

CHAPTER LXXIII.

CONCLUSION.

WHAT, then, of the outlook for the American Republic? What shall another century bring forth? What is to be the destiny of this vigorous, aggressive, self-governing Anglo-American race? How will the picture, so well begun, be completed by the annalists of posterity? Is it the sad fate of humanity, after all its struggles, toils, and sighing, to turn forever round and round in the same beaten circle, climbing the long ascent from the degradation of savage life to the heights of national renown only to descend again into the fenlands of despair? Is Lord Byron's gloomy picture of the rise and fall of nations indeed a true portrayal of the order of the world?—

Here is the moral of all human tales,—
 'Tis but the same rehearsal of the past,
 First freedom and then glory—when that fails,
 Wealth, vice, corruption, barbarism at last;
 And History with all her volumes vast
 Hath but *one* page!

Or has the human race, breaking the bonds of its servitude and escaping at last from its long imprisonment, struck out across the fields of sublime possibility the promised pathway leading to the final triumph? There are still doubts and fears—perplexities, anxieties, and sometimes anguish—arising in the soul of the philanthropist as he turns his gaze to the future. But there are hopes also, grounds of confidence, auspicious omens, tokens of the substantial victory of truth, inspirations of faith welling up in the heart of the watcher as he scans the dappled horizon of the coming day.

As to present achievement the American people have far surpassed the expectations of the fathers. The visions and dreams of the Revolutionary patriots have been eclipsed by the luster of actual accomplishment. The territorial domains of the Republic enclose the grandest belt of forest, valley, and plain that the world has in it. Since the beginning of time no other people have possessed such a territory—so rich in resources, so varied in products, so magnificent in physical aspect. Soil and climate, the distribution of woods and

lakes and rivers, the interposition of mountain ranges, and the fertility of valley and prairie, here contribute to give to man a many-sided and powerful development. Here he finds bays for his shipping, rivers for his steamers, fields for his plow, iron for his forge, gold for his cupidity, landscapes for his pencil, sunshine enough for song, and snow enough for courage. Nor has the Anglo-American failed to profit by the advantages of his surroundings. He has planted a free government on the largest and most liberal scale known in history. He has espoused the cause of liberty and right. He has fought like a hero for the freedom and equality of all men. He has projected a civilization which, though as yet but dimly traced in outline, is the vastest and grandest in the world. Better than all, he believes in the times to come. So long as man is anxious about the future the future is secure. Only when he falls into apathy, sleeps at his post, and cares no longer for the morrow, is the world in danger of relapse and barbarism.

To the thoughtful student of history several things seem necessary to the perpetuity and complete success of American institutions. The first of these is the prevalence of THE IDEA OF NATIONAL UNITY. Of this spake Washington in his Farewell Address, warning his countrymen in solemn words to preserve and defend that government which constituted them *one people*. Of this wrote Hamilton and Adams. For this pleaded Webster in his great orations. Upon this the far-seeing statesmen of the present day, rising above the strifes of party and the turmoils of war, plant themselves as the one thing vital in American politics. The idea that *the United States are one Nation*, and not thirty-eight nations, is the grand cardinal doctrine of a sound political faith. State pride and sectional attachment are natural passions in the human breast, and are so near akin to patriotism as to be distinguished from it only in the court of a higher reason. But there is a nobler love of country—a patriotism that rises above all places and sections, that knows no County, no State, no North, no South, but only native land; that claims no mountain slope; that clings to no river bank; that worships no range of hills; but lifts the aspiring eye to a continent redeemed from barbarism by common sacrifices and made sacred by the shedding of kindred blood. Such a patriotism is the cable and sheet-anchor of our hope.

