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Epstein, Joseph. “A Genius of Temperament: Joseph Epstein remembers Irving Kristol

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King, Martin Luther, Jr. “Letter from Birmingham Jail.”

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“A Call for Unity: Statement by Alabama Clergymen”

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Laga, Barry. “What is Literature? A paraphrase, summary, and adaptation of the opening chapter of Terry Eagleton’s Introduction to Literary Theory.”


Paine, Thomas. The Crisis, Number 1.

Smith, Margaret Chase. “Declaration of Conscience.”
Statement on the Floor of the U.S. Senate, 1 June 1950.
Special thanks to the Margaret Chase Smith Library.

Stevenson, Adlai E. Veto Statement to “An Act to Provide Protection to Insectivorous Birds by Restraining Cats” (“Cat Bill Veto”) 23 April 1949. Veto Messages of Adlai E. Stevenson, Governor of Illinois, on Senate and House Bills Passed by the 66th General Assembly of Illinois. Springfield:

Truth, Sojourner. “Ain’t I a Woman?” Three versions of a speech delivered at the Women’s Convention in Akron, Ohio. 29 May 1851.


• Mr. Wiesel is the sole author of the text.

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Philadelphia: 1836.

The sample essays for Joseph Epstein’s “A Genius of Temperament: Joseph Epstein remembers Irving Kristol” and “Obama’s Good Students: A dissent on the ‘valedictocracy,’” Adlai Stevenson’s “Cat Bill Veto,” Winston Churchill’s “Blood, Sweat, and Tears” speech, and the Alabama clergymen’s “Call for Unity” were written by Derek Spencer and are the property of Prestwick House, Inc.
Introduction: *How to use this book*

**To the Student**

*Prestwick House AP Language and Composition* was written with you in mind. The AP Language and Composition exam is a demanding exercise that requires both a deep knowledge of the writer’s craft and the application of strong analytical skills. Each chapter in this book focuses on a specific element of that craft: purpose, adherence to conventions of language, use of literary and rhetorical devices, and so on.

After some instructional material—definitions, explanations, and the like—we provide you with a nonfiction passage, the type of passage that is likely to appear on an AP English Language exam. In some cases, the passage has appeared on the exam. Many of the passages are listed as suggested reading by the Common Core State Standards initiative, so they are well-recommended and worth your attention.

The first passage in each chapter is annotated to reflect the kind of thinking a top-notch AP student would do while reading. The passage is then followed by five multiple-choice questions with the answers revealed. These are not to “test” your understanding of the passage but to show you the often fine distinctions between the “best” answer and some of the other choices that might seem “right” as well. Following the questions are explanations of each choice—why it is wrong, why it is right but not the best. Again, all of this is to model for you the type of thinking you’ll want to have mastered before you take the exam.

Finally, we present you with an AP-style essay question for that same passage—followed by a model student essay.

Look over the passage and model test items as often as you need until you feel confident that you understand the chapter’s focus. When you’re ready to try it
on your own, we provide you another high-quality nonfiction passage, multiple-
choice questions, and writing prompt. Use the exercise as a practice test—and you
can check your answers in the answer key at the end of the book.

Prestwick House AP Language and Composition follows the same format chapter
after chapter, including the section on the Synthesis Essay. Here, too, we provide
two models of quality student work for you to examine before you work on your
own synthesis problems.

Whether you’ve bought this book for your own use at home or are using it as
a textbook in your AP class, we are confident you’ll benefit from the models and
exercises and will approach your AP English Language exam with confidence.

One important note: All of the passages and excerpts that are attributed to
actual persons are accurately and authentically replicated with the appropriate
permissions.

Some of the sources and data presented in this book, however,—especially in
Synthesis Exercise Two—have been created solely for the purpose of the exercise.
You are, therefore, urged to exercise caution and to verify all information before
citing any of the sources in this book for your own research project. (You should
be doing your own research anyway, right?)

To the Teacher

Prestwick House AP Language and Composition was written with you in mind.
We know as well as you do that the AP Language and Composition exam is a
demanding exercise that requires both a deep knowledge of the writer’s craft and
the application of strong analytical skills. We also know as well as you do that, in
the wealth of AP test-prep materials on the market, there is precious little that is
truly useable as a core text for your class. We know that your task is not only to
prepare your students for the exam but to prepare them to meet your district and
state’s graduation requirements.

Toward that end, we’ve made every effort to fill this book with important
nonfiction titles—the types of works that are likely to appear on the AP exam
as well as those suggested by groups like the Common Core State Standards
initiative. Thus, this book is useable as a core text for nonfiction even for classes
that do not have an Advanced Placement emphasis.

