

Scientific GOD Journal

Volume 2 Issue 7



The American Dream of the 21st Century

A Call for Transformation of America

(A Proposed Declaration of American Dream)

The American Dream of the 21st Century:
A Call for Transformation of America,
Power without Borders,
Occupy the Imaginary World of Economy,
The True and Profound Democracy Amendment:
The Omnibus Anti-Corruption Amendment,
Responses to “American Dream of the 21st Century”

Historical Writings & Speeches

“Common Sense” by Thomas Paine (Jan. 10, 1776)

“Declaration of Independence” by Thomas Jefferson (July 4, 1776)

“Gettysburg Address” by Abraham Lincoln (Nov. 19, 1863)

Quotes from “I Have a Dream” by Martin Luther King, Jr. (Aug. 28, 1963)

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Table of Contents

Editorial

The American Dream of the 21st Century: A Call for Transformation of America <i>Huping Hu</i>	638-645
--	---------

Essays

Power without Borders <i>Leon J. Neihouse</i>	646-670
--	---------

Occupy the Imaginary World of Economy <i>Wilhelmus de Wilde</i>	671-677
--	---------

The True and Profound Democracy Amendment: the Omnibus Anti-Corruption Amendment <i>Philip Wolfson</i>	678-679
--	---------

Editor's Note

Responses to "American Dream of the 21st Century" <i>Huping Hu</i>	680-681
---	---------

Historical Writings & Speeches

"Common Sense" by Thomas Paine (January 10, 1776)	682-725
---	---------

"Declaration of Independence" by Thomas Jefferson (July 4, 1776)	726-730
--	---------

"Gettysburg Address" by Abraham Lincoln (November 19, 1863)	731-731
---	---------

Quotes from "I Have a Dream" by Martin Luther King, Jr. (August 28, 1963)	732-733
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The American Dream of the 21st Century: A Call for Transformation of America

(A Proposed Declaration of American Dream)

Dated: October 23, 2011

Huping Hu*

ABSTRACT

In the spirit of Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln and Martin Luther King, Jr., we call all Americans to rise up in the pursuit of the American Dream of the 21st Century under the Laws of GOD – equality, liberty, justice and civic duty in all aspects of American life, guaranty of basic necessities of food, medicine and shelter, and the pursuit of happiness and World Peace. It is noted that these sacred pursuits are hindered by excessive capitalism and individualism and the state of our own consciousness. Thus, the transformation of the consciousness of all Americans from the rich to the poor is the key to accomplish these sacred pursuits and transform America. By transforming our consciousness and transcending ourselves, we shall transform greed to compassion, hate to love, wealth possession to wealth sharing and war to peace. GOD Bless America!

Key Words: American Dream, 21st Century, transformation, declaration.

Preamble

Over 230 years ago, our founding fathers brought forth on America, a new nation conceived in liberty, civic duty and the pursuit of happiness and dedicated to the ideal of equality under the Laws of GOD.

Today we hold these rights, duties and their extensions to be applicable to all Americans in all aspects of our lives - spiritually, physically, financially, environmentally, scientifically and politically - that to secure, advance and perform these rights and duties and thus perfect our Union, our Constitution may be amended time to time, if necessary, and successive governmental, social and corporate structures and institutions shall be established, deriving their just political, social and economical powers and duties from the consent of the people - that whenever any structure or institution becomes inadequate of these ends, it is our duties to modernized it or to abolish it, and to establish new ones, laying the foundation on such principles and organizing the structures in such forms, as to us shall seem most likely to reflect our understanding and knowledge of the evolving Nature and Life under the Laws of GOD.

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The Critical Moment in American History

As a country, we are now facing the greatest challenge both domestically and internationally, testing whether our public and private institutions can be transformed and work in harmony for the benefit of all Americans and whether we can still be a Great Nation on Earth and lead the World.

As a people, we are now engaged in a great struggle, testing whether our rights and duties so conceived and dedicated at the birth of our Nation, so implemented, protected and extended through out our history as a Nation can be sustained and be further advanced. Some of us are also engaged in a silent struggle in our hearts testing whether our yearning for love and compassions for fellow Americans and mankind at large can conquer our own shortcomings – selfishness, arrogance, hypocrisy, intolerance, or excessive capitalism, individualism, rivalry and commercialism.

Reflection on American History

So, at this critical moment, it is appropriate that we Americans from all walks of life – the rich and the poor, the executives and the workers, the professionals and the laymen, the religious and the non-religious, Americans by birth and new immigrants– and indeed all who loves America and Her people - reflect on the status of our Nation and our own moralities and conducts as individuals with the great hope of achieving the American Dream of the 21st Century and usher Americans and the mankind at large into a new era of unprecedented progress, prosperity and enlightenment.

Before the advent of our Nation, our people were under the colonial rule and tyranny of a European monarch. Oppressed and exploited by a tyrant, early Americans rebelled. The Declaration of Independent drafted by Thomas Jefferson became the great beacon of light to early Americans, who under the leaderships of George Washington and his generals, bravely fought the Revolutionary War and gave birth to our Republic.

However, a great injustice, slavery, remained and divided our people almost a century later as South and North. Again, as a people we fought and overcame slavery through Civil War and saved our Union under the leaderships of Abraham Lincoln and his generals.

Our people then ushered in the great Industrial, Scientific and Economical Revolutions of the 19th and 20th centuries together with the remaining World which brought us and rest of the World unprecedented materials wealth, scientific knowledge and technologies and thrust our Nation to the World Stage as a Great Power and Leader.

As a Nation and a People, we have fought in World Wars and defeated evil powers, endured and overcome the Great Depression, endured and overcome racial segregation and injustice under the leadership of Martin Luther King, Jr., won the Cold War and oversaw the collapse of Godless Communism around the World.

Since September 11, 2001 terrorists attack on our Nation, we are again at a critical moment in our history.

The Aftermath of Excessive Capitalism and Individualism

No doubt that it has been the creativity, productivity and entrepreneurship of our people and the advances of sciences and technologies fueled by capitalism and individualism that brought our Nation unprecedented material wealth, prosperity and a world-influencing pop culture.

But, the very wealth is now concentrated in the hands of so a few wealthy individuals and big banks and corporations and has displaced many among us into poverty and despair. The very wealth has created a deep gulf between the rich and the poor and among the political parties as reflected by increased hostilities and seemingly irreconcilable differences among Americans and in our Congress. The very wealth and prosperity have not stopped hunger and disease in the World and might have produced our arrogance and intolerance in the eyes of the rest of the World along with our Nation's positive image. The very pop culture might have both positively and negatively influenced the young generations worldwide. On the other hand, many Americans are unable to cope with or adapt to the new environments.

Thus, after all the recent revolutions, many of today's Americans are not better of than the Americans of yesterday.

After all these revolutions, young generations of Americans are at peril of not being able to realizing their American Dream as their parents did.

After all these revolutions, the spiritual lives of many among us are sadly crippled by the manacles of mechanical view and the prisons of random chance and chaos.

After all these revolutions, some among us including some children still go hungry daily and without shelters at night in the midst of mountains of food and vacant homes.

After all these revolutions, many among us cannot afford medical cares in the midst of a vast ocean of medical advances and modern medicine.

After all these revolutions, many of our educated people cannot find a decent job and is suffocating under the piles of educational debts.

Indeed, after all these revolutions, the moralities of many among us are degenerating, many among us become selfish, mean-spirited, non-collaborative and too commercial, and some among us even become hypocritical, untruthful and are solely driven by money, power and fame.

As a People, many among us are unemployed, our homes and investments have drastically decreased in values, our bank accounts have dried up, our individual and family debts are overburdening us.

As a Nation, our financial system almost collapsed, we are still at war abroad and facing unprecedented economical crisis, national debts and economical inequality at home in the backdrop of a World foreshadowed by the turbulence in the Middle East and the rise of China, India and other countries.

So, at this critical moment, we dramatize these depressing and shameful conditions.

Sacred Pledges

In a sense, it is high time that each American makes a pledge to our fellow Americans – A pledge that each of us shall rise above ourselves and shall work and struggle together with fellow Americans for equality in all aspects of our lives, guaranties of food, medicine and shelter to all Americans and opportunities of cost-effective education and employment afterword through our Constitution, legislations or other meanings.

Each American shall further promises to do his/her best to contribute to American Society. The rich may pay more taxes, if necessary, and shall pledge more of their wealth to help and assist the less fortunate. The less fortunate shall work hard to realize their American Dream.

Each American corporation shall promise to be a moral corporation to American Society. The executives shall strive for common good instead of excessive profit at the costs of the workers and the society and the workers shall strive to contribute their best productivity to the corporation.

Each American educational institution shall promise to be the best American Dream making institution. The administrators and teachers shall strive for producing the best students instead of collecting excessive tuitions and endowments and the students shall strive be the best students and future American Dream makers.