A second requisite for the preservation of American institutions is THE UNIVERSAL SECULAR EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE. Monarchies govern their subjects by authority and precedent; republics by right reason and free will. Whether one method or the other will be better,

turns wholly upon the intelligence of the governed. If the subject have not the knowledge and discipline necessary to govern himself, it is better that a king, in whom some skill in the science of government is presupposed, should rule him. As between two stupendous evils, the rational tyranny of the intelligent few is preferable to the furious and irrational tyranny of the ignorant many. No force which has moved among men, impelling to bad action, inspiring to crime, overturning order, tearing away the bulwarks of liberty and right, and converting civilization into a waste, has been so full of evil and so powerful to destroy as a blind, ignorant, and factious democracy. A republic without intelligence—even a high degree of intelligence—is a paradox and an impossibility. What means that principle of the Declaration of Independence which declares the consent of the governed to be the true foundation of all just authority? What kind of "consent" is referred to? Manifestly not the passive and unresisting acquiescence of the mind which, like the potter's clay, receives whatever is impressed upon it; but that active, thinking, resolute, conscious, personal consent which distinguishes the true freeman from the puppet. When the people of the United States rise to the heights of this noble and intelligent self-assertion, the occupation of the party leader—most despicable of all the tyrants—will be gone forever; and in order that the people may ascend to that high plane, the means by which intelligence is fostered, right reason exalted, and a calm and rational public opinion produced, must be universally secured. The public FREE SCHOOL is the fountain whose streams shall make glad all the lands of liberty. We must educate or perish.

A third thing necessary to the perpetuity of American liberties is TOLERATION—toleration in the broadest and most glorious sense. In the colonial times intolerance embittered the lives of our fathers. Until the present day the baleful shadow has been upon the land. The proscriptive vices of the Middle Age have flowed down with the blood of the race and tainted the life that now is, with a suspicion and distrust of freedom. Liberty in the minds of men has meant the privilege of agreeing with the majority. Men have desired free thought, but fear has stood at the door. It remains for the United States to build a highway, broad and free, into every field of liberal inquiry, and to make the poorest of men who walks therein, more secure in life and reputation than the soldier who sleeps behind the rampart. Proscription has no part nor lot in the American system. The stake, the gibbet, and the rack, thumb-screws, sword, and pillory, have no place on this side of the sea. Nature is diversified; so are human faculties,

beliefs, and practices. Essential freedom is the right to differ; and that right must be sacredly respected. Nor must the privilege of dissent be conceded with coldness and disdain, but openly, cordially, and with good will. No loss of rank, abatement of character, or ostracism from society must darken the pathway of the humblest of the seekers after truth. The right of free thought, free inquiry, and free speech, is as clear as the noonday and bounteous as the air and ocean. Without a full and cheerful recognition of this right, America is only a name, her glory a dream, her institutions a mockery.

The fourth idea, essential to the welfare and stability of the Republic, is THE NOBILITY OF LABOR. It is the mission of the United States to ennoble toil and honor the toiler. In other lands to labor has been considered the lot of serfs and peasants; to gather the fruits and consume them in luxury and war, the business of the great. Since the mediæval times European society has been organized on the basis of a nobility and a people. To be a nobleman was to be distinguished from the people; to be one of the people was to be forever debarred from nobility. Thus has been set on human industry the stigma of perpetual disgrace. Something of this has been transmitted to the new civilization in the West—a certain disposition to renew the old order of lord and laborer. Let the odious distinction perish: the true lord is the laborer and the true laborer the lord. It is the genius of American institutions, in the fullness of time, to wipe the last opprobrious stain from the brow of toil and to crown the toiler with the dignity, luster, and honor of a full and perfect manhood.

The scroll of the century is rolled together. The work is done. Peace to the memory of the fathers! Green be the graves where sleep the warriors, patriots, and sages! Calm be the resting-place of all the brave and true! Gentle be the summer rains on famous fields where armies met in battle! Forgotten be the animosities and heart-burnings of the strife! Sacred be the trusts committed to our care, and bright the visions of the coming ages!

APPENDIX A.

SIR JOHN MANDEVILLE'S ARGUMENT ON THE FIGURE OF THE EARTH.