For AP classes, however, you’ll find the added benefit of the popular and
effective teach-model-and-practice approach in every chapter. Each chapter
focuses on a specific element of the craft: purpose, adherence to conventions of
language, use of literary and rhetorical devices, and so on and could be a self-
contained, weeklong unit.

It is your choice the extent to which you use this as a “homework text” or an
“in-class text”: use the annotated passages to foster class discussion; examine with
the students the often fine distinctions between the “best” answer and some of the
other choices that might also seem “right”; discuss the exercise passages in class or assign them as out-of-class reading; have the students do the exercise multiple-choice questions as a classroom activity or homework assignment; or have your students write the exercise essays for a grade or for pure practice.

Students can check their own understanding with the answer keys at the end of the book, or you can use the explanatory keys to help your students develop the analytical skills they will need to demonstrate on the exam.

_Prestwick House AP Language and Composition_ is flexible and adaptable. It allows you to be as involved or as removed as you want and your students need.

One important note: All of the passages and excerpts that are attributed to actual persons are accurately and authentically replicated with the appropriate permissions.

Some of the sources and data presented in this book, however,—especially in Synthesis Exercise Two—have been created solely for the purpose of the exercise. Students are, therefore, urged to exercise caution and to verify all information before citing any of the sources in this book for their own research projects. (They should be doing their own research anyway, right?)
As a writer, you’ve probably already been taught to think always about your “audience and purpose.” Audience and purpose may actually be specified in your writing assignments or the prompts on some of the writing tests you have taken. As a writer, you’ve probably also been taught that your awareness of purpose governs many of the decisions you will make in terms of organizational pattern, amount of information from outside, cited sources (and how you present it), tone, word choice, sentence structure, and so on.

The writers whose works you read have also been taught to be aware of audience and purpose, and awareness of purpose has the same implications for how they write as it does for you. It follows, then, that a reader’s awareness of the author’s purpose will help him or her understand, analyze, and evaluate the piece.

The three most common purposes for writing are to inform, to persuade, and to entertain. Certainly, these purposes are not mutually exclusive; most professional, published writers hope to entertain as well as inform and/or persuade. It is, therefore, helpful for readers to know why the piece they are reading was written and avoid being misinformed or misled.

**To inform**

It almost goes without saying that to inform others is probably the most common purpose for writing. Even bloggers, tweeters, and people writing on social networks, for the most part, write to inform. Textbooks are written primarily to inform, as are newspapers and magazines (including electronic publications), and nonfiction books.

The person who is writing to inform is not pressing an agenda or arguing a point—at least not openly. Informative writing exists primarily for the information it conveys and should be evaluated in terms of the quality of that information and the effectiveness with which the writer communicates it.
Consider the following passage, an excerpt from Charles Darwin’s account of his famous voyage to the Galapagos Islands. It has been annotated to point out to you the types of issues—word choice, sentence structure, use of figurative devices—that a careful reader would need to examine in a close reading, an analysis, or an evaluation of Darwin’s account.

After you examine the passage and the accompanying notes, look at how a student taking the AP Language exam might respond to multiple-choice questions and a free-response item dealing with how Darwin communicates the information at the heart of his narrative.

from:
Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of His Majesty’s Ships Adventure and Beagle (1839)
Charles Darwin (1809-1882)

SEPTEMBER 15th.—This archipelago1 consists of ten principal islands, of which five exceed the others in size. They are situated under the Equator, and between five and six hundred miles westward of the coast of America. They are all formed of volcanic rocks;2 a few fragments of granite curiously glazed and altered by the heat, can hardly be considered as an exception. Some of the craters, surmounting the larger islands, are of immense size, and they rise to a height of between three and four thousand feet. Their flanks are studded by innumerable smaller orifices.3 I scarcely hesitate to affirm, that there must be in the whole archipelago at least two thousand craters. These consist either of lava or scoriae, or of finely-stratified, sandstone-like tuff. Most of the latter are beautifully symmetrical; they owe their origin to eruptions of volcanic mud without any lava: it is a remarkable circumstance that every one of the twenty-eight tuff-craters which were examined, had their southern sides either much lower than the other sides, or quite broken down and removed.4 As all these craters apparently have been formed when standing in the sea, and as the waves from the trade wind and the swell from the open Pacific here unite their forces on the southern coasts of all the islands, this singular uniformity in the broken state of the craters, composed of the soft and yielding tuff, is easily explained.5