The three respective branches of our Federal and State Government shall promises to all Americans and their respective State Citizens that they will work in harmony for the prosperity and common good of all Americans and the advancement of this cherished Nation and Republic under GOD, not the interests of a few or self-interests. The executives, representatives and judges shall strive to carry out the businesses of our Nation and the respective States in their best abilities and the supporting staff shall strive to provide the supporting services to their best abilities. Let us remember that our Government is of the people, by the people and for the people as Lincoln declared.

It may be said that today some among us in America would have defaulted on these Sacred Pledges if made earlier. Instead of honoring these obligations, some among us would have given Americans bad checks, checks which would have come back marked "insufficient funds." But we refuse to believe that the banks of this Great Nation would be bankrupt. We refuse to believe that there would be insufficient funds in the great vaults of America. So all American Citizens, corporations, institutions and Governmental units should make good on these Sacred Pledges — Pledges that will in the long run give our people the security of basic necessities of food, medicine and shelter, riches of the economy and the fulfillment of happiness under GOD.

Finally, as a Nation and a People, we pledge to the World that we shall always work for World Peace, eliminations of hunger and diseases, economical stability and prosperity and mutual benefits of all nations on Earth.

Fierce Urgency, Warning & Precaution

As Martin Luther King, Jr. once did, let us remind ourselves the fierce urgency of now. This is no time to keep our silence or hope others to take action. Now is the time to make transformational changes in America. Now is the time to rise from the darkness and despair of an excessively capitalistic and individualistic society to a compassionate and morally just society. Now is the time to lift America from the quick sands of corporate greed and personal financial gains at all costs to the solid rock of glorious path under GOD to prosperity and happiness for all Americans. Now is the time to make equality in all aspects of American life a reality for all our people.

As Martin Luther King, Jr. would warn, it would be fatal for American corporations, the financial and educational systems, other social and economic establishments and the wealthy individuals to overlook the urgency of the moment. This sweltering heat of many Americans' discontents will not pass until there is an invigorating atmosphere of transformational changes, economical equalities and job opportunities in America. This is not an end, but a beginning. Those who hope that we needed to release our angers and will soon be content will have a rude awakening if the establishments of America return to their businesses as usual. There will be neither silence nor rest in America until all Americans have regained their hopes of American Dream. The whirlwinds of protests and non-violent struggles will come to shake the establishments and current status quo of America until the bright day of transformational changes, economical equalities and job opportunities emerges.

There is something else that we must say to all Americans who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the glorious path to American Dream of the 21st Century. In the process of gaining our rightful place we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for transformational changes, economical equalities and job opportunities by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred.

We must forever conduct our protest and struggle on the high ground of dignity and discipline as Martin Luther King, Jr. did. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence or worse. Again and again we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting economical inequality and other injustice of excessive capitalism and individualism with positive forces. The marvelous new struggle which may engulf the establishments of America and the World must not lead us to a distrust of all the wealthy individuals, corporate executives and representatives in the establishments, for many of them, as evidenced by their sympathy or silence, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny. They have come to realize that their yearning for love and compassion to fellow Americans is inextricably bound to our struggles. We cannot walk alone.

At this critical moment, we must also ask ourselves the soul searching question: Are we really fighting the benefit of all Americans or our own self-interests? And do we want to go down in history as hypocrites or equality-seeking men and women? And so, as John F. Kennedy would urge: My fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you but what can you do for your country.

Marching Ahead

As we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall always march ahead as King would do. We cannot turn back. There are those who ask, "When will you be satisfied?" We can never be satisfied as long as the majority of Americans are short-changed by the minority and disadvantaged by the establishments of America. We can never be satisfied, as long as our hard work cannot feed our families nor provide them with medicine or shelter. We can never be satisfied as long as young generations of Americans, loaded with heavy burden of educational debts, cannot find decent jobs and robbed of their American Dream by signs stating "for the rich only." We cannot be satisfied as long as an American wanting to work cannot find a job and another American who has a job feels insecure and is in despair. No, no, we are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied until economical equalities roll down like waters and job opportunities rain like a mighty stream.

We are not unmindful that some among us have suffered great trials of unemployment and financial difficulties. Some among us are still in the suffocating environment of hopelessness and despair. Some among us have been battered by the storms of corporate greed and staggered by the winds of layoffs. Some of us have been the veterans of unearned suffering. Continue to hope with the faith that unearned suffering is redemptive.

Go back to your work, go back to your study, go back to your business, go back to your place of worship, go back to the backwaters of undesirable jobs, go back to the forgotten paths of entrepreneurship knowing that somehow this situation can and will be changed. Let us not wallow in the valley of despair but turn to our family to help each other and pray to GOD for comfort, inner strength and salvation.

We Have a Dream

We say to you today, fellow Americans, so even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, we still have a dream in the spirit of Martin Luther King, Jr. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American Dream of the 21st Century and the struggle for the advancement of our Republic and the mankind at large under the Laws of GOD.

We have a dream that one day all Americans will be better off than today, secure in basic necessities of food, medicine and shelter, prosperous in all aspects and happy in our lives.

We have a dream that one day all wealthy Americans will be compassionate and giving, sharing their wealth with the less fortunate and the Nation.

We have a dream that one day all American corporations will rise up and live out the true meaning of an ideal corporation: morality before profit, employment before dividend, collaboration before monopoly and cooperation before competition.

We have a dream that one day Wall Street will not be a "greed" street but a "moral" street: orderly market, honest investment banking, transparency in financial reporting and no manipulation of market and no insider trading.

We have a dream that one day all educational institutions will provide educations to their students at reasonable costs, use their endowment generally and ensure their students employment opportunities after graduation.

We have a dream that one day even a bigot, sweltering with the heat of anti-immigrants, sweltering with the heat of racism, will be transformed into an oasis pursuing equality for all.

We have a dream that one day, the three respective branches of our Federal and State Government will always work in harmony for the prosperity, common good and advancement of all Americans and this Great Nation under GOD.

We have a dream today. We have a dream as that of Martin Luther King, Jr. "that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places will be made straight, and the glory of [GOD] shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together."

So, we have a dream today. We have a dream that one day we will be live in a Paradise on Earth and a peaceful World under GOD for a thousand years to come.

This is our hope. This is the faith that we go on in the pursuit of the American Dream of 21st Century. With this faith as that of Martin Luther King, Jr. "we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of [American economy and finance] into a beautiful symphony of [harmony and prosperity]." With this faith we will be able to work together, to struggle together, to pray together, to stand up for America's future together, knowing that we will be truly happy one day. This will be the day when everyone will be able to sing as Rumi "I am so tipsy here in this world, I have no tale to tell but tipsiness and rapture."

Let Transformation of Consciousness Begin

No doubt that our pursuit of American Dream of the 21st Century is hindered by the state of our own consciousness from the rich to the poor. Thus, the transformation of our consciousness under GOD is the key to accomplish this sacred pursuit and transform America. By transforming our consciousness and transcending ourselves from the rich to the poor, we shall transform greed into compassion, hate to love, wealth possession to wealth sharing and war to peace.

So, let transformation of consciousness begin in each of us from the rich to the poor! Let transformation of consciousness begin in corporate America! Let transformation of consciousness begin on Wall Street! Let transformation of consciousness begin in all places of business, schools, churches and all institutions!

But not only that, let transformation of consciousness begin in the respective three branches of our Federal and State Government! Let transformation of consciousness begin in the corporations, businesses and government of every nation! From every corner of Earth, let transformation of consciousness begin!

When this happens, when we allow transformation of consciousness to begin, when we let it

to ring from every individual, every corporation, every business and every governmental unit, we will be able to speed up that day when American Dream of the 21st Century shall be realized under the Laws of GOD.

Tribute and Resolve

Let us now pay tribute to those who have greatly contributed towards the birth, endurance and advancement of our cherished Nation and Republic. But, as Abraham Lincoln would declare, in a larger sense we cannot compose anything proper to honor those heroes. The brave men and women of America, living and dead, who struggled, have already done so, far above one's poor power to add or detract. The World may be little notice what we say here, but it can never forget what they have done. It is for rest of us, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored we take increased devotion to the cause for which they have given their full measure of devotion, that we here highly resolve that these dedicated shall not have fought in vain, that our Nation shall have a new birth, and that American Dream shall endure and advance and shall not vanish in the 21st Century.

GOD Bless America from Sea to Shining Sea!

Acknowledgements:

The layout of this Essay "The American Dream of the 21st Century: A Call for Transformation of America" is based on Martin Luther King, Jr.'s speech "I have a Dream." The Essay is also fused with languages from the Declaration of Independence the chief drafter of which was Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. It also contains a quote from John F. Kennedy and a verse from "GOD Bless America."

