

IMAGINE A WORLD WITH REAL FREEDOM

Bonnie Lange

They have come between the people and OUR government. They have built a wall between “We The People” and the very Government that was designed to serve US. The Government was designed to be our servant, and the Politicians have redesigned the Government to be the Master and “We The People” the Servant. This is upside down.

We must take back our Power as Individuals, expressing the right idea of Freedom . . . therein lays our Power. Our nation was founded upon the principle of *Freedom for the Individual* and as a Democratic Republic. A story is told about Benjamin Franklin when asked by a woman, after the signing of *The Declaration*, what kind of government do we have? He replied, “A republic Madame, if you can keep it.” We haven’t kept it—someone came during our sleep and carted it away and turned the idea upside down as Franklin feared.

The structure of a Republic is: the People first, the state government second and then the Federal Government—in that order. The Federal Government has only one function and that is to

act as a Justice mechanism to defend the rights and freedom of the Individual.

This issue of *Truth Seeker* is telling a bit of *The Freedom Story* from the viewpoint of Physician General Benjamin Rush, who was a close friend of Thomas Paine, and influenced Paine to change the title of his pamphlet from *Plain Truth* to *Common Sense*. You will also read about the ideas that Freedom was postulated upon and what has happened to them. We will explore together the architectural design for Freedom and then examine what went wrong. Maybe with a few good minds we can redesign our country again and establish a Real Freedom The kind of Freedom that will last forever and not erode with time nor from corruption by those who wish to control humanity. This is one of my great desires.

As Thomas Paine said in his last *Crisis Paper*, “We have it within our Power to begin the World over again.” And, if we do it right *this time* then FREEDOM will last forever . . . at least on this Planet.

If our vision is inspiring, it will impel us to action. If our collective vision arouses no enthusiasm, or if there is no commonly held image of what is worth striving for, our society will lack both motivation and direction.

— Willis Harmon, from an interview with Futurist Barbara Marx Hubbard in 1982

My heartfelt Gratitude to all who are contributing both motivation and direction to the new design for FREEDOM. And it is my intention that the following pages of this volume of *Truth Seeker* journal and *The Freedom Story* will be of assistance to you in your endeavors.

DEAR READER

William B. Lindley

This issue of Truth Seeker is centered on the American Revolution, the War for Independence, 1775–1783. It covers a broader timespan to include causes and consequences, and highlights the relevance of those events to the difficult issues we face today. In reviewing the contents, I was struck by how much was new to me. Our Editor has done a good job in tracking down and selecting items that are well off the beaten path but that supply information and ideas we badly need to know. I'll list a few of these to give you the flavor.

The Money Changers article points out that paper money created by the colonial governments (and later the states) was well received and useful. (We hard-money types go with “not worth a Continental” and deplore the paper money of that period, but we clearly don't have the whole story.)

An article cheering 21st-century Deism intrigued me. Yes, Deism was the religion of the Founding Fathers, but didn't Darwin kill it off? With care, maybe it can make a comeback after all!

“The Indians' Revolution” by Fleming got personal for me. The British-Indian foray into Ohio and points south in 1780 included taking a family of my ancestors prisoner, along with about 100 others, and force-marching them to Detroit.

I appreciated the opportunity to read the Articles of Confederation in full. I found them spectacularly tedious. Grit your teeth and read them. You'll get a better idea of what was important to the Founding Fathers in setting up a federation of independent states.

Thomas Paine knew we needed a firmer binding together of the states, but the Constitution infuriated him. Too much executive power in one man, bordering on tyranny. How prescient he was! And his influence had not yet been killed by his *Age of Reason* (1796); his *Rights of Man*, published in 1791, jump-started the Bill of Rights, which had been languishing in state legislatures for two years.

Read about it in this issue.

TRUTH SEEKER

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IN APPRECIATION

To all those men and women who have
at the moment of their times been
the first to see . . .

It is easier for many to follow.
This includes religion, science and politics.
We dedicate this issue to them.

— *Bonnie Lange*

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IN MEMORY OF BOLDER LANDRY

*A 20th Century Man — His absence
will be felt in the Freethought community.*

We are dedicating this issue of *The Freedom Story* to our friend and colleague Bolder Landry.

Bolder was born and educated in New England. As a young man he joined a circus and eventually became a top trick rider and roper in the Rodeo world. Traveling was his first love, and 18 expeditions among tribes in South America attest to his quest for adventure.

As an author, his vast experiences are well depicted in *They Live by the Spear*, *Wild Indians of the Uaupes*, *Anciennes Civilizations Mexicaines*, *Search of Truth*, and *Heroes of Civilization*. In 1955 he founded Primitive Indian Development Organization (PIDO) dedicated to the cultural protection of the last primitives. He donated a notable amount of money to the cause of education.

Bolder taught Latin, French, and Spanish on the high school level. In 1964 he introduced a pilot program in anthropology at Savanna High School in Anaheim, California. This course has now become an integral part of the Anaheim Union High School District's curriculum. As a supplement to his program he made five documentary color films of South American Indian tribes during the summers of the 1950's through the 1960's. In 1968 he initiated, organized and directed the first outdoor educational summer camp for the Anaheim School District.

In addition, Bolder spoke six languages, served his community and was an advisor to several youth groups. He was a teacher of U.S. History, Anthropology and Languages at Savanna High School until his retirement in 1978.

A valuable contributor to *Truth Seeker* for many years, the passion that Bolder had for the *Heroes of Civilization* are felt in his writings. And the love, respect and gratitude he held toward Thomas Paine is shared by all individuals who love freedom.

But most important, Bolder was a freedom builder and we shall continue to carry the torch for his cause, which is a cause for all human kind. When we have finally set ourselves free then freedom builders like Bolder can go on to do other things.

We will continue to have his column, *Bolder Thoughts*, in the *Truth Seeker* and appropriately in this issue we have reprinted his *A Hero of Civilization*, *Thomas Paine*.

THE SOUL OF AMERICA

Mark Ledbetter

So where is the soul of America? One good place to look would be the hearts of those reluctant but determined revolutionaries, farmers who answered the alarm. Those near hugged their wives and children before stepping out into the cold April air of Massachusetts Colony (1775). Those farther were in the fields when the spreading alarm, now echoing from church spires over hundreds of square miles of New England countryside, reached them. They dropped their plows where they stood, shouldered their rifles and came.

On Lexington Green, dawn just breaking, Captain John Parker hastily assembled his small group off to the side of the road up which the regulars were approaching. There was no question of opposing them. Blocking the road would have been pointless suicide. But a silent demonstration of their intention to be free was in order, and that was made on the Green. Still, it was a tense and dangerous moment with no guarantee that the British troops would simply pass them by so Captain Parker gave his orders, “Stand your ground. Don’t fire unless fired upon, but if they mean to have war, let it begin here.”

We mostly remember the march back to Boston from Concord like this: American farmers hiding behind trees and fences haphazardly shooting at British soldiers who were conveniently marching down the road in neat row, their bright

red uniforms making easy targets. It was much more than that. It was a sophisticated running battle for both sides. The British had units sweeping the fields and farmhouses adjacent to the road, while veterans of the French and Indian War led the Americans in complicated leap frog maneuvers to stay ahead and occupy strategic points. Greatly outnumbered and severely battered by the time they finally got back to Lexington, the regulars were only saved from total annihilation by the timely arrival there of fresh reinforcements to escort them back to Boston.

A CIVILIAN ARMY

Militias, like the one that confronted the British army at Concord and Lexington, are not an American invention. Militias—civilian armies—have a long history, a history as old as republican government and democracy. You might even say that democratic republican government and militia gave birth to each other, and that neither can live long or truly without the other. You might also say that the soul of a free nation is nurtured and preserved in its militia.

For reference, let’s look in some detail at three militia-republics: Athens, Rome, and England. Of course the three did not have identical systems, or fit the pattern perfectly. Athens tended to veer towards a pure democracy (at least for free male citizens) and a tyranny of the majority. England, while not technically a republic, was for a long period the freest major country in the world and had strong republican institutions. Rome was the first country to call itself a republic—a *res publica*. I choose these three because the Founders of our republic chose these three and studied them carefully.

Athens, Rome and England protected themselves from more powerful enemies by militias.

It could work because the militiamen knew what they were fighting for: their own freedom, families, towns and farms. That knowledge infused them with such power that time after time they proved invincible, even against seemingly overwhelming odds. Their opponents were fighting for a paycheck, a king, a chance to rape and pillage, or because they were forced to. They lacked the fire, determination, creativity, and flexibility of free citizen militias.

But Athens, Rome, and England eventually gave up their powerful militia based system of defense, victims of success. The economic strength of republican government and the military supremacy of free citizen armies eventually infected people with visions of power, glory, and conquest. They came to choose empire. But they had a problem. While a well-trained citizen militia is superb on defense, it is unwieldy and ineffectual on offense. If you vote for empire you must switch from a civilian militia to a professional standing army, and that's what all three did.

Our Founders, unlike modern Americans, were well acquainted with this history. They had strong suspicions that republican government may have

the seeds of its own destruction sown in its democratic soil. That's why they wrote a constitution which envisioned a militia-based defense backed only by a bare-bones standing army. That's why they included those first words of the Second Amendment: "A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free state." That's why they included the requirement that we always have a national debate in the halls of Congress before going to war, that war can never be decided on by one man with imperial powers. They saw themselves as the holders of the flame, a flame smothered elsewhere by imperial dreams, a flame that would not be smothered in their new nation if the people of that nation would stay true to the Document they wrote: "We the People of the United States," the *Constitution of the United States of America*.

Source: Excerpt from *Globocop: How America Sold Its Soul and Lost Its Way* by Mark Ledbetter. Book is available online at www.Lulu.com.

Mark Ledbetter: is a linguist, author, lecturer and for the past twenty-six has been teaching English in Japan.

APRIL 19, 1775: PATRIOT'S DAY

The War for Independence begins. Upon hearing the news that subjects are storing muskets (arms) Royal Governor, General Thomas Gage, dispatches a weapons confiscation team to Lexington and Concord, which is defeated by the Massachusetts

Militia. 70 minutemen stood up against 800 British soldiers. It was here that the "shot that was heard around the world" was fired. Paul Revere and William Dawes rode non-stop by different roads to sound the alarm that the British were coming.

THE FREEDOM STORY TIMELINE

1694

The Bank of England was chartered as the first government sanctioned privately owned Central Bank.

1742

The *British Resumption Act* required that taxes and other debts in the American Colonies be paid in gold and silver.

1757–1775

Benjamin Franklin was sent to London where he stayed for eighteen years. During that period the Colonies began printing their own Colonial Scrip. One day officials at the Bank of England asked him how he would account for the prosperity of the Colonies. He replied “. . . we issue our own money, we control its purchasing Power, and we have no interest to pay to no one.”

1764

Parliament hurriedly passed the *Currency Act* prohibiting Colonial officials from issuing their own money.

June 13, 1764

The legislature of the colony of Massachusetts Bay refuses to aid in the collection of taxes imposed by Parliament, unless the colony is granted representation in Parliament in direct proportion to its taxation.

July 23, 1764

James Otis publishes *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved* advocating equality before the Law regardless of gender or race: The colonists, black and white, born here are freeborn British subjects, and entitled to all essential civil rights of such is a truth not only manifest from the provincial charters, from the principles of the common law, and acts of Parliament, but from the British Constitution, which was re-established at the [Glorious] revolution. . . . [T]he natural liberty of man is to be free from any supreme power on earth . . . but only to have nature for his rule. . . . Should an Act of Parliament be against any of His natural laws . . . their declaration will be . . . void. . . . Are women not born as free as men [are]? Would it not be infamous to assert that the ladies are all slaves by nature? . . . [In] a state of nature, . . . had not every one of them a natural and equitable right to be consulted in . . . the formation of a new original compact or government? “

March 22, 1765

The Second Parliament of George III passes the *Stamp Act* which extends the stamp (direct) tax on the Colonies. All newspapers; officially recorded documents, i.e. property deeds, marriage certificates, last wills and testaments; must be certified as having paid a token excise. The Act is not intended to generate revenue but it intended by Parliament to establish a precedent to impose

legislation on the Colonies. This is the first attempt by Parliament to legislate for the Colonies; and the first time Parliament attempts to levy a tax outside Great Britain. Subjects accused of violating this act do not receive a trial by jury according to the rules of Common Law, but are tried in an Admiralty Court where an administrative judge determines law and fact according to the rules of Civil Law.

August 26, 1765

Massachusetts Bay Colonists upset over the Stamp Act, an excise tax on all legal documents, raid the Admiralty Court in Boston, where they burn royal documents.

September 4, 1765

James Otis publishes *Considerations on Behalf of the Colonists to a Noble Lord* in which he condemns the House of Commons for the principle of virtual (as opposed to actual) representation, in which one tenth of the population of Great Britain elects the representation of the entire realm—including the Colonies: Who precisely is the America's freeman's representative in England? Does he know us? Or we him? No. Have we any restriction over his conduct? No. Is he bound in duty and interest to preserve our liberty and property? No. Is he acquainted with our circumstances, situations, wants? No. What then are we to expect from him? Nothing . . . but taxes without end.

September 8, 1765

A Newport, Rhode Island mob prevents the royal customhouse from opening to enforce the *Stamp Act*.

October 7, 1765

Because of the *Stamp Act*, Congress convenes in New York City for the purpose of reminding the Crown that "His . . . subjects in these Colonies

are entitled to all the inherent rights . . . of his natural born Subjects within the Kingdom of Great Britain."

October 19, 1765

The *Stamp Act* Congress passes the *Declaration of Rights of 1765*, articles three, seven and thirteen of which state:

- That no taxes should be imposed on them without their consent;
- That trial by Jury is the inherent . . . right of every British Subject in these Colonies;
- That it is the right of the British Subjects in these Colonies, to petition the King or either house of Parliament.

October 29, 1765

In defiance of Parliament, the Colony of Massachusetts Bay declares itself an Independent Commonwealth.

November 23, 1765

Repudiation Day—The Court of Frederick County, Maryland orders that its business be conducted without complying with the Stamp Act.

March 17, 1766

The Second Parliament of George III, repeals the Stamp Act.

November 2, 1772

At the call of Samuel Adams, a Boston town meeting creates the *Committee of Practical Correspondence*, to communicate Boston's position to other communities and to the world.

November 29, 1773

The New York Sons of Liberty adopts a resolution against the tax on tea and Parliament granting a monopoly to East India Company.

December 16, 1773

The Boston Tea Party—Upset with the unfair trading advantage the *Tea Act* has granted to the East India Company, Boston, Massachusetts Bay, businessmen destroy tea belonging to the EIC worth 20 thousand Pounds Sterling (silver).

September 5, 1774

The First Continental Congress convenes in Philadelphia. It is resolved that government tyranny can best be dealt with through civil disobedience.

October 14, 1774

The First Continental Congress passes the *Declaration of Rights of 1774* denouncing the intolerable acts as “impolitic, unjust, and cruel, as well as unconstitutional”; and to call the attention of the British peoples, and George III of Parliament’s violations of the Colonies’ rights with respect to the Magna Carta and English Bill of Rights, numbers one, two, four, eight and nine.

October 20, 1774

The First Continental Congress passes the *Articles of Association* pledging not to buy British manufactured goods until George III recognizes their rights as Englishmen.

December 14, 1774

The New Hampshire Militia (citizen-volunteers), under the command of Captain John Sullivan, captures Fort William and Mary.

January 1, 1775

Moved by Delegate Patrick Henry’s “Give me liberty, or give me death” speech, in the Virginia House of Burgesses, Rev. Peter Muhlenburg, of a Virginia Lutheran Church, removes his black robe at the end of services, revealing a Colonel’s uniform of the Virginia Militia (subject-

volunteers) and recruits the members of his congregation for service to defend their rights as Englishmen.

February 9, 1775

The Fourth Parliament of George III declares the Commonwealth of Massachusetts Bay a colony in a state of rebellion.

April 19, 1775

Patriot’s Day—The War for Independence begins: upon hearing the news that subjects are storing muskets (arms) Royal Governor—General Thomas Gage dispatches a weapons confiscation team to Lexington and Concord, which is defeated by the Massachusetts Militia. 70 minutemen stood up against 800 British soldiers. It was here that the “shot that was heard around the world” was fired. Paul Revere and William Dawes rode non-stop by different roads to sound the alarm that the British were coming.

May 10, 1775

The Second Continental Congress convenes in Philadelphia to deal with the long train of abuses and usurpations of the Colonists’ rights as Englishmen by Parliament. It is eventually resolved that the best way to deal with government tyranny is for the Colonies to declare that they are free and independent States.

May 12, 1775

Ethan Allen and his Green Mountain Boys Militia capture Fort Ticonderoga from the British.

June 9, 1775

A Landmark Day—The Second Continental Congress resolves to call the British colonies the United States of America.

July 17, 1775

The Massachusetts Militia (subject-rebels/citizen-volunteers) begins the siege of Boston with cannons captured at Fort Ticonderoga by Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain Boys Militia.

October 14, 1775

The Second Continental Congress passes the *Declaration and Resolves*, affirming rights of trial by jury, due process, freedom of assembly, and freedom of petition.

January 10, 1776

Thomas Paine publishes *Common Sense* beginning a ground swell of public sentiment for independence.

July 2, 1776

After months of violent disagreements and debates the Congress posted a resolution that these united colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent states. That they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown and that all political connections between them and the State of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved. Introduced by Richard Henry Lee of Virginia and seconded by John Adams of Massachusetts. What was needed now was a formal document to proclaim the fact to the World and at the same time justify and explain the necessity for this World—shaking event. July 3, a *Declaration of Independence* was presented to the Second Continental Congress and was unanimously passed on July 4.

July 4, 1776

Independence Day—President of the Second Continental Congress John Hancock is the first—and only member of Congress that day—to sign the unanimous Declaration of Independence: “Governments are instituted among men, deriving

their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter, or abolish it” This forms the continental united States—a Union of sovereign States.

September 11, 1776

The state of Delaware passes its *Declaration of Rights* with a constitutional provision against the quartering of soldiers.

December 29, 1776

On this night at 10:00 PM, General Washington moved 10,500 of his troops out of New York across the rapidly moving river that was one mile wide right under the flotilla of war ships and approximately 32,000 of General Howe’s troops. A masterful stroke by General Washington which saved his army and his Country. This brilliant operation was without a doubt crucial to the Patriot Cause.

October 19, 1781

With his band playing, *The World Turned Upside Down*, General Cornwallis surrendered his entire army to General Washington and wrote to General Clinton, “I have the mortification to inform your Excellency that I have been forced to give up the port of York and Gloucester and to surrender the troops under my command by capitulation as prisoners of War to the combined forces of America and France.

November 1783

In Paris, American Representatives, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, John Jay, and Henry Lawrence signed the preliminary Articles of Peace ratified by Congress in April 1784. The united States achieved its objectives: Independence; Adequate Boundaries; Access to International

Waterways; The right to fish off Newfoundland and Nova Scotia and the evacuation of British land and sea forces.

April 14, 1782

The British Parliament recognizes the United States.

March 24, 1783

The Bourbon Kingdom of Spain recognizes the United States.

December 31, 1783

The following States prohibit African slave trade: all northern States plus Maryland, Delaware, and Virginia.

March 4, 1789

The First Constitutional Congress convenes in New York City, President of the Senate John Langdon announces to the First Constitutional Congress that for President of the Constitutional Convention George Washington of the Commonwealth of Virginia, is unanimously elected to be the first President of the united States, and John Adams, Ambassador to Great Britain, receives a plurality for Vice-President.

May 29, 1790

The State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations becomes the 13th, and final, State to ratify the Constitution . “ That the powers of government may be resumed by the people whensoever it shall become necessary to their happiness.”

December 15, 1791

Bill of Rights Day: the Commonwealth of Virginia becomes the final State necessary to complete rati-

fication of 10 of 12 *Articles of Amendment* proposed to the States by the First Constitutional Congress.

February 1, 1793

Today, the War of the French Revolution between Britain and France begins. Britain will attempt, through another war, this time with France, to end the democratic revolution that began in America almost twenty years ago. The British monarch will fight to end democracy and restore monarchy in France and will lead Europe’s other monarchies against Europe’s only ally.

February 15, 1793

Today, as France faces a war crisis that will, for a time, radicalize French politics, a nine-man drafting committee, chaired by the Marguis de Condorcet and composed of Condorcet, Tom Paine, Brissot de Warville, and other admirers of Benjamin Franklin submits The French Constitution of 1793 to the entire French National Convention.