Sample Student Commentary
1 The antecedent to the demonstrative pronoun, this, is understood to be the Galapagos Archipelago, which is the title of this chapter.
2 Note the use of the semicolon. Darwin is not simply combining two main clauses; they are closely connected by subject matter—the geologic makeup of the islands.
3 Because this in an informative essay, Darwin is not overly concerned with narrative style or voice. Note the long string of basic, subject-verb sentences.
4 Even the few instances of narrative intrusion—“can hardly be considered,” “I scarcely hesitate to affirm,” “it is a remarkable circumstance”—do little to alter the reader’s understanding of, or reaction to, the essential facts of the description.
5 The explanation, while logical and carefully laid out for the reader, is actually speculation. Darwin admits this when he says the craters were “apparently” formed.
Chapter One: Analyzing Author’s Purpose

Considering that these islands are placed directly under the equator, the climate is far from being excessively hot; this seems chiefly caused by the singularly low temperature of the surrounding water, brought here by the great southern Polar current. Excepting during one short season, very little rain falls, and even then it is irregular; but the clouds generally hang low. Hence, whilst the lower parts of the islands are very sterile, the upper parts, at a height of a thousand feet and upwards, possess a damp climate and a tolerably luxuriant vegetation. This is especially the case on the windward sides of the islands, which first receive and condense the moisture from the atmosphere.

In the morning (17th) we landed on Chatham Island, which, like the others, rises with a tame and rounded outline, broken here and there by scattered hillocks, the remains of former craters. Nothing could be less inviting than the first appearance. A broken field of black basaltic lava, thrown into the most rugged waves, and crossed by great fissures, is everywhere covered by stunted, sun-burnt brushwood, which shows little signs of life. The dry and parched surface, being heated by the noon-day sun, gave to the air a close and sultry feeling, like that from a stove; we fancied even that the bushes smelt unpleasantly. Although I diligently tried to collect as many plants as possible, I succeeded in getting very few; and such wretched-looking little weeds would have better become an arctic than an equatorial Flora. The commonest bush is one of the Euphorbiaceae: an acacia and a great odd-looking cactus are the only trees which afford any shade. After the season of heavy rains, the islands are said to appear for a short time partially green. The volcanic island of Fernando Noronha, placed in many respects under nearly similar conditions, is the only other country where I have seen a vegetation at all like this of the Galapagos Islands.

The Beagle sailed round Chatham Island, and anchored in several bays. One night I slept on shore on a part of the island, where black truncated cones were extraordinarily numerous: from one small eminence I counted sixty of them, all surmounted by craters more or less perfect. The greater number consisted merely of a ring of red scoriae or slags, cemented together: and their height above the plain of lava was not more than from fifty to a hundred feet; none had been very lately active. The entire surface of this part of the island seems to have been permeated, like a sieve, by the subterranean vapours: here and there the lava, whilst soft, has been blown into great bubbles; and in other

Sample Student Commentary

6 Again, Darwin presents us with an unproven conclusion, though it is, again, based on an observation, and he does share with the reader the basis of the conclusion.

7 The “hence” suggests that Darwin is certain of this cause-and-effect relationship. He is not hypothesizing the reason for the high-altitude vegetation.

8 Notice how every observation is followed by a detailed explanation.

9 This is a literal prepositional phrase, not a SIMILE.

10 This is a nice example of LITOTES, one of the rare rhetorical devices in this essay.

11 This is indeed a SIMILE but, like the earlier narrative intrusions, does not really alter the meaning or impact of the passage.

12 Here is another SIMILE. Again, it is almost a literal comparison and does nothing to create tone, mood, or voice.
parts, the tops of caverns similarly formed have fallen in, leaving circular pits with steep sides. From the regular form of the many craters, they gave to the country an artificial appearance, which vividly reminded me of those parts of Staffordshire, where the great iron-foundries are most numerous. The day was glowing hot, and the scrambling over the rough surface and through the intricate thickets, was very fatiguing; but I was well repaid by the strange Cyclopean† scene. As I was walking along I met two large tortoises, each of which must have weighed at least two hundred pounds: one was eating a piece of cactus, and as I approached, it stared at me and slowly walked away; the other gave a deep hiss, and drew in its head. These huge reptiles, surrounded by the black lava, the leafless shrubs, and large cacti, seemed to my fancy like some antediluvian animals.13 The few dull-coloured birds cared no more for me than they did for the great tortoises.

†Rather than alluding to the mythological Cyclops, Darwin is probably referring here to Cyclopean masonry, an ancient building technique in which stones are stacked with minimal gaps and no mortar between them.

Sample Student Commentary

13 This SIMILE and the earlier LITOTES are the only two figurative or rhetorical uses in this essay. Darwin’s intent has been to share information, not persuade, entertain, or express his personal opinion or feelings.

Sample multiple-choice questions:

1. In the line “Most of the latter are beautifully symmetrical,,” (paragraph 1) “latter” refers to
   A. “their southern sides.”
   B. “innumerable smaller orifices.”
   C. “lava and scoriae.”
   D. “sandstone-like tuff.”
   E. “eruptions of volcanic mud.”