Essay

Power without Borders

Leon J. Neihouse*

ABSTRACT

The “American Dream of the 21st Century” is a very laudable and idealistic piece. In similar vein, I have been working on a project for almost 37 years. To fight climate change, the Dirigo Energy Institute (“DEI”) recommends a MASS policy of Mutual Assured Survival Systems using a tripod offense of Nuclear Power, Ocean Power, and Solar Power. Any leg can complement other regenerative options (geothermal, wind, hydro, biomass, etc.) such that each leg will have the potential to supply all the world’s energy needs for all time in a cost effective and environmentally benign manner. In this essay, DEI’s visions are described on the following: Dirigo Means “I Lead”, Micro-City Enterprises, Micro-Farm Enterprises, Allied Modular Power Systems, Remote Island Waste Management, Power Breakwater Enterprises, and John’s Peerless Products.

Key Words: climate change, new energy source, environment.

I. DIRIGO Means “I Lead”

I believe it is the duty of every man to act as though the fate of the world depends on them. Surely no one man can do it all. But, one man CAN make a difference. Admiral H. G. Rickover

Introduction

My professional career started with a seven year tour of duty in the U. S. Navy, during which time I served in Admiral Rickover's nuclear powered submarine program. I saw the above quote on a 2009 calendar published by the United States Submarine Veterans organization and I liked what he had to say.

To initiate an investigation into the development of environmentally benign sources of energy, I incorporated the Dirigo (deer-uh-go, meaning "I Lead") Energy Institute, aka DEI, in July of 2007.

I am encouraging all to accept the Admiral’s counsel and act as if the fate of the world depends on us. This leads to our overarching goal – research, develop, and demonstrate methods and procedures to meet the world's energy needs in a cost effective manner and then make this information available for use by all.

Success will mean that energy can be removed from the peace equation - a result that could very well be instrumental in the continued existence of civilization as we know it.

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We do not expect to be acting alone in this arena. In fact, we salute and applaud all others involved in this field. Their actions include, but are not limited to improving energy efficiency; investigating regenerative options such as geothermal, solar, biofuels, hydro, wind, waves, tides, and currents; improving fission nuclear power; developing wild cards such as polywell fusion, accelerator-driven heavy ion fusion, and blacklight power; and even using fossil sources such as fracked natural gas, sweet oil, and clean coal. The objective in all of this is to remove energy from the peace equation and not to be concerned with who gets the credit for doing so.

There is one other factor that might affect the equation – providing this energy in an environmentally benign manner.

In several billion years the sun will expand into a red giant and burn everything on this planet into a cinder. In the Academy Award winning documentary *An Inconvenient Truth*, co-recipient of the 2007 Nobel Peace Prize Al Gore implies that we are on a collision course to burn ourselves into a cinder much sooner than that. He maintains that an impending climate change has possible drastic consequences for the human race, perhaps within the next 50 years. James Hansen, with his book *Storms of My Grandchildren*, and Sir Richard Branson, with his *Virgin Earth Challenge* 25 million dollar prize for devising ways and means to avoid global warming, support Gore's position.

On the other side of the ledger Freeman Dyson, Professor Emeritus at the Institute of Advanced Study in Princeton, in Chapter 3 (*Heretical Thoughts about Science and Society*) of his book *A Many Colored Glass*, takes the position that the present state of research is not solid enough to classify climate change as a civilization terminating problem. This view is held by others such as The Global Warming Policy Foundation, an independent Think Tank in the UK directed by Benny Peiser.

Without getting into a discussion on the relative merits of the two sides of this argument, we are setting a course of action under which we will be relevant under either scenario.

In order for DEI to select an energy source for development, it must be available for all national governments to have access to it so as to provide power to their respective countries. This latter requirement led us to adopt as the DEI motto “Power Without Borders™”, which I am using as the title for a book I am writing that expands on the information in this essay.

For a few brief words on the direction in which the world is heading, in 2006 Daniel Nocera of MIT wrote an article in *Daedalus* stating that in 2002 the world "... burned energy at a rate of 13.3 TW (terawatts) ..." with a projection that "... if 9 billion people adopt the standard of living for a US resident...the world would need an astronomical 102 TW of energy in 2050." The challenge is to provide this power in a cost effective and environmentally benign manner.

MAD to MASS

Three independent nuclear warhead delivery systems - land (intercontinental ballistic missile silos), air (B-52 bombers), and sea (nuclear powered submarines with ballistic missile delivery systems) comprised a MAD policy of Mutual Assured Destruction. Any one of these three systems could independently discharge enough atomic weapons to destroy the enemy.

DEI recommends using this same methodology to formulate a MASS policy of Mutual Assured Survival Systems using a tripod offense of Solar Power, Nuclear Power, and Ocean Power. The design intent is to develop each leg such that it will have the ability to supply all the world's energy needs in a cost effective and environmentally benign manner.

DEI RD&D (research, development, demonstration) Projects

Fossil fuel, perhaps dominated by fracked natural gas, will probably be the major energy supplier for at least the rest of this century. This will undoubtedly cause increases in carbon dioxide concentrations, which should be no problem in the near term. We are now at less than 400 ppm (parts per million) concentration and research has shown that submariners can function effectively for three month periods at concentrations up to 8,000 ppm, astronauts for three years at 5,000 ppm, and controlled environment greenhouse farmers raise levels to as high as 2,000 ppm to facilitate plant growth. Burning fossil fuels will not approach these levels in the foreseeable future so the only potential problem is global warming.

Geothermal, biomass, wind generators, solar farms, ocean waves and tides, fission nuclear, ocean thermal energy conversion, solar satellites in geostationary orbit, and fusion nuclear are in various stages of development by many. If all national governments accept climate change as an immediate threat to the continued existence of civilization as we know it, then a global construction network coordinated by national governments can use Manhattan-type urgency and develop the above environmentally benign sources so as to solve the problem.

Unless and until global warming is demonstrated to all concerned to be civilization threatening, however, the course of action we will pursue is to work slowly but surely on our RD&D projects until the sources we develop are more cost effective than coal, oil, or natural gas. If we succeed, then, by the end of the century, the world's energy needs can be met in perpetuity by regenerative sources.

Planned initial DEI RD&D projects are:

1. A modular fission nuclear power plant built in a shipyard, its operation from a floating platform located along a navigable waterway, and a method for the final disposal of spent nuclear fuel/high level radioactive wastes. (Poor chance for general public support. If fission nuclear power is necessary to solve the global warming problem then most people, if they accept it at all, will do so reluctantly. Even if all nuclear power plants are shutdown tomorrow, however, the nuclear waste problem must be solved. The DEI proposed solution is as good as any and better than many so this aspect, at least, might meet with wide approval.)
2. An ocean thermal energy conversion plant surrounded by a floating earth based prototype of a Stanford Torus space settlement. (Good chance for general public support. Uniting these two options under one roof has never before been attempted.)
3. A solar power satellite in geostationary earth orbit. (Excellent chance for general public support. The development of this regenerative option as a practical power source would be a boon to the human race.)

4. A reduced size version of R. Buckminster Fuller's floating Triton City modified to include a four season controlled environment greenhouse. (Superb chance for general public support. What the world needs today is a sustainable living method affordable to the average wage earner and self-sufficient with respect to energy/food.)

All four are long term projects so there is plenty of time to seek support.

More information on each RD&D project follows.

1. Volume producing modular nuclear power plants in shipyards, operating them on floating platforms along navigable waterways, and disposing of spent nuclear fuel/high level radioactive wastes:

DEI will investigate volume producing standard modular nuclear power plants in shipyards followed by subsequent towing or movement by heavy lift ship to any location in the world accessible by a navigable waterway. There the plants will be operated in the floating condition for an extended time without refueling or maintenance after which the complete plant will be moved to a remote facility for periodic refueling, refurbishing, and eventual decommissioning.

If fusion nuclear power plants are used, radioactive waste disposal will not be a problem.

Types of fission nuclear power plants that can be investigated for use in this manner include, but are not limited to an integral fast reactor, the TerraPower plant promoted by Bill Gates, a Hyperion plant designed by Los Alamos National Laboratory, and MIT's design for a pebble bed reactor. The same navigable waterway used to relocate the plant will provide an easy route to dispose of radioactive wastes from plant operation.

Fuel can be derived in perpetuity from the four billion plus tons of uranium suspended in equilibrium in the ocean. Thus, an energy source for fission nuclear power plants will be accessible to all nations for all time.

For the final disposal of radioactive wastes, DEI will investigate a global solution to this global problem. The first order of business will be to maximize a Fail Safe objective by developing remote and uninhabited islands for the interim storage of all nuclear wastes. As to be discussed in chapter Six of the book I am writing, this will start with low level radioactive wastes and then expand into spent nuclear fuel (SNF) beginning with storage in the same manner in which it is now stored at shutdown sites.

The storage capacity can be increased by using:

1. Floating platforms in protected lagoons at the storage locations.
2. Some combination of double-hulled canisters and decommissioned submarine hulls to permit underwater storage in a natural or artificial lagoon at the site.

