

if justice and humanity have lost their influence on your hearts; still motives are not wanting to excite your indignation at the measures now pursued; your wealth, your honor, your liberty are at stake.

Notwithstanding the distress to which we are reduced, we sometimes forget our own afflictions to anticipate and sympathize in yours. We grieve that rash and inconsiderate councils should precipitate the destruction of an empire which has been the envy and admiration of ages; and call God to witness that we would part with our property, endanger our lives, and sacrifice everything but liberty, to redeem you from ruin.

A cloud hangs over your heads and ours; ere this reaches you it may probably burst upon us; let us then (before the remembrance of former kindness is obliterated) once more repeat those appellations which are ever grateful in our ears; let us entreat heaven to avert our ruin, and the destruction that threatens our friends, brethren, and countrymen on the other side of the Atlantic.

JOHN DICKINSON



JOHN DICKINSON, American statesman, author of the "Fabius" letters on the Federal Constitution and on friendly relations with France, sometimes styled "the penman of the Revolution," was born at Crossia, Talbot County, Md., Nov. 13, 1732, and died at Wilmington, Del., Feb. 14, 1808. His father was Samuel D. Dickinson, at one time chief-justice in Delaware, and his son was brought up to his sire's profession as a lawyer, being trained for the bar both at Philadelphia and at the Middle Temple, London, where he had as fellow-students the poet Cowper and the future Lord Thurlow. Returning to America he practiced in Philadelphia, and entered political life as member, in 1764, of the Pennsylvania Assembly, and in the following year was returned a member of the Colonial Congress, convened at New York to oppose the obnoxious Stamp Act. He now began to write a series of addresses, petitions, etc., on the situation of American affairs in relation to the mother country, besides some State papers sent to England by the First Continental Congress, which won a tribute of praise from Lord Chatham. In June, 1776, he opposed the adoption of the Declaration of Independence as being premature and untimely, which act lost him popularity, though he was sufficient of a patriot to serve in the Continental army, and was later on gazetted a brigadier-general. In 1781, he was made Governor of Delaware, which he had represented in Congress for a part of 1779, and in 1782 became Governor of Pennsylvania. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1788. His writings, besides the "Fabius" letters, include in part "Letters from a Pennsylvania Farmer to the Inhabitants of the Colonies," 1767, which had an extensive circulation and did much service in fostering patriotic sentiment, and an "Essay on the Constitutional Power of Great Britain over the Colonies in America," 1774. He was one of the foremost literary men among the patriots of the Revolutionary period. Owing to his natural conservatism he was not prepared to go to such lengths as many of his political associates, who never forgave him for differing with them and wrote and spoke of him in the harshest terms. His latest years were passed in retirement. Dickinson College, founded at Carlisle, Pa., in 1783, was named in his honor.

THE DECLARATION ON TAKING UP ARMS

[On the 23d of June, 1775, Congress delegated John Rutledge, William Livingston, Doctor Franklin, John Jay, and Thomas Johnson, "to draw up a declaration, to be published by General Washington upon his arrival at the camp before Boston." The next day they reported a draft, which, after being debated, was referred for further consideration on the following Monday. On that day it was recommitted, and John Dickinson and Thomas Jefferson were added to the committee. The final draft was laid before Congress on the 6th of July, 1775, and after being "read and debated by paragraphs," was adopted. Mr. Dickinson was the author of the following declaration:]

IF IT was possible for men who exercise their reason to believe that the Divine Author of our existence intended a part of the human race to hold an absolute property in and an unbounded power over others, marked out by his infinite goodness and wisdom, as the objects of a legal domination never rightfully resistible, however severe and oppressive, the inhabitants of these colonies might at least require from the Parliament of Great Britain some evidence that this dreadful authority has been granted to that body. But a reverence for our great Creator, principles of humanity, and the dictates of common sense, must convince all those who reflect upon the subject that government was instituted to promote the welfare of mankind and ought to be administered for the attainment of that end. The legislature of Great Britain, however, stimulated by an inordinate passion for a power not only unjustifiable, but which they know to be peculiarly reprobated by the very constitution of that kingdom, and desperate of success in any mode of contest where regard should be had to truth, law, or right, have at length, deserting those, attempted to effect their cruel and impolitic purpose of enslaving these colonies by violence, and have thereby rendered it necessary for us to close with their last appeal from reason to arms. Yet, however blinded that assembly may be, by their intemperate rage for unlimited domination, so to slight justice and the opinion of mankind, we esteem ourselves bound by obligations of respect to the rest of the world to make known the justice of our cause.