March 2, 1793

Today, from New York, John Adams writes Abigail: *Smith says my Books [Defense of the Constitutions of Government of the United States] are upon the Table of every Member of the Committee for framing a Constitution of Government for France except Tom Paine*

EDITORS ADDENDUM

The Divine Right of Kings had been repudiated to the great principle that “Men Make Governments.” The world had indeed been turned upside down.

THE MONEY CHANGERS

The American Revolution

By the mid-1700s, the British Empire was approaching its height of power around the world. Britain had fought four wars in Europe since the creation of its privately owned central bank, the Bank of England (1694). The cost had been high. To finance these wars, the British Parliament, rather than issuing its own debt free currency, had borrowed heavily from the Bank.

By the mid-1700s, the government's debt was 140,000,000 pounds—a staggering sum for those days. Consequently, the British government embarked on a program of trying to raise revenues from its American colonies in order to make the interest payments to the Bank. But in America, it was a different story. The scourge of a privately—owned central bank had not yet landed in America, though the Bank of England exerted its baneful influence over the American colonies after 1694.

Four years earlier in 1690 the Massachusetts Bay colony printed its own paper money—the first in America. This was followed in 1703 by South Carolina and then by other colonies. In the mid-1700s, pre-Revolutionary America was still relatively poor. There was shortage of precious metal coins to trade for goods, so the early colonists were increasingly forced to experiment with printing their own home-grown paper money.

In 1720 every colonial Royal Governor was instructed to curtail the issue of colonial money. This was largely unsuccessful. In 1742 the British Resumption Act required that taxes and other debts be paid in gold. This caused a depression in the colonies—property was seized on foreclosure by the rich for one-tenth its value.

Benjamin Franklin was a big supporter of the colonies printing their own money. In 1757, Franklin was sent to London to fight for colonial paper money. He ended up staying for the next 18 years—nearly until the start of the American Revolution. During this period, ignoring Parliament, more American colonies began to issue their own money.

Called Colonial Scrip, the endeavor was successful, with notable exceptions. It provided a reliable medium of exchange, and it also helped to provide a feeling of unity between the colonies. Remember, most Colonial Scrip was just paper money—debt-free money—printed in the public interest and not really backed by gold or silver coin.

Officials of the Bank of England asked Franklin how he would account for the newfound prosperity of the colonies. Without hesitation he replied:

“That is simple. In the colonies we issue our own money. It is called Colonial Scrip. We issue it in proper proportion to the demands of trade and industry to make the products pass easily from the producers to the consumers.

In this manner, creating for ourselves our own paper money, we control its purchasing power and we have no interest to pay to no one.”

This was just common sense to Franklin, but you can imagine the impact it had at the Bank of England. America had learned the secret of money, and that genie had to be returned to its bottle as soon as possible.

As a result, Parliament hurriedly passed the Currency Act of 1764. This prohibited colonial officials from issuing their own money and ordered them to pay all future taxes in gold or silver coins. In other words, it forced the colonies on a gold and silver standard. This initiated the first intense phase of the first Bank War in America, which ended in defeat for the Money Changers beginning with the Declaration of Independence, and concluded by the subsequent peace Treaty of Paris in 1783.

Franklin claims that this was the basic cause for the American Revolution. As he put it in his autobiography:

“The Colonies would gladly have borne the little tax on tea and other matters had it not been that England took away from the Colonies their money, which created unemployment and dissatisfaction.”

Source: *The Money Masters*, Royalty Production Company, 1998.

EXCERPT FROM *THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR*

The frontiersmen, farmers and merchants who had carved a new life out of the wilderness, and courageously created a new land paid for with sweat and blood, believed they had earned the privilege of being represented in Parliament. Instead, they continued to be taxed without representation to help pay for England’s war with France, a war the colonists felt was not theirs. The high-handed tactics of the British did no stop, and the fiercely independent men in the new world resisted. The opinion of the ruling class of England was that the colonists were “ignorant riffraff” who would knuckle under at the first show of force. On April

19th, 1775, 800 British soldiers marched against 70 Minutemen, almost all of who were farmers. It was here that the “shot that was heard around the world” was fired. During the following years, the poorly equipped always underfed sometimes starving and freezing men of the new states of America would, because of love of freedom, home and their fellow country men, defeat the professional armies of the most powerful nation on earth.

Source: *The Revolutionary War*, video, Dan Dalton Productions, 1993.

ISSAC DAVIS: THE MINUTEMAN WHO GAVE HIS LIFE FOR FREEDOM

Robert L. Johnson

The bulk of the American people love to talk and feel “patriotic.” They never seem to tire of waving American flags and sticking “I support our troops” stickers on their vehicles. They feel these are signs of their patriotism. But what does the word patriotism mean? Does it mean the same thing to Americans today as it did to the people who struggled and fought to create the nation known as the United States of America? Perhaps, the founders and fighters who made certain The American Revolution was carried out successfully were more concerned with progress than they were with patriotism.

Webster’s Desk Dictionary defines patriot as: “a person who loves, supports, and defends his or her country.” Is that what George Washington and the other founders were doing, defending their country? Actually, they were not only not defending their country, they were attacking their country! At the time, the legally recognized government was Great Britain. By waging war against

Great Britain, America’s founders were anything but patriots by the standard definition!

Patriotism played no part in the desires of America’s founders. What they were after was progress. Only progress can bring about real positive change. Renaissance men like Thomas Jefferson knew, from observing other areas of life such as science and religion, that a conservative world-view is a stagnant world-view and an enemy to progress. Had history’s heroes like Galileo been content to adhere to the conservative teachings of the Church, mankind would not have made progress in both fields of science and religion. Likewise, the Founders knew true progress could not be achieved by clinging to the established government. Progress demanded revolution.

The cost of progress is high. America’s Founders risked everything they had to wage war against their government and to create a more progressive Republic. Many of our Founders were wealthy established leaders in society. Ben Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, and George Washington were very well established and financially secure in 1776. By today’s standards, they’d be considered to be on the lunatic fringe. They had everything they needed under the established system, yet, they wanted to destroy that system and replace it with a progressive one whose benefits touched the lives of many more people. By waging war against the government, they not only risked losing all of their income and wealth, they risked losing their very lives. If they failed they would at best be hung as traitors to the government, at worst, they would be hung until close to death and then drawn and quartered. Not many people in today’s money driven society would chose all those risks over material comfort, but, thankfully the Founders did.

It wasn’t only the famous people like Jefferson, Washington, Adams, etc., that paid a very high

price for liberty and its progress. Thousands of new Americans paid a very heavy price for their ideals and desire to make a better world. And it wasn't just the soldiers and Minutemen who paid. Living in today's society, it's difficult to realize the support women of that time gave to the cause of freedom and progress. One moving example is found in the writings of a Mrs. Davis who was the wife of a Minuteman by the name of Isaac Davis. Isaac took part in the fight against British troops who were ordered to destroy the weapons the citizens and anti-government rebels had at Concord, Massachusetts. This was the first time rebels fired on government troops.

Mrs. Davis (according to Bart McDowell, writing for the National Geographical Society) wrote, "Isaac Davis was my husband. He was then thirty years of age. We had four children; the youngest about fifteen months old. They were all unwell when he left me, in the morning; some of them with the canker-rash. "The alarm was given early in the morning, and my husband lost no time in making ready to go to Concord with his company. My husband said but little that morning. He seemed serious and thoughtful; but never seemed to hesitate. He only said, 'Take good care of the children,' and was soon out of sight. "In the afternoon he was brought home a corpse. He was placed in my bedroom till the funeral."

What an exceptional woman! She loved the ideals of liberty and progress so much, she was willing to sacrifice her family life for them. She and her husband were capable of seeing the big picture and would not let anything stand in their way that would prevent them from fighting for it. To me, this is true patriotism of the highest order, and well placed. It was not placed in the government, as people tend to do today. Instead, it was placed where it belongs and can do the most good—in ideals, not in government.

Women on the other end of the financial spectrum were just as notable and important in seeing a successful progressive march of society. Could you imagine a wealthy woman today who marries a man whose wealth and assets are far below hers actively supporting her new husband in his revolutionary desires and actions that put in jeopardy not only his material wealth, but her much greater level of material wealth? That is exactly what Martha Washington did. Not only did she have to be concerned for their wealth, she had to be concerned for her children. Going well above and beyond what most people would have done, she took an active part in supporting the revolution every winter. She would go to the Army's winter camp and help take care of the troops medically as well as giving their morale a boost.

Thomas Jefferson's wife, Martha, was also a devoted supporter of the revolutionary cause. When Thomas Jefferson was called to the Continental Congress in 1776, Martha Jefferson was sick in bed at Monticello. She didn't pressure him to shirk his duties to the revolution. She didn't attack him for putting their home and family at risk by fighting against the government. She supported him and the cause, even when it was personally detrimental and demanding.

These courageous women are shining examples of living and giving for the ideals of liberty that we all can learn from. The cost of being progressive today is just as high as it was in 1776. That's why there aren't many new progressives today.

Currently, a key obstacle is the neoconservative movement. Neocons infect the actions of the U.S. government which brings harm to not only America, but to the entire world. Neoconservatives are instrumental in starting pseudo-religious wars lead by the US. The war in Iraq is a perfect example. The neocon Paul Wolfowitz, according

to Romesh Ratnesar, “Bush’s Brainiest Hawk,” *Time*, 28–29, January 27, 2003, was a driving force of the neocons in pushing for the war in Iraq. They knew the Bible believing George W. Bush would be putty in their hands. And they were right. Wolfowitz, like many leading neoconservatives today, studied under the father of the neoconservative, Leo Strauss.¹

Leo Strauss was a Jew from Germany who immigrated to the US in 1938. Strauss was angry and frustrated because the Weimer Republic in his native Germany was not able to stop the National Socialists from gaining power. This caused him to turn against secular democracy. As a professor at the University of Chicago, Strauss taught his disciples that the average person could not be depended on to take an active role in shaping a democratic or republican form of government. Strauss felt it was best to form society based on the teachings of his holy book, the Hebrew Bible. In the editor’s introduction to a collection of Strauss’ writings, *Jewish Philosophy and the Crisis of Modernity*, Kenneth Hart Green writes, “Strauss learned from Maimonides that religion is essential to any healthy political society, and certainly for the moral life of human beings. Over and above this, Maimonides convinced Strauss the Jewish religion, based on the Hebrew Bible, is most essential to ground a ‘genuine’ morality for almost every human being.” Anyone who has read Thomas Paine’s outstanding book *The Age of Reason*, or anyone who has honestly read the Hebrew Bible, knows this is one of the worse models for society and government. It is this deficient thinking that has brought about the murder of hundreds of thousands of innocent people through the Inquisition and the witch trials in pre-revolutionary America! It can only hinder and destroy progress.

To the neoconservative mind, progress is not important. As Leo Strauss himself said in a speech

Those gentlemen, who will be elected senators, will fix themselves in the federal town, and become citizens of that town more than of your state.

—George Mason

entitled, Progress or Return? The Contemporary Crisis in Western Civilization, “Judaism is a concern with return; it is not a concern with progress. ‘Return’ can easily be expressed in biblical Hebrew; ‘progress’ cannot.” This is the cornerstone of the conservative mind-set. Progress plays no part in their twisted thinking. It’s all about stagnation and maintaining the status quo.

This type of backward thinking has a parallel with what America’s founding progressives had to overcome when promoting and spreading the American Revolution. In their day, it was common belief based on the Bible that God wanted Kings to rule over people and society. The Apostle Paul wrote in Romans 13:1–2, “Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.” So, according to this bit of BS, as in Bible Study, Jefferson, Paine, Washington, Mr. and Mrs. Davis, and everyone who took part in the American Revolution are now suffering damnation and burning in hell! The neoconservatives and their political hacks want to take us back to these dark superstitious days. It’s up to us to stop them.

Thomas Jefferson knew people and he knew history. In his *Notes on Virginia* he wrote that

people tend to shift priorities from good government and liberty to money and material gain. He said that America's rulers will eventually become "corrupt", and the American people "careless". He warned that the American people will forget their freedoms and their sole concern will be "of making money, and will never think of uniting to effect a due respect for their rights." Sadly, Jefferson was right.

As the neo-conservatives take America and the world through more violence and wars, Free-thinkers have an obligation and duty to oppose them and to fight and work to awaken people to the deadly danger they're bringing us. With over 1,500 dead Americans and over 100,000 dead Iraqis, and with the neo-con cross-hairs now on

Iran and Syria, we need to do everything within our power to not only put a stop to the fear and superstition driven neo-conservative movement, we need to bring about true progress that will prevent them from ever threatening people and progress again. We have the ability to destroy the neo-cons, and the ability to replace it with the liberty and freedom that our history is overflowing with!

Robert L. Johnson is the Founder of the World Union of Deists. Founded in 1993, the WUD has never stopped getting the word out about Deism.

To learn more about this organization visit their site at <http://www.deism.com> or contact Robert Johnson by email at bob@deism.com.

THE REBIRTH OF DEISM

Deism has been credited with helping to usher in the Enlightenment and the Age of Reason; Deism has allowed freethinkers such as Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson to bring about such progressive realities as the American Revolution (the Declaration of Independence is a Deistic document) and the First Amendment to the US Constitution. Just think of what progress Deism can help us attain today if enough people are made aware of it!

At the heart of Deism is the belief that God gave us reason, not religion. The World Union of

Deists is an organization that is currently working hard to bring this reality to the masses. Founded in 1993, the WUD has never stopped getting the word out about Deism.

To learn more about Deism and the World Union of Deists and our efforts to stop the destructive power of the religious right and the neoconservatives, please visit our Web site or write to us:

World Union of Deists
Box 47026, St. Petersburg, FL 33743
www.deism.com

PRIVATEERING

Thomas Fleming

In the fall of 1775, the British Parliament passed the Prohibitory Act, which declared that all American ships and their cargoes were open to seizure and confiscation by British men-of-war, “as if the same were the ships and effects of open enemies.” The Americans retaliated by filling the seas with 1,151 privateers. The term is a shortened version of “private man-of-war” The Congress or the individual states issued “letters of marque” to private individuals who hired the crews, provisioned and armed the ships, and split the profits from the sale of any ships they captured.

In the course of the war, American privateers captured more than 600 British ships worth an estimated \$18 million. While these losses

undoubtedly made the British wince, historians doubt that the “rage for privateering” helped the American war effort. For one thing, it drained off manpower from the regular U.S. navy, where crews received only 50 percent of the profits of a capture, the rest going to the government. Privateering also absorbed fighting men who might have volunteered for the Continental army. Although some privateers fought notable battles with Royal Navy ships, most of them lacked the firepower to resist capture when a patrolling man-of-war spotted them. Many a privateering sailor found himself in a British prison, his dreams of big money cruelly shattered.

Source: *Liberty! The American Revolution* by Thomas Fleming. © 1997 Twin Cities Public Television and Thomas Fleming. Published by the Penguin Group for Viking Penguin.

Thomas Fleming is the author of more than forty books of fiction and nonfiction, including biographies of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin. He lives in New York City.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

To George Washington,
President of the United States of America.

Sir, I present you a small treatise in defence of those principles of freedom which your exemplary virtue hath so eminently contributed to establish. That the Rights of Man may become as universal

as your benevolence can wish, and that you may enjoy the happiness of seeing the New World regenerate the Old, is the prayer of Sir,

Your much obliged, and Obedient humble servant,

THOMAS PAINE, dedication to *Rights of Man*

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

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 most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and tran-

sient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. — Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby

the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harrass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:

For Quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been

answered only by repeated injury. A Prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

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

COMMON SENSE: THE BIRTH OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Thomas Paine got the movement for the Colonial separation from Britain going with the pamphlet *Common Sense*. A fifty-page pamphlet did it! It was the greatest best-seller in the history of the world. That's what convinced George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and everyone else who's called a Founding Father. It convinced the Colonists as well. That pamphlet was published on January 10, 1776. That's the Revolution's date, because of the publi-

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

cation of that pamphlet. Six months later *The Declaration of Independence* was a reality — also written by Paine but he didn't get the credit, except more recently the proof is coming out of it. There is a book written by Joseph Lewis and a pamphlet by Phillip van der Weyde proving that Paine wrote *The Declaration of Independence*.

Source: *Sic Itur Ad Astra; Volume One — The Theory of Volition*, 1999 by Andrew Galambos.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

The Declaration of Independence has two main parts. The first part explains the beliefs of Americans about democracy. It tells that people have certain rights that can't be taken away from them. The signers declared these seven truths to be understood by everyone:

1. That all people are created equal.
2. That all people are born with rights that no one can take away from them.
3. That some of these rights are *life, liberty and the right to try to be happy*. (pursuit of happiness.)
4. That the purpose of a government is to *preserve* these rights for all people.
5. That the government is the servant of the people and gets its powers with the *permission* of the people it governs.
6. That if a government fails to protect people's rights, people have the *right* and the *duty* to change government.
7. That people have the right to form a new government that will protect their rights and provide safety and happiness.

The second part of *The Declaration of Independence* tells how the king refused to grant these rights to Americans. It contains a long list of examples of tyranny by the king. It tells the world why the colonies broke away from his rule and became the United States of America.

This document was presented to the members of the Congress. They debated about it for almost three days. It was approved on July 4, 1776, although the New York delegates did not accept it until eleven days later.

When *The Declaration* was read aloud from the yard of Independence Hall, on July 8, the crowds of people went wild. They cheered and set off gunpowder explosions. Soldiers marched in a parade and people sang. High in the tower of Independence Hall the great iron bell tolled so that the whole city could hear. It came to be known as the *Liberty Bell*.

The parchment copy of *The Declaration* was signed by fifty members of the Congress on August 2. Six others signed it later.

Several more years of war took place before the Americans finally defeated the British troops and the British decided to quit the war. It was a long, discouraging struggle. General George Washington led the American armies and was the victor when the British surrendered to end the war. The grateful American people elected Washington as their first President, and he is known today as the *Father of his Country*.

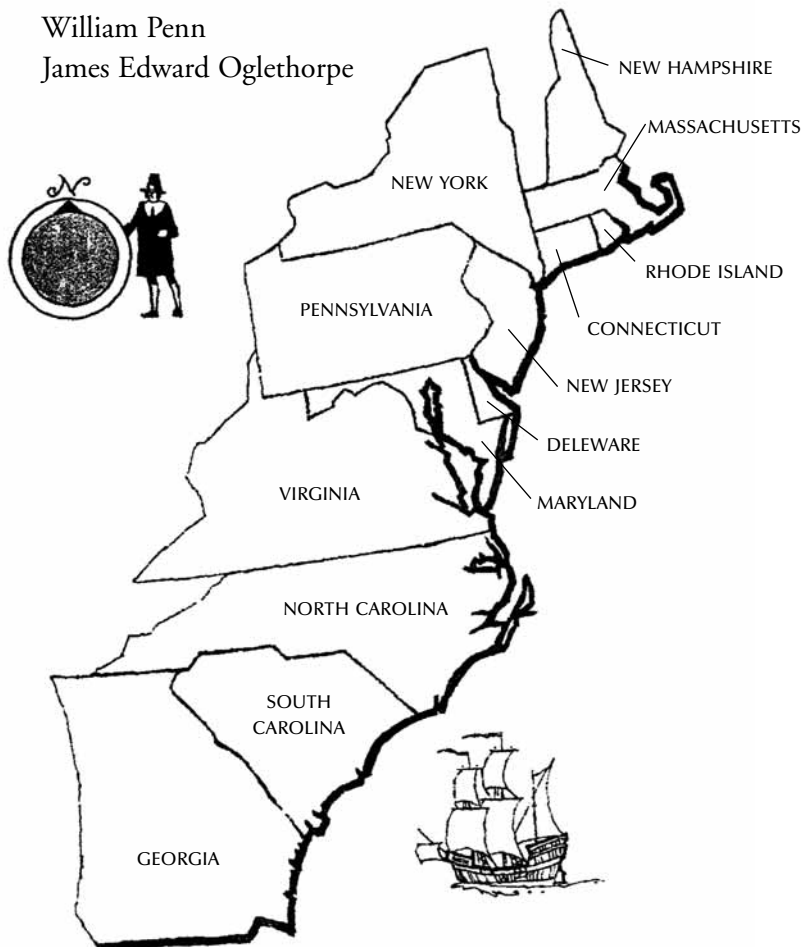
Visitors come from all over the world today to see the original piece of paper, *The Declaration of Independence*, at the National Archives Building in Washington, D.C. The ideas in it have appealed to people in many countries all over the world. They understand the simple principles about the rights of people and they look to these rights with hope for all mankind. Wherever people value freedom, they remember America's wonderful *Declaration of Independence*.