A plant can be developed and operated at the storage site to reprocess the SNF. The residue after reprocessing, or the SNF itself if no reprocessing is to occur, will be disposed of in an appropriate final repository.

In the United States the Waste Isolation Pilot Plant (WIPP), a burial ground for military radioactive wastes, is the only disposal method now in operation. For commercial nuclear wastes, deep geologic disposal such as at WIPP is the front runner for a final disposal method with deep bore holes a close second. This is OK for the United States but many nations with nuclear power in their energy supply portfolio simply do not have acceptable locations for deep geologic disposal.

The method DEI recommends is sub seabed disposal, both for nations without suitable sites and as a backup for nations investigating deep geologic disposal or boreholes within their borders.

Let me be quick to point out that sub seabed burial is not as "off the wall" as some might first believe it to be. It has been recommended in the past by professionals with impeccable credentials.

In her book *Trashing the Planet* the late Dixie Lee Ray, a former Chairman of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission and Governor of the State of Washington, discussed immersing high level radioactive waste in glass, placing it in a torpedo shaped shell, and dropping it into one of the many geologically stable, remote, inactive, and non-life bearing locations on the ocean floor (so called "ocean deserts") as a suitable method to dispose of high level radioactive waste.

Bernard L. Cohen, former Professor of Physics at the University of Pittsburgh, had over 300 papers and articles published as well as six books. Dr. Cohen voiced approval of this method in a paper entitled *Ocean Dumping of High Level Waste - An Acceptable Solution We Can Guarantee* on page 162 in the Volume 47, January 1980 issue of Nuclear Technology.

But the biggest factor in favor of using this method so as to permit our nuclear wastes to Rest In Peace is Rip himself - Dr. Rip Anderson. He not only gave us WIPP but also 32N164W.

As discussed in *Power to Save the World* by Gwyneth Cravens, one of many possible locations for final disposal is the ocean desert at 32N164W. At this location, a bullet shaped canister holding nuclear wastes would fall by gravity through four miles of sea water in a marine desert that ends in a 300 foot clay seabed of peanut butter like consistency with quicksand like features. The falling effect buries the canister 100 feet into this seabed with no further action required. This location is in the central area of a tectonic plate that will remain stable for millions of years.

If each canister is separated by 100 yards, the 39,000 square mile area will hold over 12 million canisters, which is enough to hold all the nuclear wastes generated by all nations for centuries into the future.

IAEA-TECDOC-1413 of October 2004 entitled [*Developing multinational radioactive waste repositories: Infrastructural framework and scenarios of cooperation*](#) gives a position of the International Atomic Energy Agency that supports the feasibility of a DEI RD&D project to first develop remote island locations for the interim storage of SNF followed by possible reprocessing and subsequent final disposal of the SNF or residue after reprocessing.

Elements in this RD&D project might include, but not be limited to:

1. Identify remote uninhabited islands suitable for the interim storage of low level radioactive wastes, SNF, and high level radioactive wastes
2. Research the ability of breakwaters to create artificial lagoons as well as use underwater turbines, oscillating water columns, ocean waves, and wind generators so as to provide for local regenerative power
3. Develop floating platforms for placement in natural or artificial lagoons for storage of SNF and other radioactive wastes
4. Research the ability of double hulled SNF dry storage casks to provide for submerged storage
5. Investigate adapting hulls of decommissioned submarines to provide for submerged SNF storage
6. Develop an ability to transport SNF by air
7. Investigate reprocessing of SNF
8. Select and develop a location to serve as a final repository for nuclear wastes.

For a quick summary, the plan of action is to move nuclear wastes to a selected remote uninhabited island, investigate a floating plant capable of reprocessing the SNF on site, and dispose of radioactive waste materials at a permanent site that might include, but not be limited to sub seabed burial, in a deep geologic repository, or in bore holes.

All of these activities will be designed with fail safe features such that there will be no detrimental impact to the health and safety of the general public.

All national governments who have had, now have, or are planning to have nuclear power in their energy supply portfolio will be invited to participate.

2. Combining an ocean thermal energy conversion plant with an earth based prototype of a Stanford Torus space settlement:

The oceans are a vast renewable energy resource available 24 hours a day, seven days a week.

On an average day, 23 million square miles of tropical seas absorb solar energy (equal to about 250 billion barrels of oil) to create a temperature difference between the warm surface water and the cold deep water of 36°F or greater. If less than one-tenth of one percent of this stored energy is converted into electric power, it can supply all the world's electrical energy needs.

In one possible OTEC (ocean thermal energy conversion) generating process, warm sea water on the surface passes through a heat exchanger, vaporizing a low boiling point working fluid to drive a turbine, generating electricity. Cold deep sea water is then pumped up to condense the vapor, completing the cycle.

The OTEC process can use the cold seawater, rich in nutrients, to support the growth of shell fish, fin fish, and other food. Additional profit sources that can be derived from this process include cold water for refrigeration, drinking water, and extraction of useful products suspended in sea water.

The OTEC plant can get its products to market using methanol tankers and/or air transport. For example, a demonstration OTEC plant could be sited in close proximity to one of many islands near the equator in the Pacific Ocean such as Howland Island whose airport, outfitted in the late thirties for use by Amelia Earhart, could be upgraded to accept modern day planes transporting workers and products to and from the OTEC plant.

A floating housing development surrounding the OTEC plant can be patterned after a Stanford Torus space settlement. The design parameters to the nearest ten feet, derived from Page 89, *Space Settlements, A Design Study*, NASA SP-413 of 1977, are 5,910 feet outside diameter, 430 feet torus diameter, 50 feet diameter for each of six spokes to the hub, and a 430 feet diameter hub.

The design intent is for this development to accommodate 10,000 full time residents. The people living in or visiting this city might have no intrinsic interest in DEI but the earnings before taxes of the OTEC plant, the housing development, and of all businesses located therein will be tithed for non-profit purposes, starting with DEI.

3. A network of solar satellites in geostationary earth orbit:

In the September/October '89 issue of the *Humanist* magazine, the science fiction author Isaac Asimov presented a scenario in which a network of solar power satellites in geostationary earth orbit (GEO) would provide the world with safe, environmentally benign, perpetual, and cost effective energy. He suggested that this should be undertaken as a global mega engineering project to join all nations in the pursuit of a common goal.

For a potential show stopper to this project, a Department of Energy (DOE) study in the 1980s, although establishing that microwaves would not be a safety hazard for people or birds, determined that photovoltaic cell production and launch costs were financially prohibitive. Given the dramatic reduction in the cost of solar cells and the prospects of much less expensive launch methods (electromagnetic, laser, phased microwave) solar satellite power might now be competitive with coal, oil, and natural gas.

Placing a satellite in GEO, at just over 22,000 miles above the surface of the earth, means it will orbit the earth at the exact speed with which the earth rotates, to always remain in the same position above the equator. In this configuration, the satellite can use its photovoltaic cells to generate electricity 24/7, which can be transformed into microwaves or lasers, and transmitted to a receiver on earth. From this position, the microwaves or lasers are transformed into electricity and either sent to customers over an electrical grid or through use of an energy carrier such as hydrogen or methanol.

Now imagine that, instead of only one satellite, there are 1,000 equally spaced satellites in GEO. Given that GEO is 26,200 miles above the center of the earth this equates to a circumference of over 164,000 miles or one satellite at each 164 mile interval. If now, over time, each of the 1,000 satellite locations is expanded into a 100 gigawatt source, then the system will be producing 100 terawatts to provide the lion's share of the 102 terawatts needed to satisfy Nocera's 2050 projection to permit nine billion people to use energy at the same rate as an average American.

Required periodic maintenance can be provided by ten space settlements in GEO, with each accessible by a space elevator.

The full system could have a global headquarters to:

- contract for receiver and photovoltaic cell volume production
- contract for launch services
- coordinate robotic centers in space for satellite assembly
- operate and maintain the satellites
- research the use of asteroids or the moon as a source of raw materials for satellite construction
- build space elevators and space settlements.

Each of one thousand franchisees would be set up as an independent power producer to not only own, operate, and maintain assigned receivers but also sell the power generated to its customers. Global headquarters would be owned by many separate and independent entities (national governments, investment firms, and private investors) and each franchisee would be financed by private investors, utilities, and national governments serviced by the franchisee.

Energy from the solar satellites will be received on earth and then either converted to high voltage electricity for transmission over the grid or transformed into an energy carrier such as hydrogen or methanol for transportation to customers around the world. Modes of transportation might include tankers, barges, pipelines, rail cars, trucks, and service stations.

A completed network of solar satellites would realize the dream envisioned by Peter E. Glaser (invented the concept in 1968), Gerard K. O'Neill (recommended their volume production to fund space settlement construction), and Isaac Asimov (called for their implementation to promote world peace under an international construction program).