2. Darwin’s reference to “[t]he volcanic island of Fernando Noronha” (paragraph 3) serves primarily to
   A. illustrate the extent of his travels.
   B. compare the Galapagos with a more familiar island.
   C. intensify the hostility of the island geography.
   D. orient the reader to the Beagle’s location.
   E. allude to an earlier portion of Darwin’s book.

3. The primary focus of the author’s observation in the sentence beginning “I scarcely hesitate to affirm…” (paragraph 1) is the
   A. number of craters.
   B. ubiquity of the craters.
   C. origin of the craters.
   D. size of the craters.
   E. substance of the craters.
4. Which of the following organizational plans does Darwin employ most frequently in this essay?
   A. sequential order
   B. order of magnitude
   C. chronological order
   D. cause and effect
   E. comparison and contrast

5. The strongest personal evaluation in the essay emphasizes the
   A. ruggedness of the landscape.
   B. disinterest of the wildlife.
   C. incongruity of the climate.
   D. inhospitable nature of the islands.
   E. remoteness of the archipelago.

**Answers and Explanations:**

1. “Latter” must refer to the second of two items mentioned previously. Therefore, (A) and (E) are immediately excluded since they occur later in the passage. (B) occurs too much earlier to be the referent for “the latter,” nor is it the second of two items. Only (C) and (D) remain, and (D) is the second in the pairing. Thus (D) is the correct answer. It is the tuff-craters that are “beautifully symmetrical.”

2. As the overall purpose of this passage is clearly to provide a clear and factual description of the flora, fauna, and geology of the Galapagos, (A) is unlikely. (C) is true but relies on the reader’s knowing something about Fernando Noronha; otherwise it is a pointless reference. Likewise (D) is impossible if the reader has no prior knowledge of Fernando Noronha. (E) is possible, as an earlier chapter may be where the reader learned of Fernando Noronha, but there is nothing in this passage to suggest that. Therefore, (B) is the best answer. The comparison to Fernando Noronha is meaningful to the reader only if the reader has some prior familiarity with this island.

3. The affirmation that Darwin makes without hesitation is that there were “at least two thousand craters.” Thus (A) is the correct answer. That the craters are found everywhere in the archipelago (B), how they formed (C), their size (D), and makeup (E) are all mentioned, but only in the aftermath of Darwin’s amazed affirmation of how many craters there were.

4. Throughout the passage, Darwin uses comparisons with places and objects the reader should know: the air was hot “like that from a stove,” the islands had apparently been permeated by volcanic gas “like a sieve.” The plant life is compared to the island of Fernando Noronha, and even the description of the archipelago itself contrasts the
humid upper altitudes with the arid lower altitudes and the smooth uniformity of the southern sides of the craters. Both Darwin’s description of the plant life and the climate contrast the equator with the poles. Thus, (E) is the correct answer. (C) and (D) may be tempting since the chapter itself seems to be organized by date, almost like a journal or diary, and Darwin does hypothesize about the causes and origins of the phenomena he observes, but the preponderance of details strongly support (E). There is nothing in the passage to suggest (A) or (B).

5. Because it is an informative passage of an essentially scientific nature, there is relatively little authorial intrusion and little attention to style and effect. The two similes are almost literal explanations. The most notable rhetorical devices for effect or emphasis are the litotes in paragraph 3 and the final simile. This simile, comparing the Galapagos tortoises to antediluvian creatures, while descriptive, is not evaluative. The litotes, however, “Nothing could be less inviting,” is an evaluation, and nearly every detail in the passage illustrates and emphasizes, not just the oddity of the islands, but their harshness and ugliness (A), (B), and (C). (E) is suggested in the first paragraph, but as a manner of fact, not evaluation. Thus, (D) is the best answer.

Sample free-response item:

Carefully read the excerpt from Charles Darwin’s 1839 study, Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of His Majesty’s Ships Adventure and Beagle. In the chapter from which this passage was excerpted, Darwin provides a physical description of the Galapagos archipelago’s plant and animal life and geological features. After reading the passage, write an essay in which you analyze Darwin’s organizational pattern, especially how he uses transitional elements to add cohesion to his description.

Sample Student Essay

Charles Darwin’s famous Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of His Majesty’s Ships Adventure and Beagle is essentially a scientific report. As such, it must be clear and factual, untainted by opinion or bias. One of the primary issues the writer of such a piece faces is how to organize the data when there is no obvious or necessary organizational pattern. Given the details Darwin is going to relate in the four paragraphs of this passage, he selects an order of size or magnitude, from largest or most general, to smallest and most specific. He is also extremely careful to link the details in each paragraph to at least imply a relationship between them and contribute a sense of cohesion to the passage.