Source: *Cornerstones of Freedom: The Story of The Declaration of Independence* by Norman Richards. © 1968, Regensteiner Publishing Enterprises, Inc. Part of Weekly Reader Books, Columbus, Ohio.

THIRTEEN ORIGINAL AMERICAN COLONIES

<i>Colony Name</i>	<i>Year Founded</i>	<i>Founded By</i>
Virginia	1607	London Company
Massachusetts	1620	Puritans
Maryland	1634	Lord Baltimore
Connecticut	1635	Thomas Hooker
Rhode Island	1636	Roger Williams
Delaware	1638	Peter Minit and New Sweden Company
New Hampshire	1623	John Wheelwright
North Carolina	1653	Virginians
South Carolina	1663	Eight Nobles with a Royal Charter from Charles II
New Jersey	1664	Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret
New York	1664	Duke of York
Pennsylvania	1682	William Penn
Georgia	1732	James Edward Oglethorpe

Source: *Cornerstones of Freedom: The Story of the Declaration of Independence* by Norman Richards. © 1968, Regensteiner Publishing Enterprises, Inc. Part of Weekly Reader Books, Columbus, Ohio and Childrens Press, Chicago, 1995



THE 56 SIGNATURES ON THE DECLARATION

Column 1

Georgia

Button Gwinnett
Lyman Hall
George Walton

Column 2

North Carolina

William Hooper
Joseph Hewes
John Penn

South Carolina

Edward Rutledge
Thomas Heyward, Jr.
Thomas Lynch, Jr.
Arthur Middleton

Column 3

Massachusetts

John Hancock

Maryland

Samuel Chase
William Paca
Thomas Stone
Charles Carroll of Carrollton

Virginia

George Wythe
Richard Henry Lee
Thomas Jefferson
Benjamin Harrison
Thomas Nelson, Jr.
Francis Lightfoot Lee
Carter Braxton

Column 4

Pennsylvania

Robert Morris
Benjamin Rush
Benjamin Franklin
John Morton
George Clymer
James Smith
George Taylor
James Wilson
George Ross

Delaware

Caesar Rodney
George Read
Thomas McKean

Column 5

New York

William Floyd
Philip Livingston
Francis Lewis
Lewis Morris

New Jersey

Richard Stockton
John Witherspoon
Francis Hopkinson
John Hart
Abraham Clark

Column 6

New Hampshire

Josiah Bartlett
William Whipple

Massachusetts

Samuel Adams
John Adams
Robert Treat Paine
Elbridge Gerry

Rhode Island

Stephen Hopkins
William Ellery

Connecticut

Roger Sherman
Samuel Huntington
William Williams
Oliver Wolcott
New Hampshire:
Matthew Thornton

Source: http://www.archives.gov/national_archives_experience/charters/declaration_transcript.html

THE INDIANS' REVOLUTION

Thomas Fleming

In 1776 there were about 200,000 Native Americans living east of the Mississippi, making up 85 different “nations” or tribes. Their initial reaction to the conflict between England and America was bafflement — and neutrality. “We are unwilling to join either side:” the Oneida nation of the Iroquois Confederacy said early in 1775. “For we love you both, old England and new.”

The English had other ideas. Lord George Germain, the secretary of state for America, ordered the northern and southern Indian superintendents to lure the tribes into conflict. In self-defense, the Continental Congress, which had initially urged the Indians to remain neutral, declared it was “highly expedient” to recruit Indians. In this contest the Americans, short of money and trade goods, were at a great disadvantage.

North and South, the two largest Indian confederations, the Iroquois and the Cherokee, took up the hatchet against the whites. In the Ohio Valley, the Shawnee and other tribes also joined the war. The Indians were motivated not only by the cloth, guns, ammunition and other trade goods the British showered on them. They resented the relentless pressure of the Western settlers on their ancestral lands. It was easy for chiefs to

overcome the advice of cautious sachems and lead the young warriors into battle.

The result was disaster for the Indians. The arms-bearing portion of a nation is generally about 10% of its population. This means that the total number of warriors the Indians could field was roughly 20,000. Many large tribes, such as the Creek, remained neutral. Historians estimate about 13,000 warriors fought for the British in the course of the conflict.

The Indians won many minor victories against isolated frontier settlements, but they could do little against the overwhelming forces the Americans mustered in retaliation.

In 1776 Georgia, South Carolina and North Carolina sent 4,000 men against the Cherokee, and Virginia added a 2,000-man column. They routed the Indians and smashed and burned their villages, forcing them to sign a humiliating peace. Only a handful of warriors, led by an indomitable chief named Dragging Canoe, continued to resist. In 1778 his band too was routed and scattered by 900 Virginia and North Carolina militiamen.

In the North, the competition for loyalties split the Iroquois Confederation, a league of six nations that was the most sophisticated Indian polity on the continent. General Philip Schuyler, the commander of the northern Continental army, enlisted 300 Oneida and Tuscarora on the American side. The rest of the league, led by the brilliant, charismatic Mohawk chief, Joseph Brant, fought for the British, smiting the Americans with terrible ferocity at Cherry Valley and other outposts.

In 1779 the Americans retaliated with overwhelming force, sending Major General John Sullivan at the head of a 4,000-man army into the heart of Iroquois country. Unable to field more than 1,000 warriors, the Iroquois fled to Canada, leaving their prosperous towns to be burned and their fields and orchards to be laid waste by the

grim Americans. It was the end of the Iroquois Confederation. In their rage, the losers turned on the pro-American Oneida and burned their villages the following year.

Soon American commissioners rode boldly into the Indians' villages and declared they were conquered subjects. When a Shawnee protested, "God gave us this country — it is all ours" . . .

The bitter border war continued, especially in the Ohio Valley. In 1780 a column of 150 Tories and 1,000 Shawnee captured two American forts on the Licking River and killed more than 100 Americans. George Rogers Clark led 1,000 riflemen into the heart of Shawnee country and burned the tribe's "mother town" of Chillicothe, in Ohio. In 1782 came word that the British had abandoned the war. Most Indians were stunned. Many thought they were winning and bitterly denounced their former allies. An Iroquois chief told the British commander at Fort Niagara that

it was "an act of . . . injustice that Christians only were capable of doing."

Soon American commissioners rode boldly into the Indians' villages and declared they were conquered subjects. When a Shawnee protested, "God gave us this country . . . it is all ours," he was curtly dismissed.

This attitude led to another series of bloody encounters — until the Congress recommended in 1787 that its representatives drop their "language of superiority and command" and deal with the Indians "more on a footing of equality." Thereafter, the American government attempted to follow this policy. But the tidal wave of Americans moving westward had no enthusiasm for it. Again and again the settlers' hunger for land rendered treaties null and void. In their view the Indians had joined the wrong side in the Revolution, and they had no right to equal treatment.

By and large this unspoken will of the people, sustained by frontier memories of bloodshed and death, prevailed for another century.

Thomas Fleming is the author of more than forty books of fiction and nonfiction, including biographies of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin. He lives in New York City.

Source: *Liberty! The American Revolution*, Thomas Fleming. © 1997 Twin Cities Public Television and Thomas Fleming. Published by the Penguin Group for Viking Penguin.

REVOLUTION IN BLACK

Thomas Fleming

In 1780, fourteen-year-old African American James Forten went to sea as a powder boy aboard the U.S. navy warship *Royal Louis*. He worked beside the men on the booming cannon as they won a fierce battle with the British warship *Lawrence*. But, on her next voyage, the *Royal Louis* encountered three enemy warships and was forced to surrender.

Forten feared he would be sold into slavery on the British sugar plantations of the West Indies. Although he was a free African American, he knew the British often disposed of black captives that way — making as much as \$1,000 a man. Fortunately, the captain of the British ship had his son on board. The boy was about Forten's age, and they became friends. The captain offered to take Forten to England and pay for his education — if he would give up his allegiance to the United States of America.

"No," Forten said. "I was captured fighting for my country. I will never be a traitor to her."

Forten was sent with the rest of the *Royal Louis*'s crew to the British prison ship the *Jersey* in New York harbor. On the crowded lower decks, the air was foul, and there was very little food. Forten spent seven months on this death ship. His hair fell out, and he was reduced to a skeleton by the time the war ended and he was released.

In 1776 one of six Americans was black — and 99 percent of them were slaves. Most of these

African Americans lived in the South — but in some Northern states, such as New York and New Jersey, there were thousands of slaves. North and South, they reacted to the Revolution with hope and excitement.

They were stirred by the announcement of several British commanders, notably Lord Dunmore, the royal governor of Virginia, that they would be freed if they deserted their masters and volunteered to fight for the King. They were equally aroused by Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence, which proclaimed the war a struggle for liberty.

The British soon dropped their early promise of freedom to runaways. It had outraged the numerous loyalist slave owners in the South and triggered protests in London from Englishmen who viewed "with indignation and horror" black slaves' being encouraged to revolt against white masters. As operators of a slave system on their West Indian islands that far surpassed American slavery in brutal exploitation unto death, the King's men could hardly pose as emancipators.

Not until 1779 did the British, desperate for manpower, return to the policy of offering freedom to blacks. The British commander, Sir Henry Clinton, justified it as a war measure. He argued that every slave who deserted to the King weakened the American cause. He defended himself against the accusation that he was fostering a race war by pointing out that Americans were using blacks as soldiers and sailors.

After some initial hesitation because of Southern objections, free blacks were accepted into the Continental army. When states began drafting men from the militia into the regulars, many whites sent slaves as substitutes, promising them freedom if they served honorably. By 1779 about 15 percent of the Continental army was African American. Large numbers of blacks like

James Forten also served in the Continental navy and aboard privateers.

In 1777 Rhode Island fielded a 125-man black regiment with white officers. The Rhode Islanders fought well in several battles. Massachusetts also debated creating an all-black regiment but decided to mix blacks into their white regiments. In 1779 the Continental Congress, at the urging of Henry Laurens of South Carolina, voted unanimously to recommend that Georgia and South Carolina raise 3,000 black soldiers by offering them freedom. Laurens had been persuaded to back the idea by his idealistic son, Colonel John Laurens, who saw it as both a war measure and a step toward the elimination of slavery. But the proposal was rejected by Laurens's fellow Southerners, who feared arming that many blacks.

When the British shifted the war to the South from 1780-82, an estimated 20,000 South Carolina slaves joined the Royal Army, some voluntarily, others rounded up in raids to deprive the Americans of manpower. Additional thousands of slaves joined the King in Georgia, North Carolina and Virginia. Among them were seventeen slaves from Mount Vernon, who deserted to a British warship when it appeared in the Potomac near the plantation in 1781.

German Captain Jonathan Ewald said the British army in North Carolina in late 1780 had so many African Americans attached to it that it resembled "a migrating . . . Tartar horde!" Each officer had "three to four Negroes and sometimes one or two Negresses as cook or mistress Each soldier had his Negro to carry his food and his bundle. This disorderly train was followed by about 4,000 more Negroes of every age and sex!"

Some of the runaways were organized into fighting units and won their freedom when the war ended. But most of these men and women met hard fates. At Yorktown, when the British

army was trapped by the Americans and ran short of food, Ewald reported "all our black friends, who had been freed and dragged away to prevent them from working in the fields, and who had also served very well in making entrenchments, were chased toward the enemy. They trembled at having to go back to their former owners!" Ewald deplored this "act of cruelty" and wished the British "had thought earlier to save them!"

In British-held New York, Charleston and Savannah, many blacks were considered war booty and ended up on the cruel sugar plantations of the West Indies, enriching British officers who sold them. Many more succumbed to diseases that swept unsanitary army camps. Others were returned to their masters under article six of the peace treaty between Great Britain and America.

In spite of this ambiguous turmoil, the African Americans who fought for liberty on the American side changed many white minds about slavery. By the time the war ended, Vermont, Massachusetts and New Hampshire had abolished the institution, and Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Connecticut had voted plans for gradual emancipation of their slaves. In 1862 historian George Livermore wrote a book on black participation in the Revolution that reportedly influenced Abraham Lincoln's decision to issue the Emancipation Proclamation. The President gave Livermore the pen with which he signed that charter of African-American freedom.

Thomas Fleming is the author of more than forty books of fiction and nonfiction, including biographies of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin. He lives in New York City.

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THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

The Constitution of the thirteen original states of the United States of America. It was adopted in 1781 and replaced in 1789 by the present Constitution.

John Dickinson made the first draft in 1776. Agreed to by Congress November 15, 1777; ratified and in force, March 1, 1781.

Preamble

To all to whom these Presents shall come, we the undersigned Delegates of the States affixed to our Names send greeting.

Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union between the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia.

Article I

The Stile of this Confederacy shall be “The United States of America.”

Article II

Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this Confederation express-

ly delegated to the United States, in Congress assembled.

Article III

The said States hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other, for their common defense, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other, against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretense whatever.

Article IV

The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different States in this Union, the free inhabitants of each of these States, paupers, vagabonds, and fugitives from justice excepted, shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States; and the people of each State shall free ingress and regress to and from any other State, and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce, subject to the same duties, impositions, and restrictions as the inhabitants thereof respectively, provided that such restrictions shall not extend so far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any State, to any other State, of which the owner is an inhabitant; provided also that no imposition, duties or restriction shall be laid by any State, on the property of the United States, or either of them.

If any person guilty of, or charged with, treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor in any State, shall flee from justice, and be found in any of the United States, he shall, upon demand of the Governor or executive power of the State

from which he fled, be delivered up and removed to the State having jurisdiction of his offense.

Full faith and credit shall be given in each of these States to the records, acts, and judicial proceedings of the courts and magistrates of every other State.

Article V

For the most convenient management of the general interests of the United States, delegates shall be annually appointed in such manner as the legislatures of each State shall direct, to meet in Congress on the first Monday in November, in every year, with a power reserved to each State to recall its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead for the remainder of the year.

No State shall be represented in Congress by less than two, nor more than seven members; and no person shall be capable of being a delegate for more than three years in any term of six years; nor shall any person, being a delegate, be capable of holding any office under the United States, for which he, or another for his benefit, receives any salary, fees or emolument of any kind.

Each State shall maintain its own delegates in a meeting of the States, and while they act as members of the committee of the States.

In determining questions in the United States in Congress assembled, each State shall have one vote.

Freedom of speech and debate in Congress shall not be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Congress, and the members of Congress shall be protected in their persons from arrests or imprisonments, during the time of their going to and from, and attendance on Congress, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

Article VI

No State, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, shall send any embassy to, or receive any embassy from, or enter into any conference, agreement, alliance or treaty with any King, Prince or State; nor shall any person holding any office of profit or trust under the United States, or any of them, accept any present, emolument, office or title of any kind whatever from any King, Prince or foreign State; nor shall the United States in Congress assembled, or any of them, grant any title of nobility.

No two or more States shall enter into any treaty, confederation or alliance whatever between them, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, specifying accurately the purposes for which the same is to be entered into, and how long it shall continue.

No State shall lay any imposts or duties, which may interfere with any stipulations in treaties, entered into by the United States in Congress assembled, with any King, Prince or State, in pursuance of any treaties already proposed by Congress, to the courts of France and Spain.

No vessel of war shall be kept up in time of peace by any State, except such number only, as shall be deemed necessary by the United States in Congress assembled, for the defense of such State, or its trade; nor shall any body of forces be kept up by any State in time of peace, except such number only, as in the judgment of the United States in Congress assembled, shall be deemed requisite to garrison the forts necessary for the defense of such State; but every State shall always keep up a well-regulated and disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and accoutered, and shall provide and constantly have ready for use, in public stores, a due number of filed pieces and tents, and a proper quantity of arms, ammunition and camp equipage.

No State shall engage in any war without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, unless such State be actually invaded by enemies, or shall have received certain advice of a resolution being formed by some nation of Indians to invade such State, and the danger is so imminent as not to admit of a delay till the United States in Congress assembled can be consulted; nor shall any State grant commissions to any ships or vessels of war, nor letters of marque or reprisal, except it be after a declaration of war by the United States in Congress assembled, and then only against the Kingdom or State and the subjects thereof, against which war has been so declared, and under such regulations as shall be established by the United States in Congress assembled, unless such State be infested by pirates, in which case vessels of war may be fitted out for that occasion, and kept so long as the danger shall continue, or until the United States in Congress assembled shall determine otherwise.

Article VII

When land forces are raised by any State for the common defense, all officers of or under the rank of colonel, shall be appointed by the legislature of each State respectively, by whom such forces shall be raised, or in such manner as such State shall direct, and all vacancies shall be filled up by the State which first made the appointment.

Article VIII

All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defense or general welfare, and allowed by the United States in Congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several States in proportion to the value of all land

within each State, granted or surveyed for any person, as such land and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated according to such mode as the United States in Congress assembled, shall from time to time direct and appoint.

The taxes for paying that proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the several States within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled.

Article IX

The United States in Congress assembled, shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war, except in the cases mentioned in the sixth article — of sending and receiving ambassadors — entering into treaties and alliances, provided that no treaty of commerce shall be made whereby the legislative power of the respective States shall be restrained from imposing such imposts and duties on foreigners, as their own people are subjected to, or from prohibiting the exportation or importation of any species of goods or commodities whatsoever — of establishing rules for deciding in all cases, what captures on land or water shall be legal, and in what manner prizes taken by land or naval forces in the service of the United States shall be divided or appropriated — of granting letters of marque and reprisal in times of peace — appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and establishing courts for receiving and determining finally appeals in all cases of captures, provided that no member of Congress shall be appointed a judge of any of the said courts.

The United States in Congress assembled shall also be the last resort on appeal in all disputes and

differences now subsisting or that hereafter may arise between two or more States concerning boundary, jurisdiction or any other causes whatever; which authority shall always be exercised in the manner following. Whenever the legislative or executive authority or lawful agent of any State in controversy with another shall present a petition to Congress stating the matter in question and praying for a hearing, notice thereof shall be given by order of Congress to the legislative or executive authority of the other State in controversy, and a day assigned for the appearance of the parties by their lawful agents, who shall then be directed to appoint by joint consent, commissioners or judges

The colonies must have
some plan of confederation
to manage the war.

—*Benjamin Franklin*, July 21, 1775

to constitute a court for hearing and determining the matter in question: but if they cannot agree, Congress shall name three persons out of each of the United States, and from the list of such persons each party shall alternately strike out one, the petitioners beginning, until the number shall be reduced to thirteen; and from that number not less than seven, nor more than nine names as Congress shall direct, shall in the presence of Congress be drawn out by lot, and the persons whose names shall be so drawn or any five of them, shall be commissioners or judges, to hear and finally determine the controversy, so always as a major part of the judges who shall hear the

cause shall agree in the determination: and if either party shall neglect to attend at the day appointed, without showing reasons, which Congress shall judge sufficient, or being present shall refuse to strike, the Congress shall proceed to nominate three persons out of each State, and the secretary of Congress shall strike in behalf of such party absent or refusing; and the judgment and sentence of the court to be appointed, in the manner before prescribed, shall be final and conclusive; and if any of the parties shall refuse to submit to the authority of such court, or to appear or defend their claim or cause, the court shall nevertheless proceed to pronounce sentence, or judgment, which shall in like manner be final and decisive, the judgment or sentence and other proceedings being in either case transmitted to Congress, and lodged among the acts of Congress for the security of the parties concerned: provided that every commissioner, before he sits in judgment, shall take an oath to be administered by one of the judges of the supreme or superior court of the State, where the cause shall be tried, 'well and truly to hear and determine the matter in question, according to the best of his judgment, without favor, affection or hope of reward': provided also, that no State shall be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States.

All controversies concerning the private right of soil claimed under different grants of two or more States, whose jurisdictions as they may respect such lands, and the States which passed such grants are adjusted, the said grants or either of them being at the same time claimed to have originated antecedent to such settlement of jurisdiction, shall on the petition of either party to the Congress of the United States, be finally determined as near as may be in the same manner as is before prescribed for deciding disputes respecting territorial jurisdiction between different States.