One more thought. Cost might not be a show stopper for solar satellite development but coronal mass ejection, or CME, could be. A CME similar in strength to the one in 1860 is sure to eventually appear on the scene so as to quickly destroy any solar cell directed towards it. Thankfully, CMEs are under continuous scientific observation such that at least an 18 hour notice will be forthcoming before their arrival. This provides ample opportunity for the satellite operators to protect the solar cells by acting like teenagers and turning the bare bottom of the satellite around and pointing it directly towards the sun in a planned procedure likely to be called "Mooning the Sun."

4. Reduced size version of R. Buckminster Fuller's floating Triton City:

In November of 1968 the Triton Foundation prepared *A Study of A PROTOTYPE FLOATING COMMUNITY* for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. The design was four acres in area, 20 stories high, elements (condos, classrooms, stores, offices, services) prefabricated on a modular basis, and provided living accommodations for five thousand people.

The U.S. Navy reviewed the design and estimated that it could be volume produced at a price that would make homes affordable to the average wage earner.

This project will revisit the design under a goal to provide a reduced size version that includes a four season controlled environment greenhouse along with insulation/renewable energy sources such that residents will be self sufficient with respect to energy and food.

This project will complement a business, Micro-City™ Enterprises, to be introduced in chapter Three of the proposed book.

Methanol as Foundation

As implied in the book *Beyond Oil and Gas: The Methanol Economy* by George A. Olah, Alain Goepfert, and G. K. Surya Prakash methanol is one way to get the power generated by OTEC plants and solar power satellites to market. Using the generated power to create hydrogen would be the first step but the next step would be to combine the hydrogen so generated with carbon dioxide to form methanol. The creation of methanol from fossil sources and a methanol distribution system is already a mature technology. A small RD&D project within the larger RD&D solar satellite and OTEC projects would be to take hydrogen from electrolysis and combine it with carbon dioxide to create methanol.

II. Micro-City Enterprises

"You never change things by fighting the existing reality. To change something, build a new model that makes the existing model obsolete." R. Buckminster Fuller

There will always be a market for affordable housing.

The objective of Micro-City Enterprises, or MCE for short, is to design small housing developments that are made affordable by volume producing standard designs for a floating or land based configuration and then placing them in urban, suburban, and country settings.

Long ago R. Buckminster Fuller offered one solution to the affordable housing problem – at least in principle. In November of 1968 he published *A Study of A PROTOTYPE FLOATING COMMUNITY*, known as a Triton City. Fuller demonstrated that, if volume produced in shipyards, this floating design will be affordable to those being paid a minimum wage.

The intent of MCE is to make developments such as this energy self sufficient through the use of techniques to include, but not be limited to insulation, below grade heat sources and sinks, solar, biomass, wind generators, ocean waves, and ocean currents.

Solar, wind, and biomass are available for use in both land based and floating configurations.

In addition, energy self sufficiency in a land based housing development can use regenerative energy such as geothermal by the simple expedient of building in close proximity to such a source.

As to be discussed in chapter Seven of the proposed book, a floating housing development can rest in calm waters created by a power breakwater and have its energy supplied by this very same power breakwater using ocean waves, winds, and currents as regenerative sources.

For food, an integral part of the housing development will consist of a Micro-Farm™, such as one of those discussed in the next chapter of the proposed book, that employs NASA developed CELSS (Closed Ecological Life Support System) concepts. It will be a four season controlled environment greenhouse that will adjust carbon dioxide levels, light type and intensity, organic nutrients delivered via a hydroponic and/or aeroponic process, temperature, and moisture content under a design objective to achieve maximum growth with minimum waste discharge to the environment for a product line selected by the homeowners. The greenhouse will sell products - not claimed by the homeowners - to walk in customers or retail outlets.

One housing development design, in the shape of a Mayan Pyramid, will have a greenhouse farm on the sun facing side complemented with condos on the other three sides. All homes will open outward to an exterior privacy patio and inward to a community center. The greenhouse will use terraced grow beds in a configuration starting at ground level and rising to a rooftop setting to provide products selected on a periodic basis by the homeowners.

Other design concepts are floating or land-based reduced size versions of three Buckminster Fuller designs (Tetrahedron City with 1,000,000 people, Old Man River City with 125,000, and Triton City with 5,000), an Arcosanti design, geodesic and Fly's Eye domes of several sizes, and various designs of energy efficient single and multiple family homes.

So as to obviate the necessity of owning an automobile, shared transportation will be available in each development. This will include both a leasing program for automobile short term use and a microbus making periodic trips from the development to grocery stores, shopping malls, an airport, a bus terminal, a train station, and entertainment venues.

The long term objective of this proposal is to build these Micro-Cities using ten standard design concepts. The overarching purpose is to volume produce each standard design such that the development is energy and food self-sufficient with wastes recycled to the extent practical. It should be mentioned that the designs will be standard in much the same way that the design of the human body is standard. There will inevitably be as much variety in different housing developments of the same design as there is variety in different human beings of the female or male design.

MCE will design many models of a Micro-City™ complex in a standard community setting with a total population in the 40 to 160 range.

An international marketing campaign will employ a cruise ship embarking on a world tour entitled *The Voyage of the Micro-City™ AEGIS*, where AEGIS is an acronym for Amalgamated Entertainment, Games & International Shopping.

An existing cruise ship will be refurbished in the form of a floating housing development to contain a greenhouse, penthouse and luxury staterooms, standard staterooms, crew quarters, a shopping section with retail outlets from world class companies, an entertainment section with state-of-the-art facilities, and a section featuring traditional carnival games and rides.

The tour, with stops in ports around the world, will attract people with a combination rock concert and carnival atmosphere (The circus is coming to town!).

The lion's share of the profits from the tour will be used to begin the construction of selected housing developments in the host country to provide health, housing, energy, food, clean air, and fresh water to shield (derived from the AEGIS name) the poor and homeless in the outlying areas from the effects of poverty through a life style traditionally inaccessible to them.

To summarize, the overarching purpose of this strategy is to seek energy and food self-sufficiency in a community with a nominal population in the 40 to 160 range. Key elements are:

- Volume produce standard community structures so as to create a lifestyle affordable to all
- Provide energy from regenerative sources
- Grow food in a CELSS environment that permits a four-season output
- Employ Fuller's concept of a Design Science Revolution to provide continuous product improvement in energy and food.
- Use *The Voyage of The Micro-City AEGIS* to market MCE on a global basis.

Each Micro-City will be organized as a franchisee of MCE. In an ideal form, standard operating procedures in these micro-cities organized on an international basis will permit easy homeowner transfer between cities so as to permit individual homeowners to find a home and community design suitable to their life style. As with the other business concepts, ten percent of the earnings before taxes not only from each franchisee but also from corporate MCE headquarters will be donated to non-profit causes, starting with DEI.

A Joint Venture team to develop this concept might consist of expertise in:

- Housing development design
- Greenhouse design
- Floating configuration design
- Floating energy sources
- Land based configuration design
- Land based energy sources
- Real estate
- Legal
- Marketing.

This Joint Venture team will produce the marketing materials that are expected to result in customers on a global basis.

Seed money will be required to incorporate MCE, open and outfit an office, and hire a nucleus group with the expertise necessary to define many model options and prepare a business plan sufficiently detailed to acquire the money necessary to expand the nucleus group so as to assemble a Joint Venture team, define many model options, select one model for a world tour, and prepare detailed drawings for the model and cost estimates for both the model and the tour.

More money will be needed to expand the staff, build the model, conduct the world tour, and get contracts for at least one development in each country in close proximity to each stop.

The next chapter in the proposed book will give more information on a greenhouse that will be an integral part of each Micro-City.

III. Micro-Farm Enterprises

A growing global population must eat so agriculture is trending towards large vertical farms in urban areas to feed the local population. It is easily possible to extrapolate this trend downwards so as to place greenhouses on less desirable land or on rooftops but it remains to be seen if this can be done in a cost effective manner.

Micro-Farm Enterprises (MFE) will investigate the profitability of this concept through a franchise company under which franchisees will use four season controlled environment greenhouses that recycle wastes using CELSS (Closed Ecological Life Support System) techniques to grow a product line that might consist of, but not be limited to vegetables, herbs, flowers, fish, fowl, rabbits, pigs, goats, and sheep; a reduced product line; or single crops such as lettuce, grapes, strawberries, tomatoes, cantaloupes, watermelons, or medicinal plants. Each greenhouse will sell its products to walk in customers and/or to retail outlets.

The greenhouse will optimize light, temperature, carbon dioxide (CO₂) enrichment, air moisture content, and soluble nutrient levels in conjunction with continuous planting and harvesting. Year-round operation will permit continuous growth of vegetables, herbs, fruit, flowers, fish, fowl, pigs, goats, and sheep. One crop of potential interest is grapes grown under controlled conditions that replicate the environment that existed during the years when award winning wines were produced.