Our forefathers, inhabitants of the island of Great Britain, left their native land to seek on these shores a residence for civil and religious freedom. At the expense of their blood; at the hazard of their fortunes; without the least charge to the country from which they removed; by unceasing labor

and an unconquerable spirit, they effected settlements in the distant and inhospitable wilds of America, then filled with numerous and warlike nations of barbarians. Societies or governments, vested with perfect legislatures, were formed under charters from the crown, and an harmonious intercourse was established between the colonies and the kingdom from which they derived their origin.

The mutual benefits of this union became in a short time so extraordinary as to excite astonishment. It is universally confessed that the amazing increase of the wealth, strength, and navigation of the realm arose from this source; and the minister who so wisely and successfully directed the measures of Great Britain in the late war publicly declared that these colonies enabled her to triumph over her enemies. Toward the conclusion of that war it pleased our sovereign to make a change in his counsels. From that fatal moment the affairs of the British empire began to fall into confusion, and gradually sliding from the summit of glorious prosperity to which they had been advanced by the virtues and abilities of one man are at length distracted by the convulsions that now shake its deepest foundations. The new ministry, finding the brave foes of Britain, though frequently defeated, yet still contending, took up the unfortunate idea of granting them a hasty peace and of then subduing her faithful friends.

These devoted colonies were judged to be in such a state as to present victories without bloodshed and all the easy emoluments of statutable plunder. The uninterrupted tenor of their peaceable and respectful behavior from the beginning of colonization; their dutiful, zealous, and useful services during the war, though so recently and amply acknowledged in the most honorable manner by his Majesty, by the late King and

by Parliament, could not save them from the meditated innovations. Parliament was influenced to adopt the pernicious project, and assuming a new power over them have in the course of eleven years given such decisive specimens of the spirit and consequences attending this power as to leave no doubt concerning the effects of acquiescence under it.

They have undertaken to give and grant our money without our consent, though we have ever exercised an exclusive right to dispose of our own property; statutes have been passed for extending the jurisdiction of courts of admiralty and vice-admiralty beyond their ancient limits; for depriving us of the accustomed and inestimable privilege of trial by jury in cases affecting both life and property; for suspending the legislature of one of the colonies; for interdicting all commerce to the capital of another, and for altering, fundamentally, the form of government established by charter and secured by acts of its own legislature, solemnly confirmed by the crown; for exempting the "murderers" of colonists from legal trial, and in effect from punishment; for erecting in a neighboring province, acquired by the joint arms of Great Britain and America, a despotism dangerous to our very existence; and for quartering soldiers upon the colonists in time of profound peace. It has also been resolved in Parliament that colonists charged with committing certain offences shall be transported to England to be tried.

But why should we enumerate our injuries in detail? By one statute it is declared that Parliament can "of right make laws to bind us in all cases whatsoever." What is to defend us against so enormous, so unlimited a power? Not a single man of those who assume it is chosen by us or is subject to our control or influence; but on the contrary they are all of them exempt from the operation of such laws, and an Ameri-

can revenue, if not diverted from the ostensible purposes for which it is raised, would actually lighten their own burden in proportion as they increase ours. We saw the misery to which such despotism would reduce us. We, for ten years, incessantly and ineffectually besieged the throne as supplicants; we reasoned, we remonstrated with Parliament in the most mild and decent language.

Administration, sensible that we should regard these oppressive measures as freemen ought to do, sent over fleets and armies to enforce them. The indignation of the Americans was roused, it is true, but it was the indignation of a virtuous, loyal, and affectionate people. A congress of delegates from the united colonies was assembled at Philadelphia on the 5th day of last September. We resolved again to offer an humble and dutiful petition to the King, and also addressed our fellow subjects of Great Britain. We have pursued every temperate, every respectful measure; we have even proceeded to break off our commercial intercourse with our fellow subjects, as the last peaceable admonition that our attachment to no nation upon earth should supplant our attachment to liberty. This, we flattered ourselves, was the ultimate step of the controversy, but subsequent events have shown how vain was this hope of finding moderation in our enemies.