The United States in Congress assembled shall also have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or by that of the respective States — fixing the standards of weights and measures throughout the United States — regulating the trade and managing all affairs with the Indians, not members of any of the States, provided that the legislative right of any State within its own limits be not infringed or violated — establishing or regulating post offices from one State to another, throughout all the United States, and exacting such postage on the papers passing through the same as may be requisite to defray the expenses of the said office — appointing all officers of the land forces, in the service of the United States, excepting regimental officers — appointing all the officers of the naval forces, and commissioning all officers whatever in the service of the United States — making rules for the government and regulation of the said land and naval forces, and directing their operations.

The United States in Congress assembled shall have authority to appoint a committee, to sit in the recess of Congress, to be denominated ‘A Committee of the States’, and to consist of one delegate from each State; and to appoint such other committees and civil officers as may be necessary for managing the general affairs of the United States under their direction — to appoint one of their members to preside, provided that no person be allowed to serve in the office of president more than one year in any term of three years; to ascertain the necessary sums of money to be raised for the service of the United States, and to appropriate and apply the same for defraying the public expenses — to borrow money, or emit bills on the credit of the United States, transmitting every half-year to the respective States an account of the sums of money so borrowed or

emitted — to build and equip a navy — to agree upon the number of land forces, and to make requisitions from each State for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in such State; which requisition shall be binding, and thereupon the legislature of each State shall appoint the regimental officers, raise the men and cloath, arm and equip them in a solid- like manner, at the expense of the United States; and the officers and men so cloathed, armed and equipped shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled. But if the United States in Congress assembled shall, on consideration of circumstances judge proper that any State should

Ben Franklin believes that a federal government should consist simply of a single-chamber legislature with delegates annually elected from small voting districts.

—*American Aurora*, July 21, 1775

not raise men, or should raise a smaller number of men than the quota thereof, such extra number shall be raised, officered, cloathed, armed and equipped in the same manner as the quota of each State, unless the legislature of such State shall judge that such extra number cannot be safely spread out in the same, in which case they shall raise, officer, cloath, arm and equip as many of such extra number as they judge can be safely spared. And the officers and men so cloathed, armed, and equipped, shall march to the place

appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled.

The United States in Congress assembled shall never engage in a war, nor grant letters of marque or reprisal in time of peace, nor enter into any treaties or alliances, nor coin money, nor regulate the value thereof, nor ascertain the sums and expenses necessary for the defense and welfare of the United States, or any of them, nor emit bills, nor borrow money on the credit of the United States, nor appropriate money, nor agree upon the number of vessels of war, to be built or purchased, or the number of land or sea forces to be raised, nor appoint a commander in chief of the army or navy, unless nine States assent to the same: nor shall a question on any other point, except for adjourning from day to day be determined, unless by the votes of the majority of the United States in Congress assembled.

The Congress of the United States shall have power to adjourn to any time within the year, and to any place within the United States, so that no period of adjournment be for a longer duration than the space of six months, and shall publish the journal of their proceedings monthly, except such parts thereof relating to treaties, alliances or military operations, as in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the delegates of each State on any question shall be entered on the journal, when it is desired by any delegates of a State, or any of them, at his or their request shall be furnished with a transcript of the said journal, except such parts as are above excepted, to lay before the legislatures of the several States.

Article X

The Committee of the States, or any nine of them, shall be authorized to execute, in the recess of Congress, such of the powers of Congress as

the United States in Congress assembled, by the consent of the nine States, shall from time to time think expedient to vest them with; provided that no power be delegated to the said Committee, for the exercise of which, by the Articles of Confederation, the voice of nine States in the Congress of the United States assembled be requisite.

Article XI

Canada acceding to this confederation, and adjoining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into, and entitled to all the advantages of this Union; but no other colony shall be admitted into the same, unless such admission be agreed to by nine States.

Article XII

All bills of credit emitted, monies borrowed, and debts contracted by, or under the authority of Congress, before the assembling of the United States, in pursuance of the present confederation, shall be deemed and considered as a charge against the United States, for payment and satisfaction whereof the said United States, and the public faith are hereby solemnly pledged.

Article XIII

Every State shall abide by the determination of the United States in Congress assembled, on all questions which by this confederation are submitted to them. And the Articles of this Confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the Union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them; unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and be afterwards confirmed by the legislatures of every State.

And Whereas it hath pleased the Great Governor of the World to incline the hearts of the legislatures we respectively represent in Congress, to approve of, and to authorize us to ratify the said Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union. Know Ye that we the undersigned delegates, by virtue of the power and authority to us given for that purpose, do by these presents, in the name and in behalf of our respective constituents, fully and entirely ratify and confirm each and every of the said Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union, and all and singular the matters and things therein contained: And we do further solemnly plight and engage the faith of our respective constituents, that they shall abide by the determinations of the United States in Congress assembled, on all questions, which by the said Confederation are submitted to them. And that the Articles thereof shall be inviolably observed by the States we respectively represent, and that the Union shall be perpetual.

In Witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands in Congress. Done at Philadelphia in the State of Pennsylvania the ninth day of July in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy-Eight, and in the Third Year of the independence of America.

On the part and in behalf of the
State of New Hampshire:

Josiah Bartlett
John Wentworth, Junr.
August 8th 1778

On the part and in behalf of the
State of Massachusetts Bay:

John Hancock
Francis Dana
Samuel Adams
James Lovell

Elbridge Gerry
Samuel Holten

On the part and in behalf of the
State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations:

William Ellery
John Collins
Henry Marchant

On the part and in behalf of the
State of Connecticut:

Roger Sherman
Titus Hosmer
Samuel Huntington
Andrew Adams
Oliver Wolcott

On the part and in behalf of the
State of New York:

James Duane
Wm Duer
Francis Lewis
Gouv Morris

On the part and in behalf of the
State of New Jersey:

Jno Witherspoon
Nathaniel Scudder

On the part and in behalf of the
State of Pennsylvania:

Robt Morris
William Clingan
Daniel Roberdeau
Joseph Reed
John Bayard Smith
22nd July 1778

On the part and in behalf of the
State of Delaware:

Tho Mckean, February 12, 1779

John Dickinson, May 5th 1779
Nicholas Van Dyke

On the part and in behalf of the
State of Maryland:

John Hanson, March 1 1781
Daniel Carroll Do

On the part and in behalf of the
State of Virginia:

Richard Henry Lee
Jno Harvie
John Banister
Francis Lightfoot Lee
Thomas Adams

On the part and in behalf of the
State of North Carolina:

John Penn, July 21, 1778

Corns Harnett
Jno Williams

On the part and in behalf of the
State of South Carolina:

Henry Laurens
Richd Hutson
William Henry Drayton
Thos Heyward Junr
Jno Mathews

On the part and in behalf of the
State of Georgia:

Jno Walton, 24th July 1778
Edwd Telfair
Edwd Langworthy

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THOMAS PAINE ON A WOMAN'S LOT

Affronted in one country by polygamy, which gives them their rivals for inseparable companions; enslaved in another by indissoluble ties, which often join the gentle to the rude, and sensibility to brutality: Even in countries where they may be esteemed most happy, constrained in their desires in the disposal of their goods, robbed of freedom of will by the laws, the slaves of opinion, which rules them with absolute sway, and construes the slightest appearances into guilt, surrounded on all sides by judges who are at once their tyrants and seducers, and who after having prepared their

faults, punish every lapse with dishonour — nay usurp the right of degrading them on suspicion — who does not feel for the tender sex? Yet such I am sorry to say is the lot of woman over the whole earth . . . Nature has placed them between contempt and misery.

“I long to hear that you have declared Independence . . . I desire you to remember the ladies and be more generous to them than your ancestors have been.”

ABIGAIL ADAMS in a letter to John Adams

TO THE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES

Thomas Paine

*To the Citizens of the United States and
Particularly to the Leaders of the Federal Faction*

LETTER I

After an absence of almost fifteen years, I am again returned to the country in whose Dangers I bore my share, and to whose greatness I contributed my part.

When I sailed for Europe, in the spring of 1787, it was my intention to return to America the next year, and enjoy in retirement the esteem of my friends, and the repose I was entitled to. I had stood out the storm of one revolution, and had no wish to embark in another. But other scenes and other circumstances than those of contemplated ease were allotted to me.

The French Revolution was beginning to germinate when I arrived in France. The principles of it were good, they were copied from America, and the men who conducted it were honest. But the fury of faction soon extinguished the one, and sent the other to the scaffold. Of those who began

that Revolution, I am almost the only survivor, and that through a thousand dangers. I owe this not to the prayers of priests, nor to the piety of hypocrites, but to the continued protection of Providence.

But while I beheld with pleasure the dawn of liberty rising in Europe, I saw with regret the luster of it fading in America. In less than two years from the time of my departure some distant symptoms painfully suggested the idea that the principles of the Revolution were expiring on the soil that produced them. I received at that time a letter from a female literary correspondent, and in my answer to her, I expressed my fears on that head.

I now know from the information I obtain upon the spot, that the impressions that then distressed me, for I was proud of America, were but too well founded. She was turning her back on her own glory, and making hasty strides in the retrograde path of oblivion. But a spark from the altar of *Seventy-six*, un-extinguished and un-extinguishable through the long night of error, is again lighting up, in every part of the Union, the genuine name of rational liberty.

As the French Revolution advanced, it fixed the attention of the world, and drew from the pensioned pen of Edmund Burke a furious attack. This brought me once more on the public theater of politics, and occasioned the pamphlet *Rights of Man*. It had the greatest run of any work ever published in the English language. The number of copies circulated in England, Scotland, and Ireland, besides translations into foreign languages, was between four and five hundred thousand.

The principles of that work were the same as those in *Common Sense*, and the effects would have been the same in England as that had produced in America, could the vote of the nation

been quietly taken, or had equal opportunities of consulting or acting existed. The only difference between the two works was, that the one was adapted to the local circumstances of England, and the other to those of America.

As to myself, I acted in both cases alike; I relinquished to the people of England, as I had done to those of America, all profits from the work. My reward existed in the ambition to do good, and the independent happiness of my own mind.

But a faction, acting in disguise, was rising in America; they had lost sight of first principles. They were beginning to contemplate government as a profitable monopoly, and the people as hereditary property. It is, therefore, no wonder that the *Rights of Man* was attacked by that faction, and its author continually abused. But let them go on; give them rope enough and they will put an end to their own insignificance. There is too much common sense and independence in America to be long the dupe of any faction, foreign or domestic.

But, in the midst of the freedom we enjoy, the licentiousness of the papers called Federal (and I know not why they are called so, for they are in their principles anti-federal and despotic), is a dishonor to the character of the country, and an injury to its reputation and importance abroad. They represent the whole people of America as destitute of public principle and private manners.

As to any injury they can do at home to those whom they abuse, or service they can render to those who employ them, it is to be set down to the account of noisy nothingness. It is on themselves the disgrace recoils, for the reflection easily presents itself to every thinking mind, that those *who abuse liberty when they possess it would abuse power could they obtain it*; and, therefore, they may as well take as a general motto, for all such papers, *we and our patrons are not fit to be trusted with power*.

There is in America, more than in any other country, a large body of people who attend quietly to their farms, or follow their several occupations; who pay no regard to the clamors of anonymous scribblers, who think for themselves, and judge of government, not by the fury of newspaper writers, but by the prudent frugality of its measures, and the encouragement it gives to the improvement and prosperity of the country; and who, acting on their own judgment, never come forward in an election but on some important occasion.

I declare myself opposed to several matters in the Constitution, particularly to the manner in which the Executive is formed and the long duration of the Senate.

When this body moves, all the little barkings of scribbling and witless curs pass for nothing. To say to this independent description of men, “You must turn out such and such persons at the next election, for they have taken off a great many taxes, and lessened the expenses of government, they have dismissed my son, or my brother, or myself, from a lucrative office, in which there was nothing to do” — is to show the cloven foot of faction, and preach the language of ill-disguised mortification.

In every part of the Union, this faction is in the agonies of death, and in proportion as its fate approaches, gnashes its teeth and struggles. My arrival has struck it as with an hydrophobia, it is like the sight of water to canine madness.

As this letter is intended to announce my arrival to my friends, and to my enemies if I have any, for I ought to have none in America, and as introductory to others that will occasionally follow, I shall close it by detailing the line of conduct I shall pursue.

I have no occasion to ask, and do not intend to accept, any place or office in the Government. There is none it could give me that would be any ways equal to the profits I could make as an author, for I have an established fame in the literary world, could I reconcile it to my principles to make money by my politics or religion. I must be in everything what I have ever been, a disinterested volunteer; my proper sphere of action is on the common floor of citizenship, and to honest men I give my hand and my heart freely.

I have some manuscript works to publish, of which I shall give proper notice, and some mechanical affairs to bring forward, that will employ all my leisure time. I shall continue these letters as I see occasion, and as to the low party prints that choose to abuse me, they are welcome; I shall not descend to answer them. I have been too much used to such common stuff to take any notice of it.

The Government of England honored me with a thousand martyrdoms, by burning me in effigy in every town in that country, and their hirelings in America may do the same.

THOMAS PAINE
City of Washington, 1802

LETTER II

As the affairs of the country to which I am returned are of more importance to the world, and to me, than of that I have lately left (for it is

through the New World the Old must be regenerated, if regenerated at all), I shall not take up the time of the reader with an account of scenes that have passed in France, many of which are painful to remember and horrid to relate, but come at once to the circumstances in which I find America on my arrival.

Fourteen years, and something more, have produced a change, at least among a part of the people, and I ask myself what it is? I meet or hear of thousands of my former connections, who are men of the same principles and friendships as when I left them. But a nondescript race, and of equivocal generation, assuming the name of *Federalist* — a name that describes no character of principle good or bad, and may equally be applied to either — has since started up with the rapidity of a mushroom, and like a mushroom is withering on its rootless stalk.

Are those men *federalized* to support the liberties of their country or to overturn them? To add to its fair fame or riot on its spoils? The name contains no defined idea. It is like John Adams's definition of a republic, in his letter to Mr. Wythe of Virginia. It is, says he, *an empire of laws and not of men*. But as laws may be bad as well as good, an empire of laws may be the best of all governments or the worst of all tyrannies.

But John Adams is a man of paradoxical heresies, and consequently of a bewildered mind. He wrote a book entitled, *A Defense of the American Constitution*, and the principles of it are an attack upon them. But the book is descended to the tomb of forgetfulness, and the best fortune that can attend its author is quietly to follow its fate. John was not born for immortality. But, to return to Federalism.

In the history of parties and the names they assume, it often happens that they finish by the direct contrary principles with which they profess

to begin, and thus it has happened with Federalism.

During the time of the old Congress, and prior to the establishment of the Federal Government, the Continental belt was too loosely buckled. The several states were united in name but not in fact, and that nominal union had neither center nor circle. The laws of one state frequently interfered with, and sometimes opposed, those of another. Commerce between state and state was without protection, and confidence without a point to rest on. The condition the country was then in, was aptly described by Pelatiah Webster, when he said, *“thirteen staves and ne’er a hoop will not make a barrel.”*

The Federal Constitution is a copy, though not quite so base as the original, of the form of the British Government, an invitation of its vices was naturally to be expected.

If, then, by *Federalist* is to be understood one who was for cementing the Union by a general government operating equally over all the states, in all matters that embraced the common interest, and to which the authority of the states severally was not adequate, for no one state can make laws to bind another; if, I say, by a *Federalist* is meant a person of this description (and this is the origin of the name), *I ought to stand first on the list of Federalists*, for the proposition for establishing a general government over the Union, came originally from me in 1783, in a written memorial to Chancellor Livingston, then Secretary for Foreign

Affairs to Congress, Robert Morris, Minister of Finance, and his associate, Gouverneur Morris, all of whom are now living; and we had a dinner and conference at Robert Morris’s on the subject. The occasion was as follows:

Congress had proposed a duty of five per cent on imported articles, the money to be applied as a fund toward paying the interest of loans to be borrowed in Holland. The resolve was sent to the several states to be enacted into a law. Rhode Island absolutely refused. I was at the trouble of a journey to Rhode Island to reason with them on the subject. Some other of the states enacted it with alterations, each one as it pleased. Virginia adopted it, and afterwards repealed it, and the affair came to nothing.

It was then visible, at least to me, that either Congress must frame the laws necessary for the Union, and send them to the several states to be en-registered without any alteration, which would in itself appear like usurpation on one part and passive obedience on the other, or some method must be devised to accomplish the same end by constitutional principles; and the proposition I made in the memorial was, to *add a Continental legislature to Congress, to be elected by the several states.*

The proposition met the full approbation of the gentlemen to whom it was addressed, and the conversation turned on the manner of bringing it forward. Gouverneur Morris, in talking with me after dinner, wished me to throw out the idea in the newspaper; I replied, that I did not like to be always the proposer of new things, that it would have too assuming an appearance; and besides, that *I did not think the country was quite wrong enough to be put right.*

I remember giving the same reason to Dr. Rush, at Philadelphia, and to General Gates, at whose quarters I spent a day on my return from

Rhode Island; and I suppose they will remember it, because the observation seemed to strike them.

But the embarrassments increasing, as they necessarily must from the want of a better cemented union, the State of Virginia proposed holding a commercial convention, and that convention, which was not sufficiently numerous, proposed that another convention, with more extensive and better defined powers, should be held at Philadelphia, May 10, 1787.

When the plan of the Federal Government, formed by this convention, was proposed and submitted to the consideration of the several states, it was strongly objected to in each of them. But the objections were not on anti-federal grounds, but on constitutional points. Many were shocked at the idea of placing what is called executive power in the hands of a single individual. To them it had too much the form and appearance of a military government, or a despotic one. Others objected that the powers given to a president were too great, and that in the hands of an ambitious and designing man it might grow into tyranny as it did in England under Oliver Cromwell, and as it has since done in France. A republic must not only be so in its principles, but in its forms.

The executive part of the Federal Government was made for a man, and those who consented, against their judgment, to place executive power in the hands of a single individual, reposed more on the supposed moderation of the person they had in view, than on the wisdom of the measure itself.

Two considerations, however, overcame all objections. The one was, the absolute necessity of a federal government. The other, the rational reflections, that as government in America is founded on the representative system any error in the first essay could be reformed by the same quiet and rational process by which the Constitution was formed, and that either by the

generation then living, or by those who were to succeed.

If ever America lose sight of this principle, she will no longer be the land of liberty. The father will become the assassin of the rights of the son, and his descendants be a race of slaves. As many thousands who were minors are grown up to manhood since the name of *Federalist* began, it became necessary, for their information, to go back and show the origin of the name, which is

At the time this Constitution was formed, there was a great departure from the principles of the Revolution among those who then assumed the lead and the Country was grossly imposed upon.

now no longer what it originally was; but it was the more necessary to do this, in order to bring forward, in the open face of day, the apostasy of those who first called themselves Federalists.

To them it served as a cloak for treason, a mask for tyranny. Scarcely were they placed in the seat of power and office, than federalism was to be destroyed, and the representative system of government, the pride and glory of America. and the palladium of her liberties, was to be overthrown and abolished. The next generation was not to be free. The son was to bend his neck beneath the father's foot, and live, deprived of his rights, under hereditary control.

Among the men of this apostate description, is to be ranked the ex-President *John Adams*. It has been the political career of this man to begin with hypocrisy, proceed with arrogance, and finish in contempt. May such be the fate of all such characters.

I have had doubts of John Adams ever since the year 1776. In a conversation with me at that time, concerning the pamphlet *Common Sense*, he censured it because it attacked the English form of government. John was for independence because he expected to be made great by it; but it was not difficult to perceive, for the surliness of his temper makes him an awkward hypocrite, that his head was as full of kings, queens, and knaves, as a pack of cards. But John has lost deal.

When a man has a concealed project in his brain that he wants to bring forward, and fears will not succeed, he begins with it as physicians do by suspected poison, try it first on an animal; if it agree with the stomach of the animal he makes further experiments, and this was the way John took. His brain was teeming with projects to overturn the liberties of America, and the representative system of government, and he began by hinting it in little companies.

The secretary of John Jay, an excellent painter and a poor politician, told me, in presence of another American, Daniel Parker, that in a company where himself was present, John Adams talked of making the government hereditary, and that as Mr. Washington had no children, it should be made hereditary in the family of Lund Washington.