Growing techniques will provide artificial light, CO₂, and soluble nutrients absorbed through roots and leaves. The system enhances growth by proportionally increasing light, heat, water, CO₂, and nutrients at specified times of the day.

A standard greenhouse in the northern hemisphere might have a tall northern wall with planting beds stacked upward toward the northern wall. From an end view, the greenhouse will appear similar to an A-Frame. In a standard layout the floor of the greenhouse will be terraced for vertical growing. The length of the greenhouse will be determined by the franchisee, sizing it to desired production levels.

Besides terraced beds, it will be possible to apply the verti-grow method that utilizes pots stacked one above the other. It will also be possible to build the terraces out of enclosed fish tanks, thus allowing fish to be raised (aquaponics) as another income stream.

The open space in the A-Frame interior might house elements including, but not limited to plumbing, pumps, aquaponics, mushroom beds, composting, water and nutrient storage, an insulated nursery, and a retail outlet. A company owned model will have classrooms in this section for instructing franchisees in the design and operation of the greenhouse.

Growing techniques might include:

- **Light:** Experience indicates that approximately 11-12 hours is optimal daylight length for most common food plants in temperate zones. Day length is adjusted with artificial sunlight such that plants receive the same amount of light from the fall equinox until spring equinox.
- **Carbon Dioxide Enrichment:** Normal atmospheric CO₂ concentration is at less than 400 ppm but experience indicates that some plants prefer up to 2000 ppm. A flame (propane or natural gas) can serve as a peaking CO₂ source with baseline CO₂ levels provided by decomposing compost or other natural sources.
- **Soluble Nutrients:** Organic nutrients can be passed through a soil-less growing medium comprised of perlite, pumice, vermiculite, and decomposing organic matter (potting soil). Soluble nutrients of organic compost can be applied to the underside of leaves as a fine mist during the light/CO₂ enrichment period.
- **Others:** Additional growing techniques under evaluation include, but are not limited to LED grow lights, water treatment systems, electrical and magnetic characteristics in plant cellular growth and development, audible and electromagnetic stimulation, and biofeedback.

The greenhouse will be designed to regulate temperature using thermostats, timers, and/or programmable controllers, all with the option for manual override. The energy management systems are operated with the intent of maintaining the desired greenhouse temperature and humidity with the minimum energy input.

NASA recycling concepts from CELSS to provide food for settlers of Mars will be incorporated into the design of these greenhouses. With this feature added to micro-cities a sustainable life support system can be built to accommodate perhaps up to 10 billion people on this planet.

The MFE methods and features include:

- Continuous year-round growing and harvesting of high quality vegetables, herbs, fruit, flowers, fish, and fowl
- Ability to grow 'designer' fruits and vegetables
- Reduced need for pest control due to compost based nutrient application keeping soil borne insects and diseases out of the greenhouse biome
- Higher plant brix (sugar) levels, resulting in better taste and longer produce shelf life
- Maximized sunlight harvesting through use of tiered beds
- Integrating renewable energy systems to establish greenhouse energy self-sufficiency
- Significantly reduce shipping costs by raising food crops locally.

To start operations, MFE will develop company models for operation in a MFE franchise business network for placement on land unsuitable for conventional farming and on rooftops.

A marketing plan will employ *The Voyage of the Micro-City AEGIS* (Amalgamated Entertainment, Games & International Shopping) - a ship discussed in the previous section of this essay - that will be outfitted for travel on the high seas with built in greenhouses, restaurants, and motels containing entertainment, games, and shopping provisions. It will embark on a world tour with a commitment to use part of the profits to build a greenhouse in

each host country with provisions to grow food that will help to shield the poor and homeless in that country from the effects of poverty.

MFE will teach integrated farming and waste management techniques necessary for organic food growth in a micro-farm and also perform R&D into features such as insulation, below grade heat sources and sinks, wind generators, solar, and biomass designed to seek energy self sufficiency.

Experiments in carbon dioxide levels, light type and intensity, organic nutrients delivered via a hydroponic and/or aeroponic process, temperature, and greenhouse moisture content will be conducted under a design objective to achieve maximum plant growth.

Aquaponics and livestock interactions will be addressed under which air, water, and wastes are recycled so as to maintain a fresh air and clean water atmosphere.

Greenhouse dimensions will be selected such that an optimum mix of vegetables, fruits, and meats can provide all the food required for 100 to 200 people.

The design intent is to volume produce an economy model for the developing world and a standard model for the middle class with custom models built for the rich and famous such that basic life support needs can be met for all people on Earth.

The MFE top ten reasons to develop four season controlled environment greenhouses – listed in reverse order with apologies to David Letterman - are:

- 10. Prerequisite for extended trips to the Moon, Mars, and beyond*
- 9. Reduces fossil fuel use through local food production*
- 8. Conserves water*
- 7. Recycles wastes to minimize release to the environment*
- 6. No crop failures due to droughts, wind, rain, snow, hail, or global warming*
- 5. Marginal farmland and urban rooftops used for food production*
- 4. Nutrient rich food grown without artificial herbicides or pesticides*
- 3. Land efficiency - one greenhouse acre equivalent to up to 30 outdoor acres*
- 2. A continuous harvest 365 days a year (spring, summer, fall, and winter)*
- 1. Promotes sustainable living*

Seed money will be required to incorporate MFE, open and outfit an office, and hire a nucleus group with the expertise necessary to define a standard greenhouse and prepare a business plan sufficiently detailed to acquire the money necessary to expand the nucleus group so as to prepare detailed drawings and cost estimates to adapt the standard model for the world tour.

More money will be needed to expand the staff, build the prototype, conduct the world tour, and get contracts for at least one MFE franchisee in each country in close proximity to each stop.

IV. Allied Modular Power System

For quite some time I have been promoting the volume production of modular power plants in shipyards.

Between April 2, 1990 and August 22, 1991 I sent three unsuccessful submissions to the Department of Energy on this general concept as it relates to nuclear power plants.

The late Lawrence M. Lidsky, Professor of Nuclear Engineering at MIT, was instrumental in organizing an International Workshop on June 17-19, 1991 at MIT on a land based modular high temperature gas cooled reactor, or MHTGR as it was then called. I was in attendance and used the results of this workshop, as well as a concept sketch and description of a floating plant created for me by Dr. Lidsky, in a business plan that discussed volume producing the MHTGR in manufacturing facilities such as shipyards, towing the completed plants to sites excavated to accept them, and operating them in the floating condition. The business plan discussed a boundary condition under which it would be possible to volume produce the plants within the existing global shipbuilding infrastructure such that 10,000 plants could be built within 40 years.

There were too many unresolved licensing issues so all attempts to continue with business development at that time were halted but it was soon thereafter that I started the Dirigo Energy Institute. DEI received a bit of publicity through an article entitled "10,000 nukes in the sea" which appeared on page 9 of Maine Times, November 20, 1992. An excerpt from this article reads as follows:

The Dirigo Energy Institute, a nascent research and development group in Bath, believes the world's future energy needs can be met by floating nuclear reactors.

Floating, gas-cooled nuclear power plants, argues Institute President Leon J. Neihouse, would be "safer and cheaper" than land-based, water-cooled nuclear power plants.

Neihouse, who works for John J. McMullen and Associates, says sea-going reactors will be safer than land-based plants because they will be earthquake-proof and can be towed to remote sites for repair and refueling.

Asked whether he anticipates public resistance in light of the ongoing debates over the disposal of nuclear waste, Neihouse says that's not the Institute's problem.

"We are a research and design institute," says Neihouse. "The waste disposal problem isn't a technical problem, it's a political problem. Geologic burial methods have been proven and the plant itself can store 15 to 20 years worth of waste."

Neihouse believes building nautical nukes is a natural defense conversion industry for U.S. shipyards in the post-Cold War era.

"An ideal form of ten thousand generating sites, each holding one or more 200-megawatt plants, can be built in 40 years using the existing shipbuilding infrastructure," states a Dirigo Energy Institute press release.

The same shipbuilding conditions exist today as in 1992 so there should be no insurmountable problems with volume producing modular nuclear power plants in shipyards except that the nuclear waste disposal problem, a subject discussed in the next chapter of this book, must first be solved.

That early version of DEI received more publicity through a Letter to the Editor that appeared in the Maine Coastal Journal of April 26, 1995. Excerpts from that letter are :

The National Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences recently compared nuclear dangers to others we constantly face. On a scale of relative danger they found cigarettes equals two thousand three hundred, cancer equals nine hundred eighty, being fifteen pounds overweight equals four hundred fifty, motor vehicle accidents equals one hundred eighty, air pollution equals eighty, firearms equals eleven, airplane crashes equals one, and effects of nuclear power equals point zero four. (See The Nuclear Energy Option by Bernard L. Cohen). In other words, those responsible for advising Congress on scientific matters believe air pollution to be two thousand times more dangerous than nuclear power.