Several threatening expressions against the colonies were inserted in his Majesty's speech; our petition, though we were told it was a decent one, and that his Majesty had been pleased to receive it graciously, and to promise laying it before his Parliament, was huddled into both Houses among a bundle of American papers and there neglected. The Lords and Commons in their address in the month of February said that "a rebellion at that time actually existed within the province

of Massachusetts Bay, and that those concerned in it had been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations and engagements entered into by his Majesty's subjects in several of the other colonies; and therefore they besought his Majesty that he would take the most effectual measures to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature." Soon after, the commercial intercourse of whole colonies with foreign countries and with each other was cut off by an act of Parliament; by another, several of them were entirely prohibited from the fisheries in the seas near their coasts, on which they always depended for their subsistence, and large reinforcements of ships and troops were immediately sent over to General Gage.

Fruitless were all the entreaties, arguments, and eloquence of an illustrious band of the most distinguished peers and commoners, who nobly and strenuously asserted the justice of our cause to stay or even to mitigate the heedless fury with which these accumulated and unexampled outrages were hurried on. Equally fruitless was the interference of the city of London, of Bristol, and many other respectable towns, in our favor. Parliament adopted an insidious manœuvre, calculated to divide us, to establish a perpetual auction of taxations, where colony should bid against colony, all of them uninformed what ransom would redeem their lives; and thus to extort from us, at the point of the bayonet, the unknown sums that should be sufficient to gratify, if possible to gratify, ministerial rapacity, with the miserable indulgence left to us of raising in our own mode the prescribed tribute. What terms more rigid and humiliating could have been dictated by remorseless victors to conquered enemies? In our circumstances to accept them would be to deserve them.

Soon after the intelligence of these proceedings arrived on

this continent, General Gage, who in the course of the last year had taken possession of the town of Boston, in the province of Massachusetts Bay, and still occupied it as a garrison, on the 19th day of April sent out from that place a large detachment of his army, who made an unprovoked assault on the inhabitants of the said province at the town of Lexington, as appears by the affidavits of a great number of persons, some of whom were officers and soldiers of that detachment, murdered eight of the inhabitants and wounded many others. From thence the troops proceeded in warlike array to the town of Concord, where they set upon another party of the inhabitants of the same province, killing several and wounding more, until compelled to retreat by the country people suddenly assembled to repel this cruel aggression.

Hostilities thus commenced by the British troops have been since prosecuted by them without regard to faith or reputation. The inhabitants of Boston being confined within that town by the general, their governor, and having, in order to procure their dismissal, entered into a treaty with him, it was stipulated that the said inhabitants, having deposited their arms with their own magistrates, should have liberty to depart, taking with them their other effects. They accordingly delivered up their arms, but in open violation of honor, in defiance of the obligation of treaties which even savage nations esteem sacred, the governor ordered the arms deposited as aforesaid, that they might be preserved for their owners, to be seized by a body of soldiers, detained the greatest part of the inhabitants in the town, and compelled the few who were permitted to retire to leave their most valuable effects behind.

By this perfidy wives are separated from their husbands, children from their parents, the aged and the sick from their

relations and friends who wish to attend and comfort them, and those who have been used to live in plenty and even elegance are reduced to deplorable distress.

The general, further emulating his ministerial masters, by a proclamation bearing date on the 12th day of June, after venting the grossest falsehoods and calumnies against the good people of these colonies, proceeds to "declare them all, either by name or description, to be rebels and traitors to supersede the course of common law, and instead thereof to publish and order the use and exercise of the law martial." His troops have butchered our countrymen, have wantonly burnt Charlestown, besides a considerable number of houses in other places; our ships and vessels are seized; the necessary supplies of provisions are intercepted, and he is exerting his utmost power to spread destruction and devastation around him.