John had not impudence enough to propose himself in the first instance, as the old French Normandy baron did, who offered to come over to be king of America, and if Congress did not accept his offer, that they would give him thirty thousand pounds for the generosity of it; but John, like a mole, was grubbing his way to it under ground. He knew that Lund Washington was unknown, for nobody had heard of him, and that as the President had no children to succeed him, the Vice-president had, and if the treason had succeeded, and the hint with it, the gold-

smith might be sent for to take measure of the head of John or of his son for a golden wig.

In this case, the good people of Boston might have for a king the man they have rejected as a delegate. The representative system is fatal to ambition.

Knowing, as I do, the consummate vanity of John Adams, and the shallowness of his judgment, I can easily picture to myself that when he arrived at the federal city he was strutting in the pomp of his imagination before the presidential house, or in the audience hall, and exulting in the language of Nebuchadnezzar, "Is not this great Babylon, that I have built for the honor of my Majesty!" But in that unfortunate hour, or soon after, John, like Nebuchadnezzar, was driven from among men, and fled with the speed of a post-horse.

Some of John Adams's loyal subjects, I see, have been to present him with an address on his birthday; but the language they use is too tame for the occasion. Birthday addresses, like birthday odes, should not creep along like mildrops down a cabbage leaf, but roll in a torrent of poetical metaphor. I will give them a specimen for the next year. Here it is:

When an ant, in traveling over the globe, lifts up its foot, and puts it again on the ground, it shakes the earth to its center: but when YOU, the mighty Ant of the East, was born, etc., etc., etc., the center jumped upon the surface.

This, gentlemen, is the proper style of addresses from well-bred ants to the monarch of the ant hills; and as I never take pay for preaching, praying, politics, or poetry, I make you a present of it. Some people talk of impeaching John Adams; but I am for softer measures. I would keep him to make fun of. He will then answer one of the ends for which he was born, and he ought to be thankful that I am arrived to take his part.

I voted in earnest to save the life of one unfortunate king, and I now vote in jest to save another. It is my fate to be always plagued with fools. But to return to Federalism and apostasy.

The plan of the leaders of the faction was to overthrow the liberties of the New World, and place government on the corrupt system of the Old. They wanted to hold their power by a more lasting tenure than the choice of their constituents. It is impossible to account for their conduct and the measures they adopted on any other ground.

But to accomplish that object, a standing army and a prodigal revenue must be raised; and to obtain these, pretenses must be invented to deceive. Alarms of dangers that did not exist even in imagination, but in the direct spirit of lying, were spread abroad. Apostasy stalked through the land in the garb of patriotism, and the torch of treason blinded for a while the flame of liberty.

For what purpose could an army of twenty-five thousand men be wanted? A single reflection might have taught the most credulous that while the war raged between France and England, neither could spare a man to invade America. For what purpose, then, could it be wanted? The case carries its own explanation. It was wanted for the

purpose of destroying the representative system, for it could be employed for no other. Are these men Federalists? If they are, they are federalized to deceive and to destroy.

The rage against Dr. Logan's patriotic and voluntary mission to France was excited by the shame they felt at the detection of the false alarms they had circulated. As to the opposition given by the remnant of the faction to the repeal of the taxes laid on during the former Administration, it is easily accounted for. The repeal of those taxes was a sentence of condemnation on those who laid them on, and in the opposition they gave in that repeal, they are to be considered in the light of criminals standing on their defense, and the country has passed judgment upon them.

THOMAS PAINE

City of Washington, Lovett's Hotel

November 19, 1802

Source: From letters published in the *National Intelligencer*, 1802–1803. Rare Books on CD, Bank of Wisdom, P.O. Box 926, Louisville, KY 40201. *Life and Writings of Thomas Paine*, edited by Daniel Edwin Wheeler; published by Vincent Parke and Co., New York, NY, 1915.

AMERICAN AURORA

A DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLIC RETURNS

THE SUPPRESSED HISTORY
OF OUR NATION'S BEGINNINGS
AND THE HEROIC NEWSPAPER
THAT TRIED TO REPORT IT

RICHARD N. ROSENFELD

FOREWORD BY EDMUND S. MORGAN

Two hundred years ago a Philadelphia newspaper claimed George Washington was not the "father of his country." It claimed John Adams really wanted to be king. Its editors were arrested by the federal government. One editor died awaiting trial. The story of this newspaper is the story of America.

FORWARD

Political passions fade with time, leaving their pale shadows to be recovered by historians who usually affect an objective, if not an amused, detachment from them. American politics have seldom generated the fierceness of passion that they did in their first decade. The extravagant

exchanges in the contests between Federalists and Republicans in the late 1790s seem today so to exceed the issues as to merit the patronizing dismissal that scholars have generally given them. After all, the nation survived, President John Adams did not secure the crown to which he allegedly aspired, and President Thomas Jefferson succeeded him without bloodshed. Accordingly the dire predictions of tyranny by journalists like Benjamin Franklin Bache and William Duane in their notorious newspaper, the Aurora, have become mere curiosities, extreme examples of the bad manners that political contests so often provoke.

Not so fast, Richard Rosenfeld warns us. He has studied the newspapers and politics of the 1790s afresh and found the issues to justify all the passion they generated. Scorning the usual detachment, he has embraced as his own the outrage of the men who saw the republic threatened by the thrust for power of those entrusted with running it. He stands up for Benjamin Bache, the beloved grandson of Benjamin Franklin, and he literally and literarily becomes William Duane, Bache's successor as publisher of the Aurora — He invites us to join him in living through the events that so alarmed these men and to share their alarm in their own words. If we see what was happening as these men saw it, we may emerge with a less complacent view of what it was that the country survived in the 1790s, with a different perspective of what the founding fathers accomplished, even with a new view of who the true founding fathers were.

This is not a typical history, nor does it pretend to be. It is an indictment of some of our customary heroes and a salute to some of our customary villains. It is a piece of historical heresy, written

by heretics of the time with the assistance of a kindred spirit who now appeals the sentence of irrelevance that orthodox history has imposed on them. If eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, its vigilant defenders of an earlier time may still have a message for the republic they cherished. That message resounds through these pages.

EDMUND S. MORGAN

REVIEWS:

“A magnificent achievement, *American Aurora* is both an original work of history and a rousing good story. The stirring emotions, the fiery arguments, and the mundane concerns of the people who lived through the early days of the Republic will be much better understood by the publication of this remarkable book.”

DORIS KEARNS GOODWIN
Winner, 1995 Pulitzer Prize in History;
author, No Ordinary Time

“No book has ever depicted more vividly America’s crisis of freedom of the 1790s, the struggle that gave meaning for the first time to America’s commitment to freedom of expression. *American Aurora* is essential reading for all who care about freedom in America.”

BENNO C. SCHMIDT, JR.
President, Yale University, 1986–1992

EXCEPTS FROM AMERICAN AURORA

*From the viewpoint of Physician General
Benjamin Rush, John Adams,
Thomas Paine, and Thomas Jefferson*

JOHN ADAMS

Monday, April 22, 1776

John Adams’ pamphlet, “Thoughts on Government.” . . . will powerfully influence the deliberations of various states on how to fashion state government. It will prove paramount in the decisions of five.

I was the first member of Congress who ventured to come out in public, as I did in my “Thoughts on Government, in a Letter from a Gentleman to his Friend”. . . infavor of a government in three branches. . . This pamphlet, you know, was very unpopular. No man appeared in public to support it but [Dr. Benjamin Rush] . . . Franklin leaned against it . . . Mr. Thomas Paine was so highly offended with it that he came to visit me . . .

Paine, soon after the Appearance of my Pamphlet, hurried away to my Lodgings and spent an Evening with me. His Business was to reprehend me for publishing my Pamphlet. Said he was afraid it would do hurt, and that it was repugnant to the plan he had proposed in his *Common Sense*. I told him it was true it was repugnant, and for that reason I had written it and consented to the publication of it; for I was afraid of his Work [as] he was of mine. His plan [for government by a single-chamber, popularly

elected, proportionately representative legislature] was so democratical, without any restraints or even an Attempt at any Equilibrium or Counterpoise, that it must produce confusion and every Evil Work. I told him further that his Reasoning [against monarchy] from the Old Testament was ridiculous. . . I perceived in him a conceit of himself and a daring Impudence which have developed more and more to this day.

The . . . part of *Common Sense* which relates wholly to the question of independence, was clearly written. . . Phrases. . . such as “The Royal Brute of England,” “The Blood upon his Soul,” and a few others . . . had as much Weight with the People as his Arguments. It has been a general Opinion that this pamphlet was of great Importance in the Revolution.

TOM PAINE

I have had doubts of John Adams ever since the year 1776. In a conversation with me at that time, concerning the pamphlet “Common Sense,” he censured it because it attacked the English form of government. John was for independence, because he expected to be made great by it; but it was not difficult to perceive, for the surliness of his temper makes him an awkward hypocrite, that his head was as full of queens, and knaves as a pack of cards.

Sunday, May 12, 1776

Today, John Adams writes his friend Massachusetts political leader James Warren:

Common Sense [Tom Paine], by his crude, ignorant Notions of a Government by one Assembly, will do more Mischief in dividing the Friends of Liberty than all the Tory Writings together. He is

a keen Writer but very ignorant of the Science of Government.

Thursday, July 4, 1776

Today, the Continental Congress of the United States issues a Declaration of Independence, including,

We hold these truths to be self evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights . . . 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 abolish it, and to institute new government . . . We therefore the Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled. . . publish and declare that these United colonies are & of right ought to be free and independent state . . . John Adams will recollect to Benjamin Rush (a congressional delegate from Pennsylvania)

Do you recollect the pensive and awful silence which pervaded the house when we were called up, one after the other, to the table of the President of Congress to subscribe what was believed by many at that time to be our own death warrants? The silence and the gloom of the morning were interrupted, I well recollect, only for a moment by Colonel Harrison of Virginia, who said to Mr. Gerry [of Massachusetts I at the table: “I shall have a great advantage over you, Mr. Gerry, when we are all hung for what we are now doing. From the size and weight of my body I shall die in a few minutes, but from the lightness of your body, you will dance in the air for an hour or two before you are dead. “ The speech procured a transient smile, but it was soon succeeded by the solemnity with which the whole business was conducted.

Wednesday, December 10, 1777

While the British army enjoys Philadelphia, George Washington settles his motley army at Valley Forge, a hilly campground about twenty miles north of the city.

PHYSICIAN GENERAL
BENJAMIN RUSH

On my way to Yorktown (Pennsylvania), where the Congress then sat, I passed through the army at Valley Forge, where I saw similar marks of filth, waste of public property, and want of discipline which I had recently witnessed in the hospitals. General Sullivan (at whose house I breakfasted) said to me, “Sir, this is not an army – it is a mob. “ Here a new source of distress was awakened in my mind. I felt for the safety and independence of my country as well as for the sufferings of the sick under my care. All that I had heard from General Stephen, Colonel Reed, Mr. Mifflin, and some others was now revived in my mind. I found alarm and discontent among many members of Congress. While there, I wrote a short account of the state of our hospitals and of the army to Patrick Henry and concluded my letter by quoting a speech of General Conway’s unfriendly to the talents of the Commander in Chief.

Thursday, May 31, 1787

Today, at the Federal Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, James Madison records: The . . . Resolution “that the national Legislature ought to consist of two branches” was agreed to without debate or dissent, except that of Pennsylvania, given probably from complaisance to Doctor Franklin who was understood to be partial to a single House of Legislation.

Friday, June 1, 1787

Today, at the Federal Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, James Madison records:

The Committee of the whole proceeded to Resolution . . . “that a national executive be instituted, to be chosen by the national legislature . . . “

Mr. WILSON moved that the Executive consist of a single person . . . A considerable pause ensuing and the Chairman asking if he should put the question, Doctor FRANKLIN observed that it was a point of great importance and wished that the gentlemen would deliver their sentiments on it before the question was put . . .

Mr. RANDOLPH strenuously opposed a unity in the Executive magistracy. He regarded it as the foetus of monarchy. We had, he said, no motive to be governed by the British Government as our prototype . . .

Mr. MADISON thought it would be proper, before a choice should be made between a unity and a plurality in the Executive, to & the extent of the Executive authority . . .

Mr. SHERMAN was for the appointment [of the Executive] by the Legislature and for making him absolutely dependent on that body, as it was the will of that which was to be executed . . .

Saturday, June 2, 1787

Today, Benjamin Rush, a Pennsylvania delegate to the Federal Constitutional convention, writes Englishman Richard Price:

Mr. Adams’ book, *Defense of the Constitutions*, . . . has diffused such excellent principles among us that there is little doubt of our adopting a vigorous and compounded [two-chamber] federal legislature.. Our illustrious minister in this gift to his country has done us more service than if he had obtained alliances for us with all the nations of Europe.

TOM PAINE

Friday, October 5, 1787

At the time I left America (April, 1787), the Continental Convention that formed the Federal Constitution was on the point of meeting . . . It was only to the absolute necessity of establishing some Federal authority . . . that an instrument so inconsistent . . . obtained a suffrage . . . I declare myself opposed to several matters in the Constitution, particularly to the manner in which what is called the Executive is formed, and to the long duration of the Senate and if I live to return to America (from France), I will use all my endeavors to have them altered. I have always been opposed to . . . what is called a single executive . . . A plurality (a council) is far better . . . It is necessary to the manly mind of a republic that it loses the debasing idea of obeying an individual. As the Federal Constitution is a copy, though not quite so base as the original, of the form of the British Government, an imitation of its vices was naturally to be expected.

Had that Convention, or the law members thereof, known the origin of the negating power used by kings of England, from whence they copied it, they must have seen the inconsistency of introducing it into an American Constitution.

At the time this Constitution was formed, there was a great departure from the principles of the Revolution among those who then assumed the lead, and the country was grossly imposed upon.

The Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776 was conformable to the *Declaration of Independence and the Declaration of Rights*, which the present Constitution is not; for it makes artificial distinctions among men in the right of suffrage, which the principles of equity know nothing of.

PHYSICIAN GENERAL
BENJAMIN RUSH:

Monday, April 6, 1789

To his friend, John Adams:

Feeling no unkindness to G. Washington during the years of the war after 1777 and after the peace, I cordially joined in all the marks of gratitude and respect showed to him . . . At no time after the year 1777, however, did I believe him to be the “first in war” in our country. In addition to the testimonies of Stephen, Reed, and Mifflin, I had directly or indirectly the testimonies of [General Nathanael] Greene, [Alexander] Hamilton, Colonel [Tench], your son-in-law, and of many of the most intelligent officers who served under him to the contrary. Nor have I ever dared to join in the profane and impious incense which has been ever offered to his patriotism and moral qualities by many of our citizens. Were I to mention all that I have heard of his “heart” and from some of his friends too, it would appear that he was not possessed of all the divine attributes that have been ascribed to him. But enough of this hateful subject! I earnestly request that you destroy this letter as soon as you read it. I do not wish it to be known that General Washington was deficient.

JOHN ADAMS

Except for Timothy Pickering's indiscretions, Washington's former army officers won't tarnish his image.

That Washington was not a scholar is certain. That he was too illiterate, unlearned, unread for his station and reputation is equally beyond

dispute. He had derived little Knowledge from Reading, none from Travel. . . .

The most experienced and scientific Officers about him, Lee, Gates, Steuben, Conway, etc. thought little of him: some of them despised him too much. Green, Knox, Clinton, without thinking highly of him . . . were his sworn and invariable Friends. Mifflin, one of his Generals, Hamilton, Burr have been very discreet, Pickering, his Quarter Master, has at times been outrageous.

Saturday, May 23, 1789

Today, U.S. Congressman James Madison of Virginia writes his friend, Thomas Jefferson, in Paris: J. Adams espoused the course of titles with great earnestness . . . The projected title was — His Highness the President of the U.S. and protector of their liberties. Had the project succeeded it would have given a deep wound to our infant government.

Thursday, June 4, 1789

Today, Dr. Benjamin Rush writes his friend John Adams: I find you and I must agree not to disagree, or we must cease to discuss political questions.

Why should we accelerate the progress of our government towards monarchy? Every part of the conduct of the Americans tends to it. We shall have but one deliverer, one great, or one good man in our country. For my part, I cannot help ascribing the independence and new government to thousands

I shall add . . . that I am as much a republican as I was in 1775 and 6, that I consider hereditary monarchy and aristocracy as rebellion against nature, that I abhor titles and everything that belongs to the pageantry of government.

Sunday, July 5, 1789

Today, Vice President John Adams writes Benjamin Rush:

You say you “abhor all titles.” . . . There is no person and no Society to whom Forms and Titles are indifferent . . . we shall find national titles essential to national Government . . . It is to make offices and laws respected; and not so much by the virtuous parts of the Community, as by the Profligate, the criminal and abandoned who have little reverence of Reason, Right or Law, divine or human. They are overawed by Titles frequently, when Laws and Punishments cannot restrain them.

Sunday, April 4, 1790

Today, Vice President Adams writes his friend Benjamin Rush:

Limited Monarchy is founded in Nature. No Nation can adore more than one Man at a time. It is a happy Circumstance that the object of our Devotion (George Washington) is so well deserving of it.

If I said in 1777 that “we should never be qualified for Republican Government till we were ambitious to be poor” I meant to say that No Nation under Heaven ever was, now is, or ever will be qualified for a Republican Government, unless you mean resulting from a Balance of three powers, the Monarchical, Aristocratical, and Democratical. I meant more and repeat more explicitly, that Americans are particularly unfit for any Republic but the Aristo-Democratical-Monarchy.

Tuesday, April 13, 1790

Today, Benjamin Rush writes John Adams:

In my notebook, I have recorded a conversation that passed between Mr. Jefferson and myself on

the 17th of March, of which you were the principal subject. We both deplored your attachment to monarch and both agreed that you had changed your principles since the year 1776.

THOMAS JEFFERSON

Tuesday, September 23, 1800

Today, Thomas Jefferson writes Dr. Benjamin Rush:

I promised you a letter on Christianity. The delusion into which the X,Y,Z plot shewed it possible to push the people: the successful experiment made. . . . on the clause of the constitution which, while it secured the freedom of the press, covered also the freedom of religion, had given to the clergy a very favorite hope of obtaining an establishment of a particular form of Christianity thro' the U.S.; and, as every sect believes its own form the true one, every one perhaps hoped for its own, but especially the Episcopalians and Congregationalists. The returning good sense

of our country threatens abortion to their hopes, & they believe that any portion of power confided to me will be exerted in opposition to their schemes. And they believe rightly, for I have sworn upon the altar of god eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man.

PUBLISHED DAILY BY
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN BACHE

It has been the wish of a number of the Editor's friends to see a Paper established on a plan differing in some respects from those now in circulation. These wishes, coinciding with the advice which the publisher has received from his late Grand Father, suggested the idea of the present work.

The Freedom of the Press is the Bulwark of Liberty. . . . The Publisher can safely promise that no consideration whatever shall induce him blindly to submit to the influence of any man or set of men. His PRESS SHALL BE FREE.

JANUARY 29: FREETHINKER'S DAY

Freethinkers' Day is Thomas Paine's birthday, January 29. Celebrate it by expressing YOUR Freedom. This universal holiday is celebrated simply by giving and displaying a white rose with thorns. The simple beauty and purity, the fragility, yet not without the danger of drawing blood

by a thorn prick, makes this white rose an excellent icon for those freethinkers who will want to reflect on reason and coercion and promote the ideas of personal liberty and freedom as expressed by Thomas Paine in the *Declaration of Independence*.

THE BILL OF RIGHTS PASSAGE DUE TO PAINE'S *THE RIGHTS OF MAN*

Carl Shapiro

November can be historically called Bill of Rights Month. For it was on November 3, 1791, that Congress passed the first 10 amendments to the Constitution.

Previously, the Constitution of 1787 had mainly concerned itself with the various powers of government, but was deficient in outlining the rights of individuals. Though the personal liberties amendments had been 'kicked around' for two years following James Madison's proposal in 1789, public feeling had not been sufficiently aroused to demand immediate enactment.

But in May, 1791, a book which was causing a sensation all over Europe was sent to Madison, who was so impressed with its republican principles that he immediately dispatched it to Thomas Jefferson with a request to have it reproduced in the United States. The book was called *The Rights of Man*, written by Thomas Paine, the thunderbolt author of the American Revolutionary pamphlet *Common Sense*.

Jefferson was equally excited by Paine's sentiments and did not delay in forwarding Rights to

the printer with the following personal remarks and endorsement:

I am extremely pleased to find it will be reprinted and that something is at length to be publicly said against the political heresies which have sprung up among us. I have no doubt our citizens will rally a second time round the standard of *Common Sense*.