[Since the paragraph in the text has been the subject of some doubts and criticism, the original of Sir John Mandeville's argument is here appended. The orthography and phraseology are not more quaint than the logic is invincible. In order that the argument may be more easily followed and clearly understood, a translation or paraphrase, is added. It must not be forgotten that the date of Sir John's book is 1356—a hundred and thirty-six years before the discovery of America by Columbus.—THE AUTHOR.]

In that Lond, ne in many othere bezonde that, no man may see the Sterre transmontane, that is clept the Sterre of the See, that is unmevable, and that is toward the Northe, that we clepen the Lode Sterre. But men seen another Sterre, the contrarie to him, that is toward the Southe, that is clept Antartyk. And right as the Schip men taken here Avys here, and governe hem be the Lode Sterre, right so don Schip men bezonde the parties, be the Sterre of the Southe, the whiche Sterre apperethe not to us. And this Sterre, that is toward the Northe, that wee clepen the Lode Sterre, ne apperethe not to hem. For whiche cause, men may wel perceyve, that the Lond and the See ben of rownde schapp and forme. For the partie of the Firmament schewethe in o Contree, that schewethe not in another Contree. And men may well preven be experience and sotyle compassment of Wytt, that zif a man fond passages be Schippes, that wolde go to serchen the World, men myghte go be Schippe alle aboute the World, and aboven and benethen. The whiche thing I prove thus, afre that I have seyn. For I have ben toward the parties of Braban, and beho'den the Astrolabre,* that the Sterre that is clept the Transmontayne, is 53 Degrees highe. And more forthere in Almayne and Bewme, it hathe 58 Degrees. And more fort'ie toward the parties septentrionales, it is 62 Degrees of heghte, and certeyn Mynutes. For I my self have mesured it by the Astrolabre. Now schulle ze knowe, that azen the Transmontayne, is the tother Sterre, that is clept Antartyke; as I have seyd before. And tho 2 Sterres ne meeven nevere. And be hem turnethe alle the Firmament, righte as dothe a Wheel, that turnethe be his Axille Tree: so that tho Sterres beren the Firmament in 2 egalle parties; so that it hathe als mochel aboven, as it hathe benethen. Afre this, I have gon toward the parties meridionales, that is toward the Southe: and I have founden, that in Lybye, men seen first the Sterre Antartyk. And so fer I have gon more forthe in tho Contrees, that I have founde that Sterre more highe; so that toward the highe Lybye, it is 18 Degrees of heghte, and certeyn Mynutes (of the whiche, 60 Mynutes maken a Degree). Afre goynge be See and be Londe, toward this Contree, of that I have spoke, and to other Yles and Londes bezonde that Contree, I have founden the Sterre Antartyk of 33 Degrees of heghte, and mo mynutes. And zif I hadde had Companye and Schippyng, for to go more bezonde, I trowe wel in certeyn, that wee scholde have seen alle the

*In Mandeville's time, Astronomers had attained but very little accuracy in taking observations.

