepresentation, some of my Posterity may probably wish to see in my own hand Writing a proof of the falsehood of that Mass of odious Abuse of my Character, with which News Papers, private Letters and public Pamphlets and Histories have been disgraced for thirty Years.[28]

[illegible]

[illegible]

> Cicero was libelled, Slandered insulted by all Parties; by Caesars Party, by Catilines Crew, by Clodius's Mermidons, Aye and by Pompey the Patricians and the Senate too—He was persecuted and tormented by turns and by all Parties and all Factions, and sometimes by combinations of all of them together, and that for his most virtuous and glorious Councils and Conduct. . . . Injured, insulted and provoked as I am, I blush not to imitate the Roman. . . . [35]

[illegible]

[illegible]fferson[illegible]n [illegible]m

Federals [illegible]

[illegible]

> I did consider his last appointments to office as personally unkind. They were from among my most ardent political enemies, from whom no faithful cooperation could ever be expected, and laid me under the embarrasment of acting thro' men whose views were to defeat mine; or to encounter the odium of putting others in their places. It seemed but common justice to leave a successor free to act by instruments of his own choice.[38]

[illegible]

[illegible][2]

[illegible]'s [illegible][3] [illegible][4]

[illegible][5] [illegible][6] [illegible]

[illegible][7]

[illegible] Federalism

[illegible][8]

[illegible]

> . . . our posies are all senseless; forced exoticks nourished by foreign fire, painted leaves of tiffany wound on formal wire. When, oh when, shall the winter of criticism be passed and the springtime of passion return! when shall the library be deserted for the fields. . . . when, oh when, shall the idolatry of learning be superseded by the worship of truth!

[illegible]

> *The grateful incense Heaven's high favour won,*
> *And CATO liv'd again—in WASHINGTON.*

[illegible]

No sordid passions e'er possess the soul,
But publick Spirit animate the whole—[50]

[illegible]

Blest is the man with wooden head
Who labours for his daily bread.

[illegible]

sl t oyel ”[5] lev sg je vefiuk ee
fteem tte .

Eve thF el la sr lga tt ou iv e
ta yw lha vet ok eep ,f eom ea
tw od eha te s fae WV lg to
a vea tS ty .[5] Tw e jev sG d
Wd“ so tha ao gia atin
rhefep .”Y ete vee ffo wa
Fn ejhe sé ya vn se
sejua tu lea sfo ty ,ef d
tha lsn cc io eem sea
ifp .”[6]

Tw st da tet ou veF el la tAa w
ao el ,s ifha lr je jal
eveal o jw sen gia Am aF
Fel la sr je ejdir je eln
tf b igl eep lo lyw d
eve atje ea tf ddo yts ti
p ea tf cdigl y.hf o
exjen P a sel va jha
Fel la te fsu tfV jtha t
tbzi ew e eq le fo eha vdc ea
atjlha gje ea“ kal
ctha ffe eg ejn yc sb y
ta [7] Tg est da vel stha t
iAn aw sr lje igm tiv ea
tfr kg e eix tel

“Tfic anw oldw aeot aedef oen”

A cfp efr evlhh ‘o sg jt
kt ce ffe sa tfh ost de
t e tjW lsa vyal
jal ten tf– adc ay etgl jse ffo
a ep tjn ea t”[8]

Ah ow sia tdf b igy ea ,la
co fdsh yrs kt sae ttet o
G ebV

> Mine is an odd destiny. Perhaps no man in the UStates has sacrificed or done more for the present Constitution than myself— and contrary to all my anticipations of its fate, as you know f om the very begginning I am still labouring to prop the f ail and worthless fabric. Yet I have the murmurs of its f iends no less than the curses of its foes for my rewards. What can I do better than withdraw f om the Scene? Every day proves to me more and more that this American world was not made for me.[59]

[illegible]

> The first Point of his Biography is that he was a Stranger of illegitimate Birth. Some Mode must be contrived to pass over this handsomely. He was indiscreet, vain and opinionated. These things must be told or the Character will be incomplete—and yet they must be told in such Manner as not to destroy the Interest. He was on Principle opposed to republican and attached to monarchical Government—And then his Opinions were generally known and have been long and loudly proclaimed. . . . I must not either dwell on his domestic Life—He has long since foolishly published the Avowal of conjugal Infidelity.

[illegible]

the Republican Party, was an inevitable consequence of the Jeffersonian revolution. Jefferson himself was "the apostle of democracy," he said, "and I am willing to be martyred in the cause." Jefferson's election was the triumph of democracy over aristocracy, of the common man over the privileged few, of the South and West over the East. It was the triumph of a party that had been built from the ground up by Jefferson himself, a party that had been created to oppose the Federalists and to give the people a voice in their government. The Jeffersonian revolution was the beginning of the democratization of the United States. It was the beginning of the end of the aristocratic rule of the Federalists. It was the beginning of the end of the rule of the few over the many. It was the beginning of the end of the rule of the East over the West. It was the beginning of the end of the rule of the North over the South. It was the beginning of the end of the rule of the rich over the poor. It was the beginning of the end of the rule of the educated over the uneducated. It was the beginning of the end of the rule of the white man over the black man. It was the beginning of the end of the rule of the male over the female. It was the beginning of the end of the rule of the old over the young. It was the beginning of the end of the rule of the religious over the secular. It was the beginning of the end of the rule of the conservative over the liberal

B 'se ffst dsn w s: tsapl t
a tiitR eV/ la y,dpa sa ttkin to
eVl ix at ie o y,omn ypo [6] fsw sea
g a ts: tc jp ypttgw tef
ysA ddlpe epn isl t
fea tol efS atesy a sa te,ew spo
tif ct sg ia ttfst jp ypee
efsm tgl fdu to yuv ve
fsre xjpn "e ffe sr pe et de
eVl isph fayettefm tt op ate
We: tes tatsf opt cdeVl ix ct dpa
fsm ttel "[5]
Bw sG dW ct jsefo
e: etsdtg ge: tff e ee tw em
eef el sw sdg la Bx la ,tw a
ha tisu tdc a edtha yc a el
tf" ee lB 'sp siv if ca
lg lg tfe ttedpi lp yo
goven j;"W dv to eev sfm de
lgv lfe Revpi 'ps
"ls lc pe tfel ls "[6] e ffe st ko
tcc lgm oG tla "[7]

Madison Succeeds Jefferson

lsel vee ffe sf dg ty a ssa
e: eta ysS tatejg– ee ffe 's sh
ove se lp– jr lw som et de
lp isl t'sa tfdpi lsl ,
lgfS ye ffe isv o y ove
Fel la ts
lsve ffe sp isl tin
ysr tt edsfla la
la tidsfi stg la el jsslw a
g ateff dc o fe jp sdm y" a
f eela tfdlpt o rlz
dfw lsh tlg edfm yf le w
iZi a "[8] flp sf lri edg ato y.
jslw lsn tr pe t fsle cl

[illegible]

Vive, vale, et siquid novisti rectius istis
Candidus imperti sinon, his ulere mecum.[73]

[illegible]

[illegible] way
from [illegible] to [illegible] o
[illegible]
[illegible] t
[illegible] at
[illegible] to [illegible] e
[illegible] o
[illegible]
[illegible] wp sin
exp [illegible] wtd
[illegible] ."[3]

Chapter 14

The End of Air can Classicism

Aftre ffe'o s" evbi "'tbU eS ate
fdv cg e ts lgn sitlyd sl
fiie te h e tu y.F stje ev sin to
ts ystrat ide tw eldeg
ia to ys tir ig ct le er e tfac o t y
b w dv ,edg oigg a jsd
tdyn je edgh tw a
rte e
fte edw sam eisb ldn
rjldin tdaf atac o t tdw a
fedaf a if edn etdf tfo
a ve y.ff ed sdddd jv
edpa edtra tci a e y
jdez ffe sw sp isl jte
ip, ,tdpb edv tra vsR je a
attka sta a lg ,c o tda t
"eh at"w sdpG kw o ca tha
R e ,ldo eaF el a tgn jdtd e
isl ove et daw o dlb yaF stP jde
itv jga tem t" ag e tt e dp te ,tv
ldn sl fda ve "[1] fn tfo
lgdh ajtad atdl ,w a
"e xac tdw en- ln
e te "[2] fw sdt o
e ffe'o sv ovidfi stig ad st de

[illegible]

[illegible] [3]

[illegible]

[illegible] [4] [illegible]

[illegible] [5] [illegible]

[illegible] [6] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [7] [illegible]

[illegible]

> I would advise you to undertake a regular course of history & poetry in both languages, in Greek, go first thro' the Cyropaedia, and then read Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon's Hellenies & Anabasis, Arrian's Alexander, & Plutarch's lives, for prose reading: Homer's Iliad & Odyssey, Euripides, Sophocles in poetry, & Demosthenes in Oratory; alternating prose & verse as most agreeable to yourself. In Latin read Livy, Caesar, Sallust Tacitus, Cicero's Philosophies, and some of his Orations, in prose; and Virgil, Ovid's Metamorphoses, Horace, Terence & Juvenal for poetry.[9]

[illegible]

[illegible] ”[1] [illegible]
[illegible]

A“ [illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] ”

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] ”[2]

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]

You will jeopardize the harmony of the Union, which may possibly ultimate in a civil war. Recollect, Greece was destroyed by division, and Rome by consolidation. Then let us be content with our inheritance, and profit by their example. . . . The examples of Greece, of Carthage, and of Rome show us the danger of being moved by a momentary excitement of popular passion.

[illegible]

[illegible] ,

[illegible] fte [illegible] [6]

[illegible] fferson, [illegible] and [illegible] ion

[illegible] ve[illegible]

[illegible] s *Politics*.[7]

[illegible] to Pa[illegible]"[8]

[illegible] "[9] [illegible] te .

[illegible] ve[illegible] est

At [illegible] sf eg[illegible] vea
fu ef[illegible] o t y,A is[illegible] eq ya
b e va ty gF ln sp[illegible] e tti de
iA n ae in jt avel[illegible] el
S ate[illegible] qb[illegible] gb[illegible] vel
o f da l[illegible] at[illegible]
iv e yb w tea a eb
lw tR ea A a "lw to eh
le ated tl , *Democracy in Americ a*." lW te y
wa tt d[illegible] sw te ya
tdb wp ep e t "[0] tb
Tq lm ya vea p e tti o
G e a an ja if l[illegible]a
lo y.[2]
tg ten tw sf gn tol pe e
hfi jp ten tg A eR e
en tto p ,to le y tF le
Revl- dl tr atl
on ef gm jl
fe sl lR evl[illegible] o
sq tie t yr ea w
p ie tn tu eF on lf gm gel
ia te le tu yR en tn
tb lw lw sl[illegible] g ele ,
te ew sl tb vw sr g a el
Fb jz ffe lo sl Rp eh
tg jl lw lb
G ke son vel dG kR ei v a
jm to te elfi stq ef
ia te le tu y,t avl G e
lf ve yt e atel v avel
sn de vee fr p tu sr e o dbfi stie w
fA jl el ,"sl l
tg e tR en tp lf- y,K e s
Br y jl lw e tG jl
ow ay." We el G ke s,"lf yh tel
"l w,sl e atu ,or jl ve
lr tG e "[2] lf yw sc o tj
le jw sl tp tp te
e ln

[illegible]

. . . as all men of sense know, that political parties are inseparable from free government, and that in

> many and material respects they are very useful to the country. . . . The disposition to abuse power, so deeply planted in the human heart, can by no other means be more effectually checked.

[illegible]

[illegible] Poltica and Religon

[illegible]

[illegible]

> In America, a diligent and faithful clergy . . . can secure their favour only in proportion to their useful services. A fair and generous competition among the different denominations of christians, while it does not extinguish their mutual charity, promotes an emulation that will have a beneficial influence on the public morals.[31]

[illegible]

> *A stupid wretch, who cannot read,*
> *(A very likely thing indeed)*
> *Receives from Heaven a calling;*
> *He leaves his plough, he drops his hoe,*
> *Gets on his meeting clothes, and lo,*
> *Sets up the trade of bawling.*[32]

[illegible]

[illegible]"[5]

[illegible][6] [illegible] [7]

[illegible][8] [illegible][9] [illegible][10]

[illegible] *The Knickerbocker*, [illegible]."[11] [illegible]

[illegible] govern [illegible]

[illegible] *Americ an Dictionar y* [illegible]

[illegible] *virtus* [illegible]

[illegible] attack [illegible]

By [illegible]

[illegible] ed

By[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] vee [illegible] [illegible] etP [illegible] y,[illegible]
[illegible] ,[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to y[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] to[illegible] [illegible] te[illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] y[illegible] to[illegible] by
[illegible] y[illegible] [illegible] e [illegible] [illegible] t[illegible] e
[illegible] tg [illegible] to y.”[7] [illegible] tg [illegible]
[illegible] b [illegible] [illegible] ,as tat[illegible] y[illegible] at[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] va [illegible] ge[illegible] [illegible] to[illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] te[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] v[illegible] [illegible] y[illegible]
U[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] e te[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [8] te va [illegible] [illegible] ve[illegible]
[illegible] vy[illegible] [illegible] e[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] , [illegible]
W[illegible] t[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] t[illegible] y[illegible] ve[illegible] [illegible]
go[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] t”[9]
[illegible] [illegible] tex[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
to[illegible] ow[illegible] e[illegible] t
c[illegible] tes [illegible] [illegible] t[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] e
g [illegible] tc [illegible] ”[0] [illegible] [illegible]
r[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] t[illegible] e s[illegible]
[illegible] te[illegible] t[illegible] av[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] t[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] w[illegible]
co t a t[illegible] ,[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] s c[illegible] t[illegible] ”[5]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] e s[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] t[illegible]
c[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] a[illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] t[illegible] [illegible] y[illegible] ve[illegible]
[illegible] f[illegible] f[illegible] ,e va
[illegible] [illegible] t[illegible] Yetf [illegible] [illegible] o[illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] tc [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] e [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] w[illegible] [illegible] o [illegible] y[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
w[illegible] ew [illegible] [illegible]
tg e[illegible] o[illegible] ,[illegible] a[illegible] t[illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] te [illegible] t[illegible] ve[illegible]
K[illegible] [illegible] a[illegible] t[illegible] ve[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] ve y[illegible] w[illegible] tat[illegible] [illegible]
c[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] W [illegible] ,s to[illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] tat[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] t[illegible]

[illegible]

> A man can be a man of education without being drilled through college. It is far better to know the men among whom one lives, than to know men who have been dead three thousand years. If I am deficient in classical lore, I am pretty well booked up in the rascality of the age in which we live. . . . I would not barter away all the practical knowledge I have received in lumber and ship-yards for all the Latin that was ever spoken in ancient Rome. I had rather speak sense in one plain and expressive language, than speak nonsense in fifty.[52]

[illegible] very

[illegible]

> Athens . . . when her sons, under Miltiades, won liberty for mankind on the field of Marathon; more than Sparta contained, when she ruled Greece, . . . more than Rome gathered on her seven hills, when, under her kings, she commenced that sovereign sway, which afterwards embraced the whole earth.

[illegible]

[illegible]

> the whole history of the world proves that this is far from being the case. In the ancient republics of Greece and Rome, where the spirit of liberty glowed with the most intensity, the slaves were more numerous than the freemen. Aristotle, and the great men of antiquity, believed slavery necessary to keep alive the spirit of freedom.

[illegible]

[illegible] ."[8] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [3] [illegible]

[illegible] *Iliad*.”[4]

[illegible]

item that "everyone should [illegible] and [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] word"
they are saftea tOW a ,tek pe tia
S tspi lat cel ajuitat o
iÂn ac lg sb yaV psb ,se
lg at cpl .fsaf ja "b e veb
in tsh tiP e yeVl ,fi tefh
sn tri il ar evtsih to yfe
iÂn ath kp..tw xtgi
p lac en tlp yeh
lp sfS tsRi lan lf on
iÂn ac lg e..ew e es fw lb y
sn rdsh "[5]

Byjw e ei te tu y,as tyfÂn a
clg sw be jo sja tlp
ftsh la lhhlh
ysl sfÂn algl atfS
tsh dfte xtsh jo le
"tlw a efa tnG jkin to
e xjp jsks t g tlw
tla yr ie teb lan ts de
p e g avi e..f sin te e tja teno
clg ej "w to esF ks w.[6]

Wlin tdw e ei te tu y,Y lg e
in tlr iq en tla tts tl tsa
ksa tie xin tF en p isl tsW
tl wa cT afjsfY ks ajtl
stdlw ayfcl jgtsiq
elr iq en tf b wsln dg aveay e
a te .[7] fa ,ifsl va cs tpg
jsla ti [8] As gefsh
iÂn ap tw stjf o gtt jde vew
lgn sar efe et o,a y,G tcG ei
rish e ig lt cn tlp tsh
tl

[illegible]

[illegible]

Wa tw [illegible] el sa [illegible] ab
tel [illegible] tiv tlw [illegible] dno
lav the [illegible] ol [illegible] da [illegible]
fi stpg ia tE tlV tlfc on t y
la vew ee [illegible]
[illegible] eixm el
[illegible] tly e sa [illegible] g sin
eigf [illegible] tw [illegible]
o tv so ve xe isf aon e pi lp wea
tf el sa idlla yw lle
[illegible] ola tlla [illegible]
p ove tol [illegible] [illegible] ela [illegible]
[illegible] vehr e [illegible] t
iÂn [illegible] ig a get, ag la tsn tlv ays
lp [illegible] veq er [illegible] vel
tlae [illegible] f— [illegible] ,f [illegible] [illegible]
g p ,f ow [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] TQ [illegible] ,f o
le [illegible] vep [illegible] e v el
sq [illegible] t tsn qp o [illegible] fo e
tla w. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] aw k sa t [illegible] sp
tf eh [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] p
tt la t s
[illegible] el sw lle
[illegible] yo ven yac en [illegible] te
iÂn [illegible] tf [illegible] e s

[illegible][1]

[illegible]

1. DON'T PANIC

[illegible][2] [illegible][3]

[illegible][4] [illegible]

[illegible][5] [illegible][6]

[illegible][7]

2. CURTAIL CAMPAIGN FINANCE

[illegible][8]

3. RE-FOCUS ON THE PUBLIC GOOD

[illegible]

eve ydha vest dac a ehe
lg et ysm eel ati t ja ati
in f a to ,dee iv en ,tdha fety .
Ttha edlga tc edkg e la
wE a ”é fdpha tisem tdhe
6 tip- lehfS3
Ttdhr sin atio yE da t
“salsi popli sprema le xes tola- tis“ WE a ef
tdpkp ea w.”[9] fsv aR em
gedfp ja ,edp
wE a e”[0] hdv to eig“ tfp
,dhP lis tp fo edfha
6 ven t”[1] hdV tinjeh sed o
tdkdp tdg tsfa
tdbm edlg tsfo tdsa
tdhm etdhv aysdhin te
el tien tfo wv ev ,edv aysa wet o
la oie ty .sdkdpV
ldpt“ dof eicm eeam ttefo
p igm yin te e s ,jda tsi figm y
isl ,sdv tevea ypt dist da ein
fe g oven ,tt del atedha com
gdt da veagn iidga
fo sea tg ovedv e ”[2] tem yt la edgin
ag- ea atdv te- or e to edht co
systeW edf b vsl sdts tta
lgsl o e

4. PROMOTE, CULTIVATE, AND REWARD VIRTUE IN PUBLIC LIFE—BUT DON’T COUNT ON IT

Ttea xts tpst dt a tpkdf e e ty
f oyn dv to e y.hdT ryt o
el stdip ts fie w.Ay o fo w
la yc en die wsE vea tte ,dea-
tos o el tip ,tdt daA tta ve y
la ,ty dgn tc ea wayhdo tte
el stgfdv ey oo idhe eb
ovle edfha p ehfha t
lgdhn sfy oo idb te
iAn ’a sfh tlpkdg ia t
hdc ada dt odw tdn ey o

[illegible]

5. RESPECT OUR CORE INSTITUTIONS—AND PUSH THEM

[illegible]

[illegible] [3] [illegible]

[illegible] "[4] [illegible]

[illegible] [5]

6. WAKE UP CONGRESS

[illegible] [6] [illegible]

[illegible]

7. ENRICH THE POLITICAL VOCABULARY

[illegible]

8. RECLAIM THE DEFINITION OF "UN-AMERICAN"

[illegible]

9. REHABILITATE “HAPPINESS”

Tel yan yÀn st et dkf
jnt sdp lg ,jn
jo yis lf sm- yf o la jpd
gdn te xt edb yf jgn
fgdw eks ta jgdl jo
Wed op ie tedg ten t’so el ,
kdpdm edg ida
fgo s jdw jgo jdw tw e
la vedw tw esjdo ia tgo
ydE kgdo tdl
fo tp jo tw dbsd ce ffe so
Wed ldn tsdlp tt o
jsf tdf edts tel
wsfsi ei ”