We have received certain intelligence that General Carleton, the Governor of Canada, is instigating the people of that province and the Indians to fall upon us; and we have but too much reason to apprehend that schemes have been formed to excite domestic enemies against us. In brief, a part of these colonies now feel, and all of them are sure of feeling, as far as the vengeance of administration can inflict them, the complicated calamities of fire, sword, and famine. We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated ministers or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery! Honor, justice, and humanity forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness which

inevitably awaits them if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them.

Our cause is just. Our union is perfect. Our internal resources are great, and, if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable. We gratefully acknowledge, as signal instances of Divine favor toward us, that his providence would not permit us to be called into this severe controversy until we were grown up to our present strength, had been previously exercised in warlike operations, and possessed the means of defending ourselves. With hearts fortified by these animating reflections we most solemnly, before God and the world, declare, that, exerting the utmost energy of those powers which our beneficent Creator has graciously bestowed upon us, the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties; being with one mind resolved to die freemen rather than to live slaves.

Lest this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow subjects in any part of the Empire, we assure them that we mean not to dissolve that union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored. Necessity has not yet driven us into that desperate measure or induced us to excite any other nation to war against them. We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great Britain and establishing independent states. We fight not for glory or for conquest. We exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies, without any imputation or even suspicion of offence. They boast of their privileges and civilization, and yet proffer no milder conditions than servitude or death.

In our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birthright, and which we ever enjoyed till the late violation of it — for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our forefathers and ourselves, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before.

With an humble confidence in the mercies of the Supreme and impartial Judge and Ruler of the universe, we most devoutly implore his divine goodness to protect us happily through this great conflict, to dispose our adversaries to reconciliation on reasonable terms, and thereby to relieve the Empire from the calamities of civil war.

HENRY FLOOD



HENRY FLOOD, an eminent Irish orator and politician, who made his chief reputation as a member (1759-1780) of the Irish Parliament. He was a son of the Rt. Hon. Warden Flood, chief-justice of the Queen's Bench in Ireland, and was born in 1732, and died at Farmley, Ireland, Dec. 2, 1791. Educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and at Oxford, he studied law for a time at the Inner Temple, London; but returning to Ireland he entered the Irish House of Commons as member for Kilkenny and made there a high reputation as an orator and debater and leader of the Opposition or popular party. With Grattan and other notable Irishmen, Flood strenuously fought the Government party in Parliament until the appointment of Lord Harcourt as lord-lieutenant of Ireland, when he veered round and accepted the office of vice-treasurer of Ireland, with a seat in the Irish privy council of the period, an act which for a time lost him favor with the people. Five years later (in 1780), his sympathies with the cause of Irish independence led him to resign the vice-treasurership, and the government removed him from the Council. He then crossed to England and entered the imperial Parliament in 1783, but his success there was not such as he enjoyed in Ireland and he retired from public life in 1790, dying on his Irish estate at Farmley at the close of the following year. In his political career, Flood fought one duel, in which he mortally wounded his opponent, and in the quarrel he had with his old-time ally, Grattan, he came near to having a duel with his brother Irish statesman. Flood's speeches are notable for their display of erudition and eloquence, as well as for his active sympathies with the cause of Irish independence. His "Life and Correspondence," edited by W. Flood, appeared in 1838, and he has also written considerable verse.

FIRST RENUNCIATION SPEECH

[In the sixth year of the reign of George I the British Parliament passed an act declaring that it had, hath, and of right ought to have the power of making laws binding on Ireland. This right was publicly denied in the Irish House of Commons by Mr. Grattan in the year 1782, and he was supported in this opinion by Henry Flood and by most of the principal speakers of that time. After many violent protests the British Parliament repealed this act. Flood insisted that the mere repeal of this act was not sufficient, it being only declaratory of what the law was supposed to be before its enactment, and that therefore the repeal should be accompanied by a renunciation of the alleged right. Mr. Flood, in two speeches, of which the following is the first, treated this matter in an eloquent and masterly manner.]

NOTHING ever was more judicious than the conduct of Great Britain on this occasion. She was so embarrassed abroad, and you were so strong at home, that she could not deny the repeal of the declaratory law. Yet
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