roundnesse of the Firmament alle aboute. * * * * * Be the whiche I seye zou certeynly, that men may envirowne alle the Erthe of alle the World, as wel undre as aboven, and turnen azen to his Contree, that hadde Companye and Schippyng and Conduyt: and alle weyes he scholde fynde Men, Londes, and Yles, als wel as in this Contree. For zee wyten welle, that thei that ben toward the Antartyk, thei ben streghte, feet azen feet of hem, that dwellen undre transmontane; als wel as wee and thei that dwellyn under us, ben feet azenst feet. For alle the parties of See and of Lond han here appositees, habitables or trepassables, and thei of this half and bezond half. * * * * * And whan men gon bezonde tho iourneyes, toward Ynde and to the foreyn Yles, alle is envyronng the roundnesse of the Erthe and of the See, undre oure Contrees on this half. And therefore hathe it befallen many tymes of o thing, that I have herd countyd, whan I was zong; how a worthi man departed somtyme from oure Contrees, for to go serche the World. And so he passed Ynde, and the Yles bezonde Ynde, where ben mo than 5000 Yles: and so longe he wente be See and Lond, and so envyround the World be many seysons, that he fond an Yle, where he herde speke his owne Langage, callynge on Oxen in the Plowghe, suche Wordes as men speken to Bestes in his owne Contree: whereof he hadde gret Mervayle: for he knewe not how it myghte be. But I seye, that he had gon so longe, be Londe and be See, that he had envyround alle the erthe, that he was comen azen envyroung, that is to seye, goynge aboute, unto his owne Marches, zif he wolde have passed forthe, til he had founden his Contree and his owne knouleche. But he turned azen from thens, from whens he was come fro; and so he loste moche peynefulle labour, as him self seyde, a gret while afre, that he was comen hom. For it befelle afre, that he wente in to Norweye; and there Tempest of the See toke him; and he arryved in an Yle; and whan he was in that Yle, he knew wel, that it was the Yle, where he had herd speke his owne Langage before, and the callynge of the Oxen at the Plowghe: and that was possible thing. But how it semethe to symple men unlearned, that men ne mowe not go undre the Erthe, and also that men scholde falle toward the Hevene, from undre! But that may not be, upon lesse, than wee mowe falle toward Hevene, fro the Erthe, where wee ben. For fro what partie of the Erthe, that men duelle, outhr aboven or benethen, it semethe always to hem that duellen, that thei gon more righte than ony other folk. And righte as it semethe to us, that thei ben undre us, righte so it semethe hem, that wee ben undre hem. For zif a man myghte falle fro the Erthe unto the Firmament; be grettere resoun, the Erthe and the See, that ben so grete and so hevy, scholde fallen to the Firmament: but that may not be. * * * And alle be it that it be possible thing, that men may so envyronne alle the World, natheles of a 1000 persones, on ne myghte not happen to returnen in to his Contree. For, for the gretnesse of the Erthe and of the See, men may go be a 1000 and a 1000 other weyes, that no man cowde redye him perfytely toward the parties that he cam fro, but zif it were be aventure and happ, or be the grace of God. For the Erthe is fulle large and fulle gret, and holt in roundnesse and aboute envyroun, be aboven and be benethen 20425 Myles, afre the opynyoun of the olde wise Astronomeres. And here Seyenges I repreve noughte. But afre my lytylle wytt, it semethe me, savyng here reverence, that it is more. And for to have bettere understandyng, I seye thus, Be ther ymagyned a Figure that hathe a gret Compas; and aboute the poynt of the gret Compas, that is clept the Centre, be made another litille Compas: than afre, be the gret Compas devised be Lines in manye parties; and that alle the Lynes meeten at the Centre; so that in as many parties, as the gret Compas schal be departed, in als manye schalle be departed the litille, that is aboute the Centre, alle be it that the spaces ben lesse. Now thanne, be the gret compas represented for the firmament, and the litille compas represented for the Erthe. Now thanne the Firmament is devysed, be Astronomeres, in 12 Signes; and every Signe is

devysed in 30 Degrees, that is 360 Degrees, that the Firmament hathe aboven. Also, be the Erthe devysed in as many parties, as the Firmament; and lat every partye answere to a Degree of the Firmament: and wytethe it wel, that afre the Auctoures of Astronome, 700 Furlonges of Erthe answeren to a Degree of the Firmament; and the ben 87 Miles and 4 Furlonges. Now be that here multiplyed by 360 sithes; and than thei ben 31500 Myles, every of 8 Furlonges, afre Myles of oure Contree. So moche hathe the Erthe in roundnesse, and of heghte envirooun, afre myn opynyoun and myn undirstondynge.

[PARAPHRASE.]