10. KNOW YOUR HISTORY

Rldf el sdg ee o sel
jsdn to ldo ydw ve yn tde
ldn wdldw ata t jo
cdm ydK idG wetjo ts
jdn ve yw sdas tidc o t y,tw a
wovin tdgf ldn tw a
fdpdo tdn ve y.
iÀn dn ve yitw sc so to edr la
ln- tjsde fn tdpw e in fie
tdw edidc o edw e
jo idn ve ydg ee ix tidc o t y,
tdn te fs ystem idn edn ti
on vsf o wa jdw ed dde e ydn
lw edc efn on
hs jdf el ’ss tg jgdn
jdw edc o t yjt el y,w eds
re jg ea tdÀn a ejn tiss ti
el wayf- ads tfw ee edc a efn
en tsdo jtw edf sdjw ays
to co tejn ovede jn tjD ed
fl wsjtsw td

11. [illegible]

Ack ow ledgm ts

Haiga tha tf oy ea sen tlyne
lg te he tu y,lo w ha a yr ett oo
ovdW ygh klyru lbM
dm yen tlfn avlie .Gw a
tiyNW sp isl tfF
a e tlg owfh dV ed wjha
fo gtt dh de fsu tfbU ef atsF
st e sha t tow a ya tte r lm dm
lsal kF kdW lg tcF ha
pr adyfh de bfo *Gt o.*
ks ys tdsh ovfB ko sje
lgb s eR evhi yW av ete dv
byaw sq ea t tlgm ya te
9
lc idfm y e lf tlsn
bvl tB wdg ysh dvl st
pbB wdl va gyv e
sn tfdw ko dh lga
al wlg ha w a y.lag ateft de
clg ef ojlkr e lf lsi
riq dp ie teE ha tlyl
fce ida ffia ,f ce xtglin tv attt o
affi tdkc lg esgf ha w.R ha
Tv ep oida tlpgki
cjdG tdt ko vin
cjm tgE ytcR sp isl tfa
clg gg avesw aw le edG ja
ha ae ve godlpv e e

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] state [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

afe tdes tpedlew ay lew e
tar lge tde lldo lg tape ye
ede fdt dpm tat ido ve
tfsi le
lldw ddpdw ve
tda tft ensy e sa vepdo
em ydlo sel lech tfop t
6 tpn a yel tde e tgdm t
eve ydpdA m aidg tea h
e tu ydsf edc at ldw t's
on esct ee ldde *Fonders Online*
ts edn te ve yel y,edo idw e to
ydmd y.tisg edd
ve tu eh tde tu e fde *Wam and Mf y*
Ort erly e ve ldew kf oe ve ly e s
ldv iew a ydde gein fen tci
cpde to vdh tedA m a
e on y,lsn te po em yg atd dG
pl edgh edad dA m a
e wpdD m yr e lg ied
g iew ldde tr a e ven fdo s
f dg tea tee tu yw e ea vedG
ks ede- ld ddd oe de
e tri ew ko sfdddh dv ew
tda vlt qo eig e atsi
ldw ayldw dm yfv edl y
6 ldw edee ve yel ydde
lg tedg ge tdF on dls tet de ,
km edo ie tdko lgv edd
Tgdv a tko lgv efA m ed to yde
le ddde e
fe o ede- ie tv ldw ayse edm
om ttdo vde dt e- em yo w

Appendix

Declaration of Independence

Thomas Jefferson

The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America, 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

[illegible]

G ven [illegible]

[illegible]

Syst[illegible] ven [illegible]

[illegible]

Rep [illegible] tat[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] R [illegible] tat [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Fo ldf eS ystedfa wsra
lgP oja tlga ia
hA a yg oven jal la igfl
sst or da tere xpafi
is ien tf on t iglla to ea
in to lfS
Fot lga wayfG e ;gm t
vla ws;la igfh tlyF sn
fofG ven ts
Fo glo vg tu ;gl
lm sin ve telp wet dg tef on
lc slv to ve .
Hfl ateG ven tla ;o ylg
stfuP to tilv igV ag ia tsu
Hfl elpr avg elG ts
lo tot o;ul t oyelv sfo
lo
Hia tlfn gla geifo
fo igV ist oc ln tlw lo sfal ;h
ll tily a y,la glv
ic sn telfl;ts a lp ll
ilsn tlo sg ;st to lu wlo yla
lflz ela tci
Hlc so t ialf le vG st la e
;s tvi elfgt dlg ia tla
G t y,t de ele xtei s flfl
eB eh ;st of lln slo ylal
Hle xt elh tin tlgn ts;u
elal vo et dglla a tfo
of o tei ;slen le lfS vg ;slv
lo vlfw fa a ;ssl lg
sl tflg ;se xsct tsl
he ve ys tg elpO iaV ela ve
Petf oR el sinsm tlln sO
rp teP etla vle a we elp y
rp tejn y.Aflla ta eisu
lm el ye ve ylln yel faT y a ;is
o fi tlflcf ep
Nla veV elw a tla tte tsi oo
tlsi eh eV ela vew elfn olfn o
tlla ttpn tlo yla lg tu et ce xtela

n wa a tbjb vesW ea ve
ridfic sn tefo
jgn ati ae ln tha eW ea vel
tdea vi ejs tdjn ,ev ea ve
cjp edo yhfo cdd et o
il vovkpa jhw lda v ha
in tpa toc tsit o pfF y
to la vedl ft dv iejs tsfo
cjg .W esn jta efo ejqha
ha ,hel cfe apjdl
jsw edr s tfjfn
Wa ,iP ell
Wja efo ejR pe sa tavi sfhn el
S atefA ,ieG lgG jsh
lg dfG ejl efw lf da
rtfin tea jsl ,ithdb y
hfg cP jehfS
hjdl ,fF ttbl el
lsa ejfg tg tt dF eel
jel tS atja tha ya e lA lv ef da
lg dfC oyah tthi la
ctle tv edlS ateG ea t
lB jiedg tt dt to hjl ejha t
sF eel tS atja ya vefP owe
tde vyW a ,c lP ec o t thA
s tlsn ejt cdlhl
hjel tS atsn yfg tcl
sA dpfD ajlm
rlelp to tfuP ojlv e
hjg et dlev ejF ta
ela el .

Notes

Introduction: Language

1. "We do not call ourselves 'Native American'": Richard Cullen Rath, *How Early America Sounded* (Cornell University Press, 2005), 145.

Prologue: Why Classics?

1. "Whenever we as Americans have faced serious crises": Ralph Ellison, *Shadow and Act* (Random House, 1964), 106.
2. the influence of Enlightenment thinking on the founders: Daniel Walker Howe, "European Sources of Political Ideas in Jeffersonian America," *Reviews in American History* 10, no. 4 (December 1982), 29.
3. "Synthesis demands regard for complexity": Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation: The Rise of Modern Paganism* (Alfred A. Knopf, 1966), x.
4. "How is it that we hear the loudest *yelps*": James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson* (Jones & Company, 1829), 352. Italics in original.
5. "Their reading in the classics": Meyer Reinhold, *Classica Americana: The Greek and Roman Heritage in the United States* (Wayne State University Press, 1984), 20, 25.

Part 1: Petition

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2. Joseph Addison's *Cato*: Paul Leicester Ford, *Washington and the Theatre* (The Dunlap Society, 1899), 1. See also Jared Brown, *The Theatre in American During the Revolution* (Cambridge University Press, 1995), 54; as well

as Randall Fuller, “Theaters of the American Revolution: The Valley Forge ‘Cato’ and the Meschianza in Their Transcultural Contexts,” *Early American Literature* 34, no. 2 (1999), 128.

Chapter 1: Power and Colonialism

1. James Madison kept a bust of Athena: Elizabeth Chew, vice president for museum programs, James Madison’s Montpelier, email message to author.
2. a stable housed Caractacus: Henry Randall, *The Life of Thomas Jefferson*, Vol. 1 (Derby & Jackson, 1858), 69.
3. “Cleopatra ought not to be fed too high”: “John Adams to Abigail Adams, 9 April 1796,” *Founders Online.*
4. Among the enslaved: Elizabeth Dowling Taylor, *A Slave in the White House: Paul Jennings and the Madisons* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 38; “Thomas Jefferson’s List of Slaves at Poplar Forest (ca. 2–13 November 1814),” *Founders Online*; Henry Wiencek, *An Imperfect God: George Washington, His Slaves, and the Creation of America* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003), 99.
5. Our “Senate” meets in “The Capitol”: I owe this observation of the names of our political parties to Howard Mumford Jones, *O Strange New World: American Culture: The Formative Years* (Viking, 1964), 229.
6. Our Supreme Court convenes: For the observation about the Supreme Court building as a Roman temple, I am indebted to Paul MacKendrick, “‘This Rich Source of Delight’: The Classics and the Founding Fathers,” *The Classical Journal* 72, no. 2 (December 1976–January 1977), 104. The weight of the doors is from the website of the Office of the Curator, Supreme Court of the United States.
7. “He does not possess Wealth, it possesses him”: Richard Gummere, *The American Colonial Mind and the Classical Tradition* (Harvard University Press, 1963), 127.
8. “A rolling stone gathers no moss”: “From Benjamin Franklin to Samuel Cooper Johonnot, 25 January 1782,” Franklin papers, *Founders Online*, 1; *The Moral Sayings of Publius Syrus*, trans. D. Lyman (L. E Barnard, 1856), 48.
9. nodded to the ancient world in naming their settlements: Meyer Reinhold, *Classica Americana: The Greek and Roman Heritage in the United States* (Wayne State University Press, 1984), 257.
10. the “lynchpin” of public life: Joyce Appleby, *Liberalism and Republicanism in the Historical Imagination* (Harvard University Press, 1992), 21.
11. “virtue” appears about six thousand times: Based on a search of “virtue” on *Founders Online*, hereafter *FO*. There is some repetition as letters from one founder to another

appear twice, in the papers both of the sender and the recipient.

12. "It is impossible to read in Thucydides": John Adams, "Preface" in *A Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America*, in *The Works of John Adams, Vol. IV*, ed. Charles Francis Adams (Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1851), 285.
13. look with admiration on the Greeks: Reinhold, *Classica Americana,* 97.
14. Polybius had criticized the people of Athens: Polybius, *Histories*, Book 6:44 in Richard Gummere, "The Classical Ancestry of the United States Constitution," *American Quarterly* 14, no. 1 (Spring 1962), 8.
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16. "as brave and as free a people": John Dickinson, *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania* (J. Almon, 1774), 29.
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18. a "Christian Sparta": Samuel Adams, *The Writings of Samuel Adams, Vol. IV, 1778–1802*, ed. Harry Alonzo Cushing (G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1908), 238.
19. "Cicero in Latin, and Xenophon in Greek": Edward Gibbon, *Memoirs of Edward Gibbon, Esq*. (Houghton, Mifflin, & Co., 1882), 107.
20. "The fame of Cicero flourishes at present": David Hume, *Philosophical Essays Concerning Human Understanding* (M. Cooper, 1751), 4.
21. These preferences extended across national and cultural boundaries: Harold Parker, *The Cult of Antiquity and the French Revolutionaries: A Study in the Development of the Revolutionary Spirit* (University of Chicago Press, 1937), 18–20.
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23. it was Terence: Meyer Reinhold, "The Classics and the Quest for Virtue in Eighteenth-Century America," in *The Usefulness of Classical Learning in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Susan Ford Wiltshire (American Philological Society, 1976), 11.
24. "my favourite author": John Adams, "VI. 'U' to the *Boston Gazette*, 29 August 1763," *FO.*
25. Their attention to Rome was itself uneven: See, for example, David Bederman, *The Classical Foundations of the*

American Constitution: Prevailing Wisdom (Cambridge University Press, 2008), 14.

26. "What gripped their minds": Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Belknap Press, 2017), 25.
27. "the Roman Republic attained to the utmost height of human greatness": Alexander Hamilton, "The Federalist No. 34 [5 January 1788]," *FO.*
28. "made himself perpetual dictator": John Adams, "1771. Thurdsday June 13th, [f om the Diary of John Adams]," Adams Papers, *FO.*
29. Their articles became central to the political debate: Bernard Bailyn, "Political Ex perience and En lightenment Ideas in E ghteenth-Century America," in *The American Historical Review* 67 (1962), 344; see also Alan Taylor, *American Revolutions: A Continental History, 1750–1804* (W. W. Norton, 2016), 92.
30. "gave unreserved endorsement to f ee speech": Forrest McDonald, *Novus Ordo Seclorum: The Intellectual Origins of the Constitution* (University Press of Kansas, 1985), 47. The comment on f ee speech appears in "Discourse on Libels," October 27, 1722, by John Trenchard [and Thomas Gordon], *Cato's Letters, Volume III* (J. Walthoe, T. and T. Longman, C. Hitch and L. Hawes, J. Hodges, A. Millar, J. and J. Riv ngton, J. Ward and M. Cooper, 1755), 292–99.
31. Who were these colonial men: Gordon Wood, *Revolutionary Characters: What Made the Founders Different* (Penguin Press, 2006), 25.
32. "rude, mis-shapen piles": Thomas Jefferson, "Notes on the State of Virginia," in *Thomas Jefferson: Writings* (Library of America, 1984), 276, 278.
33. Their academic diet: Gummere, *The American Colonial Mind and the Classical Tradition*, 55.
34. "a society built on and sustained by iv olence": Annette Gordon-Reed, *The Hemingses of Monticello: An American Family* (W. W. Norton, 2008), 54.
35. cutti g off that person's toes: Edmund Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (W. W. Norton, 1975), 313.
36. "I have cured many a Negro": Wiencek, *An Imperfect God*, 26.
37. those who were flogged sometimes then "pickled": Wiencek, *An Imperfect God*, 47; see also "Testimony of Mr. Lemeul Sapington, A Native of Maryland," in *American Slavery As It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses* (Philadelphia: American Anti-Slavery Society, 1839), 49.
38. burned a woman at the stake: Iriv ng Brant, *James Madison: The Virginia Revolutionist* (Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1941), 27, 49.
39. murdered in 1732 with poison: Douglas Chambers, *Murder at Montpelier: Igbo Af icans in Virginia* (University Press of

Mississippi, 2005), 8.

40. "famous false teeth": Wiencek, *An Imperfect God*, 112.
41. "A small boy being horsewhipped by a visitor": Henry Wiencek, *Master of the Mountain: Thomas Jefferson and His Slaves* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2012), 108, 119. Wiencek has detailed how this letter was deliberately misrepresented and even suppressed by historians until 2005, in "The Dark Side of Thomas Jefferson," *Smithsonian,* October 2012. For the letter, see "To Thomas Jefferson from Martha Jefferson Randolph and Thomas Mann Randolph, 31 January 1801" (especially the postscript), *FO*.
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43. it was "not as harsh and exploitative as its modern analogues": Bederman, *The Classical Foundations of the American Constitution*, 103.
44. slaves had the right to petition the emperor for help: Susan Ford Wiltshire, *Greece, Rome, and the Bill of Rights* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 125, 129.
45. "beings of an inferior order": *Dred Scott v. John F.A. Sandford*, 60 U.S. 393 (1857), Legal Information Institute, Cornell Law School.

Chapter 7: Washington's Virginia Society

1. The best example of this is George Washington: This paraphrases a comment made by Peter Onuf in a conversation with the author on 10 June 2019, Winter Harbor, Maine.
2. "I am conscious of a defective education": "From George Washington to David Humphreys, 25 July 1785," *FO*.
3. Washington "was So ignorant, that he had never read any Thing": "From John Adams to Benjamin Rush, 22 April 1812," *FO*.
4. that "Washington was not a Schollar is certain": "From John Adams to Benjamin Rush, September 1807," *FO*.
5. "His mind was great and powerful": "Thomas Jefferson to Walter Jones, 2 January 1814," *FO*.
6. Washington had a "propensity for rashness": Adrienne Harrison, *A Powerful Mind: The Self-Education of George Washington* (Potomac Books, 2015), 44.

7. “Perhaps the strongest feature in his character was prudence”: These two quotations are also from the document cited above: “Thomas Jefferson to Walter Jones, 2 January 1814,” *FO*.
8. “If the present work succeeds in humanizing Washington”: Paul Leicester Ford, *The True George Washington* (J. B. Lippincott Company, 1897), 6.
9. “George Washington as a Human Being”: Howard Swiggett, *The Great Man: George Washington as a Human Being* (Doubleday & Co., 1953).
10. “a fallible human being”: James Thomas Flexner, *Washington: The Indispensable Man* (Little, Brown and Company, 1974), xiv .
11. “The goal of the present biography”: Ron Chernow, *Washington: A Life* (Penguin Press, 2010), xx.
12. “born with his clothes on”: Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The French and Italian Notebooks, Vol. 1* (Houghton Mifflin, 1888), 293.
13. he “allowed no one to be familiar with him”: James Parton, *Life of Thomas Jefferson* (James R. Osgood, 1874), 369. To be precise about the origin of this anecdote, Parton states that “the story was related by Hamilton to Mr. John Fine of Ogdensburgh, who gave it [his written account] to Mr. Van Buren.”
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15. the typical young white boy got at best a year or two of schooling: Harry Good and James Teller, *A History of American Education* (Macmillan, 1973), 31.
16. There was a major regional difference here: This summarizes parts of Sheldon Cohen, *A History of Colonial Education, 1607–1776* (John Wiley & Sons, 1974).
17. Washington never attended college: James Thomas Flexner, *George Washington: The Forge of Experience, 1732–1775* (Little, Brown and Company, 1965), 31.
18. “conspicuous by his absence”: Richard Gummere, *The American Colonial Mind and the Classical Tradition* (Harvard University Press, 1963), 62.
19. among the decorations he ordered from London was a small bust of Caesar: “Enclosure: Invoice to Robert Cary & Company, 20 September 1759,” Washington papers, *FO*.
20. “Homer, Virgil, Horace, Cicero”: “Invoice from Robert Cary & Company, 15 March 1760,” Washington Papers, *FO*.
21. eighteenth-century audiences expected lengthy declamations: Frederic Litto, “Addison’s Cato in the Colonies,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 23, no. 3 (July 1966), 432, 426.
22. Cato was the very embodiment of virtue: See Nathaniel Wolloch, “Cato the Younger in the Age of Enlightenment,” *Modern Philology* 106, no. 1 (August 2008).

23. “Think Cato sees thee”: “Poor Richard, 1741,” Franklin Papers, *FO*.
24. He would know about the orator from the play: Meyer Reinhold, *Classica Americana: The Greek and Roman Heritage in the United States* (Wayne State University Press, 1984), 250.
25. “It is said of Cato”: Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Romans and Grecians (The Dryden Translation)* (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1952), 620.
26. “He undertook the service of the state”: Plutarch, *Lives of the Noble Romans and Grecians*, 627.
27. “Caesar at this time had not done much”: Anthony Trollope, *The Life of Cicero, Vol. 1* (Harper & Brothers, 1881), 216.
28. attainment of public virtue was the highest goal: Richard Jenkyns, “The Legacy of Rome” in *The Legacy of Rome: A New Appraisal*, ed. Richard Jenkyns (Oxford University Press, 1992), 22.
29. eighteenth-century “virtue” was essentially male: I wish this had occurred to me, but it did not. I saw it on p. 36 of Ann Fairfax Withington, *Toward a More Perfect Union: Virtue and the Formation of American Republics* (Oxford University Press, 1991).
30. “virtue” as “the love of the laws and of our country”: Baron de Montesquieu, *The Spirit of Laws, Vol. 1* (J. Nourse and P. Vaillant, 1766), 48.
31. he would pursue “Honor and Reputation”: “From George Washington to Robert Dinwiddie, 22 April 1756,” *FO*.
32. “Justifying by virtue is a way of escaping hereditary control”: Gordon Wood in conversation with author, 18 December 2017.
33. He read all his life: Harrison, *A Powerful Mind*, 81.
34. he owned a total of 2,315 acres: Chernow, *Washington*, 23.
35. “No frontiersman understood the Indians better”: Douglas Southall Freeman, *George Washington: A Biography, Vol. 1, Young Washington* (Scribner’s, 1948), 283.
36. “The Wine”: “Journey to the French Commandant: Narrative,” Washington Papers, *FO.*
37. “The Horses grew less able to travel”: Ibid.
38. “The Cold was so extream severe”: Ibid.
39. “As for the summons you send me to retire”: Quoted in Freeman, *Washington, Vol. 1*, 325.
40. “The shabby and ragged appearance the French common Soldiers make”: “From George Washington to Robert Dinwiddie, 7 March 1754,” *FO*.
41. the First Peoples were inclined to support the French: David Preston, *Braddock’s Defeat: The Battle of the Monongahela and the Road to Revolution* (Oxford University Press, 2015), 15.
42. “Nothing prevents their throwing down their commissions”: “From George Washington to Robert Dinwiddie, 18 May 1754,” *FO*.