Jefferson also commented that Paine's principles were in harmony with the principles of the citizens of the United States and that *The Rights of Man* would, at a single stroke, wipe out all the unconstitutional doctrines.

JEFFERSON HAD predicted accurately. The effect of *The Rights of Man* was tremendous. It also intensified the rivalry between Adams and Jefferson. John Adams' philosophy was favorable to hereditary monarchy and aristocracy, but Jefferson, along with Madison and Edmund Randolph, was firm in democratic principles.

But the true significance of *The Rights of Man* was its tremendous popularity with those to whom it was intended — the people themselves. The demand for a Bill of Rights was asserted vigorously after the Americans marveled at Paine's definitions of the natural and civil rights of men: Natural rights are those which appertain to man in right of his existence. Of this kind are all the intellectual rights, or rights of the mind, and also all those rights of acting as an individual for his own comfort and happiness, which are not injurious to the natural rights of others. Civil rights are those which appertain to man in right of his being a member of society. Every civil right grows out of a natural right. Of this kind are all those which relate to security and protection.

It is estimated that well over a 100,000 copies of *The Rights of Man* were distributed in England, France, and America.

As *Common Sense* had broken the chains of tyranny in 1776, Thomas Paine's literary genius sounded a universal constitution to elevate humanity from its degraded rank. It was later that Paine wrote:

My motive and object in all my political works, beginning with 'Common Sense,' have been to rescue man from tyranny and false systems and false principles of government, and enable him to be free, and estab-

lish government for himself . . . and . . . It was to bring forward and establish the representative system of government that was the leading principle with me in all my works during the progress of the revolution.

As November is celebrated as Bill of Rights Month, equal acclaim should be rendered the great book which inspired the ratification of the heart of the Constitution.

Source: Reprinted from *Paterson News*, November 12, 1969, Paterson, New Jersey and *Truth Seeker* January 1989.

JULY 2 – JULY 4, 1776

July 2, 1776: After months of violent disagreements and debates the Congress posted a resolution that these united colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent states. That they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown and that all political connections between them and the State of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved. Introduced by Richard Henry Lee of Virginia and seconded by John Adams of Massachusetts. What was needed now was a formal document to proclaim the fact to the World and at the same time justify and explain the necessity for this World—shaking event. July 3, a *Declaration of Independence* was presented to the Second

Continental Congress and was unanimously passed on July 4.

July 4, 1776, Independence Day: President of the Second Continental Congress John Hancock is the first—and only member of Congress that day—to sign the unanimous Declaration of Independence: "Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter, or abolish it . . ." This forms the continental united States—a Union of sovereign States.

THE REAL REASON FOR THE BILL OF RIGHTS

Dean Russell

“On February 6, 1788, Massachusetts, by a narrow margin of 19 votes in a convention with a membership of 335, endorsed the new Constitution, but recommended that a bill of rights be added to protect the States from Federal encroachment on individual liberties. . . . New York ratified, with a recommendation that a bill of rights be appended. . . .”

What was the reason — the real reason — that caused those early American patriots to distrust a federal government which they were about to bring into existence? Why did the individual citizens within the various sovereign states demand a bill of rights before ratifying the Constitution? Why did statesmen of the caliber of Washington, Jefferson, Adams, and Franklin wish to severely restrict the authority of the central government and to strictly limit the power of its leaders?

There was a reason, a vital reason — a reason that many present-day Americans have forgotten.

A reason that, unless we relearn it, will surely mean the loss of personal freedom and individual liberty for all mankind.

Here is the reason: The power of government is *always* a dangerous weapon in any hands.

The founders of our government were students of history as well as statesmen. They knew that, without exception, every government in recorded history had at one time or another turned its power — its police force — against its own citizens, confiscated their property, imprisoned them, enslaved them, and made a mockery of personal dignity.

That was true of every *type* of government known to mankind. That was true regardless of how the government leaders came to power. It was true — then as now that government leaders *elected by the people* frequently turn out to be the worst enemies of the people who elect them. Hitler was a recent example. He was not the first; he is not likely to be the last.

A NEW IDEA

It was for this reason that the founders of the American republic introduced into that government a completely new idea.

What was this new idea? Was it the regular election of government leaders by the people? As wise a decision as that was, it was not new. The Greeks, among others, had used it.

Was it the wide dispersal of the powers of government among federal, state, and local units? An excellent system, but not new. It had already proved of practical value in France and other countries.

Was the American method of governmental “checks and balances” a new idea? It was a well-conceived plan, but it was not completely original with us. The British system of King, House of

Lords, and House of Commons once embodied the same principle.

Here is the new idea: For the first time in known history, a written constitution specified that certain institutions and human relations were to be outside the authority of government. The government was specifically forbidden to infringe them or to violate them.

WHY GOVERNMENT?

This was a revolutionary concept of government! The idea of inalienable rights and individual freedom had never before been incorporated into a national constitution. Never before in history had the people said to the government: “Thou shall not.” Always the government had been able to say to the people: “You may, or you must.” Heretofore, government had *granted* certain freedoms and privileges to the people. But the Bill of Rights said, in effect: “We the people are endowed by our Creator with natural rights and freedoms. The *only* reason for our having a government is to protect and defend these rights and freedoms that we already have as individuals. It is sheer folly to believe that government can give us something that already belongs to us.”

These free people then listed in their Constitution those specific functions that they wanted government to handle. Then they forbade the government officials to do anything not commanded of them in the Constitution.

But even so, the people were afraid that the elected leader of the new government might misunderstand the ideals of human dignity, of individual freedom, of the proper functions of government. So, as specific examples of what they meant, the American people added the Bill of Rights to the Constitution. It might better be called a *Bill of Prohibitions* against government. It

is filled with such phrases as: “Congress shall make no law . . .,” “. . . the right of the people . . . shall not be infringed . . .,” “The right of the people . . . shall not be violated. . .”

These personal and individual rights include freedom of worship, free speech and a free press, the right to assemble together, the sanctity of person and home, trial by jury, the right to life, liberty, and the private ownership of property.

Finally, to make absolutely sure that no government official could possibly misinterpret his position as servant rather than master, the people added two more blanket restrictions against the federal government. The Bill of Rights specifies that: “The enumeration . . . of certain rights shall not be construed to deny . . . others retained by the people.” And: “The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution . . . are reserved to the States . . . or to the people.”

INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

It was this philosophy of individual freedom and individual responsibility reflected in the Bill of Rights that attracted to this country millions of persons from the government-oppressed peoples of Europe. They came here from every country in the world. They represented every color, every race, and every creed. They were in search of *personal freedom*, not government-guaranteed “security.” And as a direct result of the individual freedom specified by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, they earned the greatest degree of security ever enjoyed by any people anywhere.

Those new Americans swelled the tide of immigrants by writing the praise of freedom in their letters to relatives and friends who still lived in the countries with strong governments, with one-man rule, with government ownership of the means of production, with government

guaranteed “security,” with government housing, and state-controlled education.

EQUAL RIGHTS

Their letters read, in effect: “Here the government guarantees you nothing except life, liberty, and the right to own whatever you have honestly acquired. Here you have the personal responsibility that goes with individual freedom. There is no law or custom that prevents you from rising as high as you are able. You can associate with anyone who wishes to associate with you. Here in America you can do as you please as long as you do not violate the rights of other persons to do as they please. These rights are recorded in the American Constitution and the Bill of Rights. The same documents specify that three-fourths of the states must be in agreement before these rights can be taken away. And, of course, it is foolish to imagine that the people will ever voluntarily give up their freedom.”

Such letters would not be completely true today, because that freedom is gradually being lost. But the “progressive” laws and “popular” court decisions of recent years are not primarily responsible for it. Freedom is seldom lost by a direct vote on the subject. In our case, it just seems to be seeping away. The Bill of Rights still exists on paper, but the spirit that caused it to be written is disappearing. When that spirit is completely gone, the written words will mean nothing.

Thus it behooves us to inquire why that spirit is now weak, and how it can be revived.

WHO IS TO BLAME?

No one person is responsible for sapping that spirit of individualism. No one political party is

to blame. The people are as responsible as the elected and appointed leaders. It is we the people who seem to have forgotten that freedom and responsibility are inseparable. It is we the people who are discarding the concept of government that brought forth the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights.

In short, few of us seem to want to keep government out of our personal affairs and responsibilities. Many of us seem to favor various types of government-guaranteed and compulsory “security.” We say that we want personal freedom, but we *demand* government housing, government price controls, government-guaranteed jobs and wages. We *boast* that we are responsible persons, but we vote for candidates who promise us special privileges, government pensions, government subsidies, and government electricity.

Such schemes are directly contrary to the spirit of the Bill of Rights. Our heritage is being lost more through weakness than through deliberate design. The Bill of Rights still shines in all its splendor, but many of us are looking in another direction. Many of us are drifting back to that old concept of government that our forefathers feared and rejected. Many of us are now looking to government for security. Many of us are no longer willing to accept individual responsibility for our own welfare. Yet personal freedom cannot exist without individual responsibility.

YOUR CHOICE

Thus the American people are on the verge of a final decision. We must choose between the destruction caused by government paternalism, and the security insured by individual freedom with individual responsibility as expressed in the Bill of Rights. There is no other choice.

As it must, the choice rests with each of us as individual Americans. No one can tell us what to think or do. No one should. To do so would be a violation of both the spirit and the words of the Bill of Rights. As responsible persons, each of us

has the privilege and the obligation to pursue what each considers to be the right course of action. But this above all before we act, let us understand the meaning of our actions, the direction in which we are going.

THE BILL OF RIGHTS: AMENDMENTS 1-10 OF THE CONSTITUTION

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

II. A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

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

V. No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of

life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

VI. In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

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

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

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

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

Dean Russell, Air Force captain, joined the staff of the Foundation for Economic Education in 1947 after completing his formal education. The Bill of Rights was first published in the Fall 1948 issue of Popular Home magazine.

Source: Reprinted from *Essays on Liberty*, © The Foundation For Economic Education, Inc. Irvington-on-Hudson, New York, 1952.

6TH AMENDMENT RIGHT: GUARDIAN OF LIBERTY

The Jury IS the Guardian of FREEDOM. Any Jury can NULLIFY BAD LAWS by voting “NOT GUILTY” on any law it deems unconstitutional or does not like. Many Judges LIE to Jury members when telling them that Judges decide the law and Juries decide ONLY the facts (*Brailsford vs. Georgia, 1790*). Prohibition and Slavery were abolished BECAUSE Juries wisely Nullified those BAD LAWS when they voted “NOT GUILTY” in those cases. Any Jury member can do the same thing in any case involving the IRS. This would give every American a Pay Raise as well as FREEDOM from the Fear and Tyranny of the Tax Collector. Only ONE jury

member is necessary to check corruption and oppression.

The 6th Amendment does NOT say or mean that our “Assistance of Counsel” must be a Bar Association lawyer, or that our counsel must have a license. A judge violates his oath of office when he: (1) denies a citizen favorable witnesses to speak in front of the Jury; (2) denies counsel of choice; (3) denies the jury the right to judge the law and the facts of the case. This is Conspiracy and Treason against “We the People.”

Source: Fully Informed Jury Association, 1-800-835-5879 (<http://www.fija.org>)

THE LIBERTY TO MAINTAIN ALL OTHER LIBERTIES

The difference between a Democracy and a Republic is that a Democracy is a one-vote system and a Republic is a safe three-vote system. The chief safeguard of the Republic's three-vote system is known as "jury nullification." Our forefathers gave us a Republic, not a Democracy. The pledge is to the Republic, not to a Democracy. The three votes that make a Republic so strong and safe are as follows: (1) The *Election Poll* is our weakest vote; (2) The *Grand Jury* is the mechanism allowing the citizens to indict politicians and government employees who fail to follow the Constitution or commit other crimes against the people, and also for other crimes by citizens; (3) The Jury is our most powerful and protective vote. It is a true safety net.

The Jury was given the most responsible vote in the nation. This vote is the liberty to maintain all other liberties. It was given to the humblest of citizens. Congress may pass a law, the President may approve and sign a law, the courts may rule on a law, but only the Jury is entrusted with the power to enforce the law. This gives profound meaning to the phrase "We the People."

One humble man on a jury has more power than Congress, the Supreme Court, and the

President combined, because that one juror has the right to nullify any law that is unjust simply by voting "not guilty." This veto power is jury nullification.

In 1797, in the early days of our nation, this power was expressed by the Congress of the United States in law and was approved and signed (1798) by the 2nd President of the United States, John Adams.

Congress passed four laws known as the Alien and Sedition Acts. It is in part four, The Sedition Act, that the real fireworks are contained. It is not the act itself we want to focus on, since the act itself was to be temporary, to end in 1801. It is the inclusion of jury nullification, the liberty to maintain all other liberties, in the body of the law, that makes this act very important. By 1798, when this act was signed into law, jury nullification was already the accepted RIGHT, AUTHORITY, POWER and DUTY of the Jury.

I consider trial by jury as the only anchor yet imagined by man by which a government can be held to the principles of its constitution.

—*Thomas Jefferson*

In the 1800s, slaves were set free by this same doctrine of jury nullification. Jurors do have the RIGHT, AUTHORITY, POWER and DUTY to nullify unjust and bad laws. — Although the Alien and Sedition Acts have ended, jury nullification has not. The two most important procedural legal parts of The Sedition Act are as stated: ". . . the truth of the matter contained in the

publication charged as a libel . . .” may be given in court; “And the jury who shall try the cause, shall have a right to determine the law and the fact under the direction of the court as in other cases.” In other words, the Judge is to instruct the Jury about this right. Additionally, it should be noted that the right of jury nullification was now extended to alien immigrants and refugees. This was a generous and bold move.

Jury nullification is the highest governmental right in the land to protect citizens both from bad

governmental laws and oppressions as well as acts from unjust citizens.

Jury nullification makes it possible to settle disputes in the courtroom peacefully. If this right could be extended graciously to aliens, certainly then, Americans should never give up this right in their courtrooms.

Source: Fully Informed Jury Association, 1-800-835-5879 (<http://www.fija.org>)

EXCERPTS FROM *POLITICAL OBSERVATIONS*

Of all the enemies of true liberty, war is, perhaps, the most to be dreaded, because it comprises and develops the germ of every other.

War is the parent of armies; from these proceed debts and taxes; and armies, and debts, and taxes are the known instruments for bringing the many under the domination of the few.

In war, too, the discretionary power of the Executive is extended; its influence in dealing out offices, honors and emoluments is multiplied; and all the means of seducing the minds, are added to those of subduing the force, of the people.

The same malignant aspect in republicanism may be traced in the inequality of fortunes, and the opportunities of fraud, growing out of a state of war, and in the degeneracy of manner and of morals, engendered in both.

No nation can preserve its freedom in the midst of continual warfare.

War is in fact the true nurse of executive

aggrandizement. In war, a physical force is to be created; and it is the executive will which is to direct it.

In war, the public treasuries are to be unlocked; and it is the executive hand which is to dispense them.

In war, the honors and emoluments of office are to be multiplied; and it is the executive patronage under which they are to be enjoyed; and it is the executive brow they are to encircle.

The strongest passions and most dangerous weaknesses of the human breast; ambition, avarice, vanity, the honorable or venal love of fame, are all in conspiracy against the desire and duty of peace.

JAMES MADISON

April 20, 1795, from “*Political Observations*,”
Letters and Other Writings of James Madison,
Volume IV, page 491.

ROSE
WILDER
LANE
1886–1968

Reader of Laura Ingalls Wilder's beloved "Little House" children's books already know crusading libertarian writer Rose Wilder Lane as "baby Rose," whose birth and early years are chronicled in *The First Four Years*.

Born on the frontier, in America's Dakota territory, Rose Wilder left the territory with her family for Florida after surviving diphtheria, crop failure, and even the loss of their house to fire. They soon returned, staying in a rented house for two years, during which time Rose learned to read in a matter of months at a small town schoolhouse, before leaving for Mansfield, Missouri by covered wagon. There, the Wilder family bought a plot of land dubbed Rocky Ridge by Laura, and built the home in which the "Little House" stories would later be written.

Finding the school in Mansfield insufficiently challenging, Wilder, with her mother's consent, stayed home to educate herself. She returned to school for only a few months in 1903–1904, earning her high school degree while staying with her aunt in Louisiana.

The adult Rose's life, while less well known, is at least as exciting as the adventures related in any of her mother's books. In an autobiographical piece for the Federal Writers Project, Lane described her varied experiences:

I have been office clerk, telegrapher, newspaper reporter, feature writer, advertising writer, farmland salesman. I have seen all the United States and something of Canada and the Caribbean; all of Europe except Spain; Turkey, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Iraq as far east as Baghdad, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan.

Lane publicly disavowed her youthful socialism in a long 1936 article in the *Saturday Evening Post* titled "Credo," which was later reprinted as the pamphlet *Give Me Liberty*. She related her disillusionment — and that of her Russian friends — with the new Soviet regime, as well as anecdotes about the bureaucratic red tape she encountered in Parisian markets, and the behavior of police in Budapest sent to enforce mandatory work rules. Economic central planning, her experiences and travels had taught her, was incompatible with both prosperity and individual liberty. In her autobiographical essay for the Federal Writers Project she said this about her change of heart:

"In 1917 I became a convinced, though not practicing communist. In Russia, for some reason, I wasn't and I said so, but my understanding of Bolshevism made everything pleasant when the Cheka arrested me a few times.

I am now a fundamentalist American; give me time and I will tell you why individualism, laissez faire and the slightly restrained anarchy of capitalism offer the best opportunities for the development of the human spirit. Also I will tell you why the relative freedom of human spirit is better — and more productive, even in material ways — than the communist, Fascist, or any other rigidity organized for material ends."

Roses writing reflected her growing concern with government encroachment on individual liberties. Her 1938 pioneer novel *Free Land*, the royalties from which financed Lane's purchase of a home in Connecticut, would be her last published fiction. During the early 40's, she began work on *The Discovery of Freedom*, which by her own account was written in a "white heat." In 1945, she began writing for the National Economic Council's *Review of Books*. A correspondence with Ayn Rand that lasted several years began when Rand sent Lane a letter of thanks for her favorable review of *The Fountainhead* in that publication.

Lane was not merely a theorist, but an activist as well. In 1945-46, she led a campaign against the introduction of zoning, which she saw as a violation of individual property rights, in her town. She also grew her own food to avoid wartime rationing, and later quit her editorial job with the National Economic Council so as not to pay Social Security taxes. Her prescience regarding the instability of that system was astonishing: throughout the 1950s she would describe it as unstable and a "Ponzi fraud." Lane told friends that it would be immoral of her to take part in a system that would predictably collapse so catastrophically, as the example of Weimar Germany convinced her that it would.

In 1958, a man named Robert Le Fevre who had been strongly influenced by Lane's *The Discovery of Freedom* asked her to come visit his "Freedom School," which he had founded to promote the individualist principles he said Lane had taught him. She would become a regular lecturer there for several years thereafter.

At the age of 78, Lane worked as a war correspondent in South Vietnam for *Woman's Day*. When she died in 1968, she was planning another three-year world tour.

The direct influence of *The Discovery of*

Freedom was lessened by its unavailability for many years — Lane refused to allow it to be reprinted until she was able to revise and correct it extensively, an unfinished project that occupied much of her time in later life. Yet her effect on a generation of proponents of liberty was profound. Her attorney Roger Lea MacBride, who she called her "adopted grandson," was inspired by her to write a series of sequels to the "Little House" books, "The Rose Years," about Lane.

Lane's extensive correspondence also had its impact, though often even Lane herself did not see the extent of it until much later. In 1958 she wrote to a longtime correspondent, businessman Jasper Crane:

"Twenty one years ago . . . I used to spend all my time, every day, at my typewriter following up every least "lead" that I could find. Example: I heard a high-school "debate" among all pro-New Dealers on the radio, and wrote to each of them. One replied, with all the Welfare State collectivist notions that had been put into his head, but he didn't seem wholly unintelligent, so I kept on writing to him for some months, apparently with no effect, finally getting no answer. Now he turns up as publisher of National Review, telling people that I — i.e., my letters — changed his whole life."

Lane changed many lives, both through her writing and her personal example. If it turns out to be true that, as she wrote in *Give Me Liberty*, "individualism has the strength to resist all attacks," Rose Wilder Lane will have helped to make it true by lending so much of her own strength to individualists everywhere.