In that land and in others beyond no man may see the fixed star of the North which we call the Lode Star. But there men see another star called the Antarctic, opposite to the star of the North. And just as mariners in this hemisphere take their reckoning and govern their course by the North Star, so do the mariners of the South by the Antarctic. But the star of the North appears not to the people of the South. Wherefore men may easily perceive that *the land and the sea are of round shape and figure*. For that part of the firmament which is seen in one country is not seen in another. And men may prove both by experience and sound reasoning that if a man, having passage by ship, should go to search the world, *he might with his vessel sail around the world, both above and under it*. This proposition I prove as follows: I have myself in Prussia seen the North Star by the astrolabe fifty-three degrees above the horizon. Further on in Bohemia it rises to the height of fifty-eight degrees. And still farther northward it is sixty-two degrees and some minutes high. I myself have so measured it. Now the South Pole Star is, as I have said, opposite the North Pole Star. And about these poles the whole celestial sphere revolves like a wheel about the axle; and the firmament is thus divided into two equal parts. From the North I have turned southward, passed the equator, and found that in Lybia the Antarctic Star first appears above the horizon. Farther on in those lands that star rises higher, until in southern Lybia it reaches the height of eighteen degrees and certain minutes, sixty minutes making a degree. After going by sea and by land towards that country [Australia perhaps] of which I have spoken, I have found the Antarctic Star more than thirty-three degrees above the horizon. *And if I had had company and shipping to go still farther, I know of a certainty that I should have seen the whole circumference of the heavens.* * * * * * *And I repeat that men may environ the whole world, as well under as above, and return to their own country, if they had company, and ships, and conduct.* And always, as well as in their own land shall they find inhabited continents and islands. For know you well that they who dwell in the southern hemisphere are feet against feet of them who dwell in the northern hemisphere, *just as we and they that dwell under us are feet to feet.* For every part of the sea and the land hath its antipode. * * * * * Moreover when men go on a journey toward India and the foreign islands, they do, on the whole route, circle the circumference of the earth, even to those countries which are under us. And therefore bath that same thing, which I heard recited when I was young, happened many times. Howbeit, upon a time, a worthy man departed from our country to explore the world. And so he passed India and the islands beyond India—more than five thousand in number—and so long he went by sea and land, environing the world for many seasons, that he found an island where he heard them speaking his own language, hallooing at the oxen in the plow with the identical words spoken to beasts in his own country. Forsooth, he was astonished; for he knew not how the thing might happen. But I assure you that

he had gone so far by land and sea that he had actually gone around the world and was come again through the long circuit to his own district. It only remained for him to go forth and find his particular neighborhood. Unfortunately he turned from the coast which he had reached, and thereby lost all his painful labor, as he himself afterwards acknowledged when he returned home. For it happened by and by that he went into Norway, being driven thither by a storm; and there he recognized an island as being the same in which he had heard men calling the oxen in his own tongue: and that was a possible thing. And yet it seemeth to simple unlearned rustics that men may not go around the world, and if they did *they would fall off!* But that absurd thing never could happen unless we ourselves from where we are should fall toward heaven! For upon what part soever of the earth men dwell, whether above or under, it always seemeth to them that they walk more perpendicularly than other folks! And just as it seemeth to us that our antipodes are under us head downwards, just so it seemeth to them that we are under them head downwards. If a man might fall from the earth towards heaven, by much more reason the earth itself, being so heavy, should fall to heaven—an impossible thing. * * * * * Perhaps of a thousand men who should go around the world, not one might succeed in returning to his own particular neighborhood. For the earth is indeed a body of great size, its circumference being—according to the old wise astronomers—twenty thousand four hundred and twenty-five miles. And I do not reject their estimates: but according to my judgment, saving their reverence, the circumference of the earth is *somewhat more than that*. And in order to have a clearer understanding of the matter, I use the following demonstration: Let there be imagined a great sphere, and about the point called the center another smaller sphere. Then from different parts of the great sphere let lines be drawn meeting at the center. It is clear that by this means the two spheres will be divided into an equal number of parts having the same relation to each other; but between the divisions on the smaller sphere the absolute space will be less. Now the great sphere represents the heavens and the smaller sphere the earth. But the firmament is divided by astronomers into twelve Signs, and each Sign into thirty degrees, making three hundred and sixty degrees in all. On the surface of the earth there will be, of course, divisions exactly corresponding to those of the celestial sphere, every line, degree and zone of the latter answering to a line, degree or zone of the former. And now know well that *according to the authors of astronomy** seven hundred furlongs, or eighty-seven miles and four furlongs, answer to a degree of the firmament. Multiplying eighty-seven and a half miles by three hundred and sixty—the number of degrees in the firmament—we have thirty-one thousand five hundred English miles. And this according to my belief and demonstration is the true measurement of the circumference of the earth.