43. “The *Indians* scalped the dead”: “Expedition to the Ohio, 1754: Narrative,” Washington Papers, *FO*.
44. “I heard Bulletts whistle”: “From George Washington to John Augustine Washington, 31 May 1754,” *FO*.
45. “He would not say so, if he had been used to hear many”: Quoted in editor’s note in *George Washington*: *Writings* (Library of America, 1997), 1096.
46. Louis Coulon de Villiers: “Coulon de Villiers, Louis,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. 3* (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003), accessed online.
47. “This was too degrading for G.W. to submit to”: “Remarks, 1787–1788” [on David Humphreys’ Biography of Washington, about 1787], *FO*.
48. “generous & disinterested”: Ibid.
49. “he had too much self-confidence”: Benjamin Franklin, *Benjamin Franklin: Autobiography, Poor Richard and Later Writings* (Library of America, 1997), 700–701.
50. “the greatest part [were] Virginians”: Edward Braddock, “To Robert Napier,” in *Military Affairs in North America, 1748–1765: Selected Documents from the Cumberland Papers in Windsor Castle*, ed. Stanley M. Pargellis (D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936), 84.
51. shot and scalped: Lee McCardell, *Ill-Starred General: Braddock of the Coldstream Guards* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1958), 230.
52. “Shoot um down all one pigeon”: Ibid., 243.
53. First, make a loud noise: Ben Gustafson, “Tips for Hunting Pigeons. Seriously,” *North American Hunter*, July 2015, accessed online.
54. the largest First Peoples force ever assembled on behalf of the French: Preston, *Braddock’s Defeat*, 149–50. From this paragraph on, my account of the battle relies heavily on Preston’s fine book.
55. “As soon as the Enemys Indians perceiv’d our Grenadiers”: Harry Gordon, “Gordon’s Journal: Journal of Proceedings from Willes’s Creek to the Monongahela,” in *Military Affairs in North America*, ed. Pargellis, 106.
56. “Nothing afterwards was to Be Seen Amongst the Men But Confusion & Panick”: Ibid.
57. “Experienced [tribal] war captains led their men”: Preston, *Braddock’s Defeat*, 235.
58. “broke and run as Sheep before Hounds”: “From George Washington to Robert Dinwiddie, 18 July 1755,” *FO*.
59. “the whole Body gave way”: Gordon, “Gordon’s Journal,” 107–108.
60. about two-thirds were killed or wounded: Preston, *Braddock’s Defeat*, 265.
61. “The shocking Scenes which presented themselves”: “Remarks, 1787–1788” [on David Humphreys’s Biography of Washington, about 1787], *FO*.

62. Their force had lost about twenty-five dead: Preston, *Braddock's Defeat*, 264.
63. "I am still in a weak and Feeble condn": "From George Washington to Mary Ball Washington, 18 July 1755," *FO*.
64. "it will meet with unbelief and indignation": "From George Washington to Robert Jackson, 2 August 1755," *FO*.
65. "I was employ'd to go a journey in the Winter": "George Washington to Augustine Washington, 2 August 1755," *FO*.
66. "Honor and Reputation in the Serv ce": "From George Washington to Robert Dinwiddie, 22 April 1756," *FO*.
67. "We want nothing but Commissions f om His Majesty": "From George Washington to Robert Dinwiddie, 10 March 1757," *FO*.
68. "I see the growing Insolence of the Soldiers": "From George Washington to Robert Dinwiddie, 11–14 October 1755," *FO*.
69. "I am determined, if I can be justified in the proceeding, to hang two or three on it, as an example to others": "From George Washington to John Stanwix, 15 July 1757," *FO*.
70. ordering the executions of two deserters: "General Court-Martial, 25–26 July 1757," Washington Papers, *FO*. Description of Edwards is f om footnote two on this document.
71. "They were proper objects to suffer": "From George Washington to Robert Dinwiddie, 3 August 1757," *FO*.
72. "of all sources of wealth, farming is the best": Cicero, "On Moral Duties," in *The Basic Works of Cicero*, ed. Moses Hadas (Modern Library, 1951), 56.
73. "the policy of the French is so subtle, that not a f iendly Indian will we have on the continent": "George Washington to Adam Stephen, 23 October 1756," *FO*.
74. "We cannot suppose the French, who have their Scouts constantly out, can be so difficient in point of Intelligence": "From George Washington to Henry Bouquet, 2 August 1758," *FO*.
75. "Discipline is the soul of an army": "Instructions to Company Captains, 29 July 1757," Washington Papers, *FO*.
76. Washington "always understood power and how to use it": Gordon Wood, *Empire of Liberty: A History of the Early Republic, 1789–1815* (Oxford University Press, 2009), 86.

[illegible]

1. "I did not love my Books half so well as my fowling-piece": "From John Adams to John Adams, 2 January 1820," Adams Papers, *FO*.
2. "I don't like my schoolmaster": John Adams, "From the Autobiography," in *John Adams: Revolutionary Writings, 1755–1775*, ed. Gordon Wood (Library of America, 2011), 617–618.

3. the first American college, and the one most connected to English traditions: George Marsden, *The Soul of the American University: From Protestant Establishment to Established Nonbelief* (Oxford University Press, 1994), 35. See also David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (Oxford University Press, 1989), 39–40.
4. students there and at Yale were still ranked by their social standing: George Trevelyan, *American Revolution, Vol. 3* (Longmans, Green, 1915), 283. See also Gordon Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (Vintage Books, 1993), 21.
5. This arrangement was manifested in writing: John Lord Taylor, *A Memoir of His Honor Samuel Phillips, LL.D.* (Congregational Publishing Society, 1856) 347. See also Henry Barnard, ed., *The American Journal of Education* 16 (March 1859), 67; and Franklin Bowditch Dexter, "On Some Social Distinctions at Harvard and Yale Before the Revolution," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 9 (October 1893–October 1894), 55–56.
6. John Adams' class rank probably had more to do with the status of the family of his mother: Charles Francis Adams, "Life of John Adams," in *The Works of John Adams, Vol. 1* (Little, Brown and Company 1856), 14.
7. Rank determined, among other things, where one sat in the Commons for meals: Arthur Stanwood Pier, *The Story of Harvard* (Little, Brown and Company 1913), 75, 69. Reference to brewery, to the Saturday meal, and part of the breakfast information is from Samuel Eliot Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard* (Harvard University Press, 1937), 116–17.
8. he grew accustomed to being greeted in the yard with "Contemptuous Noise & Hallowing": William Bentinck-Smith, ed., *The Harvard Book: Selections from Three Centuries* (Harvard University Press, 1982), 48–50.
9. "I soon perceived a growing Curiosity": "[Harvard College, 1751–1755], [from the Autobiography of John Adams]," *FO*.
10. "I have read him, for almost 70 years and seeme to have him almost by heart": "From John Adams to Elihu Marshall, 7 March 1820," *FO*.
11. "this distinction is entirely owing to Ciceros Letters and Orations": "From John Adams to Benjamin Rush, 4 December 1805," *FO*.
12. the son of a rustic "nobody": Anthony Trollope, *The Life of Cicero, Vol. 1* (Harper & Brothers, Franklin Square, 1881), 219.
13. his "quickness and readiness in learning": Plutarch, "Cicero," in *The Lives of the Noble Romans and Grecians (The Dryden Translation)* (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1952), 704.

14. “He was always excessively pleased with his own praise”: Ibid., 706.
15. Most young men of privilege were introduced to Cicero’s works in secondary school: Robert Middlekauff, “A Persistent Tradition: The Classical Curriculum in Eighteenth-Century New England,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 18, no. 1 (January 1961), 63.
16. “Catiline has plotted a dreadful and entire subversion of the Roman state”: Plutarch, “Cicero,” 628.
17. “How far wilt thou, O Catiline! abuse our patience”: *The Orations of Marcus Tullius Cicero*, trans. William Guthrie (T. Waller, 1758), 2.
18. “men who are meditating the destruction of us all”: Moses Hadas, ed., *The Basic Works of Cicero* (Modern Library, 1951), 265.
19. “You cannot possibly remain in our society any longer”: Ibid., 266.
20. “Let the disloyal then withdraw”: Ibid., 277.
21. he attacked Cicero’s relatively low birth: Sallust, *Catiline’s War, The Jugurthine War, Histories*, trans. A. J. Woodman (Penguin Books, 2007), 22.
22. “He is gone, he is vanished”: *The Orations of Marcus Tullius Cicero,* trans. Guthrie, 39, 50.
23. “There is not any longer room for lenity”: *The Orations of Marcus Tullius Cicero*, trans. C. D. Yonge (George Bell, 1877), 294.
24. “For on the one side are fighting modesty, on the other wantonness”: Ibid., 301.
25. “Jupiter resisted them”: Ibid., 313.
26. “I shall fall with a contented and prepared mind”: Ibid., 319.
27. “You have a Consul, who, without Hesitation, will Obey your orders”: *The Orations of Marcus Tullius Cicero,* trans. Guthrie, 121.
28. “Do you, then, still hesitate and doubt what to do with the enemies caught inside the walls?”: Sallust, *Catiline’s War*, 34–39.
29. “The fiery Soul abhor’d in Catiline”: Alexander Pope, *Essay on Man* (William Bradford, 1747), 23.
30. Voltaire played the role of Cicero: Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation: The Rise of Modern Paganism* (Alfred A. Knopf, 1966), 106.
31. Salieri wrote an opera about the Catiline war: Andrew Dyck, ed., *Cicero: Catilinarians* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), 14–15.
32. Cicero and Adams: My writing and conclusions in this section of this book were influenced by the discussion of Cicero in Peter Shaw’s fine book *The Character of John Adams* (University of North Carolina Press, 1976), which should be better known.
33. “The Sweetness and Grandeur of his sounds”: “Thurdsday [21 December 1758],” “From the Diary of John Adams,” *FO*.

34. “the one man, above all others, who made the Romans feel how great a charm eloquence lends to what is good”: Plutarch, “Cicero,” 709, 713.
35. “but his using it to excess offended many”: Ibid., 706, 713.
36. “[I have] the most ardent desire of being immediately distinguished in your glorious annals”: Cicero, “To Lucius Lucceius,” *Epistles, Elegant, Familiar & Instructive . . .* (Rivington, Longman, Law, Dodsley, etc., 1791), 71.
37. “Bob Paine is conceited”: “[December 1758] [from the Diary of John Adams],” Adams papers, *FO*.
38. “Vanity I am sensible, is my cardinal Vice”: “[May 1756] [from the Diary of John Adams],” *FO*.
39. “His genius was superb, but his soul was often common”: Baron de Montesquieu, *Considerations on the Causes of the Greatness of the Romans and Their Decline* (Hackett Publishing, 1965), 166.
40. “I read it over and over”: “1771. Wednesday June 5th. [from the Diary of John Adams],” Adams Papers, *FO*.
41. *The Preceptor* was a touchstone for his generation: Kevin Hayes, *George Washington: A Life in Books* (Oxford University Press, 2017), 126.
42. He began his life as a footman: Ian Crowe, *Patriotism and the Public Spirit: Edmund Burke and the Role of the Critics in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Stanford University Press, 2012), 26.
43. To create his textbook, Dodsley drew up a twelve-part outline: Harry Solomon, *The Rise of Robert Dodsley: Creating the New Age of Print* (Southern Illinois University Press, 1996), 1–2, 123–125, 129; see also Austin Dobson, “At ‘Tully’s Head,’” *Scribner’s Magazine* 15 (1894), 516–24.
44. “They never consider them as the Authors of Misery to thousands”: Robert Dodsley, *The Preceptor: Containing a General Course of Education, Vol. 1*, 5th ed. (Dodsley, 1769), 269. First published in 1748.
45. “Could Rome have been saved from Slavery”: Ibid., 309, 348–49.
46. “As the People are the Fountain of Power and Authority”: Ibid., *Vol. 2*, 331.
47. Other eighteenth-century London bookstores boasted similarly classical names: Jacob Larwood and John Camden Hotten, *The History of Signboards: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (Chatto & Windus, 1875), 65.
48. a “fundamental irrelevance of religious revelation to the great issues of public life”: Darren Staloff, *Hamilton, Adams, Jefferson: The Politics of Enlightenment and the American Founding* (Hill & Wang, 2005), 9.
49. from 1775 to 1815, religion had less influence in American life than it did in any later such forty-year period: Howard Mumford Jones, *O Strange New World: American Culture: The Formative Years* (Viking, 1964),341.

50. It is probably a mistake in emphasis to focus on the "ideas of the Enlightenment": See, for example, pp. 7 and 10, Bernard Bailyn, "The Central Themes of the American Revolution: An Interpretation," in *Essays on the American Revolution*, eds. Stephen Kurtz and James Hutson (W. W. Norton, 1973). See also Bernard Bailyn, *Faces of the Revolution: Personalities & Themes in the Struggle for Independence* (Vintage Books, 1992), 186.
51. "Only rarely did they develop ideas undreamed of in earlier generations": Robert Darnton, *George Washington's False Teeth: An Unconventional Guide to the Eighteenth Century* (W. W. Norton, 2003), 4.
52. the Enlightenment was more a process than a result: Robert Ferguson, "What Is Enlightenment?" in *The Cambridge History of American Literature, Vol. 1, 1590–1820* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), 371.
53. "true reform in ways of thinking": Quoted in Paul Giles, "Enlightenment Historiography and Cultural Civil Wars," in *The Atlantic Enlightenment*, eds. Susan Manning and Francis Cogliano (Ashgate, 2008), 19. See also Immanuel Kant, "What Is Enlightenment?" *Modern History Sourcebook,* accessed online.
54. "To be enlightened was to be filled with hope": Caroline Winterer, *American Enlightenments: Pursuing Happiness in the Age of Reason* (Yale University Press, 2016), 1.
55. "superstition, intolerance, tyranny": Carl Becker, *The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth-Century Philosophers* (Yale University Press, 1961), 105.
56. "What was most important and really new about the Age of Reason": William H. Goetzmann, *Beyond the Revolution: A History of American Thought from Paine to Pragmatism* (Basic Books, 2009), 28–29.
57. Montesquieu invented sociology in *The Spirit of Laws*: Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation, Vol. 2: The Science of Freedom* (Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), 319.
58. Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*: Paul MacKendrick, "This Rich Source of Delight: The Classics and the Founding Fathers," *The Classical Journal* 72, no. 2 (December 1976–January 1977), 105.
59. "I liked them; they seemed rational": Quoted in William Tudor, *The Life of James Otis* (Wells and Lilly, 1823), 144–45.
60. "It is right that the people confer the political authority upon whomsoever they will": George Buchanan, *De Jure Regni Apud Scotos ("The Powers of the Crown in Scotland")*, trans. Charles Finn Arrowood (University of Texas Press, 1949), 52.
61. "Of pow'r THE PEOPLE are the source": Quoted in Michael Durey, *Transatlantic Radicals and the Early American Republic* (University Press of Kansas, 1997), 77.

62. the people "have the power to governe the Church": Roger Williams, *The Bloody Tenent* (no publisher listed, 1644), 249–50.
63. "no civ l rules are to be obeyed": Jonathan Mayhew, "A discourse concerning the unlimited submission and non-resistance to the high powers, 1750," *Founding.com*.
64. "I read it, till the Substance of it was incorporated into my Nature": "John Adams to Thomas Jefferson, 18 July 1818," *FO*.
65. he became the teacher at the Center School: E izabeth Porter Gould, *John Adams and Daniel Webster as Schoolmasters* (Palmer Company, 1903), 12–15.
66. He was lonely in Worcester: Page Smith, *John Adams, Vol. 1: 1735–1784* (Doubleday & McClure, 1962), 24.
67. "I have no Books, no Time, no Friends": "[April 1756], [f om the Diary of John Adams]," Adams Papers, *FO*.
68. he had spent "a Clowdy morning" reading Charles Rollin's *Method of Teaching*: "March 8, 1754," Adams Papers, *FO*.
69. "a principal medium": William Gribbin, "Rollin's Histories and American Republicanism," *William and Mary Quarterly* 29, no. 4 (1972), 612.
70. "From Rollins I Suspect, Washington drew his Wisdom": "From John Adams to Benjamin Rush, September 1807," *FO*.
71. "I am very sick of your Gibbons's, Robertsons, Rollins the best of them": "To Thomas Jefferson f om E ra Stiles, 27 August 1790," *FO*.
72. Adams found Rollin's books "worth their weight in gold": "[March 1754], Adams diary," Adams Papers, *FO*.
73. "the Mischievous Tricks": "[10 June 1760], [f om the Diary of John Adams]," *FO*.
74. a "meer Curiosity": "October 1758, From the Diary of John Adams," *FO*.
75. "Now I feel the Dissadvantages of Putnams Insociability": "Monday. December 18th. 1758, [f om the Diary of John Adams]," Adams Papers, *FO*.
76. "Let no trifling Diversion or amuzement or Company decoy you f om your Books": "Tuesday [January 1759], [f om the Diary of John Adams]," *FO*.
77. "I know much less than I do of the Roman law": "[March 1759] [f om the Diary of John Adams]," Adams Papers, *FO*.
78. the ancients looming much larger than did modern writers: Zoltan Haraszti, "John Adams Among his Books," *More Books: Bulletin of the Boston Public Library* 1 (1926), 6, 5.
79. "*Adams* flourishd in the second Century": "To John Adams f om Jonathan Sewall, 13 February 1760," *FO*.
80. Gordon Wood suspects: Note f om Gordon Wood to the author, 22 April 2019.
81. Adams "always wrote for the public as if he had a toga on": Jones, *O Strange New World*, 259.

82. Mayhew as “a clergyman equalled by a very few”: John Adams, “To the Inhabitants of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay, 6 February 1775,” *FO*.
83. “An Awakening and a Reiv val of American Principles and Feelings”: “From John Adams to Hezekiah Niles, 13 February 1818,” *FO*.
84. “Cicero was a man thoroughly human”: Trollope, *The Life of Cicero*, 33, 36.

Ep te fferonBom tiand M y

1. “America’s first great Romantic artist”: Darren Staloff, *Hamilton, Adams, Jefferson: The Politics of Enlightenment and the American Founding* (Hill & Wang, 2005), 248.
2. “I am but a son of nature”: “From Thomas Jefferson to Maria Cosway, 24 April 1788,” *FO*. I first noticed this sentence when it was quoted by E M. Halliday on p. 102 of his book, *Understanding Thomas Jefferson* (Harper Perennial, 2002).
3. “I like the dreams of the fu ture better than the history of the past”: “To John Adams f om Thomas Jefferson, 1 August 1816,” *FO*.
4. Jefferson “was more partial to the Greek than the Roman literature”: Henry Randall, *The Life of Thomas Jefferson, Vol. 1* (Derby & Jackson, 1858), 27.
5. “begg’d me to learn him latti ”: *The Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian, 1773–1774: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion*, ed. Hunter Dickinson Farish (Colonial Williamsburg, 1965), 77.
6. dancing was treated as just as essential as reading books: For more on this value system, see Daiv d Tyack, *Turning Points in American Education* (Blaisdell Publishing, 1967), 28.
7. “Mr Douglas a clergyman f om Scotland”: Both quotations f om “Thomas Jefferson: Autobiography, 6 Jan.–29 July 1821,” *FO*.
8. such knowledge would enable “a Virginia gentleman”: Q oted in Tyack, *Turning Points in American Education*, 37.
9. “the first master” of style: “Thomas Jefferson to John Adams, 5 July 1814,” *FO*.
10. “Livy, Tacitus, Sallust, & most assuredly not in Cicero”: “Thomas Jefferson to John Wayles p pes, 17 January 1810”, *FO*.
11. Colleges in the colonial era could be unruly: For background on Rowe, see Frederick Lewis Weis, *The Colonial Clergy of Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina* (Clearfield, 1955), 44. For the preiv ous faculty dismissal and for the issue of compensation, see Keiv n J. Hayes, *The Road to Monticello: The Life and Mind of Thomas Jefferson* (Oxford

University Press, 2008), 50. For the quotation on "scandalous and malicious," see Murray Rothbard, *Conceived in Liberty* (Ludwig von Mises Institute, 2011), 652.

12. a "castoff, a misfit, a drunk and a brawler": John K. Nelson, *A Blessed Company: Parishes, Parsons and Parishioners in Anglican Virginia, 1690–1776* (University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 90–91.
13. "remove himself and his effects at once from the college": Lyon G. Tyler, *The College of William and Mary in Virginia: Its History and Work, 1693–1907* (Whittet & Shepperson, 1907), 44. See also J. E. Morpugo, *Their Majesties' Royall Colledge: William and Mary in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (College of William & Mary, 1976), 124–25.
14. Conditions at the college at this time were, writes one historian, "pathetically absurd": Robert Polk Thomson, "The Reform of the College of William and Mary, 1763–1780," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 115, no. 3 (1971), 190.
15. Jefferson was taught almost exclusively by William Small: Dumas Malone, *Jefferson and His Time, Vol. 1: Jefferson the Virginian* (Little, Brown and Company 1948), 52–53.
16. "[Small] was appointed to fill it per interim": Thomas Jefferson, "The Autobiography," in *Jefferson* (Library of America, 1984), 4.
17. "the basic influence . . . of Hutcheson": Ralph Ketcham, *Presidents Above Party: The First American Presidency, 1789–1829* (University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 101.
18. This new church placed a strong emphasis on literacy: J.E G. De Montmorency, *State Intervention in English Education: A Short History from the Earliest Times down to 1833* (Cambridge University Press, 1902), 116–17.
19. By 1750, according to some estimates, 75 percent of Scots could read: Arthur Herman, *How the Scots Invented the Modern World* (Three Rivers Press, 2001), 23.
20. Scotland's Enlightenment was university-based: Douglas Sloan, *The Scottish Enlightenment and the American College Ideal* (Teachers College Press, 1971), 14–15.
21. "a century of educational sleep": Montmorency, *State Intervention in English Education,* 107.
22. "I spent fourteen months" at Oxford: Edward Gibbon, *Memoirs of Edward Gibbon, Esq.* (Houghton, Mifflin, & Co., 1882), 79.
23. "given up altogether even the pretence of teaching": Adam Smith, *An Inquiry Into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (James Decker, 1801), 62.
24. "degenerated to a large extent": Howard Clive Barnard, *A Short History of English Education from 1760 to 1944* (University of London Press, 1947), 28.