The four categories of detail that Darwin explores are geology, climate, plant life, and animal life. He deals with them in an order of decreasing magnitude, from that which could be observed of all the islands immediately upon their approach, to that which Darwin found on only one island during a relatively intimate examination.
The essay begins with Darwin’s referencing “this archipelago.” The paragraph that follows is an overall description of the islands, details that could be observed without too close a study of any particular island—the location, geologic features, mineral makeup, and so on. The overall view opens the passage, begins to give the reader an impression of the odd and exotic place, but serves almost as a backdrop to the more detailed descriptions that follow.

Second in magnitude, what would be next noticeable without too intimate a knowledge of any particular island is the climate. Darwin’s description of the low-hanging clouds and the difference between the humid upper elevations and the arid lower ground does require a closer examination than does his observation of the craters, but it is still not the intimate view that will come with the descriptions of the plant and animal life in the final paragraphs.

Darwin’s description of the archipelago’s plant life begins with the expedition’s landing on a specific island: Chatham Island. The description of the flora, however, stays relatively general, mentioning “wretched-looking little weeds” and “brushwood.” Even when Darwin mentions specific plant species, he does not talk about any specific plant.

Finally, however, Darwin provides an intimate look at the island, beginning with his revealing that he actually spent a night on the island, rather than on the ship. It is the morning after this night that Darwin encounters the two tortoises, both of whom indicate an awareness of him as well. Clearly, then, from the first paragraph’s overall account of the islands’ geophysical situation to an intimate encounter with two of the islands’ exotic inhabitants, Darwin has increasingly narrowed his focus and led his reader to a close-up view of this unearthly archipelago.

As an aid in achieving this narrower focus, Darwin is careful to provide his reader with topical transitions both within and between his paragraphs. While establishing the location of the Galapagos, he writes that the islands “are situated under the Equator.” This is a description of physical location, yet Darwin uses the same phraseology when beginning his discussion of the islands’ climate in the next paragraph: “Considering that these islands are placed directly under the equator...” Thus, he achieves both a link to and a transition from the information in the first paragraph. Similarly, in the middle of Darwin’s climate paragraph, when he is contrasting the humid mountains above one thousand feet to the arid lower elevations, he introduces the topic of vegetation, which becomes the primary topic of the third paragraph. The final paragraph would seem to return to the earlier, broader view, except for the fact that this paragraph begins with Darwin’s actually spending a night on the island: the detailed description of this island’s geology, this island’s climate, and finally this island’s vegetation feeding this island’s animal life, specifically two tortoises encountered by the author.

Thus, from an introduction of “ten principal islands” to a face-to-face encounter with two reptiles, one of whom hisses at him, Charles Darwin leads his reader through a process of narrowing focus, more or less an order of decreasing magnitude, in order to provide his reader with an accurate and understandable description of the unprecedented phenomena of the exotic archipelago.
Exercise One:

Questions 1-5. Read the following passage carefully before you choose your answers.

This passage is the first essay of Thomas Paine’s The Crisis. The Crisis is a collection of articles written by Thomas Paine during the American Revolutionary War between December 1776 and April 1783. They reported Paine’s continued support for the cause of American independence and provided inspiration to the struggling Americans throughout the war. General Washington found this first essay, dated 23 December 1776 so inspiring that he ordered it to be read to his troops at Valley Forge.

1. These are the times that try men’s souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands by it now deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph. What we obtain too cheap, we esteem too lightly: it is dearness only that gives every thing its value. Heaven knows how to put a proper price upon its goods; and it would be strange indeed if so celestial an article as FREEDOM should not be highly rated. Britain, with an army to enforce her tyranny, has declared that she has a right (not only to TAX) but “to BIND us in ALL CASES WHATSOEVER” and if being bound in that manner, is not slavery, then is there not such a thing as slavery upon earth. Even the expression is impious; for so unlimited a power can belong only to God.

2. Whether the independence of the continent was declared too soon, or delayed too long, I will not now enter into as an argument; my own simple opinion is, that had it been eight months earlier, it would have been much better. We did not make a proper use of last winter, neither could we, while we were in a dependent state. However, the fault, if it were one, was all our own; we have none to blame but ourselves. But no great deal is lost yet. All that Howe has been doing for this month past, is rather a ravage than a conquest, which the spirit of the Jerseys, a year ago, would have quickly repulsed, and which time and a little resolution will soon recover.