* An everlasting shame be to the "olde wise Astronomeres"! If they had given Sir John the correct measurement of a degree of latitude, he would not have missed the circumference of the world by as much as ten miles! His argument is absolutely correct. This, too, in A. D. 1356.

APPENDIX B.

A PLAN OF PERPETUAL UNION,

FOR

HIS MAJESTY'S COLONIES IN NORTH AMERICA:

PROPOSED BY BENJ. FRANKLIN,

AND

ADOPTED BY THE COLONIAL CONVENTION AT ALBANY, JULY 10TH, 1754.

[This document will be found of special interest as containing the germ of the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution of the United States. It should be remembered that this "Plan of Union," though adopted by the Congress at Albany—only the delegates from Connecticut dissenting—was rejected both by the colonial assemblies and the British Board of Trade,—by the former as being too despotic a constitution and by the latter as a piece of high-handed presumption.—THE AUTHOR.]

THAT the general government of His Majesty's Colonies in North America be administered by a President-General, to be appointed and supported by the crown; and a Grand Council, to be chosen by the representatives of the people of the several colonies met in their respective Assemblies;

Who shall meet for the first time at the city of Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania, being called by the President-General as soon as conveniently may be after his appointment;

That there shall be a new election of the members of the Grand Council every three years; and on the death or resignation of any member, his place should be supplied by a new choice at the next sitting of the Assembly of the colony he represented;

That after the first three years, when the proportion of money arising out of each colony to the general treasury can be known, the number of members to be chosen for each colony shall from time to time, in all ensuing elections, be regulated by that proportion, yet so as that the number to be chosen by any one province be not more than seven, nor less than two;

That the Grand Council shall meet once in every year, and oftener if occasion require, at such time and place as they shall adjourn to at the last preceding meeting, or as they shall be called to meet at by the President-General on any emergency; he having first obtained in writing the consent of seven of the members to such call, and sent due and timely notice to the whole;

That the Grand Council have power to choose their speaker; and shall neither be dissolved, prorogued, nor continued sitting longer than six weeks at one time, without their own consent or the special command of the crown;

That the members of the Grand Council shall be allowed for their service ten shillings per diem, during their session and journey to and from the place of meeting; twenty miles to be reckoned a day's journey;

That the assent of the President-General be requisite to all acts of the Grand Council, and that it be his office and duty to cause them to be carried into execution;

That the President-General, with the advice of the Grand Council, hold or direct all

Indian treaties, in which the general interest of the colonies may be concerned; and make peace or declare war with Indian nations;

That they make such laws as they judge necessary for regulating all Indian trade;

That they make all purchases, from Indians for the crown, of lands not now within the bounds of particular colonies, or that shall not be within their bounds, when some of them are reduced to more convenient dimensions;

That they make new settlements on such purchases, by granting lands in the king's name, reserving a quit-rent to the crown for the use of the general treasury;

That they make laws for regulating and governing such new settlements, till the crown shall think fit to form them into particular governments;

That they raise and pay soldiers and build forts for the defence of any of the colonies, and equip vessels of force to guard the coasts and protect the trade on the ocean, lakes, or great rivers; but they shall not impress men in any colony, without the consent of the legislature;