25. Scottish institutions led the English-speaking world in having their faculty members specialize in one or two subjects: Frederick Rudolph, *Curriculum: A History of the American Undergraduate Course of Study Since 1636* (Jossey-Bass, 1981), 44.
26. work by Isaac Newton of Cambridge in mathematics and physics was taught in the Scottish universities: David Daiches, "The Scottish Enlightenment," in eds. Jean Jones, David Daiches, and Peter Jones, *A Hotbed of Genius: The Scottish Enlightenment 1730–1790,* 5. See also Winifred Bryan Horner, *Nineteenth-Century Scottish Rhetoric: The American Connection* (Southern Illinois University Press, 1993), 5.
27. "Edinburgh is a hot-bed of genius": Tobias Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker, Vol. III* (W. Johnston, 1772), 4–5.
28. Scottish universities were relatively inexpensive: Herman, *How the Scots Invented the Modern World*, 26.
29. "Any boy who could do the work was welcome": Sloan, *The Scottish Enlightenment and the American College Ideal,* 15.
30. enrolled at Edinburgh just by walking eighty miles to the city and presenting himself Horner, *Nineteenth-Century Scottish Rhetoric,* 4.
31. Scottish universities were remarkably cosmopolitan: Hilde de Ridder-Symgens, "Mobility," in Walter Ruegg, ed., *A History of the University in Europe, Vol. II: Universities in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1800* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), 438. See also R. M. Ogilvie, *Latin and Greek: A History of the Influence of the Classics on English Life from 1600 to 1918* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964), xi.
32. French jurisprudence had its roots in ancient Rome: This paragraph relies heavily on the chapter on "Irnerius and the Civil Law Revival," in Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, Vol. 1: Salerno, Bologna, Paris* (Clarendon, 1895). See also Robert Feenstra, "Law," in Richard Jenkyns, ed., *The Legacy of Rome: A New Appraisal* (Oxford University Press, 1992).
33. "Our law is grafted on that of Old Rome": Herman, *How the Scots Invented the Modern World,* 86–89. See also Ian Simpson Ross, *Lord Kames and the Scotland of His Day* (Clarendon Press, 1972), 22.
34. Jefferson would read extensively in Kames: Douglas Wilson, "Jefferson's Early Notebooks," *William and Mary Quarterly* 42, no. 5 (1985), 450.
35. "Virginia may rather be called a Scots than an English plantation": Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain, Volume IV,* 7th ed. (J. and F. Rivington; Hawes, Clarke and Collins; J. Buckland; W. and J. Richardson, etc., 1769), 142, 144–45.
36. "Scotland's first global enterprise": T. M. Devine, *To the Ends of the Earth: Scotland's Global Diaspora, 1750–1810*

(Smithsonian Books, 2011), 38.

37. Glasgow soon became a major trader in the American tobacco crop: Alan Karras, *Sojourners in the Sun: Scottish Migrants in Jamaica and the Chesapeake, 1740–1800* (Cornell University Press, 1992), 85. See also Herman, *How the Scots Invented the Modern World,* 162.
38. The Scottish merchants reexported almost all this tobacco: T. M. Devine, *The Tobacco Lords: A Study of the Tobacco Merchants of Glasgow and Their Trading Activities, c. 1740–90* (John Donald, 1975), 64–65.
39. shipping was faster to America by the route around northern Ireland to Scotland: Defoe, *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain,* 145.
40. Operating costs were lower in Glasgow than in London: Jacob Price, "Glasgow, the Tobacco Trade, and the Scottish Customs, 1707–1730: Some Commercial, Administrative and Political Implications of the Union," *The Scottish Historical Review* 63, no. 175 (April 1984), 1. See also T. C. Barker, "Smuggling in the Eighteenth Century: The Evidence of the Scottish Tobacco Trade," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 62, no. 4 (October 1954).
41. The Scots also modernized the business itself, buying whole shiploads in Virginia: Samuel Rosenblatt, "The Significance of Credit in the Tobacco Consignment Trade: A Study of John Norton and Sons, 1768–1775," *William and Mary Quarterly* 19, no. 3 (July 1962), 388. See also Devine, *The Tobacco Lords*, 68; Karras, *Sojourners in the Sun*, 84; and Henry Hamilton, *An Economic History of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (Clarendon Press, 1963), 259.
42. the Scots streamlined their banking system: Daiches, "The Scottish Enlightenment," in *A Hotbed of Genius*, 34.
43. a geological scale of time: Jean Jones, "James Hutton," in *A Hotbed of Genius*, 116.
44. "we find no vestige of a beginning,—no prospect of an end": James Hutton, "Theory of the Earth," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh* 1, pt. II (1788), 304.
45. Hutton was the first "to perceive that the age of the Earth was so great": Gordon Davies, *The Earth in Decay: A History of British Geomorphology* (American Elsevier Publishing Company, 1969), 181.
46. "a bag of gravel is a history to me": George Bruce and Paul Scott, eds., *A Scottish Postbag: Eight Centuries of Scottish Letters* (The Saltire Society, 2002), 56.
47. big ideas provoke paradigm shifts: Thomas M. Allen, *A Republic in Time: Temporality and Social Imagination in Nineteenth-Century America* (University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 153–54.
48. Hutton's thinking about the age of the world: James Buchan, *Capital of the Mind: How Edinburgh Changed the World* (Murray Cards Ltd., 2003), 294.

49. Charles Darwin in turn: Stephen Jay Gould, *Time's Arrow, Time's Cycle: Myth and Metaphor in the Discovery of Geologic Time* (Harvard University Press, 1987), 7.
50. "Jefferson had a special interest in timepieces": Silvio Bedini, "Thomas Jefferson, Clock Designer," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 108, no. 3 (1964), 163.
51. control of time had moved from the church tower to inside the house: Hannah Spahn, *Thomas Jefferson, Time and History* (University of Virginia Press, 2011), 21, 31–32, 47. See also Mark Smith, *Mastered by the Clock: Time, Slavery and Freedom in the American South* (University of North Carolina Press, 1997).
52. Jefferson frequently represented Glasgow merchants: Jacob Price, "The Rise of Glasgow in the Chesapeake Tobacco Trade, 1707–1775," *William and Mary Quarterly* 11, no. 2 (1954): 179–99.
53. the country's infant mortality rates dropped during the eighteenth century: For the decline in Scottish infant mortality in the eighteenth century, see Devine, *To the Ends of the Earth,* 5.
54. twenty-six ships sailed every year: Karras, *Sojourners in the Sun,* 32.
55. That region received more graduates from Scottish institutions than from Oxford and Cambridge: James McLachlan, "Education," in *Scotland and the Americas, 1600 to 1800* (John Carter Brown Library, 1995), 66–67, 69.
56. "the custom heretofore to have all their Tutors, and Schoolmasters from Scotland": *The Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian, 1773–1774,* ed. Farish, 29.
57. "the Scots were the educators of eighteenth-century America": George Marsden, *The Soul of the American University: From Protestant Establishment to Established Nonbelief* (Oxford University Press, 1994), 59.
58. The Foulis brothers: John Ferguson, *The Brothers Foulis and Early Glasgow Printing* (Dryden Press, 1889), 11.
59. "the perfection of accuracy": "Thomas Jefferson to Wells & Lilly, 1 April 1818," *FO*.
60. the Scottish approach influenced late colonial America: Ned Landsman, *From Colonials to Provincials: American Thoughts and Culture, 1680–1760* (Cornell University Press, 1997), 24, 35.
61. "a practice unknown at contemporary Cambridge and Oxford": McLachlan, "Education," in *Scotland and the Americas, 1600 to 1800,* 65.
62. "The story of the rise of the Scottish Enlightenment and the transmission of its ideas to America is fundamental": William H. Goetzmann, *Beyond the Revolution: A History of American Thought from Paine to Pragmatism* (Basic Books, 2009), 54–55.
63. "I rid myself of the Pyrrhonisms": "From Thomas Jefferson to John Adams, 15 August 1820," *FO*.

64. George Wythe, a man of what Jefferson called "exalted virtue": "From Thomas Jefferson to John Sanderson, 31 August 1820," *FO*.
65. "one of the most fortunate events": "From Thomas Jefferson to Peter Carr, with Enclosure, 10 August 1787," *FO.*
66. "the Cato of his country": "Thomas Jefferson: Notes for the Biography of George Wythe., 31 August 1820," *FO*.
67. "Classical allusions were exceedingly rare in English courts": Carl J. Richard, *The Founders and the Classics: Greece, Rome, and the American Enlightenment* (Harvard University Press, 1994), 182.
68. "He carried his love of antiquity rather too far": William Wirt, *Sketches of the Life and Character of Patrick Henry* (Claxton, Remsen, and Haffelfinger, 1878), 66.
69. "He could hardly refrain from giving a line of Horace": Hugh Blair Grigsby, *The Virginia Convention of 1776* (J. W. Randolph, 1855), 129.
70. "his real education": Lawrence Cremin, *American Education: The Colonial Experience, 1607–1783* (Harper & Row, 1970), 552.
71. "The words of truth are simple": D. L. Wilson, ed., *Thomas Jefferson's Literary Commonplace Book* (Princeton University Press, 1989), 71.
72. The longest single set of extracts in the commonplace book: Wilson, ed. *Jefferson's Literary Commonplace Book*, 156.
73. "A system thus collected from the writings of ancient heathen moralists": Viscount Bolingbroke, "Concerning Authority in Matters of Religion," *The Philosophical Works of the late Right Honorable Henry St. John, Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, Vol. II* (no publisher, 1754), 306.
74. Jefferson would come to own some thirteen volumes by Bolingbroke: For "thirteen volumes," Richard Beale Davis, *A Colonial Southern Bookshelf: Reading in the Eighteenth Century* (University of Georgia Press, 1979), 61. For "highest order," see "From Thomas Jefferson to Francis Eppes, 19 January 1821," *FO*.
75. "I arose by the dawning of the day": "Diary," in *The Works of John Adams, Vol. II*, ed. Charles Francis Adams (Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1850), 105.
76. "His Ideas of the English Constitution are correct": "[Harvard and Worcester, 1751–1755] [from the Diary of John Adams]," *FO*.
77. "the law of nature is the law of God": Wilson, ed. *Jefferson's Literary Commonplace Book*, 40.
78. "Let us suppose a great prince governing": Ibid., 43.
79. Jefferson's reading of Shakespeare: Ibid., 113.
80. "Of Socrates we have nothing genuine but in the *Memorabilia* of Xenophon": "From Thomas Jefferson to William Short, 31 October 1819," *FO*.

81. The two accounts of Socrates: Jeffrey Henderson, introduction to Xenophon, *Memorabilia/Oeconomicus/Symposium/Apology* (Loeb Classical Library, 2013), xv.
82. "farming is the fairest, noblest, and most pleasant way to earn a liv ng": Xenophon, *Oeconomicus* (Loeb Classical Library, 2013), 437.
83. He ordered a stack of books f om T. Cadell: "To Thomas Jefferson f om Perkins, Buchanan & Brown, 2 October 1769," *FO*.
84. the writings of Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de La Brède et de Montesquieu: *The Commonplace Book of Thomas Jefferson,* hereafter, *Legal Commonplace Book*, ed. Gilbert Chinard (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1926), 71, 31.
85. his first encounter: Marie Kimball, *Jefferson: The Road to Glory* (Coward-McCann, 1943), 210–11, 213.
86. Temple Stanyan's *Grecian History*: *Legal Commonplace Book*, 182.
87. then was reading Diogenes Laertius: E try for March 16, 1767, "Memorandum Books, 1767," Jefferson papers, *FO.*
88. "Pleasure is the beginning and end of liv ng happily": Diogenes Laertius, *The Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*, trans. C. D. Yonge (George Bell and Sons, 1901), 470–71.
89. few of E icurus' actual words have suriv ved: This paragraph draws on E Zeller, *The Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics*, trans. Oswald Reichel (Longmans, Green, 1880), 404–407, and also on Diskin Clay, "The Athenian Garden," in *The Cambridge Companion to Epicureanism*, ed. James Warren (Cambridge University Press, 2009), 13, 27.
90. "Happiness the aim of life": E closure in "From Thomas Jefferson to William Short, 31 October 1819," *FO*. In this letter he says he wrote this summary decades earlier.
91. "I too am an E icurean": "From Thomas Jefferson to William Short," 31 October 1819, *FO*.
92. the "most rational system": "Thomas Jefferson to Charles Thomson, 9 January 1816," *FO*.
93. a "sensitized mind": Carl Becker, *The Heavenly City of the E ghteenth-Century Philosophers* (Yale University Press, 1961), 34.
94. Nor did he ever personally experience the American f ontier: Malone, *Jefferson and His Time, Vol. 1,* 377. The point about Peter Jefferson traveling more than his son in Virginia was made to me in an interiv ew with Susan Kern of William & Mary at her office on 30 April 2019.
95. "E ropean to the bone": Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation, Vol. 2: The Science of Freedom* (Alf ed A. Knopf, 1969), 559.
96. "The art of life is the art of avoiding pain": "From Thomas Jefferson to Maria Cosway, 12 October 1786," *FO*.

97. he was forward thinking but not forward acting: For the formulation in these last six words, I am indebted to my daughter Molly Ricks.

Sp tes Madison B eak v at once ton

1. born into wealth: Ralph Ketcham, *James Madison: A Biography* (Macmillan, 1971), 3.
2. His first teachers: Irv ng Brant, *James Madison: The Virginia Revolutionist* (Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1941), 56.
3. emigrated to Virginia in the early 1750s: The precise date of his emigration is unclear. "King and Q een County: Economic and Social," *University of Virginia Record: E tension Series* 9 (1924), 91, has him arriv ng in Virginia in 1753, but the King and Q een Tavern Museum, which has studied Robertson's school, states that he left Scotland in 1752. "Donald Robertson's School," King and Queen Museum, accessed online.
4. "a man of great learning": "From James Madison to Joseph Delaplaine, September 1816," *FO*. There is a statement often attributed to Madison that has him say of Robertson, "All that I have been in life I owe largely to that man." Among the places this many-lived quotation appears are: Alf ed Bagby, *King and Queen County, Virginia* (Neale Publishing Company, 1908), 86; Brant, *James Madison: The Virginia Revolutionist,* 60; Ketcham, *James Madison: A Biography*, 21; and James Dav d Barber, *The Book of Democracy* (Prentice-Hall, 1995), 381. But the editors of the James Madison Papers have been unable to trace the quotation to Madison and so concluded that it "likely is apocryphal," leav ng Robertson a somewhat murky figure. E n ail f om Professor Tyson Reeder, assistant editor, Papers of James Madison, University of Virginia, 6 May 2019.
5. "the most influential writer of the eighteenth century": Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation, Vol. 2: The Science of Freedom* (Alf ed A. Knopf, 1969), 325, 332. See also Charles Camic, *E perience and Enlightenment: Socialization for Cultural Change in E ghteenth-Century Scotland* (University of Chicago Press, 1983), 98.
6. "advocated constitutionalism": Isaiah Berlin, *Against the Current: E says in the History of Ideas* (Princeton University Press, 2013), 164–65.
7. "so agreeable a subject as ancient Rome": Baron de Montesquieu, *The Spirit of Laws, Vol. 1* (J. Nourse and P. Vaillant, 1766), 245.
8. "natural for a republic to have only a small territory": Ibid., 177.
9. "What makes f ee states last a shorter time than others": Baron de Montesquieu, *Considerations on the Causes of the*

Greatness of the Romans and Their Decline (Hackett Publishing, 1965), 92.

10. "Montesquieu's spirit of laws is generally recommended": "From Thomas Jefferson to Thomas Mann Randolph, Jr., 30 May 1790," *FO*.
11. likely was irked by Montesquieu's conclusion: See, for example, Montesquieu, *Considerations on the Causes of the Greatness of the Romans and Their Decline*, 97.
12. a 1762 graduate: Brant, *James Madison: The Virginia Revolutionist,* states on p. 65 that Martin graduated in 1764, but according to the *Princeton Alumni Weekly* and other more recent sources, that date is incorrect. Frederic Fox, "Princetonia," *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, 2 March 1971, 5.
13. "an act of near-treason to Virginia": Brant, *James Madison: The Virginia Revolutionist,* 70.
14. "in a dissolute and unenviable state": Ketcham, *James Madison,* 23.
15. an act of loyalty to the Piedmont: I am indebted to Montpelier's Dr. Michael Dickens for his work mapping the "Princeton Invasion" of the Piedmont in late colonial times.
16. "I cannot think William and Mary College a desirable place": "From George Washington to Jonathan Boucher, 7 January 1773," *FO*.
17. the college was "in such confusion": *The Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian, 1773–1774: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion*, ed. Hunter Dickinson Farish (Colonial Williamsburg, 1965), 65.
18. King's was the most Tory: David Robson, *Educating Republicans: The College in the Era of the American Revolution, 1750–1800* (Greenwood Press, 1985), 4.
19. Washington managed to take in a performance of *Hamlet*: Paul Leicester Ford, *Washington and the Theatre* (The Dunlap Society, 1899), 23. For its being Washington's first experience of a performance of Shakespeare, see Kevin Hayes, *George Washington: A Life in Books* (Oxford University Press, 2017), 128.
20. Madison was a far more diligent young man: Ketcham, *James Madison,* 23.
21. "a Seminary of Loyalty": Samuel Davies, *A Sermon Delivered at Nassau Hall, January 14, 1761* (R. Draper, Z. Fowle, S. Draper, 1761), 30.
22. "those of every religious Denomination may have free and equal Liberty": Samuel Blair, *An Account of the College of New-Jersey* (James Parker, 1754), 8.
23. the more sensual Thomas Jefferson: Jon Kukla has written a thoughtful volume on Jefferson's relations with women, several of them married, titled *Mr. Jefferson's Women* (Alfred A. Knopf, 2007). His summary of Jefferson's multiple aggressive passes in the 1760s at Elizabeth Moore Walker, the wife of a friend, is especially illuminating. Of Mrs.

Walker, Jefferson later wrote, "I plead guilty to one of their charges, that when young & single I offered love to a handsome lady." "From Thomas Jefferson to Robert Smith, 1 July 1805," *FO*.

24. the colder Madison: Mary Sarah Bilder, *Madison's Hand: Revising the Constitutional Convention* (Harvard University Press, 2017), 10.
25. "Mr, Madison a gloomy, stiff creature": "Randolph and Tucker Letters," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 43, no. 1 (January 1935), 43.
26. the college "smoked with rebellion": Brant, *James Madison: The Virginia Revolutionist,* 73, 91, 101.
27. "the seedbed of sedition": Ketcham, *James Madison,* 44.
28. not as financially dependent on a provincial legislature: Robson, *Educating Republicans,* 19.
29. "conceived of as an integrative institution": Howard Miller, *The Revolutionary College: American Presbyterian Higher Education* (New York University Press, 1976), xx, 67.
30. Princeton by design drew from the entire Eastern Seaboard: Mark Noll, *Princeton and the Republic, 1768–1822* (Princeton University Press, 1989), 17.
31. also were students from Canada and the West Indies: Miller, *The Revolutionary College,* 67.
32. Madison's politicization: Edmund Morgan, *The Birth of the Republic, 1763–89* (University of Chicago Press, 2013), 40.
33. "articulated the radical position of the 1760s": Pauline Maier, *From Resistance to Revolution: Colonial Radicals and the Development of American Opposition to Britain, 1765–1776* (W. W. Norton, 1991), xix.
34. "a provincial carbon copy of Edinburgh": Douglass Adair, "'That Politics May Be Reduced to a Science': David Hume, James Madison, and the Tenth Federalist," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 20, no. 4 (August 1957), 346.
35. "outpost of the Scottish enlightenment": Jack Rakove, *James Madison and the Creation of the American Republic* (Pearson Longman, 2007), 3.
36. President Witherspoon is: Harold Dodds, *John Witherspoon 1723–1794* (Newcomen Society, 1944), 18.
37. he brought great energy to the college: Varnum Collins, *President Witherspoon, Vol. 1* (Princeton University Press, 1925), 103.
38. he managed simultaneously to upgrade admission standards: Noll, *Princeton and the Republic,* 30.
39. the college library grew to 1,500 volumes: Collins, *President Witherspoon, Vol. 1*, 106. See also Blair, *An Account of the College of New-Jersey*, 13.
40. "Witherspoon put the College of New Jersey at the head of higher education in America": Gilman Ostrander, *Republic of Letters: The American Intellectual Community, 1775–1865* (Madison House, 1999), 93.