Source: <http://www.catoorg/special/threewomen/wilder-lane.html>

THE LYSANDER SPOONER READER

Somewhere, sometime a person will open this book not knowing what to expect, but curious about a man with the name of Lysander Spooner. I envy that reader, for that was me nearly twenty-five years ago when I encountered *No Treason: The Constitution of No Authority*. I could scarcely believe my eyes. Here were ideas radical yet commonsensical, subversive yet quintessentially American. Spooner challenged and excited me. Such experiences are rare because truly original thinkers are rare, and you can discover them but once.

Alas, my days of innocent discovery are over, the casualty of too much reading. I have read libertarian writers so obscure that even obscure libertarians have never heard of them. I doubt if my future holds many surprises, but it does hold many pleasures. This is one of them: introducing others to Lysander Spooner.

Lysander Spooner (1808–1887) was one of the greatest libertarian theorists of the nineteenth (or any other) century and a founding father of the modern movement. He was radical to the bone, a nonconformist among nonconformists who refused to toe any party line.

Trained as a lawyer, Spooner often wrote like a lawyer, citing precedents, statutes, and legal authorities. This legalistic style enshrouds some of

his works with a dry, forbidding appearance. But huddled among his legal arguments are passages of literary and philosophic brilliance.

Spooner was no ordinary lawyer. He cited the Constitution when he believed it conformed with natural law; this led him to assert the unconstitutionality of chartered banks, a monopolistic post office, legal tender laws, slavery, and other offenses against liberty. In the final analysis, however, Spooner condemned the Constitution as possessing “no authority,” and this distinguished him from many radicals of his day. He espoused individualist-anarchism (in substance if not in name), a radical no-government philosophy with roots deep in American history — Native American Anarchism, as Eunice Schuster has called it.

For Spooner, natural law and its corollary, natural rights, are the foundation of a free and

When a cumbrous, clumsy,
expensive and dilatory
government system is once
established, it is nearly impossible
to modify or materially improve it.

just society. He was an unterrified Jeffersonian who refused to compromise the principles expressed in the Declaration of Independence. If man is endowed with inalienable rights, then no one, including government, should violate them. If government requires the consent of the governed then a legitimate government must acquire the explicit consent of every person in its jurisdiction. If the people have a right to resist usurpations and the right to overthrow tyrannical

governments, then these rights may be enforced against the American government.

If such principles make it difficult for governments to function, then, as Spooner saw the matter, so much the better. Government is a standing threat to liberty, peace, prosperity, and social order.

Spooner's contempt for government was rivaled only by this contempt for fellow libertarians who compromised their principles under cover of

expediency. Pure justice is a thing of beauty, and Spooner could not abide those who knowingly defaced it. Where others saw expediency, Spooner saw only cowardice or betrayal or ambition masquerading as practicality.

Source: Excerpted from *The Lysander Spooner Reader*. Copyright ©1992, Introduction by George H. Smith. Printed by Fox & Wilkes, 942 Howard Street, San Francisco, CA 94301.

THE GOVERNMENT IS NOT FOUNDED ON THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION

It was a Western European civilization that had broken free from the last traces of Empire and Christendom; and it had not a vestige of monarchy left, and no State Religion . . . The absence of any binding religious tie is especially noteworthy. It had a number of forms of Christianity, its spirit was indubitably Christian; but, as a State document of 1796 explicitly declared: "The government of the United States is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion."

Source: *Outline of History*, H.G. Wells.

The words "In God We Trust" were not consistently on all U.S. currency until 1956, during the McCarthy Hysteria. The Treaty of Tripoli, passed by the U.S. Senate in 1797, read in part:

"The government of the United States is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion." The treaty was written during the Washington administration, and sent to the Senate during the Adams administration. It was read aloud to the Senate, and each Senator received a printed copy. This was the 339th time that a recorded vote was required by the Senate, but only the third time a vote was unanimous (the next time was to honor George Washington). There is no record of any debate or dissension on the treaty. It was reprinted in full in three newspapers two in Philadelphia, one in New York City. There is no record of public outcry or complaint in subsequent editions of the papers.

Source: *The Founding Fathers Were Not Christians*, Steven Morris, Free Inquiry, Fall 1995.

THE FOUNDING FATHERS WERE NOT CHRISTIANS

Steven Morris

The Christian rights is trying to rewrite the history of the United States as part of its campaign to force its religion on others. They try to depict the founding fathers as pious Christians who wanted the United States to be a Christian nation, with laws that favored Christians and Christianity.

This is patently untrue. The early presidents and patriots were generally Deists or Unitarians, believing in some form of impersonal Providence but rejecting the divinity of Jesus and the absurdities of the Old and New Testaments.

THOMAS PAINE

Thomas Paine was a pamphleteer whose manifestos encouraged the faltering spirits of the country and aided materially in winning the war of Independence:

I do not believe in the creed professed by the Jewish church, by the Roman church, by the Greek church, by the Turkish church, by the Protestant church, nor by any church that I know of . . . Each of those churches accuse

the other of unbelief; and for my own part, I disbelieve them all.”

Source: *The Age of Reason*, Thomas Paine, pp. 8, 9 (Republished 1984, Prometheus Books, Buffalo, NY)

GEORGE WASHINGTON

George Washington, the first president of the United States, never declared himself a Christian according to contemporary reports or in any of his voluminous correspondence. Washington championed the cause of freedom from religious intolerance and compulsion. When John Murray (a universalist who denied the existence of hell) was invited to become an army chaplain, the other chaplains petitioned Washington for his dismissal. Instead, Washington gave him the appointment. On his deathbed, Washington uttered no words of a religious nature and did not call for a clergyman to be in attendance.

Source: *George Washington and Religion*, Paul F. Boller Jr., pp. 16, 87, 88, 108, 113, 121, 127 (1963, Southern Methodist University Press, Dallas, TX)

JOHN ADAMS

John Adams, the country's second president, was drawn to the study of law but faced pressure from his father to become a clergyman. He wrote that he found among the lawyers noble and gallant achievements” but among the clergy, the “pretended sanctity of some absolute dunces.” Late in life he wrote: “Twenty times in the course of my late reading, have I been upon the point of breaking out, This would be the best of all possible worlds, if there were no religion in it!”

It was during Adams' administration that the Senate ratified the Treaty of Peace and Friendship, which states in Article XI that "the government of the United States of America is not in any sense founded on the Christian Religion."

Source: *The Character of John Adams*, Peter Shaw, pp. 17 (1976, North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, NC) quoting a letter by John Adams to Charles Cushing, October 19, 1756,

John Adams, A Biography in his Own Words, edited by James Peabody, p. 403 (1973, Newsweek, New York NY) quoting letter by John Adams to Jefferson, April 19, 1817.

In reference to the treaty, *Thomas Jefferson, Passionate Pilgrim* by Alf Mapp Jr., pp. 311 (1991, Madison Books, Lanham, MD) quoting a letter by Thomas Jefferson to Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse, June, 1814.

THOMAS JEFFERSON

Thomas Jefferson, third president said: "I trust that there is not a young man now living in the United States who will not die a Unitarian." He referred to the Revelation of St. John as "the ravings of a maniac" and wrote:

The Christian priesthood, finding the doctrines of Christ leveled to every understanding and too plain to need explanation, saw, in the mysticisms of Plato, materials with which they might build up an artificial system which might, from its indistinctness, admit everlasting controversy, give employment for their order, and introduce it to profit, power, and pre-eminence. The doctrines which flowed from the lips of Jesus himself are within the comprehension of

a child; but thousands of volumes have not yet explained the Platonisms engrafted on them: and for this obvious reason that nonsense can never be explained."

"The day will come when the mystical generation of Jesus, by the supreme being as his father in the womb of a virgin, will be classed with the fable of the generation of Minerva in the brain of Jupiter."

Source: *Thomas Jefferson, an Intimate History*, Fawn M. Brodie, p. 453 (1974, W.W.) Norton and Co. Inc. New York, NY) quoting a letter by Thomas Jefferson to Alexander Smyth Jan 17, 1825.

Thomas Jefferson, Passionate Pilgrim, Alf Mapp Jr., pp. 246 (1991, Madison Books, Lanham, MD) quoting a letter by Thomas Jefferson to John Adams, July 5, 1814.

Thomas Jefferson letter to John Adams, April 11, 1823.

JAMES MADISON

James Madison, fourth president and father of the Constitution, was not religious in any conventional sense.

Religious bondage shackles and debilitates the mind and unfits it for every noble enterprise.

During almost fifteen centuries has the legal establishment of Christianity been on trial. What have been its fruits? More or less in all places, pride and indolence in the Clergy, ignorance and servility in the laity, in both, superstition, bigotry and persecution.

Source: *The Madisons*, Virginia Moore, p. 43 (1979, McGraw-Hill Co. New York, NY) quoting

a letter by James Madison to William Bradford April 1, 1774.

James Madison, A Biography in his Own Words, edited by Joseph Gardner, p. 93, (1974, Newsweek, New York, NY) quoting *Memorial and Remonstrance against Religious Assessments*, James Madison, June 1785.

ETHAN ALLEN

Ethan Allen, whose capture of Fort Ticonderoga while commanding the Green Mountain Boys helped inspire Congress and the country to pursue the War of Independence, said, “That Jesus Christ was not God is evidence from his own words.” In the same book, Allen noted that he was generally “denominated a Deist, the reality of which I never disputed, being conscious that I am no Christian.” When Allen married Fanny Buchanan, he stopped his own wedding ceremony when the judge asked him if he promised “to live with Fanny Buchanan agreeable to the laws of God.” Allen refused to answer until the judge agreed that the God referred to was the God of Nature, and the laws those “written in the great book of nature.”

Source: Religion of the American Enlightenment, G. Adolph Koch, p. 40 (1968, Thomas Crowell Co., New York, NY.) quoting preface and page 352 of *Reason, The Only Oracle of Man* and *A Sense of History*, compiled by American Heritage

Press Inc., p. 103 (1985, American Heritage Press, Inc., New York, NY.)

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

Benjamin Franklin, delegate to the Continental Congress and the Constitutional Convention, said:

As to Jesus of Nazareth, my Opinion of whom you particularly desire, I think the System of Morals and his Religion . . . has received various corrupting Changes, and I have, with most of the present dissenters in England, some doubts as to his Divinity; tho’ it is a question I do not dogmatize upon, having never studied it, and think it needless to busy myself with it now, when I expect soon an opportunity of knowing the Truth with less trouble.”

He died a month later, and historians consider him, like so many great Americans of his time, to be a Deist, not a Christian.

Source: *Benjamin Franklin, A Biography in his Own Words*, edited by Thomas Fleming, p. 404, (1972, Newsweek, New York, NY) quoting a letter by Benjamin Franklin to Ezra Stiles March 9, 1790. www.dimensional.com/~randl/founders.htm

Steven Morris is the author of The Founding Fathers Were Not Christians (Free Inquiry, Fall 1995)

FREETHINKERS: A HISTORY OF AMERICAN SECULARISM

Kenneth W. Krause

Freethinkers: A History of American Secularism, Susan Jacoby. New York: Metropolitan Books, copyright 2004.

Talking against religion is unchaining a Tyger, the Beast let loose may worry his Deliverer. —Benjamin Franklin, 1751

I found myself reflecting upon Franklin's counsel one morning last spring when I first heard Susan Jacoby on Wisconsin Public Radio. A former Pulitzer prize finalist, director of the Center for Inquiry—Metro New York, and contributor to *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, *Newsday*, and *Vogue*, Jacoby compromised nothing for the sake of political correctness. I grinned like a lizard, in fact, as she punished every insensible, squealing Christian rigorist in the state with a spare hour and the wherewithal to operate a touch-tone telephone. Regrettably, Franklin's admonition is as relevant today as it was in the eighteenth century; but I can assure everyone — Susan Jacoby isn't scared.

In *Freethinkers*, Jacoby underpaints her historical portrait of American secularism with a sketch of our constitutional roots. "It is impossible to overstate the importance of Virginia's 1786 Act

for Establishing Religious Freedom," she writes, "for, much to the dismay of religious conservatives, it would become the template for the secularist provisions of the federal Constitution." As their model, the founders chose Virginia, "not the other states, with their crazy quilts of obeisance to a more restrictive religious past."

Our Constitution was intended as a purely secular document, Jacoby surmises, "because of what it says and what it does not say." Article VI, section 3, of course, which was adopted in Philadelphia with little debate and no controversy, assured that our representatives and their appointed officials would be bound "by Oath or Affirmation" and that "no religious Test [would] ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States."

And in no way, at no point, would the Constitution refer even passingly to a supernatural entity. "The Constitution's silence on the deity broke not only with culturally and historically distant precedent but with proximate and recent American precedent — most notably the 1781 Articles of Confederation, which acknowledged the beneficence of 'the Great Governor of the World.' With its refusal to invoke any form of divine sanction, even the vague deistic 'Providence,'" Jacoby reasons, "the Constitution went even further than Virginia's religious freedom act in separating religion from government."

"The inefficacy of [religious] restraint on individuals is well known," wrote James Madison to Thomas Jefferson on October 24, 1787. "The conduct of every popular assembly, acting on oath, the strongest of religious ties, shows that individuals join without remorse in acts against which their consciences would revolt, if proposed to them separately in their closets." Clearly, it was the moral tenets of Enlightenment rationalism and not reactionary superstitiousism that

America's revolutionary generation sought to instill in their new government. Jacoby concurs: "Americans lived no longer in an age of faith, but in an age of faiths and an age of reason."

The author layers her canvas sparingly, but appropriately emphasizes secular morality. "The religiously correct version of American history has never given proper credit to the central importance of the Enlightenment concept of natural rights — or to the anticlerical abolitionists who advanced that concept before the public — in building the case against slavery." Indeed, but for the Bible, would slavery have ever infected American society in the first place? "[S]ecularists are not value-free," Jacoby writes. "[T]heir values are simply grounded in earthly concerns rather than in anticipation of heavenly rewards or fear of infernal punishments."

To American readers denied an honest, inclusive education with respect to their own past, Jacoby introduces a new cast of heroes from the nineteenth-century—the likes of Lucretia Mott ("Truth for Authority, Not Authority for Truth"), Elizabeth Cady Stanton ("[E]very form of religion which has breathed upon this earth has degraded woman."), William Lloyd Garrison ("Truth is older than any parchment."), and of course, the "Great Agnostic," Robert Green Ingersoll ("Every fact has pushed superstition from the brain and a ghost from the clouds . . . and every schoolhouse is a temple.").

But most conspicuous were Jacoby's final strokes. In the chapter entitled "Reason Embattled," she brutalizes the most formidable contemporary proponents of American theocracy. "The real underpinnings of [Antonin] Scalia's support of the death penalty are to be found not in constitutional law but in the Justice's religious convictions." Death, according to Scalia, is simply "no big deal" for Christians with faith in an after-

life. And the venerated principle of separation of religion and government, so elemental to democracy itself, should apparently be of no concern to American citizens content to live under the law of Scalia's god. But some citizens, Jacoby protests, "might respect themselves enough to respect the authority of their elected officials — even without being threatened by the sword of the Lord of Hosts."

Yet, for all his pompous, illicit evangelism, Scalia is not the principal threat to American secularism. "It is fair to say," writes Jacoby, "that the first six presidents of the United States did not invoke the blessings of the Deity as frequently in their entire public careers as President George W. Bush does each month. . . . Short of erecting a cross atop the White House, . . . the current administration could hardly do more to demonstrate its commitment to pulverizing a constitutional wall that has served both religion and government well for more than two hundred years." The President's faith-based initiatives, his constant, official yet furtive allusions to scripture and empty neo-Christian platitudes (exactly what is this "culture of life," and does it ever apply to the living?) demand our unwavering political attention as much as more traditional and less subtle attacks on separation.

Like Franklin, Jacoby offers fair warning to the community of reason. We must challenge the "unexamined assumption that religion per se is, and always must be, a benign influence on society. . . . For secularists to mount an effective challenge to the basic premises of religious correctness, they must first stop pussyfooting around the issue of the harm that religion is capable of doing."

And most importantly, rational citizens must educate themselves: "Nor is it enough for secularists to speak up in defense of the godless

constitution; they must also defend the Enlightenment values that produced the legal structure crafted by the framers. Important as separation of church and state is to American secularists, their case must be made on a broader plane that includes the defense of rational thought itself.” We must “reclaim the passion and emotion from the religiously correct. The revitalization of American secularism in the twenty-first century depends upon its ability to convey the passions of humanism as Ingersoll did in the nineteenth, to move hearts as well as to change minds.”

Free Inquiry magazine touted *Freethinkers* as “the freethought book of the year. Make that the decade. OK, the century.” I would ask every secularist to consider a number of fine books in the same tradition, including Sidney Warren’s *American Freethought, 1860–1914*. (NY: Gordian Press, 1966), and editor Annie Laurie Gaylor’s *Women Without Superstition: No Gods-No Masters* (Madison, WI: Freedom From Religion Foundation, 1997).

I won’t fault Jacoby, as some might, for offering a polemical history. Democracy, after all, is the free marketplace of arguments and ideas as well as simple facts; and Jacoby has demonstrated commendable facility with all three. Besides, to whom should Americans look for political and social ideas, if not to those with a working knowledge of our history?

My only criticism of Jacoby’s book is that it insufficiently emphasizes the freethought organs and organizations of the late nineteenth century, America’s ‘golden age’ of reason. Our citizens should know more about the struggles of that period, often lost but always fiercely fought, that gradually led to the enhanced (though inade-

quate) level of freethought we enjoy today. The Truth Seeker (arguably, the era’s most radical freethought weekly, edited by D.M. Bennett) and The Index (published by the Free Religious Association) were the venerable precursors to contemporary atheist and humanist news services. The National Liberal League, the American Secular Union, the Freethought Federation of America, the Infidel Association of the United States, and the New York State Freethinkers’ Association all serve as worthy examples of the ability of rational people to unite for a critical cause.

But I agree with Susan Jacoby: “It is time to revive the evocative and honorable freethinker, with its insistence that Americans think for themselves instead of relying on received opinion.” Nothing less salient than democracy, freedom and peace hang in the balance; and on a scale of one to five, in the category of American history, I rate *Freethinkers* at four Ingersolls.

And as always, I invite readers to relay to me their suggestions, comments, and criticisms. krausekc@msn.com.

Kenneth W. Krause believes that an author’s book represents the very best she has to offer to the world, and that each of us depends on every other to take advantage of such gifts whenever possible. With his precious wife, Cindy, and his imperious Akita, Jimi, (or is the wife imperious and the dog precious?) Kenneth lives in Wisconsin, along the Mississippi River. He has earned degrees in history, literature, art and law, but knows that with every new day comes a reinvigorated battle against his own stupidity. As such, he invites your comments and criticisms at krausekc@msn.com.

A HERO OF CIVILIZATION: THOMAS PAINE

Bolder Landry

From the time of Hammurabi to the French Philosophers, thirty-eight centuries have passed and during these centuries, the mind of man slowly and painfully rose from ignorance, superstition and degradation to some degree of enlightenment. Hated by those they wished to rescue, despised by those they gave their lives to save, these grand heroes, these immortal deliverers, have fought without thanks, labored without applause, suffered without pity and died execrated and abhorred. These heroes of civilization have, for the good of mankind, accepted isolation, poverty, jail, ridicule, calumny and death. They gave up all, losing all but truth and self-respect.

Abelard was castrated and ended in silence. Frederick II's works were in total defiance of the ecclesiastical colossus. Da Vinci ended his days homeless and penniless. Michelangelo died amidst a few animals; and Columbus died a complete wreck. Bruno ended up at the stake; Galileo was forced to lie about a scientific truth; Voltaire spent most of his adult life in exile with a pair of fast horses at his door; the brilliant French philosopher Diderot ended his days abandoned by

his friends. This article describes the most painful of all heroes so far presented.

One of the bravest and most outstanding heroes of civilization is Thomas Paine; and I feel indebted to him for the liberty we are enjoying today. Born among the poor, in England where real liberty was unknown, where children were burdens, where privileges of class were guarded with infinite jealousy and the rights of the individual were trampled beneath the feet of priests and nobles, where to advocate justice was treason, where intellectual freedom was infidelity, where a person's body belonged to the state while the mind was controlled by the Church; it is truly miraculous that the idea of true liberty ever entered his brain. This great patriot was pounced upon by the Church the moment he died in order to destroy his character and eradicate his name from history.