In the emotional world in which we live, however, the logical course of action that will clean up the environment faster and save lives more quickly is for nuclear forces to concede to the anti-nuclear groups their Pyrrhic victory and then begin looking for alternate solutions to our energy problems. To start a dialogue along these lines, my personal top ten choices to develop energy sources, from bottom to top with apologies to David Letterman, are:

10. Nuclear. *The tenacious opposition of the anti-nuclear movement is its Achilles' heel.*
9. Oil. *The little that's left should be reserved for non-energy related purposes.*
8. Solar. *Father Sun, our constant fair weather companion, deserts us during dark times.*
7. Wind. *When the doldrums set-in, set-up on Capitol Hill.*
6. Hydro. *It's a "Damn Sight" better than most others, but there aren't enough dam sites.*
5. Coal. *Enough to last for hundreds of years - after it has cleaned up its act.*
4. Natural Gas. *Very attractive - but Mother Earth might get hot under the collar.*
3. Motion of the ocean. *Tides, waves, and currents give "Mo Power to You."*
2. Biomass. *Garbage In, Joules Out.*
1. Geothermal. *Mother Earth will always be there for you.*

In other words, there is no "one" solution to our energy problems. We will need small geographically dispersed plants and large central sites generating safe, environmentally benign, perpetual, and cost effective energy using a variety of mechanisms based on land, ocean, solar, and nuclear sources.

Leon J. Neihouse; The Dirigo Energy Institute, Inc.; Bath

I abandoned hope for nuclear power in the conditions as they then existed and became a Principal in American Modular Power Systems (AMPS). This business was incorporated to volume produce gas turbine power plants in shipyards and operate them in a franchise independent power producing network that would sign BOOM (build, own, operate, and maintain) contracts to provide electricity to customers. We tried for several years but could not find financing to proceed so we folded the company.

This new attempt to volume produce standard modular power plants in shipyards will have the same acronym but it will stand for Allied Modular Power Systems and be set up as a franchise network of independent power and water producers with, as before, the network operating under BOOM contracts to build, own, operate, and maintain power plants that sell electricity as a primary product and water as a secondary one.

Each franchisee will have a mission to fulfill a Power Purchase Agreement (PPA) held by corporate AMPS headquarters. For those customers requiring fresh water for drinking and/or agricultural purposes, AMPS corporate headquarters will satisfy the requirements of a Water Purchase Agreement (WPA) by designing, building and owning standard desalination plants to be operated and maintained by the franchisees.

AMPS will start by using natural gas as the energy source for gas turbine power plants. To the extent possible, they will be volume produced in shipyards and operated from floating platforms moored at generating sites on a coastline or along a navigable waterway.

If climate change should prove to be an intractable problem, the gas turbines can later be adapted to burn methanol derived from various environmentally benign sources (ocean thermal energy conversion plants, solar satellites in geostationary orbit, large fission or fusion nuclear power plants, etc). Alternatively, the entire gas turbine power plant can be replaced with a standard modular floating Generation IV fission or fusion nuclear power plant. After the nuclear waste problem is solved and when fission/fusion nuclear becomes more cost effective than gas turbines, this will be the natural flow of events.

The standard AMPS franchisee will operate and maintain a nominal 100 megawatt power plant as well as a desalination plant, if so requested by the customer. In its ideal form, AMPS will replicate this design at 10,000 locations and thus be in a position to generate one (1.0) terawatt of power.

To put this in perspective, the present total energy requirements for the world are in the 17 terawatt range. The balance of the power required will be provided by others, using conventional fossil (coal, oil or natural gas), fission or fusion nuclear, and many regenerative options (hydro, geothermal, biofuels, wind, solar, ocean thermal energy conversion, etc).

In the ideal form, a corporate AMPS headquarters will design, market and own the power and desalination plants; 10 construction offices will monitor and oversee the companies building the standard plants; and each of 100 offices will provide life cycle support to 100 assigned franchisees that operate and maintain the plants.

Each franchisee will pay corporate AMPS headquarters:

1. An initial franchise fee
2. A set amount for waste disposal
3. A set amount for plant decommissioning
4. A set amount for corporate support
5. Ten per cent of earnings before taxes.

Seed money is necessary to assemble a Joint Venture team to consist of AMPS and expertise in:

1. Breakwater design to create calm waters for the power plant
2. Gas turbine modular floating power plant design
3. Floating platform for power plant
4. Desalination plant design
5. Floating platform for desalination plant
6. Balance of plant for generating site
7. Marketing.

The intent of this team is to support an international franchise network of independent power producers specializing in the design, construction and operation of floating modular gas turbine power plants offering a desalination plant option.

This Joint Venture team will produce the marketing materials that are expected to result in AMPS signing PPAs and WPAs with customers on a global basis.

The intent is to sign PPAs/WPAs without identifying a specific power source. Thus, each franchisee can decide the point at which it might transfer from gas turbines to the modular nuclear power plants. It is expected that the time at which the transfer occurs will be driven by the profit expectations of the stockholders of the franchisee.

Suppliers might include, but not be limited to:

- Gas turbines: Pratt & Whitney, General Electric, Siemens and Rolls Royce.
- Shipyards: South Korea, China and Japan each have the infrastructure in place to volume produce standard floating gas turbine and desalination plants for subsequent transport by heavy lift ship to any site on the planet accessible by a navigable waterway. All developed countries have shipyards to volume produce standard plants for operation in their country.

Seed money will be needed to incorporate AMPS, open and outfit an office and hire a nucleus group with the expertise necessary to assemble a Joint Venture team and prepare a business plan sufficiently detailed to acquire the money necessary to continue with startup.

Subsequent steps will be to expand the staff with the expertise necessary to acquire concept sketches for floating power and desalination plants, cost estimates for the same, concept sketches and cost estimates for balance of plant at the operating site including a floating breakwater, cost estimates for franchisee startup expenses, pro forma financial statements to show profitability for franchisee and franchisor, acquire the first PPA/WPA to build, own, operate and maintain a power plant with a desalination capability and acquire financing to continue with AMPS startup.

Additional steps will be to further expand the staff, design and build a prototype power/desalination floating plant, outfit a generating site to accept the floating plant and acquire PPAs/WPAs for nine more power plants with a desalination option.

Finally, an initial public offering will provide the funds to continue in pursuit of the ideal form.

V. Remote Island Waste Management

As validated by the earthquake, tsunami, and meltdown in Japan, an untold number of unexpected events can occur with nuclear power plants. Among these are natural disasters (earthquakes and hurricanes), operator error (Chernobyl and Three Mile Island), and acts of sabotage.

One example of an event falling in the latter category would be to fly an airplane in Kamikaze fashion into a spent nuclear fuel (SNF) target of opportunity. This type of incident has yet to happen at a nuclear power plant but it has a well publicized history elsewhere. Witness the terrorists on 9/11 flying into the twin towers, a high school student into an office building in Florida, and a distraught tax payer into an IRS building in Texas. Filling the airplane with explosives would magnify the damage.

In that it is impossible to guarantee that there will be no unexpected events associated with SNF storage, a logical course of action is to place it in a location such that any and all incidents will not endanger the health and safety of the general public.

Real estate agents are fond of repeating the mantra “**Location, Location, Location**” when discussing the three most important characteristics to look for in purchasing a new home or business. An appropriate mantra might be “**Fail Safe, Fail Safe, Fail Safe**” as the three most important characteristics in finding locations to first store SNF and then provide for its final disposal.

When compared to other dangers, the effects of low level radioactive wastes are minimal but the general public does not understand radiation, they fear it inordinately, and they do not want radioactive wastes in their back yard. This set of circumstances leads to a persistent NIMBY (Not In My Back Yard) response in all locations in which attempts are made to store or provide for final disposal of any type of radioactive wastes. In that every place in the continental United States is in someone's back yard, remote and uninhabited islands might be better temporary storage locations for SNF.

It is technically possible to move the SNF residing at all shutdown nuclear facilities in the world to remote island locations. This course of action would, however, require access to funding, acceptance by the general public, concurrence by national governments, and the approval of the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission and the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Even if all concerned should concur on this approach, project completion could easily be in the 20 to 40 year range so the first task will be to investigate one or more locations to hold only low level radioactive wastes and then offer this service to all national governments who find it of interest. Follow-up from a successful venture would expand the services offered to include SNF and high level radioactive wastes.

Thus, one possible solution is to use distance to provide for the fail safe storage of these wastes. One way to achieve this distance on an interim basis is to develop one or more remote and uninhabited island locations in the Pacific and/or Indian Oceans, where NIMBY is not a problem.

When President Obama cancelled Yucca Mountain he set up a Blue Ribbon Commission on America's Nuclear Future to recommend an alternate approach. In an attempt to introduce this method, I submitted 19 letters to the Commission.

These letters, along with well over 2,000 letters submitted by others to the Commission, are available for review on the web site at <http://brc.gov/>.