41. Witherspoon steered by classical reference points: Jeffry Morrison, *John Witherspoon and the Founding of the American Republic* (University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), 105.
42. Epaminondas: Howard Mumford Jones, *O Strange New World: American Culture: The Formative Years* (Viking, 1964), 253.
43. the college's approach: Collins, *President Witherspoon, Vol. 1*, 147, 143.
44. "No correction by stripes is permitted": John Witherspoon, "Address in behalf of the College of New Jersey," in *The Works of the Rev. John Witherspoon, Vol. IV* (William Woodward, 1802), 194.
45. "All persons, young and old, love liberty": John Witherspoon, *Letters on the Education of Children, and on Marriage* (Flagg & Gould, 1817), 9.
46. the bust of Homer: Wayne Moss, "Witherspoon, Madison, Moral Philosophy, and the Constitution," *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, 23 April 2014, accessed online.
47. he spoke French with a Scottish brogue: Brant, *James Madison: The Virginia Revolutionist,* 64.
48. despite being pale, sickly, and small: Brant, *James Madison: The Virginia Revolutionist,* 73. Richard Brookhiser has him considerably smaller: "just over five feet tall, just over a hundred pounds." Richard Brookhiser, *James Madison* (Basic Books, 2011), 4.
49. "he is but a withered little apple-John": *The Life and Letters of Washington Irving, Vol. 1,* ed. Pierre Irving (Richard Bentley, 1862), 217.
50. "sudden attacks, somewhat resembling epilepsy": "From James Madison to Joseph Delaplaine, September 1816," *FO*.
51. the two students who became his closest friends at Princeton: Brant, *James Madison: The Virginia Revolutionist,* 78.
52. studied far into the night: Collins, *President Witherspoon, Vol. 1,* 108.
53. "The general table-drink": Blair, *An Account of the College of New-Jersey*, 38.
54. "In the instruction of the youth": Blair, *An Account of the College of New-Jersey*, 28.
55. an ancient constitution that mandated equal rights and freedom of speech: Walter Miller, "Introduction," Xenophon, *Cyropaedia, Vol. 1* (Harvard University Press, 1914), xii.
56. allowed to skip that first year of studies: Ketcham, *James Madison*, 29.
57. "the sciences, geography, rhetoric, logic, and the mathematics": Blair, *An Account of the College of New-Jersey,* 24.

58. “to the Merchants in Philadelphia”: “From James Madison to James Madison, Sr., 23 July 1770,” *FO.* See also Thomas Wertenbaker, *Princeton, 1746–1896* (Princeton University Press, 1946), 56.
59. the obligation to resist a king who acts cruelly: Brant, *James Madison: The Virginia Revolutionist,* 94.
60. “moral philosophy”: David Hume, *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects* (T. Cadell; Bell & Bradfute; T. Duncan, 1793), 17.
61. “Ethics” and “Politics”: Dennis Thompson, “The Education of a Founding Father: The Reading List for John Witherspoon’s Course in Political Theory, as Taken by James Madison,” *Political Theory* 4, no. 4 (November 1976), 523.
62. Today such a course might be considered something like an overview of political and social science: This sentence was inspired by the discussion of moral philosophy in Daniel Walker Howe, “European Sources of Political Ideas in Jeffersonian America,” *Reviews in American History* 10, no. 4 (December 1982), 30.
63. the “problems of rights and obligations”: Lawrence Cremin, *American Education: The Colonial Experience, 1607–1783* (Harper & Row, 1970), 465.
64. the need for civil liberty: Morrison, *John Witherspoon and the Founding of the American Republic,* 89.
65. “public law as something alive and growing”: Brant, *James Madison: The Virginia Revolutionist,* 77.
66. “every good form of government must be complex, so that the one principle may check the other”: John Witherspoon, *Lectures on Moral Philosophy*, ed. Varnum Lansing Collins (Princeton University Press, 1912), 29, 30, 94, 95.
67. senior year: Ketcham, *James Madison,* 51.
68. “it seems highly necessary that something shou’d be done”: “From George Washington to George Mason, 5 April 1769,” *FO*.
69. “Our All is at Stake”: “To George Washington from George Mason, 5 April 1769,” *FO*.
70. “each room invited just what was suited to it”: Xenophon, *Oeconomicus* (Loeb Classical Library/Harvard University Press, 2013), 467.
71. A dome: Richard Jenkyns, “The Legacy of Rome,” in Richard Jenkyns, ed., *The Legacy of Rome: A New Appraisal* (Oxford University Press, 1992), 9. Appropriately, the monument built to Jefferson in Washington, DC, during the presidency of Franklin Roosevelt is topped by a dome, as is the library of the University of Virginia, the major project of his old age.
72. “powerful in body and of shrewd intelligence”: Cassius Deo, *Roman History* (Loeb Classical Library, 1925), 63.
73. “a land of liberty”: Joseph Warren, “1772 Boston Massacre Oration,” accessed online.

74. “f om mutual Consent arose the Body politic”: James Madison, “An Oration in Commemoration of the Founders of William and Mary College, August 15, 1772,” *Bulletin of the College of William and Mary* 31, no. 7 (November 1937), 7.
75. “5 or 6 well meaning men”: “From James Madison to William Bradford, 24 January 1774,” Madison Papers, accessed online at *FO*.
76. “the rich resources of his luminous and discriminating mind”: “Thomas Jefferson: Autobiography, 6 Jan.–29 July 1821, 6 January 1821,” *FO*.

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1. “Adams threw himself into Resistance to the Crown”: Stanley E kins and E ic McKitrick, *The Age of Federalism* (Oxford University Press, 1993), 531.
2. “What do We mean by the Revolution?”: “From John Adams to Thomas Jefferson, 24 August 1815,” John Adams papers, *FO*.
3. “Liberty, . . . which has never been enjoyd, in its f ll Perfection”: Fragmentary Notes for “A Dissertation on the Canon and the Feudal Law,” May–August 1765,” John Adams papers, *FO*.
4. “the historians, orators, poets and philosophers of *Greece* and *Rome* were quite familiar”: “‘A Dissertation on the Canon and the Feudal Law,’ No. 1, 12 August 1765,” John Adams papers, *FO*. Adams’ italics.
5. “They knew that government was a plain, simple, intelligible thing”: “‘A Dissertation on the Canon and the Feudal Law,’ No. 2, 19 August 1765,” John Adams papers, *FO*.
6. “Liberty must at all hazards be supported”: “‘A Dissertation on the Canon and the Feudal Law,’ No. 3, 30 September 1765,” John Adams papers, *FO*.
7. “Let us dare to read, think, speak and write”: “VI. ‘A Dissertation on the Canon and the Feudal Law,’ No. 4, 21 October 1765,” Adams papers, *FO*.
8. “it had an Effect upon the People”: “From John Adams to Edmund Jenings, 20 April 1780,” *FO*.
9. “Thirty Years of my Life are passed in Preparation for Business”: “Braintree Decr. 18th. 1765. Wednesday,” Adams papers, *FO*.
10. “a more obstinate War”: “Anno Domini 1766: 1766. January 1st. Wednesday. [f om the Diary of John Adams],” John Adams papers, *FO*.
11. “If this be treason, make the most of it”: See John Ragosta, “‘Caesar had his Brutus’: What Did Patrick Henry Really Say?” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 26, no. 3 (2018).

12. “His manners had something of the coarseness of the society he had frequented”: “Thomas Jefferson’s Notes on Patrick Henry [before 12 April 1812],” and “Thomas Jefferson to William Wirt, 5 August 1815,” *FO*. See also William Wirt, *Sketches of the Life and Character of Patrick Henry* (Claxton, Remsen, and Haffelfinger, 1878), 32.
13. “mr Henry’s talents as a popular orator”: “Thomas Jefferson: Autobiography, 6 Jan.–29 July 1821, 6 January 1821,” *FO*.
14. “I well remember the cry of treason”: “Thomas Jefferson to William Wirt, 14 August 1814,” *FO*.
15. the impact of Henry’s speech: Harlow Unger, *Lion of Liberty: Patrick Henry and the Call to a New Nation* (Da Capo, 2010), 42.
16. “he was the best humored man in society I almost ever knew”: “From Thomas Jefferson to William Wirt, 4 August 1805,” *FO*. His charge that Henry was “avaritious & rotten hearted” also appears in Wirt, *Sketches of the Life and Character of Patrick Henry*, 59. Jefferson confirms these exchanges with Wirt in his own autobiography. In 1795, Wirt represented Jefferson in a lawsuit involving the loss of two hogsheads of tobacco. They lost that case. Wirt later would be a prosecutor in the trial of Aaron Burr and then attorney general in the administration of James Monroe.
17. burdened by business problems: Richard Sheridan, “The British Credit Crisis of 1772 and the American Colonies,” *The Journal of Economic History* 20, no. 2 (June 1960), 167.
18. they flooded the market with tobacco: Woody Holton, *Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves, and the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia* (University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 95. See also John Ferling, *A Leap in the Dark: The Struggle to Create the American Republic* (Oxford University Press, 2003), 95.
19. his written advice to Virginia’s delegation heading to the Congress: “By a Native and Members of the House of Burgesses” in [Thomas Jefferson], *A Summary View of the Rights of British America* (Clementina Rind, 1774. Reprinted by G. Kearsly).
20. his words made a splash with his peers: Both this assessment and the purchase by Washington are from John Boles, *Jefferson: Architect of American Liberty* (Basic Books, 2017), 51.
21. “the Character of a fine Writer”: “[In Congress, May–July 1776] [from the Diary of John Adams],” *FO*.
22. “Tacitus I consider as the first writer in the world”: “From Thomas Jefferson to Anne Cary Randolph Bankhead, 8 December 1808,” *FO*.
23. “left their native wilds”: “Draft of Instructions to the Virginia Delegates in the Continental Congress (MS Text of A Summary View, &c.), [July 1774],” Thomas Jefferson papers, *FO*.

24. "*A Summary View* became the first sustained piece of American political writing that subjected the King's conduct to direct and pointed criticism": Pauline Maier, *American Scripture: Making the Declaration of Independence* (Alfred A. Knopf, 1997), 112.
25. "the god who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time": "Draft of Instructions to the Virginia Delegates in the Continental Congress (MS Text of A Summary View, &c.), [July 1774]," Jefferson papers, *FO*.
26. "the first publication which carried the claim of our rights": "Thomas Jefferson to William Plumer, 31 January 1815," *FO*.
27. "the famous Mr. Jefferson": P. 506, "Note: Governor Ward's Opinion of Jefferson," *Magazine of American History, Vol. 1*, Part II, No. 8 (A. S. Barnes, August 1877), 506.
28. "swim or sink, live or die, survive or perish with my country": John Adams, *Novanglus and Massachusettensis* (Hews & Goss, 1819), iv.
29. Adams left Boston in mid-August 1774: John Howe Jr., *The Changing Political Thought of John Adams* (Princeton University Press, 1966), 51.
30. "the Virginians speak in Raptures": "August 1774, from the Diary of John Adams," *FO*.
31. "advisable as soon as possible to begin our defence": "From James Madison to William Bradford, 23 August 1774," *FO*.
32. "under the sacred ties of Virtue, Honour, and Love of our Country": "Continental Association, 20 October 1774," Jefferson papers, *FO.*
33. "the principles of Aristotle and Plato, of Livy and Cicero, of Sydney, Harrington and Lock": Adams, "To the Inhabitants of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay, 23 January 1775," *FO*.
34. "The Greeks planted colonies": "VII. To the Inhabitants of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay, 6 March 1775." *FO*.
35. "no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the general congress of Philadelphia": Basil Williams, *Life of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, Vol. II* (Longmans, Green, 1914), 305.
36. "But can a virtuous Man hesitate in his choice?": "From George Washington to George William Fairfax, 31 May 1775," *FO*.
37. Adams proposed Washington to lead it: Douglas Southall Freeman, *George Washington: A Biography, Vol. 3, Planter and Patriot* (Scribner's, 1951), 435.
38. "I do not think my self equal to the Command I am honoured with": "Address to the Continental Congress, 16 June 1775," George Washington Papers, *FO*.
39. British redcoats charged up a slope against American militiamen: Robert Middlekauff, *The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution, 1763–1789* (Oxford University Press, 2005), 294.

40. “His whole life was a refutation of whites’ basic justification for slavery”: J. William Harris, *The Hanging of Thomas Jeremiah: A Free Black Man’s Encounter with Liberty* (Yale University Press, 2009), 165. See also J. William Harris, “The Extraordinary Story of the Hanging of the Black Man Who Owned Slaves,” *History News Network*, 3 January 2010.
41. “that is the only part in which this Colony is vulnerable”: “From James Madison to William Bradford, 19 June 1775,” *FO*.
42. “tipped the scales in favor of American independence”: Jill Lepore, *These Truths: A History of the United States* (W. W. Norton, 2018), 94.
43. “Lord Dunmore, should be instantly crushd”: “From George Washington to Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Reed, 15 December 1775,” *FO*.
44. “open and avowed rebellion”: “Proclamation of Rebellion,” accessed online at DigitalHistory.Uh.edu.
45. “desperate conspiracy”: “King George III’s Address to Parliament, October 27, 1775,” accessed online at Library of Congress.
46. “Virtue alone is or can be the Foundation”: “From John Adams to William Tudor, 14 November 1775,” *FO*.
47. “Public Virtue”: “From John Adams to Mercy Otis Warren, 16 April 1776,” *FO*.

Chapter Eight: Jefferson’s Declaration of “Arcanum”

1. “The passage of the Patowmac”: Thomas Jefferson, “Notes on the State of Virginia,” in *Thomas Jefferson: Writings* (Library of America, 1984), 143. Kevin Hayes observes that in this passage, Jefferson was consciously echoing a descriptive passage in Herodotus. Kevin J. Hayes, *The Road to Monticello: The Life and Mind of Thomas Jefferson* (Oxford University Press, 2008), 264.
2. “Or the case may be likened to the ordinary one of a tenant for life”: “Thomas Jefferson to John Wayles Eppes, 24 June 1813,” *FO*.
3. “I have too good an opinion of their love of order”: “From Thomas Jefferson to Patrick Henry, 27 March 1779,” *FO*.
4. “to such a mind as yours, persuasion was idle & impertinent”: “To George Washington from Thomas Jefferson, 23 May 1792,” *FO*.
5. “The knell, the shroud, the mattock, and the grave”: Quoted in D. L. Wilson, ed., *Thomas Jefferson’s Literary Commonplace Book* (Princeton University Press, 1989), 102.
6. “Jefferson’s literary tastes”: Wilson, ed., *Jefferson’s Literary Commonplace Book*, 13.
7. “this rude bard of the North the greatest Poet that has ever existed”: “From Thomas Jefferson to Charles McPherson,

25 February 1773," *FO*.

8. Ossian was later revealed to be an invention: Wilson, ed., *Jefferson's Literary Commonplace Book,* 172.
9. Jefferson also disdained most novels: "Thomas Jefferson to Nathaniel Burwell, 14 March 1818," *FO*.
10. "perhaps the only piece of practical politics that is also theoretical politics and also great literature": G. K. Chesterton, *What I Saw in America* (Dodd, Mead & Co., 1923), 7.
11. "an appeal to the tribunal of the world": This and quotations from Jefferson in the following three paragraphs are from "From Thomas Jefferson to Henry Lee, 8 May 1825," *FO*.
12. he became more like Thomas Paine: Thomas Adams, *American Independence: The Growth of an Idea* (Brown University Press, 1965), xi.
13. "The birth-day of a new world is at hand": [Thomas Paine], *Common Sense* (W. and T. Bradford, 1776), 73, 87, 87–88.
14. Jefferson had received the pamphlet in the mail: "To Thomas Jefferson from Thomas Nelson, Jr., 4 February 1776," *FO*.
15. "profess faith in God the Father": "Constitution of Delaware 1776," Avalon Project Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy, Yale Law School Library, accessed online.
16. "the Declaration shimmers with a sublime optimism": Danielle Allen, *Our Declaration: A Reading of the Declaration of Independence in Defense of Equality* (W. W. Norton, 2014), 193.
17. "life, liberty and estate": Locke quotation is from John Locke, "Second Treatise on Civil Government," Chapter VII, Section 87–89, accessed online.
18. "The landless could no longer be regarded as either so marginal or so subordinate as in Locke": Jonathan Israel, *The Expanding Blaze: How the American Revolution Ignited the World, 1775–1848* (Princeton University Press, 2017), 91. My assessment here also was influenced by David Post, "Jeffersonian Revisions of Locke: Education, Property-Rights, and Liberty," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 47, no. 1 (1986).
19. "Forms of Government may, and must, be occasionally changed": Quoted in Hayes, *The Road to Monticello,* 181.
20. "Liberty, like Power, is only good for those who possess it, when it is under the constant Direction of Virtue": George, Lord Lyttelton, *Dialogues of the Dead*, 4th edition, with additional dialogues 29–32 (W. Sandby, 1765), 403.
21. "it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such a government": Quoted in Ronald Hamowy, "Jefferson and the Scottish Enlightenment: A Critique of Garry Wills's 'Inventing America: Jefferson's Declaration of Independence,'" *William and Mary Quarterly* 36, no. 4 (1979), 508.

22. “The ambiguity of the grievances”: Stephen E. Lucas, “The Stylistic Artistry of the Declaration of Independence,” National Archives, America’s Founding Documents, https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/stylistic-artistry-of-the-declaration.
23. that last phrase: Pauline Maier, *American Scripture: Making the Declaration of Independence* (Alfred A. Knopf, 1997), 148.
24. “Do you recollect the pensive and awful silence”: “To John Adams from Benjamin Rush, 20 July 1811,” *FO*.
25. Nineteen of the fifty-six signers of the Declaration were of Scottish or Ulster Scot extraction: Arthur Herman, *How the Scots Invented the Modern World* (Three Rivers Press, 2001), 253.
26. “a Purification from our Vices”: “John Adams to Abigail Adams, 3 July 1776,” FO.
27. “*independency* proclaimed under a triple volley”: “From the *Saturday Evening Post*: Revolutionary Papers,” *Atkinson’s Casket: Gems of Literature, Wit and Sentiment* (Samuel Atkinson, 1836), 266.
28. pulling down the gilded statue of King George III: *Journal of Lieutenant Isaac Bangs, April 1 to July 29, 1776*, ed. Edward Bangs (J. Wilson and Son, 1890), 25, 57.
29. a present to the city: John Hazelton, *The Declaration of Independence: Its History* (Dodd, Mead, 1906), 253.
30. Washington admonished: “General Orders, 10 July 1776,” George Washington papers, *FO*.
31. portions of the monarch’s statue were melted down: Michael Kammen, *Colonial New York: A History* (Scribner’s, 1975), 371.
32. “all men and women are created equal”: Quoted in John Kasson, *Civilizing the Machine: Technology and Republican Values in America, 1776–1900* (Hill & Wang, 1999), 97.
33. “dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal”: “Gettysburg Address,” Avalon Project Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy, Yale Law School Library.
34. a little leather-bound notebook: Maier, *American Scripture,* 203.
35. “this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: ‘We hold these truths to be self-evident, that *all* men are created equal’”: Martin Luther King Jr., “I have a dream” speech, Avalon Project Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy, Yale Law School Library, accessed online. My italics, used to reflect King’s emphasis in speaking.
36. “you cannot erase those words from the Declaration of Independence”: Quoted, Hilary Parkinson, “Pieces of History,” National Archives blog, 25 July 2013.
37. it’s more about “what we ought to be”: Maier, *American Scripture,* xix.

Chapter 3 Washington and the Roman Mind

1. “the most thoroughly classicized figure of his generation”: Eran Shalev, *Rome Reborn on Western Shores: Historical Imagination and the Creation of the American Republic* (University of Virginia Press, 2009), 98.
2. two biographies of Washington published in America that were written in Latin: Edwin Miles, “The Young American Nation and the Classical World,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 35, no. 2 (1974), 269–70.
3. “kept them in continual alarm”: Plutarch, “Fabius,” in *The Lives of the Noble Romans and Grecians (The Dryden Translation)* (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1952), 143.
4. “Latin books—14 volumes”: Footnote on Washington’s books, “From George Washington to Jonathan Boucher, 31 July 1768,” *FO*.
5. “We are so bigoted to Thucidies”: “From John Adams to Benjamin Waterhouse, 2 May 1821,” *FO*.
6. owned a copy of *Plutarch’s Lives*: “Appendix D. Inventory of the Books in the Estate, c.1759,” Washington Papers, *FO*. For Washington’s readings on abolishing slavery, see François Furstenberg, “Atlantic Slavery, Atlantic Freedoms: George Washington, Slavery, and Transatlantic Abolitionist Networks,” in *William and Mary Quarterly* 68, no. 2 (2011), 247.
7. “set Forth to oppose Hannibal”: Plutarch, “Fabius,” 143.
8. “Fabius never won any set battle but that against the Ligurians”: Plutarch, *Lives of the Noble Romans and Grecians,* 154.
9. “Washington had not achieved this kind of adulation as a result of battlefield brilliance”: Fergus Bordewich, *Washington: The Making of the American Capital* (HarperCollins, 2008), 57, 97.
10. “making our resistance a war of posts”: Alexander Graydon, *Memoirs of His Own Time* (Lindsay & Blakiston, 1846), 175.
11. “he must adapt a more defensive strategy and fight a ‘War of Posts’”: Joseph Ellis, *His Excellency: George Washington* (Vintage, 2004), 101.
12. “Washington’s supposedly ‘Fabian’ view of warfare”: Edward Lengel, *General George Washington: A Military Life* (Random House, 2007), 150.
13. “the tactical defeat proved an immense strategic gain”: Lieutenant Commander Jason A. Fite, “Study the Past to Win Today,” in *Proceedings of the U.S. Naval Institute*, December 2018, 61.
14. “partisan war”: Mark Kwasny, *Washington’s Partisan War, 1775–1783* (Kent State University Press, 1996), xii.
15. “It proved instead to be a popular war”: R. Arthur Bowler, *Logistics and the Failure of the British Army in America, 1775–1783* (Princeton University Press, 1975), 239.