3. I have as little superstition in me as any man living, but my secret opinion has ever been, and still is, that God Almighty will not give up a people to military destruction, or leave them unsupportedly to perish, who have so earnestly and so repeatedly sought to avoid the calamities of war, by every decent method which wisdom could invent. Neither have I so much of the infidel in me, as to suppose that He has relinquished the government of the world, and given us up to the care of devils; and as I do not, I cannot see on what grounds the king of Britain can look up to heaven for help against us: a common murderer, a highwayman, or a house-breaker, has as good a pretence as he.

4. ’Tis surprising to see how rapidly a panic will sometimes run through a country. All nations and ages have been subject to them. Britain has trembled like an ague at the report of a French fleet of flat-bottomed boats; and in the fourteenth [fifteenth] century the whole English army, after ravaging the kingdom of France, was driven back like men petrified with fear; and this brave exploit was performed by a few broken forces collected and headed by a woman, Joan of Arc. Would that heaven might inspire some
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Jersey maid to spirit up her countrymen, and save her fair fellow sufferers from ravage and ravishment! Yet panics, in some cases, have their uses; they produce as much good as hurt. Their duration is always short; the mind soon grows through them, and acquires a firmer habit than before. But their peculiar advantage is, that they are the touchstones of sincerity and hypocrisy, and bring things and men to light, which might otherwise have lain forever undiscovered. In fact, they have the same effect on secret traitors, which an imaginary apparition would have upon a private murderer. They sift out the hidden thoughts of man, and hold them up in public to the world. Many a disguised Tory has lately shown his head, that shall penitentially solemnize with curses the day on which Howe arrived upon the Delaware.

As I was with the troops at Fort Lee, and marched with them to the edge of Pennsylvania, I am well acquainted with many circumstances, which those who live at a distance know but little or nothing of. Our situation there was exceedingly cramped, the place being a narrow neck of land between the North River and the Hackensack. Our force was inconsiderable, being not one-fourth so great as Howe could bring against us. We had no army at hand to have relieved the garrison, had we shut ourselves up and stood on our defense. Our ammunition, light artillery, and the best part of our stores, had been removed, on the apprehension that Howe would endeavor to penetrate the Jerseys, in which case Fort Lee could be of no use to us; for it must occur to every thinking man, whether in the army or not, that these kind of field forts are only for temporary purposes, and last in use no longer than the enemy directs his force against the particular object which such forts are raised to defend. Such was our situation and condition at Fort Lee on the morning of the 20th of November, when an officer arrived with information that the enemy with 200 boats had landed about seven miles above; Major General [Nathaniel] Green, who commanded the garrison, immediately ordered them under arms, and sent express to General Washington at the town of Hackensack, distant by the way of the ferry —six miles. Our first object was to secure the bridge over the Hackensack, which laid up the river between the enemy and us, about six miles from us, and three from them. General Washington arrived in about three-quarters of an hour, and marched at the head of the troops towards the bridge, which place I expected we should have a brush for; however, they did not choose to dispute it with us, and the greatest part of our troops went over the bridge, the rest over the ferry, except some which passed at a mill on a small creek, between the bridge and the ferry, and made their way through some marshy grounds up to the town of Hackensack, and there passed the river. We brought off as much baggage as the wagons could contain, the rest was lost. The simple object was to bring off the garrison, and march them on till they could be strengthened by the Jersey or Pennsylvania militia, so as to be enabled to make a stand. We staid four days at Newark, collected our out-posts with some of the Jersey militia, and marched out twice to meet the enemy, on being informed that they were advancing, though our numbers were greatly inferior to theirs. Howe, in my little opinion, committed a great error in generalship in not throwing a body of forces off from Staten Island through Amboy, by which means he might have seized all our stores at Brunswick, and intercepted our march into Pennsylvania; but if we believe the power of hell to be limited, we must likewise believe that their agents are under some providential control.
I shall not now attempt to give all the particulars of our retreat to the Delaware; suffice it for the present to say, that both officers and men, though greatly harassed and fatigued, frequently without rest, covering, or provision, the inevitable consequences of a long retreat, bore it with a manly and martial spirit. All their wishes centered in one, which was, that the country would turn out and help them to drive the enemy back. Voltaire has remarked that King William never appeared to full advantage but in difficulties and in action; the same remark may be made on General Washington, for the character fits him. There is a natural firmness in some minds which cannot be unlocked by trifles, but which, when unlocked, discovers a cabinet of fortitude; and I reckon it among those kind of public blessings, which we do not immediately see, that God hath blessed him with uninterrupted health, and given him a mind that can even flourish upon care.