That for these purposes they have power to make laws, and lay and levy such general duties, imposts, or taxes, as to them shall appear most equal and just (considering the ability and other circumstances of the inhabitants in the several colonies,) and such as may be collected with the least inconvenience to the people; rather discouraging luxury, than loading industry with unnecessary burthens;

That they may appoint a General Treasurer and Particular Treasurer in each government, when necessary; and from time to time may order the sums in the treasuries of each government into the general treasury, or draw on them for special payments, as they find most convenient;

Yet no money to issue but by joint orders of the President-General and Grand Council; except where sums have been appropriated to particular purposes, and the President-General is previously empowered by an act to draw such sums;

That the general accounts shall be yearly settled and reported to the several Assemblies;

That a quorum of the Grand Council, empowered to act with the President-General, do consist of twenty-five members; among whom there shall be one or more from a majority of the colonies;

That the laws made by them for the purposes aforesaid shall not be repugnant, but, as near as may be, agreeable to the laws of England, and shall be transmitted to the King in Council for approbation, as soon as may be after their passing; and if not disapproved within three years after presentation, to remain in force;

That, in case of the death of the President-General, the Speaker of the Grand Council for the time being shall succeed, and be vested with the same powers and authorities to continue till the King's pleasure be known;

That all military commission officers, whether for land or sea service, to act under this general constitution, shall be nominated by the President-General; but the approbation of the Grand Council is to be obtained, before they receive their commissions; and all civil officers are to be nominated by the Grand Council, and to receive the President-General's approbation before they officiate;

But, in case of vacancy by death or removal of any officer civil or military under this constitution, the Governor of the province in which such vacancy happens, may appoint, till the pleasure of the President-General and Grand Council can be known;

That the particular military as well as civil establishments in each colony remain in their present state, the general constitution notwithstanding; and that on sudden emergencies any colony may defend itself; and lay the accounts of expense thence arising before the President-General and General Council, who may allow and order payment of the same, as far as they judge such accounts just and reasonable.

APPENDIX C.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE,

ADOPTED BY CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.

A DECLARATION BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

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 inalienable 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 abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such a 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 operations, 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 repository 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 invasions from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose, obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration 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 harass 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 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 neighboring 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 powers 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, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and 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 endeavored 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 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 British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war; in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in general congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, *Free and Independent States*; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as *Free and Independent States*, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and 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.

JOHN HANCOCK.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.—Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple, Matthew Thornton.

MASSACHUSETTS BAY.—Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry.

RHODE ISLAND, ETC.—Stephen Hopkins, William Ellery.

CONNECTICUT.—Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, William Williams, Oliver Wolcott.

NEW YORK.—William Floyd, Philip Livingston, Francis Lewis, Lewis Morris.

NEW JERSEY.—Richard Stockton, John Witherspoon, Francis Hopkinson, John Hart, Abraham Clark.

PENNSYLVANIA.—Robert Morris, Benjamin Rush, Benjamin Franklin, John Morton, George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor, James Wilson, George Ross.

DELAWARE.—Cesar Rodney, George Read, Thomas M'Kean.

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.

NORTH CAROLINA.—William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn.

SOUTH CAROLINA.—Edward Rutledge, Thomas Hayward, Jr., Thomas Lynch, Jr., Arthur Middleton.

GEORGIA.—Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, George Walton.

APPENDIX D.

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION.

[The Articles of Confederation were drawn up by a committee of gentlemen, who were appointed by Congress for this purpose, June 12, 1776, and finally adopted, November 15, 1777. The committee were Messrs. Bartlett, Samuel Adams, Hopkins, Sherman, R. R. Livingston, Dickinson, M'Kean, Stone, Nelson, Howes, E. Rutledge, and Gwinnet.]

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 style 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 expressly 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 defence, 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 pretence whatever.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION 1.—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 have free ingress and egress 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.

SEC. 2.—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 the 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 offence.