16. “In all your marches, at times, at least, even when there is no possible danger, move with front, rear, and flank guards”: “From George Washington to Colonel William Woodford, 10 November 1775,” *FO*.
17. “the most indifferent kind of People I ever saw”: “From George Washington to Lund Washington, 20 August 1775,” *FO*.
18. “willing and desirous of making the Assault”: “From George Washington to John Hancock, 18–21 February 1776,” *FO*. See also “Council of War, 16 January 1776,” Washington papers, *FO*.
19. “publick Virtue & Honour”: “From George Washington to Brigadier General John Thomas, 23 July 1775,” *FO*.
20. costing the new Continental Army some five thousand troops: On Thomas, see Rufus Griswold et al., *Washington and the Generals of the American Revolution, Vol. II* (Carey & Hart, 1848), 202. On total American losses in Canada, see Alan Taylor, *American Revolutions: A Continental History, 1750–1804* (W. W. Norton, 2016), 153.
21. “my landed affairs on the Ohio”: “From George Washington to Burwell Bassett, 28 February 1776,” *FO.*
22. plunged into direct combat against the British: John Rhodehamel, *George Washington: The Wonder of the Age* (Yale University Press, 2017), 123.
23. “We live in daily expectation”: “John Adams to Abigail Adams, 3 August 1776,” *FO*.
24. his men “running away in the most disgraceful and shameful manner”: “From George Washington to Nicholas Cooke, 17 September 1776,” *FO*.
25. “Orders now issued, & the next moment reversed”: “From John Haslet, 4 September 1776,” in *Letters to and from Caesar Rodney, 1756–1784*, ed. George Ryden. (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1933), 112.
26. “avoid any considerable misfortune”: “To George Washington from Major General Nathanael Greene, 5 September 1776,” *FO*.
27. “we should on all occasions avoid a general Action”: “From George Washington to John Hancock, 8 September 1776,” *FO*.
28. “I never was in such an unhappy, divided state”: “From George Washington to Lund Washington, 30 September 1776,” *FO*.
29. “I am wearied almost to death”: “From George Washington to John Augustine Washington, 6–19 November 1776,” *FO*.
30. he used the word “misfortune” a lot that year: “From George Washington to John Hancock, 23 June 1776,” *FO*.
31. “The defence of Long Island had been worse than futile”: Douglas Southall Freeman, *George Washington: A Biography, Vol. 4, Leader of the Revolution* (Scribner’s, 1951), 364.

32. “that fatal indecision of mind”: Reed’s letter to Lee as well as Lee’s response are appended in a footnote to “From George Washington to Colonel Joseph Reed, 30 November 1776,” *FO*.
33. “I opened it”: “From George Washington to Colonel Joseph Reed, 30 November 1776,” FO.
34. “censuring my Conduct to another was such an argument of disengenuity”: “From George Washington to Joseph Reed, 11 June 1777,” *FO*.
35. the British issued an amnesty offer: David Hackett Fischer, *Washington’s Crossing* (Oxford University Press, 2004), 161, 163–65.
36. “Many a disguised tory has lately shewn his head”: Thomas Paine, *The American Crisis* (R. Carlile, 1819), 12.
37. Northern New Jersey was the population center: Dave Richard Palmer, *The Way of the Fox: American Strategy in the War for America, 1775–1783* (Greenwood Press, 1975), 27.
38. “the spirits of the People . . . are quite sunk”: “From George Washington to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr., 14 December 1776,” *FO*.
39. 3,000 men fit for duty: Fischer, *Washington’s Crossing*, 381
40. “No Man, I believe, ever had a greater choice of difficulties”: “From George Washington to Samuel Washington, 18 December 1776,” *FO*.
41. “a certain great man is most damnably deficient”: “General Charles Lee to General Horatio Gates, 13 December 1776” in *The Spirit of ’Seventy-Six: The Story of the American Revolution as Told by Participants*, eds. Henry Steele Commager and Richard Morris (Harper & Row, 1967), 500.
42. suspended operations at the college: Harold Dodds, *John Witherspoon 1723–1794* (Newcomen Society, 1944), 25.
43. the college’s building, was made a jail: Fischer, *Washington’s Crossing,* 163.
44. “they soon gutted the library”: George Trevelyan, *The American Revolution, Vol. 3* (Longmans, Green, 1915), 31, 297.
45. “Old Weatherspoon has not escap’d their fury”: “To Thomas Jefferson from Thomas Nelson, 2 January 1777,” *FO*.
46. “use every means in your power to obtain a knowledge of the Enemys Numbers”: “Orders to Brigadier General William Maxwell, 21 December 1776,” Washington papers, *FO*.
47. Hamilton by many accounts directed his battery of cannon to fire at the college chapel: Trevelyan, *American Revolution, Vol. 3,* 137. But Michael Newton maintains that Hamilton’s presence is not clearly proven, because one artillery unit had remained at Trenton. See Michael Newton, *Alexander Hamilton: The Formative Years* (Eftheria Publishing, 2015), 182.

48. “the subsequent skirmishes in the Jersey . . . blasted the agreeable prospect of a speedy settlement”: T. M. Devine, ed. *A Scottish Firm in Virginia, 1767–1777* (Scottish History Society, 1984), 237.
49. “abandoned the strategy of a war of posts”: Kwasny, *Washington’s Partisan War,* 112, 223.
50. “I am sure they can never be brought fairly up to an attack”: “From George Washington to Joseph Reed, 15 January 1777,” *FO*.
51. militia commanders had absconded with a good deal of the British supplies: See a militia colonel’s response to Washington, “To George Washington from Colonel David Chambers, 9 February 1777,” *FO*.
52. “we should learn to estimate them rightly”: “From George Washington to The States, 18 October 1780,” *FO*.
53. One militia tactic was to leave cattle out in the open: Murray letter and cattle tactics are in Kwasny, *Washington’s Partisan War,* 114–115.
54. They might lose two men one day, ten the next: Kwasny, *Washington’s Partisan War,* 126.
55. “they are now become a formidable enemy”: “Colonel William Harcourt to his father Earl Harcourt,” quoted in *The Spirit of ’Seventy-Six*, eds. Commager and Morris, 524.
56. “General How has invareably pursued the Maxims of an invader”: “To John Adams from Nathanael Greene, 3 March 1777,” *FO*.
57. “both a Fabius and a Camillus”: “To Sir Horace Mann, April 3, 1777,” *The Letters of Horace Walpole, Fourth Earl of Orford, Vol. 6* (John Grant, 1906), 424.
58. “Time for Us to abandon this execrable defensive Plan”: “From John Adams to Nathanael Greene, 13 April 1777,” *FO.*
59. “Howe is no Sylla”: “From John Adams to Nathanael Greene, 24 May 1777,” *FO*.
60. “Our business then is to avoid a General engagement”: Both quotations are in “From Alexander Hamilton to Robert R. Livingston, 28 June 1777,” *FO*.
61. he probably was born in 1755: See Ron Chernow, *Alexander Hamilton* (Penguin Press, 2004), 16–17.
62. “better policy, to harass and exhaust the soldiery”: “The Farmer Refuted, &c., [23 February] 1775,” Hamilton papers, *FO*.
63. “both one’s learning and one’s experience may be used instrumentally”: Stanley Elkins and Eric McKitrick, *The Age of Federalism* (Oxford University Press, 1993), 97.
64. “the Militia assembled in the most spirited manner”: “From George Washington to John Hancock, 20 June 1777,” *FO.*
65. “A tolerable Body of Men”: Both quotations in this paragraph are “From George Washington to George Clinton, 16 August 1777,” *FO*.

66. “The strategic key was the Continental Army”: Joseph Ellis, *Founding Brothers: The Revolutionary Generation* (Vintage, 2002), 130–31.
67. “consumed in fruitless maneuverings”: Rhodehamel, *George Washington,* 147.
68. a strong strategic parallel between the circumstances of the ancient Roman situation and the American Revolution: For this observation I am indebted to Thomas Nelson Winter’s essay on “The Strategy That Gave Independence to the U.S.,” *The Classical Bulletin* 53 (November 1976).
69. the small bookshelf of the military instruction manuals: Kevin Hayes, *George Washington: A Life in Books* (Oxford University Press, 2017), 182–83.
70. “I am sick of Fabian Systems”: “John Adams to Abigail Adams, 2 September 1777,” *FO*.
71. “Howe is a wild General”: “John Adams to Abigail Adams, 20 August 1777,” *FO*.
72. “a Man of no enterprize”: “From George Washington to John Augustine Washington, 24 February 1777,” *FO*.
73. “No military Connection”: “[Notes on Relations with France, March–April 1776.] [from the Diary of John Adams],” *FO*.
74. “You slept away your time in the field”: Thomas Paine, “Letter to George Washington,” in *The Writings of Thomas Paine*, *Vol. 3,* ed. Moncure Conway (G. P. Putnam’s, 1895), 247, 217, 249.
75. “He was a fighter”: Marcus Cunliffe, *George Washington: Man and Monument* (New American Library, 1958), 83.
76. “incumbent upon him to risk a battle”: Sir William Howe testimony, “Proceedings in the Commons relating to the Inquiry into the Conduct of the American War,” *The Parliamentary History of England, Vol. XX, December 1778–February 1780* (Hansard, 1814), 692.
77. an inexplicable military blunder: Freeman, *George Washington, Vol. 4,* 484.
78. years earlier had given an eloquent address: Irving Brant, *James Madison: The Virginia Revolutionist* (Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1941), 94.
79. “outgenerald and twice beated”: “To John Adams from Benjamin Rush, 21 October 1777,” *FO*.
80. “any considerable loss sustained by the army could not speedily, or easily be repaired”: Howe testimony, “Inquiry into the Conduct of the American War,” *Parliamentary History of England, Vol. XX*, 679.
81. “the centre of gravity”: Piers Mackesy, *The War for America, 1775–1783* (University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 159.
82. “A General Action is by all means to be avoided”: “Major General John Sullivan’s Opinion, 29 October 1777,” *FO*.
83. “Stupid men”: “To George Washington from Major General Lafayette, 30 December 1777,” *FO*.
84. “the less Shewy but regulated Conduct of Fabius”: “To George Washington from Major General Arthur St. Clair, 5

January 1778," *FO*.

85. "he had found a way": Nathaniel Philbrick, *In the Hurricane's Eye: The Genius of George Washington and the Victory at Yorktown* (Viking, 2018), 156.
86. "I Saw great Fabius Come in state": "To George Washington from AnnisBoudinot Stockton, 13 March 1789," *FO*.
87. "Le Fabius de l'amérique": "To George Washington from Charles François Guéniot, 19 April 1783," *FO*.
88. "succeeded in our Revolutionary War": "From John Quincy Adams to Abigail Smith Adams, 31 December 1812," *FO*.
89. "execute promptly & vigorously": "From George Washington to James McHenry, 13 July 1796," *FO*.

Chapter Two: A Patriotic Model

1. "nothing but virtue has kept our army together": *The Spirit of 'Seventy-Six: The Story of the American Revolution as Told by Participants*, ed. Henry Steele Commager and Richard Morris (Harper & Row, 1967), 648.
2. "interest is the governing principle": "From George Washington to a Continental Congress Camp Committee, 29 January 1778," *FO*.
3. "they may talk of patriotism": "From George Washington to John Banister, 21 April 1778," *FO*.
4. "virtue must always be tied to interest": Glenn Phelps, "The Republican General," in *George Washington Reconsidered*, ed. Don Higginbotham (University Press of Virginia, 2001), 166, 171.
5. "The Want of public Virtue": "Eldbridge Gerry to John Wendell, 11 November 1776," *Letters of Delegates of Congress, Vol. 5, August 16–December 31, 1776,* ed. Paul Smith (Library of Congress, 1979), 471.
6. "return a little more to first principles": "From George Washington to James Warren, 31 March 1779," *FO*.
7. "that decay of public virtue": "From George Washington to John Augustine Washington, 12 May 1779," *FO*.
8. entry of the French into the war changed the British strategic view: Piers Mackesy, *The War for America, 1775–1783* (University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 216.
9. the British decision to leave the city: John M. Coleman, "Joseph Galloway and the British Occupation of Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 30, no. 3 (July 1963), 288. See also Robert Calhoun, "Loyalism and Neutrality," in *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of the American Revolution*, eds. Jack Greene and J. R. Pole (Blackwell, 1994), 252.
10. "the friends of government were dismayed": Sir William Howe testimony, "Proceedings in the Commons Relating to the Enquiry into the Conduct of the American War," *The*

Parliamentary History of England, Vol. XX, December 1778–February 1780 (Hansard, 1814), 705.

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12. "could no longer be manipulated by British policies": John Shy, *A People Numerous & Armed: Reflections on the Military Struggle for American Independence* (University of Michigan Press, 1990), 234.
13. "All your secret intrigues shall be exposed": [Joseph Galloway], *Letters from Cicero to Catiline the Second* (J. Bew, 1781), 13, 18. This early edition was published anonymously.
14. "I rely on your activity": "From George Washington to Major General Philemon Dickinson, 18 June 1778," *FO*.
15. "seen these maneuvers carried out better": Robert Selig, "Light Infantry Lessons from America? Johann Ewald's Experiences in the American Revolutionary War as Depicted in His *Abhandlungüber den Kleinen Krieg* (1785)," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 23 (1994), 119.
16. "Bygone heroes could not have had more hardships": Johann [von] Ewald, *Diary of the American War: A Hessian Journal* (Yale University Press, 1979), 139. See also Mark Lendler, "The Politics of Battle: Washington, the Army and the Monmouth Campaign," in *A Companion to George Washington*, ed. Edward Lengel (Blackwell, 2012), 226.
17. their baggage train: Mark Kwasny, *Washington's Partisan War, 1775–1783* (Kent State University Press, 1996), 205.
18. "a precipitate retreat": "Tarleton Recalls His Raid on Charlottesville," in *The Spirit of 'Seventy-Six,* eds. Commager and Morris, 1207.
19. "the Carter-Mountain hero": Thomas Green Fessenden, *Democracy Unveiled* (David Carlisle, 1805), 95, 102.
20. "unprepared by his line of life": "I. Diary of Arnold's Invasion and Notes on Subsequent Events in 1781: Versions of 1796?, 1805, and 1816," Jefferson papers, *FO*.
21. "the swift concentration that proved decisive": Douglas Southall Freeman, *George Washington: A Biography, Vol. 5, Victory with the Help of France* (Scribner's, 1952), 480.
22. "This sink of nastiness": James Tilton, *Economical Observations on Military Hospitals* (J. Wilson, 1813), 64.
23. "some matters of delicacy and importance": "From Alexander Hamilton to George Washington, [13 February 1783]," *FO*.
24. Hamilton was telling fellow members of Congress: "Notes on Debates, 20 February 1783," Madison papers, *FO*.
25. "there are dangerous combinations in the Army": "To George Washington from Joseph Jones, 27 February 1783," *FO*.
26. "anxious to know": "From Alexander Hamilton to George Washington, [5 March 1783]," *FO*.

27. “I shall pursue the same steady line of conduct”: “To Alexander Hamilton f om George Washington, 4 March 1783,” *FO*.
28. “Awake—attend to your Situation”: A copy of the letter was enclosed in a notice Washington sent to Congress. “From George Washington to E ias Boudinot, 12 March 1783,” *FO*.
29. “such disorderly proceedings”: “General Orders, 11 March 1783,” Washington Papers, *FO*.
30. “something very misterious in this business”: “From George Washington to Alexander Hamilton, 12 March 1783,” *FO*.
31. “my indignation has arisen”: “From George Washington to Officers of the Army, 15 March 1783” (also known as “The Newburgh Address”), *FO*.
32. “astonishment and indignation”: “From George Washington to William Heath, 26 September 1780,” *FO*.
33. “The Storm . . . is dispersed”: “From George Washington to Joseph Jones, 18 March 1783,” *FO*.
34. “The Virtue, & patient forbearance of the Army”: Both quotes are in “From George Washington to Lund Washington, 19 March 1783,” *FO*.
35. “It must submit to its hard fate”: “From Alexander Hamilton to George Washington, 25 March 1783,” *FO*.
36. “I read your private letter of the 25th. with pain”: “To Alexander Hamilton f om George Washington, 4 April 1783,” *FO*.
37. “principal & most confidential aid”: “From George Washington to John Adams, 25 September 1798,” *FO*.
38. “whether the Revolution must ultimately be considered as a blessing or a curse”: “From George Washington to The States, 8 June 1783,” *FO*.
39. Oliver Cromwell: “To George Washington from Lund Washington, 23 July 1783,” *FO*; “Commonplace Book, 1759–1772,” Madison papers, *FO*; “From John Adams to Unknown, 27 April 1777,” *FO*.
40. “I retire f om the great theatre of Action”: “From George Washington to United States Congress, 23 December 1783,” *FO*.
41. “the approbation of good & iv rtuous Men”: “From George Washington to Thomas Jefferson, 10 February 1783,” *FO*.
42. “proceed to Virginy”: “To George Washington f om François-Jean de Beauvoir, marquis de Chastellux, 23 August 1783,” *FO*.
43. “I shall not rest contented”: “From George Washington to François-Jean de Beauvoir, marquis de Chastellux, 12 October 1783,” *FO*.
44. “a tour thro’ all the Eastern States”: “From George Washington to Marie-Joseph-Paul-Yves-Roch-Gilbert du Motier, marquis de Lafayette, 12 October 1783,” *FO*.
45. he wanted a Frenchman to accompany him: I am indebted to Nathaniel Philbrick for noticing these two passages and quoting them: Nathaniel Philbrick, *In the Hurricane’s Eye:*

The Genius of George Washington and the Victory at Yorktown (Viking, 2018), 256.

46. “the best Actor of Presidency”: “From John Adams to Benjamin Rush, 21 June 1811,” *FO*.
47. “absolutely out of his Senses”: “From Benjamin Franklin to Robert R. Liv ngston, 22[–26] July 1783,” *FO*.

Chapter Four: Difficult Peace

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2. “a much faster and better job of reconstruction”: Edmund Morgan, *The Birth of the Republic, 1763–89* (University of Chicago Press, 2013), 121.
3. “men in a f ee state who are bold in war and timid in peace”: Baron de Montesquieu, *Considerations on the Causes of the Greatness of the Romans and Their Decline* (Hackett Publishing, 1965), 93.
4. “it is the institutions that form the leaders”: Montesquieu, *Considerations on the Causes of the Greatness of the Roman and Their Decline,* 25.
5. “do dishonorary injustice to ourselves”: Thomas Paine, *The American Crisis* (James Watson, 1835), 61, 141.
6. “The confederation itself is defective”: “From Alexander Hamilton to James Duane [3 September 1780],” *FO*.
7. “ridiculous to seek for models in the simple ages of Greece and Rome”: “The Continentalist No. VI [4 July 1782],” *FO*.
8. “Neither the manners nor the genius of Rome are suited to the republic”: “New York Assembly. Remarks on an Act Acknowledging the Independence of Vermont [28 March 1787],” Hamilton papers, *FO*.
9. “the necessity of a reform in our present Confederation”: “To Alexander Hamilton f om George Washington, 31 March 1783,” *FO.*
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11. “most prudent not to force Billey back to Va.”: “From James Madison to James Madison Sr., 8 September 1783,” *FO*.
12. Madison had him deliver a plow for Thomas Jefferson’s farm: “From James Madison to Thomas Jefferson, 17 June 1793,” *FO*.
13. his widow, Henrietta, became Jefferson’s laundress: “From Thomas Jefferson to John Barnes, 24 February 1800,” *FO*.
14. the f agile condition of the United States: “Notes on Ancient and Modern Confederacies, [April–June?] 1786,” Madison papers, *FO*.