Before the American Revolution, monarchies were considered sacred institutions by divine right, and arrogant and brutal kings wielded their sceptres as vicars of God on earth. Their whims and desires were law, and disobedience meant death. "Where there is no liberty," Paine later would say, "that is where I want to be." And he defied the king. One hundred fifty years ago slavery was considered, by Biblical sanction, a divine institution and today serfdom still exists on the earth. Thomas Paine is the first to embody in his mighty book *The Rights of Man* the fundamental rights which we celebrate today.

Paine's social gospel has still to be realized over a large part of the earth, and it will be a grand day for the race when the only creed that is taught to children is his: *The world is my country; to do good is my religion*. He stands, a monumental figure, on the frontier of the old world we are leaving and the new world we are entering.

His accomplishments were many. He turned his pen against dueling; he was the first to plead for

the equality of women, to advocate rational laws of marriage and divorce, to denounce cruelty to animals, to demand the abolition of wars by international arbitration, to urge the abolition of slavery, to suggest a union of the colonies and to anticipate the *Declaration of Independence* by speaking of the free and independent states of America. Thomas Paine was the first man to write these words: *united states of America*. He enunciated in his *Agrarian Justice* the principles by which poverty could be abolished, and these proposals are now the basis of nearly all of our present social laws. There was not a writer in America at the time to compare with Paine in social idealism.

If the infidel Lincoln is to be worshipped for having signed the last Emancipation Proclamation, the infidel Paine should certainly not be hated for having written this, the first Emancipation Proclamation. When Thomas Paine wrote the Constitution of the state of Pennsylvania in 1789 he wrote an Emancipation Proclamation 75 years before Abraham Lincoln: Negro Slavery was abolished for the first time on this continent in the state of Pennsylvania. (N.B. Lincoln's 1863 Proclamation freed no slaves in "loyal" states.) For this deed of mercy, and many, many more, Thomas Paine's name should not only be placed amongst the heroes of civilization, but should also be enshrined in the heart of every man, woman and child.

While awaiting the sentence of death by the revolutionaries, in France, Paine wrote the first part of the *Age of Reason* giving his opinions on religion. This is a book not mentioned in schools nor easily found on library shelves. The object of the book would astonish some of the preachers who make glib references to Paine. Its purpose was to attack Atheism and save religion. If the

Rights of Man struck out against political unreason, the *Age of Reason* was a strike against religious unreason, and both books have endured because they possess the imperishable quality of integrity, strength, and truth.

Our hero of *The Rights of Man* nearly perished in a Republican prison. The new French leaders made amends and restored Paine to his seat in the Convention and offered him a pension. In America meanwhile, Jefferson was President and the Federalists were prompt to find him favoring an infidel. The *Age of Reason* had reached America and a war upon the character of Paine was already in progress.

It might be of interest to know that there are Thomas Paine statues in Paris, Morristown and Bordentown, New Jersey and Thetford, England, the city of his birth.

When Paine reached America he found himself ostracized. He was denied citizenship in the Republic he created! In New York he meandered from one lodging house to another and was jeered at in the streets, vilified in books and the press. The clergy invented all sorts of lies to destroy the man who had directed the spirit of America during the great crisis. His poor circumstances, his isolation from the world, his consciousness of the price of honesty while he saw rogues and hypocrites flourish, could hardly tend to cheerfulness. Thomas Paine died on June 8, 1809 and his fame is safe in the hands of all enlightened people.

Bolder Landry was a life-long Freethinker, author, lecturer and advocate of Thomas Paine.

Source: Excerpt with permission, from *Heroes of Civilization*, Bolder Landry © 1977, Anchor Printing Corp., Anaheim, CA.

THE RIGHTS OF MAN

HISTORICAL PREFACE

Gilbert Vale

Thomas Paine, author of the *Rights of Man*, was born in England of Quaker parents. On Franklin's representations he visited North America in 1774, and at Philadelphia edited the first literary magazine. Just at the crisis when England spurned the humble petitioners and breathed only war and revenge—when the first large armament was about to descend on the shores of the defenceless Colonies, and when all persons seriously asked, "What can be done?" and "What shall we do?" there appeared a small pamphlet from the pen of Thomas Paine under the title of *Common Sense*. The effect of this pamphlet was magical. The people had only *asked* for redress of grievances, but now they demanded independence; and in the same year, 1776, it was declared. Mr. Paine followed this pamphlet up by a series of tracts or pamphlets called *The Crisis*, and signed COMMON SENSE. He had the merit of creating a public opinion, and directing it to a successful issue.

In 1787 Mr. Paine returned to Europe, and presented to the scientific bodies of France and England his model of iron bridges, which have

since been adopted. He mixed in the society of the leading literary and political men of both countries; and while thus situated, the elements of the first French revolution began to appear. Mr. Paine hastened to the scene of action, as an intelligent observer; and on this subject became the correspondent of Edmund Burke, then the most eloquent man in the House of Commons, and the champion of liberty. But Mr. Burke was at that time a secret pensioner. He had stipulated for a handsome pension for himself, for his wife in case she survived, and for his family after their death. This pension not being known to the public at that time, to the surprise of all, the eloquent Mr. Burke changed his principles, and from being the warm supporter of America in her struggle for liberty, and the champion of the early efforts of the French in their revolution, he became the enemy of that revolution, and through that the supporter of corruption and the friend of the oppressor; but as Mr. Burke took advantage of some excesses in the French revolution to declare his change of opinion, he gave a coloring to this change which deceived even his personal friends. They gave him credit for sincerity, and when he announced his great work, Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution*, it made a great impression on the public mind. The friends of liberty and human rights in both Ireland and England were mortified at the defection of Mr. Burke, and dejected at the success of his work, till Mr. Paine, announced a reply. That reply was the *Rights of Man*, and popular as Mr. Burke's work was in its beginning, it stood no chance against Mr. Paine's. When a thousand copies were sold of the one, ten thousand were sold of the other. Mr. Burke, before the publication of the *Rights of Man*, had promised a rejoinder, but he never attempted it, and Mr. Paine, after waiting a long time published his SECOND PART. The present work

contains both; it is Mr. Paine's *chef d'oeuvre* politics. He has given it a broad basis on principle. It is a condensation of sound political principles, applicable at all times, besides being a reminiscence of England and France at those stirring times.

The work had an immense run and influence, and as it would not be bought up, it was honored with a series of prosecutions by the British gov-

ernment; but the same work procured for Mr. Paine an election to the French convention from three different places, and the highest honors were awarded him on his landing at Calais.

The *Rights of Man* has now become a standard work and as such is presented to the American public.

Source: Gilbert Vale, author of *Life of Paine*.

TO M. DE LA FAYETTE

After an acquaintance of nearly fifteen years, in difficult situations in America, and various consultations in Europe, I feel a pleasure in presenting to you this small treatise, in gratitude for your services to my beloved America, and as a testimony of my esteem for the virtues, public and private, which I know you to possess.

The only point upon which I could ever discover that we differed was not as to principles of government, but as to time. For my own part, I think it equally as injurious to good principles to permit them to linger, as to push them on too fast. That which you suppose accomplishable in fourteen or fifteen years, I may believe practicable in a much shorter period. Mankind, as it appears to me, are always ripe enough to understand their true interest, provided it be presented clearly to their understanding, and that in a manner not to create suspicion by any thing like self-design, nor offend by assuming too much. Where we would wish to reform we must not reproach.

When the American Revolution was established, I felt a disposition to sit serenely down and

enjoy the calm. It did not appear to me that any object could afterwards arise great enough to make me quit tranquillity, and feel as I had felt before. But when principle, and not place, is the energetic cause of action, a man, I find, as everywhere the same.

I am now once more in the public world; and as I have not a right to contemplate on so many years of remaining life as you have, I am resolved to labor as fast as I can; and as I am anxious for your aid and your company, I wish you to hasten your principles and overtake me.

If you make a campaign the ensuing spring, which it is most probable these will be no occasion for, I will come and join you. Should the campaign commence, I hope it will terminate in the extinction of German despotism, and in establishing the freedom of all Germany. When France shall be surrounded with revolutions, she will be in peace and safety, and her taxes, as well as those of Germany, will consequently become less.

Your sincere, Affectionate Friend,

THOMAS PAINE, London, Feb 9, 1792

POET OF
FREEDOM:
FREDERICK
SCHILLER
1750–1805

Freedom For All People On This Earth!

No, there's a limit to the tyrant's power,
When the oppressed can find no justice, when
The Burden grow unbearable — he reaches
With hopeful courage up unto the heavens
And seizes hither his eternal rights.
Which hang above, inalienable
And indestructible as stars themselves
At last resort, when not another means
Is of avail, the sword is given him
The highest of all goods we may defend
From violence.
We stand before our country,
We stand before our wives, before our children.
— Friedrich Schiller, *Wilhelm Tell*

For a long time, it seemed that the idea of freedom no longer possessed that value which would make it worth fighting for — at least in the so-called free West, where the materialism of the prosperous society had long been dissociated from any lofty ideal, for which men would once have been ready to give their lives. And then, seemingly out of the blue in 1989, the 230th birthday of Friedrich Schiller, the ideas of the Poet of Freedom are becoming the

vital foundation of freedom movements in many parts of the world all at once!

When the students in Beijing, in May of 1989 demonstrated for democracy for weeks on end, at the Square of Heavenly Peace, they erected the Statue of Liberty as a symbol of their struggle, and they chose the chorus from Beethoven's Ninth Symphony — composed to Schiller's "Ode to Joy" — as the hymn of their movement. It turns out that the best people, in times of great crisis, turn to the profound conceptions and ideas that really constitute the dignity of man. The fact that the brutal massacre of the Deng regime could not break this revolutionary spirit, is shown by the growing movement of Chinese students throughout the world. On the contrary, the more inhuman the communist dictators show themselves to be, the more intense become the movements of the soul, which are responsible for all progress in human history. As it says at the end of the "Ode to Joy":

Courage firm in Grievous trial,
Help, where innocence doth scream
Oaths which sworn to are eternal,
Truth to friend and foe the same.

Manly pride 'for kingly power –
Brother, cost it life and blood –
Honor to whom merits honor,
Ruin to the lying brood!

Closer draw the holy circle,
Swear it by this golden wine.
Faithful to the vow Divine,
Swear it by the Judge celestial!

Source: *Friedrich Schiller, Poet of Freedom III*, English translations by Helga Zepp-Larouche, published by the Schiller Institute in 1990. Copyright 2003, P. O. Box 20244, Washington, DC 20041-0244; (703) 773-8390 or (888) 347-3258.

STAGED EVENTS AND THE CORRUPTION OF IMAGINATION

Jon Rappoport

The projection of staged events and their mass broadcast to populations has long been a staple of elites bent on creating the past, present, and future. In these pages, I have exposed a number of these artificial events.

Funding and other covert means of support, from behind the scenes, have enabled those elites to initiate both sides of a conflict and thereby convince the naive public that warring forces are the real problem — and the only solution is to take sides and join in the fray. The philosopher Hegel called this an evolutionary force in history, and labeled the competing groups *Thesis* and *Antithesis*. He claimed that the resultant effect, a new *Synthesis*, formed the third part of a triangle that was, in effect, a natural law. The synthesis would become the next thesis, which would be opposed by a new antithesis, and then another synthesis would emerge. And so on and so forth. . . .

In fact, this “law” is usually the conscious strategy of those heavy hitters who sit behind devastation, planning it, spinning it, and creating the “lessons” to be learned from it. One familiar

lesson is the curtailing of individual freedoms, brought about in order to “protect the population” from future calamities. This Triangle is the primary method by which elites flesh out space and time.

There are two paths along which the population can overcome that repeating and withering program. One, expose details of the behind-the-scenes creation of past, present, and future. Two, find a way to empower the individual creative force so that IT creates more lasting history. For the last 4-plus years, I’ve taken both tactics in these pages.

It turns out that the individual creative force has no upper limit. We may believe there is a ceiling, but that is just a belief. At some point, a critical mass could be reached, and individuals would have the power to alter the course of space and time, to empty it of the pernicious influences that teach us life is nasty, brutish, and short.

Enabling the individual creative force needs practical means; but this doesn’t mean slavish adherence to a system; it does mean engaging in activities that are geared to magnify energy, imagination, and inventive capacity. I have mentioned Tibet as the foremost Earth society originally devoted to these goals and methods. We in the West tend to call such enterprise paranormal, and it is, if we use a yardstick that basically measures humans as cogs in machines.

Elites count on one thing: even if some humans see through the fabricated illusions, and even if they realize that the vast increase in the manifesting power of their own imaginations is the ultimate trump card, they will stop there and do nothing about it. *They will simply live in a swamp of vague discord and complain and wonder and eventually attach themselves to some comfortable and preposterous mythology that seems to mirror their own ambitions.*

These elites are happy with this analysis. They look at it as proof positive that casting pearls before swine has no threatening outcome.

My assessment is that there are many people who are willing to undertake the effort to increase their own creative power. This observation is not coated, however, with a sweet gauze that makes you and me seem blessed to the point where very little work is required. I also recognize that for many, the job of improvising excuses at every turn is preferable to getting down to brass tacks, even though, in the long run, the energy expended on those excuses exceeds what is needed to get something real done. One of the more important roadblocks is the character of our education. We are taught that we *only* achieve results through following instructions. The teacher, using a text, sets a goal. The goal is broken up into many little parts. Each part is a series of lessons in which instruction and response is the method. At the end of this process lies the pot of gold. If we follow directions, we will arrive.

Unfortunately, beefing up the creative force to unheard of dimensions does not operate along those lines. Therefore, we tend to reject individual creation/imagination as delusion. We fail to see

that the *omnipresent* strategy of instruction and response dulls the imagination. It's not just that by following directions we'll end up with something other than triumphant and manifesting imaginations. It's that the *method* of instruction and response, after a certain point, has a deleterious effect on us.

But we are addicted. This addiction proceeds from the premise that we are small creatures swimming in a great mysterious soup, and we must defer to our betters, who know what can be learned and can teach it to us.

Who can teach every single bit of it to us.

This is a gargantuan distortion.

You can find it embedded in the fairy tales of organized religions.

Having cast all that behind him, the individual is faced with the prospect of inventing his own symbols and archetypes and stories and POWER.

I consider this a project worthy of our time.

I hope you have a sense of that, too. It's a tag-end into the Great Adventure.

Source: November 25, 2005.
www.nomorefakenews.com

THE TRIAD: FREEDOM, IMAGINATION, POWER

Jon Rappoport

Freedom is a catalyst for how the person should live — being immersed into it enough will bring to a person the inspiration and the delving into what he or she must do, wants to do, should do, could do, could create. —*Pictures of Reality*, audiotape 1999

The last side of this two-tape program has to do with America and Freedom and what that really means, and why we should be paying a great deal of attention to that. And the triad called Freedom, Imagination, and Power.

Again I want to go back to something that for some people will be really difficult to absorb, but is so important, Powerful and true that it needs to be said over and over, many, many times. This nation was established on a *Principle of Freedom* for the Individual and that has evolved into various kinds of philosophies, one of which is called Freethought.

But the *Principle of Freedom for the Individual* was the towering achievement and there needed to be a step that would enlarge that Freedom and make it count for something that would manifest, and that is Imagination.

Because we do in fact have tremendous range and capacity in our creativity, our invention, and our Imaginations. It is only on the basis of a background context of Freedom that we can exercise that, and when we do we become Powerful. And when many of us do that in small groups and as Individuals, but basically to begin with as Individuals, we are making the best guarantee of the preservation of Freedom that we can, number one.

And number two and even more important, we are realizing our own potential as Individuals by exercising that Freedom. We are walking the road into dreams that become true. And as I lay out in very great detail in my book, *The Secret Behind Secret Societies*, there appears to be no limit to the capacity of our Imagination to make real what the Individual wants to make real.

But I grant it is a bit of a mystery. In other words, people say, okay there is no limit to the Imagination, so what I want is to be able to create a sparkling blue vase filled with purple irises on my dining room table in the twinkling of an eye. If you say there is no limit to what I can make real through my Imagination, then what is the problem?

And this is a very serious crimp that has resulted for people because Freedom in a way can be passive for a time. You can hand Freedom over to somebody else. In other words, you can say to them, look, you see these fields, my son, and you see the roads and you see the houses, and this is the way the game works. You can walk on a sidewalk as far as you want to walk, and you can cross the streets, you can drive cars in the roads, and you can play and run on the fields, and you can go in and out of your own house as you feel, and you can sometimes go in these other houses if you first ring the bell and they let you in, if you know them. Those are the kinds of things you can do, and I give you the key to all of this.

Well, that's pretty easy. You didn't have to do anything to get there once the Principle is established. Of course, for centuries people had to do a great deal in order to get to the point where that became the case. And it is our seemingly great desire to forget all that history that puts us in a curious position today where we say, well Freedom I like because Freedom is easy, but this Imagination thing takes work and I'm not interested in doing any work, thank you very much, because I work every day and that's it.

So unless you can show me some little trick or hook me up to a machine so I'm some kind of cyber-entity in a way or inject me with some drug that will increase my capacity in about five minutes max, or any number of other quick fixes that will enable me to create the blue vase with the purple irises on the dining room table immediately, I'm just not interested.

Well, let me tell you how this works, because I've spent the last thirty years working on it, so I know something about it. Number one it appears that the range and the capacity of the Imagination to create events, realities and futures is unlimited. It is not clear how to arrive at that far shore.

We do have many examples and instances of people being able to do remarkable things with their Imaginations that we can learn from or be inspired by, such as healing themselves, or doing various internal meditations and creations of imagery and other imaginative landscape activities. We do have many instances of art. We do have many instances of people creating political and social realities. We do have something called the space program, which I discuss in the book, which is an invention, a creature of the Imagination. Which has been defamed and demeaned when we could already be much further out into space and transforming our culture fantastically.

We have examples everywhere, but it's an experimental situation for everyone when it comes to the far shores, the kind of very glitzy intimations about the Power to manifest objects at will and that sort of thing.

We're getting into the whole area of the paranormal as it's called now, and there is some extensive literature on this subject, which I summarize in the book, which shows that in fact the major categories of paranormal abilities, ESP, telepathy, remote perception, mind over matter, have all been proven in the laboratory over the long haul of decades of well-designed experiments to be quite real. And I have been developing various techniques and exercises over the last thirty years that I think will bring people closer and closer to the potential of their own creativity, their own Imagination.

There are many people needed to be involved in this kind of work, but on a less fantastic level (and I don't use that in a sense of fantasy, but mind-boggling, perhaps), this *Tradition of Imagination* is very real. And it is a dimension that is largely missing from the Individual in his living, or her living of life. And it needs to be implemented at a much grander level for us to take the next step as Individuals, and as a culture, and society, and planet.

And then the third thing in the triad is almost an outcome of that, and that is Power. When you have exercised the Imagination to the fullest, or not even to the fullest, because Power is also not just something that is either there or is not there because there are degrees of it.

Source: *The Real History of America*, audiotape, Jon Rappoport, 1998.

A CALL TO ACTION

An Open Letter to Jon Rappoport from Bonnie Lange

Jon, in your article *Imagination Is the Driving Force* (November 26, 2005) you bring up a situation that has given me great concern for some time. Even if we were magically able to delete all the corruption that sits within Washington D.C., what system would we replace it with? In other words what would we imagine and how would we enact it? This is the big question for our planet at this time. How to get rid of the institution called politics and put the Individual at the center of society.

You have the solution. And you and I need to work on this together with a few (just a handful) good people who resonate with the idea of freedom, the individual and imagination as the centerpiece of life on this planet. I'm starting to look for these people. We have a prototype with the American Revolution to give us a blueprint that we can follow.

Time is of the essence because things are starting to break down rapidly. I'm not convinced that as lightworkers we are far along on the non-physical plane, in the new template for the Planet because most lightworkers do not understand

what you are talking about. They are on the internet talking about a lot of accessories . . . such as unconditional love, oneness, being in the now, mostly nice things and a lot of goofy misinformation, and that in and of itself will not bring a revolutionary change in the social structure, which is what we really need.

We need to speed-up our side right now. and develop a system that all can understand which eliminates the political arena from government. This is not difficult to do but I do not see the consciousness here yet for building Freedom. Perhaps *The Money Story*, which I have now produced, will be a good starting place for those who wish to create big projects.

Jon, I respect you, I admire you, and I'm grateful to you for your magnificent, innovative work for our Imaginations.

Your friend and colleague,

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