I shall conclude this paper with some miscellaneous remarks on the state of our affairs; and shall begin with asking the following question, Why is it that the enemy have left the New England provinces, and made these middle ones the seat of war? The answer is easy: New England is not infested with Tories, and we are. I have been tender in raising the cry against these men, and used numberless arguments to show them their danger, but it will not do to sacrifice a world either to their folly or their baseness. The period is now arrived, in which either they or we must change our sentiments, or one or both must fall. And what is a Tory? Good God! What is he? I should not be afraid to go with a hundred Whigs against a thousand Tories, were they to attempt to get into arms. Every Tory is a coward; for servile, slavish, self-interested fear is the foundation of Toryism; and a man under such influence, though he may be cruel, never can be brave.

But, before the line of irrecoverable separation be drawn between us, let us reason the matter together: Your conduct is an invitation to the enemy, yet not one in a thousand of you has heart enough to join him. Howe is as much deceived by you as the American cause is injured by you. He expects you will all take up arms, and flock to his standard, with muskets on your shoulders. Your opinions are of no use to him, unless you support him personally, for ‘tis soldiers, and not Tories, that he wants.

I once felt all that kind of anger, which a man ought to feel, against the mean principles that are held by the Tories: a noted one, who kept a tavern at Amboy, was standing at his door, with as pretty a child in his hand, about eight or nine years old, as I ever saw, and after speaking his mind as freely as he thought was prudent, finished with this unfatherly expression, “Well! give me peace in my day.” Not a man lives on the continent but fully believes that a separation must some time or other finally take place, and a generous parent should have said, “If there must be trouble, let it be in my day, that my child may have peace;” and this single reflection, well applied, is sufficient to awaken every man to duty. Not a place upon earth might be so happy as America. Her situation is remote from all the wrangling world, and she has nothing to do but to trade with them. A man can distinguish himself between temper and principle, and I am as confident, as I am that God governs the world, that America will never be happy till she gets clear of foreign dominion. Wars, without ceasing, will break out till that period arrives, and the continent must in the end be conqueror; for though the flame of liberty may sometimes cease to shine, the coal can never expire.

America did not, nor does not want force; but she wanted a proper application of
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that force. Wisdom is not the purchase of a day, and it is no wonder that we should err at the first setting off. From an excess of tenderness, we were unwilling to raise an army, and trusted our cause to the temporary defense of a well-meaning militia. A summer’s experience has now taught us better; yet with those troops, while they were collected, we were able to set bounds to the progress of the enemy, and, thank God! they are again assembling. I always considered militia as the best troops in the world for a sudden exertion, but they will not do for a long campaign. Howe, it is probable, will make an attempt on this city [Philadelphia]; should he fail on this side the Delaware, he is ruined. If he succeeds, our cause is not ruined. He stakes all on his side against a part on ours; admitting he succeeds, the consequence will be, that armies from both ends of the continent will march to assist their suffering friends in the middle states; for he cannot go everywhere, it is impossible. I consider Howe as the greatest enemy the Tories have; he is bringing a war into their country, which, had it not been for him and partly for themselves, they had been clear of. Should he now be expelled, I wish with all the devotion of a Christian, that the names of Whig and Tory may never more be mentioned; but should the Tories give him encouragement to come, or assistance if he come, I as sincerely wish that our next year’s arms may expel them from the continent, and the Congress appropriate their possessions to the relief of those who have suffered in well-doing. A single successful battle next year will settle the whole. America could carry on a two years’ war by the confiscation of the property of disaffected persons, and be made happy by their expulsion. Say not that this is revenge, call it rather the soft resentment of a suffering people, who, having no object in view but the good of all, have staked their own all upon a seemingly doubtful event. Yet it is folly to argue against determined hardness; eloquence may strike the ear, and the language of sorrow draw forth the tear of compassion, but nothing can reach the heart that is steeled with prejudice.

Quitting this class of men, I turn with the warm ardor of a friend to those who have nobly stood, and are yet determined to stand the matter out: I call not upon a few, but upon all: not on this state or that state, but on every state: up and help us; lay your shoulders to the wheel; better have too much force than too little, when so great an object is at stake. Let it be told to the future world, that in the depth of winter, when nothing but hope and virtue could survive, that the city and the country, alarmed at one common danger, came forth to meet and to repulse it. Say not that thousands are gone, turn out your tens of thousands; throw not the burden of the day upon Providence, but “show your faith by your works,” that God may bless you. It matters not where you live, or what rank of life you hold, the evil or the blessing will reach you all. The far and the near, the home counties and the back, the rich and the poor, will suffer or rejoice alike. The heart that feels not now is dead; the blood of his children will curse his cowardice, who shrinks back at a time when a little might have saved the whole, and made them happy. I love the man that can smile in trouble, that can gather strength from distress, and grow brave by reflection. ‘Tis the business of little minds to shrink; but he whose heart is firm, and whose conscience approves his conduct, will pursue his principles unto death. My own line of reasoning is to myself as straight and clear as a ray of light. Not all the treasures of the world, so far as I believe, could have induced me to support an offensive war, for I think it murder; but if a thief breaks into my house, burns and destroys my property,
and kills or threatens to kill me, or those that are in it, and to “bind me in all cases whatsoever” to his absolute will, am I to suffer it? What signifies it to me, whether he who does it is a king or a common man; my countryman or not my countryman; whether it be done by an individual villain, or an army of them? If we reason to the root of things we shall find no difference; neither can any just cause be assigned why we should punish in the one case and pardon in the other. Let them call me rebel and welcome, I feel no concern from it; but I should suffer the misery of devils, were I to make a whore of my soul by swearing allegiance to one whose character is that of a sottish, stupid, stubborn, worthless, brutish man. I conceive likewise a horrid idea in receiving mercy from a being, who at the last day shall be shrieking to the rocks and mountains to cover him, and fleeing with terror from the orphan, the widow, and the slain of America.