15. Madison's document was unprecedented: Noah Feldman, *The Three Lives of James Madison: Genius, Partisan, President* (Random House, 2017), 75.
16. "the occasional purchase of rare & valuable books": "From James Madison to Thomas Jefferson, 16 March 1784," *FO*.
17. "What has become of the subterraneous City discovered in Siberia?": "From James Madison to Thomas Jefferson, 27 April 1785," *FO*.
18. trunks full of books for Madison's "course of reading": Kevin J. Hayes, *The Road to Monticello: The Life and Mind of Thomas Jefferson* (Oxford University Press, 2008), 282. "Make free use" is from "To James Madison from Thomas Jefferson, 20 February 1784," *FO*.
19. "the danger of having the same *game played on our confederacy*": "From James Madison to Thomas Jefferson, 18 March 1786," *FO*.
20. "a mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy": John Adams, *A Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States* (C. Dilly, in the Poultry, 1787), 216.
21. "The best constitution": Polybius, *Histories*, trans. Evelyn S. Shuckburgh (Macmillan, 1889), book 6, chapter 1, chapter 11, chapter 3.
22. "no government of laws, without a balance": Adams, *A Defence of the Constitutions*, 224.
23. "Human Passions are all unlimited and insatiable": "From John Adams to Louis Alexandre, Duc de La Rochefoucauld d'Anville," circa 1788, *FO*.
24. "the happiness of nations": Adams, *A Defence of the Constitutions,* 322.
25. "Montesquieu had never study'd a free Democracy": William Vans Murray, *Political Sketches* (C. Dilly, in the Poultry, 1787), 28, 14.
26. "A Man without Education—But not without Abilities": "Samuel Osgood to John Adams, 14 Nov. 1786," Adams papers, *FO*.
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29. A volley of grapeshot: This paragraph relies on the account in David Stewart, *The Summer of 1787: The Men Who Invented the Constitution* (Simon & Schuster, 2007), 12–14.

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31. “stepping over fires smouldering”: Horace, *Odes II: Vatis Amici,* trans. and ed. David West (Clarendon Press, 1998), 3.
32. “great commotions are prevailing in Massts.”: “From James Madison to James Madison Sr., 1 November 1786,” *FO*.
33. “this rebellion jolted American political reflections”: John T. Agresto, “Liberty, Virtue, and Republicanism: 1776–1787,” *The Review of Politics* 39, no. 4 (October 1977), 488.
34. “Perfection falls not to the share of mortals”: “From George Washington to John Jay, 15 August 1786,” *FO*.
35. “insignificant & wretched fragments of Empire”: “From George Washington to Henry Lee, Jr., 22 September 1788,” *FO*. I am indebted to Peter Onuf for pointing out this quotation to me.
36. “a general Degeneracy”: “From John Adams to James Warren, 9 January 1787,” *FO*.
37. “Our Governments want Energy”: “To Thomas Jefferson from John Jay, 9 February 1787,” Jefferson papers, *FO*.
38. “Our Government is unequal to the Task”: “To John Adams from John Jay, 21 February 1787,” *FO*.
39. “mere partisans & satellites”: “Thomas Jefferson’s Explanations of the Three Volumes Bound in Marbled Paper (the “Anas”), 4 February 1818,” *FO*.
40. “fed up with the Articles”: Daniel Walker Howe, “Why the Scottish Enlightenment Was Useful to the Framers of the American Constitution,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31, no. 3 (July 1989), 585.
41. “a report calling for a national convention”: Richard Brookhiser letter to the author, 15 May 2019.
42. “Political foes who underrated James Madison did so at their peril”: Ron Chernow, *Alexander Hamilton* (Penguin Press, 2004), 517.
43. “the present System neither has nor deserves advocates”: “From James Madison to Edmund Pendleton, 24 February 1787,” *FO*.
44. “All civilized societies are divided”: “Vices of the Political System of the United States, April 1787,” Madison papers, *FO*.
45. “systematic change”: “From James Madison to Edmund Randolph, 8 April 1787,” *FO*.
46. “ratification must be obtained from the people”: “To George Washington from James Madison, 16 April 1787,” *FO*.
47. “Madison was the most astute, profound, and original political theorist among the founding fathers”: Gordon Wood, “The Founding Realist,” *The New York Review of Books*, 19 October 1995, accessed online.

Sep tember 16 Madison and the Constitution: Balancing Virtue

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2. “a new basis of republican government”: John T. Agresto, “Liberty, Virtue, and Republicanism: 1776–1787,” *The Review of Politics* 39, no. 4 (October 1977), 504. For a dissenting view that holds that public virtue remained central during the writing and ratification of the Constitution, see David Hendrickson, *Peace Pact: The Lost World of the American Founding* (University Press of Kansas, 2003), 250.
3. “an exact account of what might pass”: “James Madison: Origin of the Constitutional Convention, December 1835,” *FO*.
4. “Madison was not only serving the muse of history”: Richard Brookhiser, *James Madison* (Basic Books, 2011), 59.
5. Madison fiddled with his notes on the Constitution all his life: See especially Mary Sarah Bilder, *Madison’s Hand: Revising the Constitutional Convention* (Harvard University Press, 2017), 67.
6. “by the people”: “The Virginia Plan, 29 May 1787,” Madison papers, *FO*.
7. “Why might not a Cataline or a Cromwell arise”: June 4, 1787, James Madison, *The Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787 Which Framed the Constitution of the United States of America*, eds. Gaillard Hunt and James Scott (Oxford University Press, 1920), 53.
8. “the example of Solon”: June 5, 1787, Madison, *Debates in the Federal Convention*, 61.
9. “Three will contend among themselves”: June 16, 1787, Madison, *Debates in the Federal Convention*, 109.
10. He was not even a notable writer: This sentence is a paraphrase of one on p. 62 of Irving Brant, *James Madison: The Virginia Revolutionist* (Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1941).
11. “the best-informed man”: Brant, *James Madison: The Virginia Revolutionist,* 78.
12. “The only remedy is to enlarge the sphere”: June 6, 1878, Madison, *Debates in the Federal Convention*, 64, 65, 65.
13. “their number was augmented”: June 7, 1787, Madison, *Debates in the Federal Convention,* 71.
14. “the greater tendency in such systems to anarchy”: June 21, 1787, Madison, *Debates in the Federal Convention,* 141.
15. “Carthage & Rome tore one another to pieces”: June 28, 1787, Madison, *Debates in the Federal Convention,* 178–79.
16. “Every Person seems to acknowledge his greatness”: *Records of the Federal Convention of 1781, Vol. I,* ed. Max Farrand (Yale University Press, 1911), 94–95, 110.

17. the league: See, for example, Rufus Davis, *The Federal Principle: A Journey Through Time in Quest of a Meaning* (University of California Press, 1978), 13.
18. "a parallel used almost *ad nauseam*": Richard Gummere, *The American Colonial Mind and the Classical Tradition* (Harvard University Press, 1963), 101.
19. "In the Amphictyonic confederation": *Records of the Federal Convention of 1787, Vol. III*, ed. Max Farrand (Yale University Press, 1911), 184.
20. Rollin's *Ancient History*: Epaminondas Panagopoulos, *Essays on the History and Meaning of Checks and Balances* (University Press of America, 1985), 113.
21. "the fittest model for that form of Government": June 30, 1787, Madison, *Debates in the Federal Convention,* 194.
22. "the great pervading principle": June 8, 1787, Madison, *Debates in the Federal Convention,* 76.
23. "The great division of interests in the U. States": June 30, 1787, Madison, *Debates in the Federal Convention,* 195.
24. "the energies of James Madison were involved in continental rather than state problems": Stanley Elkins and Eric McKitrick, *The Founding Fathers: Young Men of the Revolution* (American Historical Association, 1962), 24.
25. resonated with the eight other delegates: Mark Noll, *Princeton and the Republic, 1768–1822* (Princeton University Press, 1989), 91. For their being more of them than from any other college, see Ron Chernow, *Alexander Hamilton* (Penguin Press, 2004), 47.
26. "their situation is distinct from either the people of Greece or Rome": Monday, June 25, 1787, Madison, *Debates in the Federal Convention,* 159.
27. "want of political wisdom": June 28, 1787, Madison, *Debates in the Federal Convention,* 181.
28. "The want of some provision": "From James Madison to Thomas Jefferson, 24 October 1787," Madison papers, *FO*.
29. a kind of peace treaty between the states: This idea appears in Hendrickson, *Peace Pact*. He notes on p. 285 that in taking this approach he is walking in the neglected footsteps of James Brown Scott, who argued in 1918 that the Constitution took the form of "an international conference."
30. "In all ages one half mankind had been slaves": August 22, 1787, Madison, *Debates in the Federal Convention*, 444. See also Mark Kaplanoff, "Charles Pinckney and the American Republican Tradition," in *Intellectual Life in Antebellum Charleston*, eds. Michael O'Brien and David Moltke-Hansen (University of Tennessee Press, 1986).
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32. "helped undo some of the wrongs he had helped to create": Holly Brewer, "Slavery, Sovereignty, and

'Inheritable Blood': Reconsidering John Locke and the Origins of American Slavery," *The American Historical Review* 122, no. 4 (October 2017), 1075.

33. admitted two free blacks to Princeton: Jeffry Morrison, *John Witherspoon and the Founding of the American Republic* (University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), 76.
34. "the censorial power is in the people": "House Address to the President, [27 November] 1794," *FO*.
35. "his justice cannot sleep forever": Thomas Jefferson, "Notes on the State of Virginia," *Thomas Jefferson: Writings* (Library of America, 1984), 289.
36. "those of his planter brethren": Douglas Egerton, "Review of *Master of the Mountain: Thomas Jefferson and His Slaves*. By Henry Wiencek." *Journal of the Early Republic* 33, no. 3 (Fall 2013), 559.
37. "No body here reads them": "From Thomas Jefferson to James Madison, with a List of Books, 1 September 1785," *FO*.
38. "I have been nourished with the remains of Roman grandeur": "From Thomas Jefferson to Madame de Tessé, 20 March 1787," *FO*.
39. "he became responsible for making America's public buildings resemble Roman temples": Gordon Wood, *The Idea of America: Reflections on the Birth of the United States* (Penguin, 2011), 75.
40. "vain irritable and a bad calculator of the force and probable effect of the motives which govern men": "To James Madison from Thomas Jefferson, 30 January 1787," *FO*.
41. "The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants": "From Thomas Jefferson to William Stephens Smith, 13 November 1787," *FO*.
42. "I shall concur in it chearfully": "From Thomas Jefferson to James Madison, 20 December 1787," *FO*.
43. not enough states would ratify it: "From Thomas Jefferson to Richard Price, 8 January 1789," *FO*.
44. "rather be exposed to the inconveniencies attending too much liberty": "From Thomas Jefferson to Archibald Stuart, 23 December 1791," *FO*.
45. "the most characteristic product of the American Enlightenment": Peter Gay, "The Enlightenment," in *The Comparative Approach to American History*, ed. C. Van Woodward (Basic Books, 1968), 43.
46. published under the pen name Publius: Gummere, *The American Colonial Mind and the Classical Tradition,* 220.
47. twice as many references to Greeks as to Romans: George Kennedy, "Classical Influences on *The Federalist*," in *Classical Traditions in Early America*, ed. John Eadie (Center for the Coordination of Ancient and Modern Studies, University of Michigan, 1976), 121.

48. “it is not safe to trust to the virtue of any people”: “From Alexander Hamilton to John Jay, 26 November 1775,” Hamilton papers, *FO*.
49. “the source of many of our errors”: June 22, 1787, Madison, *Debates in the Federal Convention,*150.
50. the pillar of “virtue” has fallen”: This observation is made in Ruth H. Bloch, “The Gendered Meanings of Virtue in Revolutionary America,” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 13, no. 1 (Autumn 1987), 54.
51. “a nation of philosophers is as little to be expected as the philosophical race of kings”: “The Federalist Number 49, [2 February] 1788,” Madison papers, *FO*. See also his remarks at the Virginia Ratifying Convention, 20 June 1788, at which he rejected the two extremes of having unlimited confidence in the people or in considering them to be devoid of virtue.
52. “self Interest is more powerfull than publick virtue”: “Abigail Adams to Mercy Otis Warren, 22 January 1779,” *FO*.
53. “Sordid self-Interest”: “From Benjamin Franklin to John Paul Jones, 27 May 1778,” *FO*.
54. “The *causes* of faction cannot be removed”: This and the quotations in the next three paragraphs are from “The Federalist Number 10, [22 November] 1787,” Madison papers, *FO*. Madison’s italics.
55. Madison’s most innovative thinking: See Roy Branson, “James Madison and the Scottish Enlightenment,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 40, no. 2 (1979).
56. “power should be a check to power”: Montesquieu, *The Spirit of Laws* (1766), 220.
57. “a blind veneration for antiquity”: “The Federalist Number 14, [30 November] 1787,” Madison papers, *FO*.
58. “attention to the dead languages”: Noah Webster, “On the Education of Youth in America,” in *A Collection of Essays and Fugitive Writings on Moral, Political and Literary Subjects* (I. Thomas and E. T. Andrews, 1790), 23, 3–4.
59. “the tendency of federal bodies, rather to anarchy among the members than to tyranny in the head”: James Madison, “The Federalist Number 18, [7 December] 1787,” *FO*.
60. eighteen to twenty members of the ratification meeting there were in fact veterans of Shays’ Rebellion: “To James Madison from Nathaniel Gorham, 27 January 1788,” *FO*.
61. Madison gloomily passed the word to George Washington: “From James Madison to George Washington, 3 February 1788,” *FO*.
62. “Never perhaps was a state more divided than Virginia is on the new Constitution”: “To James Madison from John Dawson, 18 February 1788,” *FO*.
63. the largest of the state conventions: Pauline Maier, *Ratification: The People Debate the Constitution, 1787–1788* (Simon & Schuster, 2011), 165–66.

64. “A democracy is a volcano”: “Speech in the Convention of Massachusetts on Biennial E ections,” in *The Works of Fisher Ames* (T. B. Wait, 1809), 24.
65. “they will swallow up all us little folks”: Jonathan E liott, ed., *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution, Vol. 2* (J. B. Lippincott, 1901), 102.
66. “I have known the worth of a good government by the want of it”: E liott, ed., *The Debates in the Several State Conventions, Vol. 2*, 108.
67. “The quoting of ancient history was no more to the purpose”: E liott, ed., *The Debates in the Several State Conventions, Vol. 2,* 68–69.
68. 192 against and only 144 in support: Maier, *Ratification,* 186.
69. twenty-three essays: Madison, “The Federalist, Number 38, [12 January] 1788,” *FO*.
70. “the liberties of Rome proved the final v ctim to her military triumphs”: James Madison, “The Federalist Number 41, [19 January] 1788,” *FO*.
71. “Ambition must be made to counteract ambition”: “The Federalist Number 51, [6 February] 1788,” *FO*.
72. “History informs us of no long lived republic which had not a senate”: James Madison, “The Federalist No. 63, [1 March 1788],” *FO*.
73. “half-lettered”: “From Thomas Jefferson to Pierre Samuel Du Pont de Nemours, 18 January 1802,” *FO*.
74. “Sparta was little better than a well regulated camp”: “The Federalist No. 6, [14 November 1787],” *FO*.
75. “men of heroic v rtue”: Meyer Reinhold, *Classica Americana: The Greek and Roman Heritage in the United States* (Wayne State University Press, 1984), 157.
76. “the situation of your state is critical”: “From Alexander Hamilton to James Madison, [19 May 1788],” *FO*. Hamilton’s italics.
77. “pray for his death”: “From Thomas Jefferson to James Madison, 8 December 1784,” *FO*.
78. “*We, the people* . . . instead of We, the states?” Hugh Grigsby, *The History of the Virginia Federal Convention of 1788* (Virginia Historical Society, 1890), 81.
79. “Something must be done to preserve your liberty and mine”: “Speech of Patrick Henry (June 5, 1788),” *Anti-Federalist Papers*, accessed online.
80. “turbulence, v olence and abuse of power”: James Madison, “General Defense of the Constitution, [6 June] 1788,” *FO*.
81. “the feriv d declamation of Mr. Henry”: “Thomas Jefferson: Autobiography, 6 Jan.–29 July 1821, 6 January 1821,” FO.
82. “The great and wise State of Massachusetts has taken this step”: Bernard Bailyn, ed., *Debate on the Constitution: Federalist and Antifederalist Speeches, Articles, and Letters*

During the Struggle over Ratification, Part Two (Library of America, 1990), 750.

83. "men who had seen hard military service": Hugh Blair Grigsby, *History of the Virginia Federal Convention of 1788* (Da Capo Press, 1969), 339.
84. perhaps one dead: On p. 246 in *Witnesses at the Creation: Hamilton, Madison, Jay, and the Constitution* (Henry Holt, 1985), Richard Morris has one dead, but on p. 274 of *Ratification*, Maier has none.
85. "a disturbance in the City of Albany": "From Alexander Hamilton to James Madison, [8 July 1788]," *FO*.
86. "Faction was virtue's opposite": John Howe Jr., "Republican Thought and the Political Violence of the 1790s," *American Quarterly* 19, pt. 1 (Summer 1967), 158.
87. "none but the most disinterested, able and virtuous men may be appointed to either house of Congress": "From George Washington to Benjamin Fishbourn, 23 December 1788," *FO*.
88. "Our party killed one Indian": "From George Washington to John Stanwix, 8 October 1757," *FO*.

Patriotic Organization

1. "a radical shift in discourse": John Shields, *The American Aeneas: Classical Origins of the American Self* (University of Tennessee Press, 2001), 258.

Epistemic Alienation to Patriotic Loyalty

1. Brackenridge and Madison had been friendly at the college: Ralph Ketcham, *James Madison: A Biography* (Macmillan, 1971), 34.
2. "The great mischief in democracy is party": H. H. Brackenridge, *Modern Chivalry: Containing the Adventures of a Captain and Teague O'Reagan, His Servant, Vol. I* (Johnson & Warner, 1815), 2, 2, 57, 65–66.
3. "There are no scholars amongst us, save a Latin schoolmaster": H. H. Brackenridge, *Modern Chivalry, or the Adventures of Captain Farrago and Teague O'Regan, Vol. III* (J. T. Shryock, 1853), 154–55, 132, 216, 40.
4. "unique, revolutionary, pluralistic, changing, progressive nation": Meyer Reinhold, *Classica Americana: The Greek and Roman Heritage in the United States* (Wayne State University Press, 1984), 175.
5. "the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people": "First Inaugural Address: Final Version, 30 April 1789," *FO*.

6. “Madison wrote the House’s response, and Washington’s answer to the House’s response”: Richard Brookhiser, *James Madison* (Basic Books, 2011), 79.
7. a good part of early American history consists of such instances of Madison talking to himself Professor Allen credits her father with this insightful quip. Danielle Allen, *Our Declaration: A Reading of the Declaration of Independence in Defense of Equality* (W. W. Norton, 2014), 103.
8. “His Majesty’s Opposition”: Archibald Foord, *His Majesty’s Opposition, 1714–1830* (Oxford University Press, 1964), 1.
9. “loyal opposition”: This discussion is influenced by Joyce Appleby’s insights on p. 20 of *Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans* (Harvard University Press, 2001).
10. “The Federalists never saw themselves as a party”: Gordon Wood, *Revolutionary Characters: What Made the Founders Different* (Penguin Press, 2006), 55.
11. The classical mindset would prove a poor f amework in which to i v ew the emerging politics of the 1790s: This sentence paraphrases the observations on p. 3 of James Roger Sharp, *American Politics in the Early Republic: The Nation in Crisis* (Yale University Press, 1993).
12. “Publick i v rtue, and the love of their country, . . . were extinct”: Edward Wortley Montagu, *Reflections on the Rise and Fall of the Antient Republicks* (A. Millar, 1759), 269.
13. “luxury, effeminacy and corruption”: Montagu, *Reflections on the Rise and Fall of the Antient Republicks,* 280, 270, 371.
14. “faction was the ruin of Carthage, and riches probably were the cause of faction”: J. Burgh, *Political Disquisitions; Or, An Enquiry Into Public Errors, Defects, and Abuses, Vol. 3* (Edward and Charles Dilly, 1775), 67.
15. “The spirit of liberty was dead, and the spirit of faction had taken its place on both sides”: Lord Bolingbroke, “Letter 2, Remarks on the History of E gland,” in *Lord Bolingbroke, Historical Writings*, ed. Isaac Kramnick (University of Chicago Press, 1972), 167.
16. to be politically aligned: Marshall Smelser, “The Federalist Period as an Age of Passion,” *American Quarterly* 10, no. 4 (Winter 1958), 395–96.
17. “If I could not go to heaven but with a party, I would not go there at all”: “From Thomas Jefferson to Francis Hopkinson, 13 March 1789,” *FO*.
18. “I found a state of things which, of all I had ever contemplated, I the least expected”: “The Anas,” *Thomas Jefferson: Writings* (Library of America, 1984), 665–66.
19. “whenever I Use the Word Republick, with approbation I mean a Government”: “From John Adams to Samuel Adams, Sr., 18 October 1790,” *FO*.

20. “Is not the *whole* sovereignty, my friend, essentially in the People? [Samuel Adams’ italics]”: “John Adams from Samuel Adams, Sr., 25 November 1790,” *FO*.
21. “stock jobbers and King-jobbers”: “From Thomas Jefferson to Lafayette, 16 June 1792,” *FO*.
22. Washington would dwell on questions of land: George Washington, “Diary Entry: 29 June 1791,” *FO*. See also William Seale, *The President’s House, Vol. 1* (White House Historical Association, 1986), 14.
23. “The Federal City on the Potomac”: Stanley Elkins and Eric McKitrick, *The Age of Federalism* (Oxford University Press, 1993), 169–70.
24. “grain . . . as fine as that of our best earthen ware”: “From Thomas Jefferson to Thomas Johnson, 8 March 1792,” *FO*.
25. “the first temple dedicated to the sovereignty of the people”: “Thomas Jefferson to Benjamin Henry Latrobe, 12 July 1812,” *FO*.
26. Thus was set the neoclassical style of American official buildings, especially courts and state capitol buildings: This sentence paraphrases p. 19, Jean Matthews, *Toward a New Society: American Thought and Culture, 1800–1830* (Twayne, 1991).
27. “the City of Magnificent Intentions”: Charles Dickens, *American Notes for General Circulation, Vol. 1* (Wilson & Company, 1842), 21.
28. “the speculators and Tories”: “To Thomas Jefferson from James Madison, 1 May 1791,” *FO*.
29. “parties are unavoidable”: “For the National Gazette, [ca. 23 January] 1792,” Madison papers, *FO*.
30. an outlet for anti-Hamilton views: This paraphrases p. 42, Richard McCormick, *The Presidential Game: The Origins of American Presidential Politics* (Oxford University Press, 1982).
31. “Party is a monster who devours the common good”: William Wyche, *Party Spirit: An Oration. . . .* (T. & J. Swords, 1794), 15–16. Information about Wyche from Robert Emery, “William Wyche,” *The Yale Biographical Dictionary of American Law*, ed. Roger Newman (Yale University Press, 2009), 605.
32. “Mr. Madison cooperating with Mr. Jefferson”: “From Alexander Hamilton to Edward Carrington, 26 May 1792,” *FO*.
33. “I did not expect that truth, honor and virtue would so soon have been trampled”: “From John Adams to Henry Marchant, 3 March 1792,” *FO*.
34. “rending the Union asunder”: “From George Washington to Edmund Randolph, 26 August 1792,” *FO*.
35. “if we have an embryo-Cæsar in the United States ’tis Burr”: “From Alexander Hamilton to–, 26 September 1792.” Hamilton papers, *FO*.

36. “the Catilines and the Cæsars of the community”: “Catullus No. III, 29 September 1792,” *FO*. Hamilton’s italics.
37. “the greatest man that ever lived”: Conversation f om era of Washington presidency recounted in “Thomas Jefferson to Benjamin Rush, 16 January 1811,” *FO*.
38. “bent upon my subversion”: “From Alexander Hamilton to George Washington, 9 September 1792,” *FO*.
39. “a shillyshally thing of mere milk & water”: “The Anas,” *Thomas Jefferson: Writings* (Library of America, 1984), 692.
40. “daring to call the republican party a *faction*”: “From Thomas Jefferson to James Madison, 29 June 1792,”*FO*.
41. “There is not a Jacobin in France more devoted to Faction”: “John Adams to Abigail Adams, 28 December 1792,” *FO*.
42. Democratic Societies: E kins and McKitrick, *The Age of Federalism*, 456–57.
43. “be prepared to defend the Rights of Man”: Quoted in E gene Link, *Democratic-Republican Societies, 1790–1800* (Columbia University Press, 1942), 79.
44. “The President is not well”: “From Thomas Jefferson to James Madison, 9 June 1793,” *FO*.
45. “The Presidt. was much inflamed”: Thomas Jefferson papers, “Notes of Cabinet Meeting on Edmond Charles Genet, 2 August 1793,” *FO*. Jefferson’s italics.
46. “His soul is poisoned with Ambition”: “John Adams to Abigail Adams, 26 December 1793,” *FO*.
47. “Jefferson went off Yesterday”: “John Adams to Abigail Adams, 6 January 1794,” *FO*.
48. “I am become too lazy, with the pen”: “From Thomas Jefferson to George Wythe, 18 April 1795,” *FO*.
49. “to feed every animal on my farm except my negroes”: “From Thomas Jefferson to John Taylor, 29 December 1794,” *FO*.
50. “the federalists got unchecked hold of Genl. Washington”: “The Anas,” *Thomas Jefferson: Writings* (Library of America, 1984), 673.
51. “I long to see you”: “From Thomas Jefferson to James Madison, 27 April 1795,” *FO*.
52. the tax resistance movement: Link, *Democratic-Republican Societies,* 147.
53. “Shall the general will prevail, or the will of a faction?”: “Tully No. II, [26 August 1794],” Hamilton papers, *FO*.
54. “How long, ye Catilines, will you abuse our patience”: “Tully No. III, [28 August 1794],” Hamilton papers, *FO*.
55. “Meetings of Malcontent persons”: “To George Washington f om Alexander Hamilton, 5 August 1794,” *FO*.
56. “There simply had to be a plot”: Smelser, “The Federalist Period as an Age of Passion,” *American Quarterly,* 398.
57. “a curse on his i rtues, they’ve undone his country”: “To James Madison f om Thomas Jefferson, 27 March 1796,” *FO*.

58. if the nation broke up, he would go with the North: “Notes of a Conversation with Edmund Randolph, [after 1795],” *FO*.
59. “you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union”: “Farewell Address, 19 September 1796,” *FO*.
60. He reacted to it eccentrically: The instructive word “eccentricities” is used on p. 247 of Peter Shaw, *The Character of John Adams* (University of North Carolina Press, 1976). For a contrary view of Adams, one which I think is erroneous, see pp. 192–94 in C. Bradley Thompson, *John Adams and the Spirit of Liberty* (University Press of Kansas, 2002).
61. “Mausoleums, Statues, Monuments will never be erected to me”: “From John Adams to William Sumner, 28 March 1809,” *FO*.
62. John Adams, coming from New England, had seen more of democracy in practice than had Thomas Jefferson of aristocratic Virginia: This paraphrases a comment made by Wood in conversation with the author, Providence, R.I., 18 December 2017.
63. “I like a little rebellion now and then”: “From Thomas Jefferson to Abigail Adams, 22 February 1787,” *FO*.
64. “the nation has been awaked”: “From Thomas Jefferson to George Washington, 4 December 1788,” *FO*.
65. “I look with great anxiety for the firm establishment of the new government in France”: “From Thomas Jefferson to George Mason, 4 February 1791,” *FO*.
66. “Terror is the order of the Day”: “To George Washington from Gouverneur Morris, 18 October 1793,” *FO*.
67. “the basis of popular government during a revolution is both virtue and terror”: Marissa Linton, *The Politics of Virtue in Enlightenment France* (Palgrave, 2001), 1.
68. “the disgusting spectacle of the French revolution”: Hamilton papers, “The Stand No. III, [7 April 1798],” *FO*.
69. “Our vessel is moored at such a distance”: “From Thomas Jefferson to John Breckinridge, 29 January 1800,” *FO*.
70. “a conspiracy of vice against virtue”: “Printed Version of the ‘Reynolds Pamphlet, 1797,’” Alexander Hamilton papers, *FO*.
71. “an Opinion that Hamilton was the Writer of Washingtons best Letters”: “From John Adams to Benjamin Rush, 23 August 1805,” *FO*.
72. “Their Emissaries are scatterd through all parts”: “Abigail Adams to Mercy Otis Warren, 25 April 1798,” *FO*.
73. “a little patience and we shall see the reign of witches pass over”: “From Thomas Jefferson to John Taylor, 4 June 1798,” *FO*.
74. “nothing was more important than the maintenance of the established order”: Moses Hadas, ed., *The Basic Works of Cicero* (Modern Library, 1951), x.

75. “a temperamental conservative caught in the nets of revolution”: Anthony Everitt, *Cicero: The Life and Times of Rome’s Greatest Politician* (Random House, 2001), 322.
76. worried that the new nation would drift toward factionalism: See, for example, “From John Adams to Benjamin Rush, 9 June 1789,” Adams papers, *FO*.
77. “the capstone of the new Federalist system”: Leonard Levy, *Emergence of a Free Press* (Oxford University Press, 1985), 300.
78. the number of newspapers published in the United States more than doubled: Robert Shalhope, *The Roots of Democracy: American Thought and Culture, 1760–1800* (Rowman & Littlefield, 1990), 139.
79. the majority of newspapers were Federalist: David Hackett Fischer, *The Revolution of American Conservativism: The Federalist Party in the Era of Jeffersonian Democracy* (Harper & Row, 1965), 131.
80. “operated as if the law of seditious libel did not exist”: Levy, *Emergence of a Free Press,* x.
81. “the nation’s enduring source of political stability, was forged in—and, fair to say, created by—the nation’s newspapers”: Jill Lepore, *These Truths: A History of the United States* (W. W. Norton, 2018), 145.
82. voter turnout sometimes exceeding 100 percent: Charles Sellers, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815–1846* (Oxford University Press, 1991), 37.
83. the party in power cracking down on the opposition press: Terri Diane Halperin, *The Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798: Testing the Constitution* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016), 73.
84. involved Thomas Cooper: Jonathan Israel, *The Expanding Blaze: How the American Revolution Ignited the World, 1775–1848* (Princeton University Press, 2017), 352–53.
85. “being a wicked and malicious person”: Alfred Young, Gary Nash, and Ray Raphael, eds, *Revolutionary Founders: Rebels, Radicals and Reformers in the Making of the Nation* (Vintage, 2012), 371.
86. “the bullying speech of your president and the stupid answer of your senate”: J. Fairfax McLaughlin, *Matthew Lyon: The Hampden of Congress* (Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford, 1900), 369.
87. the median price of an American house was $614: Lee Soltow, “The Distribution of Income in the United States in 1798: Estimates Based on the Federal Housing Inventory,” *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 69, no. 1 (February 1987), 182.
88. imprisoned a Vermont newspaper editor: Charles Slack, *Liberty’s First Crisis: Adams, Jefferson, and the Misfits Who Saved Free Speech* (Atlantic Monthly Press, 2015), 199.
89. “Every defendant was a Republican”: Smelser, “The Federalist Period as an Age of Passion,” *American Quarterly,*

412.

90. "combinations or conspiracies to raise insurrections against government": Cushing's remarks are quoted in a footnote to "To Thomas Jefferson from John Taylor, 15 February 1799," *FO*.
91. Jedediah Peck: Elkins and McKitrick, *The Age of Federalism,* 705. "In irons" is from Gordon Wood, *Empire of Liberty: A History of the Early Republic, 1789–1815* (Oxford University Press, 2009), 262.
92. "a regular conspiracy to overturn the government": "From Alexander Hamilton to Theodore Sedgwick, 2 February 1799," *FO*.
93. "take with you copies": "From Alexander Hamilton to Timothy Pickering, [14 May 1800]," *FO*.
94. "political espionage": Daniel Sisson, *The American Revolution of 1800* (Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), 375.
95. "Let that party set up a broomstick": "From George Washington to Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., 21 July 1799," *FO*.
96. "moving by hasty strides to some awful crisis": "From George Washington to James McHenry, 17 November 1799," *FO*.
97. "His last scene corresponded with the whole tenor of his life": "To John Adams from Tobias Lear, 15 December 1799," *FO*.
98. "every countanance is coverd with Gloom": "From Abigail Smith Adams to Mary Smith Cranch, 18 December 1799," *FO*.
99. "His Name may be still a rampart": "Inaugural Address, 4 March 1797," Adams papers, *FO*.
100. "Our guide, our Washington's no more": Samuel Griswold Goodrich, *Recollections of a Lifetime: Or Men and Things I Have Seen* (Miller, Orton and Mulligan, 1856), 107–108.
101. "the President will be fretted, perplexed, and tormented": "From William Stephens Smith to Abigail Amelia Adams Smith, 22 December 1799," *FO*.
102. "Washington never assumed the Character of perpetual Dictator—. That Pretension was reserved for one of his Aids": "From John Adams to Alexander Hamilton, 1800," *FO*. It is not clear that this letter was sent.
103. "The object of this party is to destroy ancient systems": David Daggett, "Sun-Beams May Be Extracted from Cucumbers, But the Process Is Tedious," in *The Rising Glory of America, 1760–1820,* ed. Gordon Wood. (Northeastern University Press, 1990), 214.
104. partly by working as a butler: "Sketch of the Life and Character of the Hon. David Daggett," Connecticut State Library, accessed online.
105. "the unreasonable demands & desires of the few": "William Manning's *The Key of Libberty*," ed. Samuel Eliot Morison, *William and Mary Quarterly* 13, no. 2 (April 1956), 211, 212, 214, 220, 205.

106. “he sought to counteract social disruption and reestablish the deferential world order”: Richard Rollins, “Words as Social Control: Noah Webster and the Creation of the *American Dictionary*,” *American Quarterly* 28, no. 4 (Autumn 1976), 416. My discussion here also was influenced by a reading of David Simpson, *The Politics of American English, 1776–1850* (Oxford University Press, 1986).
107. “angrily secluded” at his home: Gordon Wood, *Empire of Liberty*, 273.
108. “a final dissolution of all bonds”: “From Thomas Jefferson to Benjamin Hawkins,” 18 February 1803,” *FO*.
109. “the most serious and formidable conspiracy”: “To Thomas Jefferson from James Monroe, 15 September 1800,” *FO*.
110. “Nothing is talked of here but the recent conspiracy of negroes”: “To Thomas Jefferson from James Thomson Callender, 13 September 1800,” *FO*.

Chapter Revolutionary People, Notes

1. “eternal hostility against every form of tyranny”: “From Thomas Jefferson to Benjamin Rush, 23 September 1800,” *FO*.
2. “it is better to get a friend to forward it by some of the boats”: “From Thomas Jefferson to John Breckinridge, 29 January 1800,” *FO*.
3. “as true a *Cataline* as ever met in midnight conclave”: “From Alexander Hamilton to James A. Bayard, 6 August 1800,” *FO*. Hamilton’s italics.
4. “He is truly the *Cataline* of America”: “From Alexander Hamilton to Oliver Wolcott, Junior, 16 December 1800,” *FO*. Hamilton’s italics.
5. “It is too late for me to become his apologist”: “From Alexander Hamilton to James A. Bayard, 16 January 1801,” *FO*.
6. “he does not possess the talents adapted to the *Administration* of Government”: “Letter from Alexander Hamilton, Concerning the Public Conduct and Character of John Adams, Esq. President of the United States, [24 October 1800],” *FO*. Hamilton’s italics.
7. might have violated the Sedition Act: Charles Slack makes this point on p. 219 of *Liberty’s First Crisis: Adams, Jefferson, and the Misfits Who Saved Free Speech* (Atlantic Monthly Press, 2015).
8. “all the Vanity and Timidity of Cicero”: “From John Adams to François Adriaan Van der Kemp, 25 April 1808,” *FO*.
9. “bastard brat of a Scotch Pedler”: “From John Adams to Benjamin Rush, 25 January 1806,” and “John Adams to

Thomas Jefferson, 12 July 1813," FO. In the letter to Jefferson, Adams spelled the word "bratt."

10. "a damn'd Rascall and a Devil": "From John Adams to Boston Patriot, 1809," *FO*.
11. "only capable of, enormous wickedness": Abbe Claude Millot, *Elements of General History, Vol. 2 of Ancient History* (James Watson, 1811), 69.
12. "equated parties with factions and considered them unmitigated evils": Bruce Ackerman, *The Failure of the Founding Fathers: Jefferson, Marshall and the Rise of Presidential Democracy* (Belknap/Harvard University Press, 2005), 3–5.
13. "The revolution of 1800": "From Thomas Jefferson to Spencer Roane, 6 September 1819," *FO*.
14. "foundation of the overthrow of the federal party": "From John Adams to Boston Patriot, 29 May 1809," *FO*.
15. "resources of wisdom, of virtue, of zeal": Thomas Jefferson papers, "First Inaugural Address, 4 March 1801," *FO*.
16. Jefferson pardoned Callender: "Pardon for James Thomson Callender, 16 March 1801," *FO*.
17. "he was in possession of things which he could & would make use of": "From Thomas Jefferson to James Monroe, 29 May 1801," *FO*.
18. "a striking though sable resemblance to those of the President himself": Quoted on p. 158, Michael Durey, *With the Hammer of Truth: James Thomson Callender and America's Early National Heroes* (University Press of Virginia, 1990).
19. Callender's corpse would be found: Michael Durey, *Transatlantic Radicals and the Early American Republic* (University Press of Kansas, 1997), 62, 207, 245–46.
20. a bill to establish the U.S. Military Academy at West Point: See Peter Onuf, *The Mind of Thomas Jefferson* (University of Virginia Press, 2007), 196.
21. one path toward nonclassical higher education: Theodore Crackel, *West Point: A Bicentennial History* (University Press of Kansas, 2002), 96–97.
22. "the West Point engineers doubled the capacity of the little American army": Henry Adams, *History of the United States of America During the Administrations of James Madison* (Library of America, 1986), 1342.
23. "I was turned out of Office": "From John Adams to James Lloyd, 31 March 1815," *FO*.
24. catching the early coach to Baltimore: David McCullough, *John Adams* (Touchstone, 2002), 564.
25. "I thought I had made a good exchange . . . of honors & virtues, for manure": "From John Adams to Samuel Dexter, 23 March 1801," *FO*.
26. "The Virtue and good Sense of Americans": "From John Adams to François Adriaan Van der Kemp, 24 July 1802," *FO*.

27. “It behoves all men”: “From John Adams to John Rogers, 6 February 1801,” Adams papers, *FO*.
28. “a proof of the falsehood of that Mass of odious Abuse of my Character”: “John Adams f om the Autobiography of John Adams,” 5 October 1802. Adams papers, *FO*.
29. “the torment of a perpetual Vulcano of Slander”: “[1768–1770], [f om the Autobiography of John Adams],” *FO*.
30. “Jefferson is not a Roman”: “From John Adams to Benjamin Rush, 19 September 1806,” *FO*.
31. “could not long ref ain f om abusing me”: “From John Adams to Benjamin Rush, 23 June 1807,” *FO*.
32. “a Secret and deliberate design”: “From John Adams to Abiel Holmes, 6 May 1807,” *FO.*
33. “Change the Names and every Anecdote will be applicable to Us”: “From John Adams to Benjamin Rush, 4 December 1805,” *FO*.
34. “Poor Cicero”: “From John Adams to Benjamin Rush, 18 January 1808,” *FO*.
35. “Cicero was libelled, Slandered insulted by all Parties”: “From John Adams to William Sumner, 28 March 1809,” *FO*.
36. “The Last Roman”: Linda Kerber, *Federalists in Dissent: Imagery and Ideology in Jeffersonian America* (Cornell University Press, 1970), 122.
37. “How many Martyrdoms must I Suffer?”: “From John Adams to Thomas Jefferson, 12 July 1813,” *FO*.
38. “his last appointments to office as personally unkind”: “From Thomas Jefferson to Abigail Smith Adams, 13 June 1804,” *FO*.
39. “scenes of midnight appointment”: “Thomas Jefferson to Benjamin Rush, 16 January 1811,” *FO*.
40. “the reign of terror is no more”: Abraham Bishop, *Oration Delivered in Wallingford, On the 11th of March 1801, Before the Republicans of the State of Connecticut, at Their General Thanksgiving, For the E ection Of Thomas Jefferson to the Presidency, And of Aaron Burr to the Vice-Presidency, Of the United States of America* (William Morse, 1801), 97.
41. Aaron Burr wrote to Jefferson about who should get it: “To Thomas Jefferson f om Aaron Burr, 21 April 1801,” *FO*.
42. “the best political plum in Connecticut”: Dumas Malone, *Jefferson the President: First Term, 1801–1805* (Little, Brown and Company 1970), 70, 75. See also Samuel Griswold Goodrich, *Recollections of a Lifetime: Or Men and Things I Have Seen* (Miller, Orton and Mulligan, 1856), 125.
43. Theodore Dwight, brother of the president of Yale College, penned a satire: “Tribes of faction” is quoted on p. 483, Lynde Harrison, “History of Political Parties,” in *History of the City of New Haven to the Present Time*, ed. Edward Atwater (W. W. Munsell & Co., 1887). The couplet is quoted on p. 209, Richard Purcell, *Connecticut in Transition: 1775–1818* (Wesleyan University Press, 1963).

44. the politicization of the customs office: “Remonstrance of the New Haven Merchants, [18 June 1801],” Jefferson papers, *FO*.
45. the first statement written by a president expressly as a leader of a political party: Malone, *Jefferson the President: First Term,* 79.
46. Did you Federalists think you held a monopoly on government jobs?: “From Thomas Jefferson to the New Haven Merchants, 12 July 1801,” *FO*.
47. “the whole herd have squealed out”: “From Thomas Jefferson to Pierre Samuel Du Pont de Nemours, 18 January 1802,” *FO*.
48. “have not snored through four years at Princeton”: Alfred Young, “The Mechanics and the Jeffersonians: New York, 1789–1801,” in *The Labor History Reader*, ed. Daniel Leab (University of Illinois Press, 1985), 93.
49. “We have striven to be faultless, and neglected to be natural”: Edmund Trowbridge Dana, “The Powers of Genius,” *The Monthly Anthology and Boston Review* II, no. 10 (October 1805), 531–32.
50. “And CATO liv’d again—in WASHINGTON”: no author listed, “Occasional Prologue to Cato’s Tragedy,” *The Monthly Anthology and Boston Review* II, no. 10 (October 1805), 586.
51. the Federalist shelf was bare: This and the following two paragraphs draw on the work of Linda Kerber in *Federalists in Dissent*.
52. “The Roman historians are the best that ever existed”: no author listed, “Is the Study of Latin and Greek Languages Useful?”*New England Quarterly Magazine*, July–September 1802, 125.
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