There are cases which cannot be overdone by language, and this is one. There are persons, too, who see not the full extent of the evil which threatens them; they solace themselves with hopes that the enemy, if he succeed, will be merciful. It is the madness of folly, to expect mercy from those who have refused to do justice; and even mercy, where conquest is the object, is only a trick of war; the cunning of the fox is as murderous as the violence of the wolf, and we ought to guard equally against both. Howe’s first object is, partly by threats and partly by promises, to terrify or seduce the people to deliver up their arms and receive mercy. The ministry recommended the same plan to Gage, and this is what the Tories call making their peace, “a peace which passeth all understanding” indeed! A peace which would be the immediate forerunner of a worse ruin than any we have yet thought of. Ye men of Pennsylvania, do reason upon these things! Were the back counties to give up their arms, they would fall an easy prey to the Indians, who are all armed: this perhaps is what some Tories would not be sorry for. Were the home counties to deliver up their arms, they would be exposed to the resentment of the back counties who would then have it in their power to chastise their defection at pleasure. And were any one state to give up its arms, that state must be garrisoned by all Howe’s army of Britons and Hessians to preserve it from the anger of the rest. Mutual fear is the principal link in the chain of mutual love, and woe be to that state that breaks the compact. Howe is mercifully inviting you to barbarous destruction, and men must be either rogues or fools that will not see it. I dwell not upon the vapors of imagination; I bring reason to your ears, and, in language as plain as A, B, C, hold up truth to your eyes.

I thank God, that I fear not. I see no real cause for fear. I know our situation well, and can see the way out of it. While our army was collected, Howe dared not risk a battle; and it is no credit to him that he decamped from the White Plains, and waited a mean opportunity to ravage the defenseless Jerseys; but it is great credit to us, that, with a handful of men, we sustained an orderly retreat for near an hundred miles, brought off our ammunition, all our field pieces, the greatest part of our stores, and had four rivers to pass. None can say that our retreat was precipitate, for we were near three weeks in performing it, that the country might have time to come in. Twice we marched back to meet the enemy, and remained out till dark. The sign of fear was not seen in our camp, and had not some of the cowardly and disaffected inhabitants spread false alarms through the country, the Jerseys had never been ravaged. Once more we are again collected and collecting; our new army at both ends of the continent is recruiting fast, and we shall be
able to open the next campaign with sixty thousand men, well armed and clothed. This is our situation, and who will may know it. By perseverance and fortitude we have the prospect of a glorious issue; by cowardice and submission, the sad choice of a variety of evils—a ravaged country—a depopulated city—habitations without safety, and slavery without hope—our homes turned into barracks and bawdy-houses for Hessians, and a future race to provide for, whose fathers we shall doubt of. Look on this picture and weep over it! and if there yet remains one thoughtless wretch who believes it not, let him suffer it unlamented.

December 23, 1776

Multiple-choice questions:

1. The opening paragraph of this essay employs all of the following rhetorical devices EXCEPT
   A. sententia.
   B. simile.
   C. metaphor.
   D. exemplum.
   E. antithesis.

2. Paine claims not to be superstitious (paragraph 3) in order to
   A. emphasize his comparison of the king to a murderer.
   B. contrast his lack of belief with his political infidelity.
   C. remind his reader that the colonies tried to avoid war.
   D. invoke Divine Wrath on the king of Britain.
   E. validate his claim that God supports the American cause.

3. The antecedent of the pronoun they, as it is used in the line “they are the touchstones of sincerity and hypocrisy” (paragraph 4) is
   A. nations.
   B. countrymen.
   C. panics.
   D. traitors.
   E. curses.

4. The fifth paragraph begins a temporary shift in tone and purpose from___to___
   A. expressive to informative.
   B. informative to inspirational.
   C. persuasive to informative.
   D. inspirational to academic.
   E. academic to persuasive.