The majority of the people submitting these comments are strongly opposed to any radioactive wastes in their back yard. Let us hope that the Commission will be able to recommend a solution to this over 50 year quest to find a location for the interim storage and then permanent disposal of U.S. spent nuclear fuel and high level radioactive wastes.

I will propose an alternate path with Remote Island Waste Management, hereinafter referred to as RIWM, a company being investigated to use distance as the solution to radioactive waste interim storage and/or final disposal.

The mission of RIWM will be to develop a sufficient number of remote island locations so as to provide all national governments with the option to store and/or dispose of all of their radioactive wastes.

In that they offer very few barriers to entry, the initial concentration will be on low level radioactive wastes (Class A - 100 years of isolation required, Class B - 300 years of isolation required, and Class C – 500 years of isolation required). After remote island sites have been developed for this purpose, they will be expanded to include high level radioactive wastes and SNF – both types requiring final disposal to include hundreds of thousands of years of isolation.

The island type being sought for interim storage will have a lagoon (natural or artificial), an abandoned but still operational airfield for access (A private airfield is not an absolute necessity but it will facilitate the periodic crew exchange process.), and no human inhabitants. Most locations of this type are restricted to wildlife but RIWM will pursue standard operating procedures such that its presence will be a boon rather than a burden to these life forms.

There will be a trust fund set up to ensure money will be available to implement a decommissioning plan. One design requirement will include a provision similar to camping in any U.S. National Park - leave it as you found it.

Initial locations to be researched include, but are not limited to:

- Johnston Atoll
- Wake Island
- Midway Atoll
- Salomon Islands.

The first three are in the Pacific Ocean, U.S. owned, and with natural lagoons and existing airfields. The fourth is in the Indian Ocean, UK owned, with a natural lagoon and access from an airfield on Diego Garcia – also UK owned.

Many other island nations in the Pacific and Indian Oceans will be investigated to determine if they have uninhabited islands with natural lagoons and airfield access.

If an acceptable location with these criteria cannot be found, a backup position will be a remote, uninhabited island with airfield access and amenable to the creation of an artificial lagoon. One of many possible options would be the U.S. owned Jarvis Island in the Pacific Ocean with airfield access from the Republic of Kiribati's [Kiritimati](#) Island.

Seed money is necessary to incorporate RIWM, open and outfit an office and hire a nucleus group with the expertise necessary to prepare a business plan sufficiently detailed to acquire the money necessary to continue with startup and estimate the scope of storage requirements, determine how transport will be done, and evaluate functions such as manpower, logistics, warehousing, equipment, maintenance, food storage and service, etc.

Additional funding will be needed to expand the nucleus group with the personnel necessary to enlist members of a Joint Venture team to consist of RIWM and expertise in the following:

1. An architect-engineer for a breakwater to serve as a source of power to a selected location and create an artificial lagoon, if required, at that location.
2. An architect-engineer for a platform floating in a natural lagoon, or an artificial lagoon created by a breakwater, on which will be stored low level radioactive wastes and other hazardous materials.
3. An architect-engineer and constructor to outfit one or more selected locations to accept for extended interim storage low level radioactive wastes and other hazardous materials.
4. Company or companies to construct/manufacture breakwaters and floating platforms.
5. Company or companies to provide for transportation (truck, rail, ship, or air) for low level radioactive wastes and other hazardous materials from the country of origin to the remote island location.
6. Company or companies to sign contracts with hospital facilities, nuclear power plant owners, and others on a global basis for utilization of the services offered by RIWM.
7. Company or individuals to provide next level financing.

Additional tasks would be to acquire concept sketches for a floating power breakwater and floating waste storage platforms, cost estimates for the same, concept sketches and cost estimates for remote island outfitting, startup expenses, transport and storage rates needed for profitability, market research to determine what potential customers are paying now, pro forma financial statements to show profitability, acquire the first contract for interim storage of low level radioactive wastes, and acquire financing to continue with RIWM startup.

More funding will be needed to expand the staff, outfit a prototype remote island location for storage of low level radioactive wastes, and acquire contracts from nine more national governments for storage of their low level radioactive wastes.

An Initial Public Offering will provide the funds to expand into high level radioactive wastes and spent nuclear fuel.

VI. Power Breakwater Enterprises

The primary objective of Power Breakwater Enterprises, or PBE for short, is to create calm waters and off-grid electricity at coastlines around the world.

A breakwater, either fixed or floating, will not only create calm waters but also serve as a platform on which to hold the power process equipment needed by regenerative energy sources designed to extract power in some manner from ocean wind, waves, tides, and current.

Potential markets would include, but not be limited to support for a floating Micro-City™ to be discussed in chapter Three of the proposed book, providing for protection from the sea for the electrical generating and desalination barges of Allied Modular Power Systems to be discussed in chapter Five, and to serve as the power source for island locations including those used by Remote Island Waste Management to be discussed in Chapter Six.

In addition, PBE can use a floating power breakwater to surround an OTEC complex as outlined in the beginning of this essay.

One other option deserves a closer look. A heavy lift ship can move both a floating Power Breakwater™ and a floating Micro-City between, for example, Key West and a location on the Kennebec River in Bath, Maine so as to optimize exposure by the residents to ideal weather conditions in the winter and summer.

Alternatively, a Micro-City Bed & Breakfast could use this method to relocate between comparable locations so as to maximize occupancy rates on an annual basis.

Seed money is necessary to assemble a Joint Venture team that might consist of:

- Breakwater design
- Ocean wind energy source
- Ocean wave energy source
- Ocean tide energy source
- Volume production
- Marketing

This Joint Venture team will produce the materials that are expected to result in customers on a global basis.

Seed money will be used to incorporate PBE, open and outfit an office and hire a nucleus group with the expertise necessary to define many energy options for a breakwater and prepare a business plan sufficiently detailed to acquire the money necessary to continue with startup.

Additional financing will be required to expand the nucleus group with the expertise necessary to design and prepare detailed drawings and cost estimates for a prototype and a team of Joint Venture participants to support it.

More funding will then be needed to expand the staff, build Power Breakwater prototypes to support Joint Venture agreements with Micro-City Enterprises (a Snow Bird Bed & Breakfast moved by heavy lift ship between locations on a seasonal basis), a power source for Remote Island Waste Management, and a gas turbine/desalination plant for Allied Modular Power Systems.

VII. John's Peerless Products

The year was 1974. The place was Dardanelle, Arkansas. Suddenly, in an early December dark and stormy night, I had a lightning insight into a new way to organize a franchise business network.

A bell curve reflects an alignment in which, for a large group of people involved in the same activity, almost all are in a middle section with decreasing numbers on the right and left of the middle. My idea was to set up a franchise company that took advantage of the competitive nature of people to be number one and sprinkle that with a few incentives (pay, praise, and preferential advancement) such that employees and franchisees on the far right (the winners) would help those on the far left (the losers).

The reference to left and right has no political connotation. The bell curve under discussion simply portrays employees and franchisees on the right of center performing better than the average and those on the left below average.

If profits, customer satisfaction, and employee satisfaction are the three measured performance parameters, setting up this win-win competition to cause those on the left to increase their performance such that they move towards the right will shift the center of the bell curve to the right to ensure continuous employee and franchise improvement and lead inexorably to long term business success.

This basic concept evolved into an automatic control system for the large scale organization of small business which I called, at different times:

- Participative Management by Exception - the exceptionally good participate in the process by helping the exceptionally bad.
- The COIL Concept - where COIL is an acronym for Coalition of Independent Lilliputians.
- The Noel Notion - Noel, the opposite of my name, implies a Christmas atmosphere in which companies share information, the opposite of standard business practices.
- Internal Synergistic Competition - there is competition but it is internal to the franchise network and organized such that it becomes a win-win contest.
- The Theory of Business Relativity - rewards are given as a function of performance relative to the average.
- Relativistic Organizational Design - advancement and termination recommendations, based on performance relative to the average, are approved by the average performers.

I quickly became convinced that the best chance to test the theory would be to start a company that operated under this organizational theory from the beginning. One option open to me was to create some original products and build a business based on them. I started down this path but other priorities forced me to abandon the effort. Now, however, I have time available to try once more.

I recognize that, compared to the other ventures above, this is of a frivolous nature but its success would ensure money would be available for DEI, so I am including it as the sixth and final company in the mix.

This business will be named John's Peerless Products (JPP) and it will sell proprietary and other related products through channels of distribution to include a web site, a catalog, kiosks, standard retail outlets, and consignment retail outlets. JPP will have an irrevocable and perpetual requirement to donate ten percent (10%) of earnings before taxes for nonprofit uses, starting with DEI.

Seed money will be needed to incorporate JPP, open and outfit an office and hire a nucleus group with the expertise necessary to develop six products, commence sales over the web and prepare a business plan sufficiently detailed to acquire the money necessary to continue with startup.

This additional money will be used to expand the management team, develop more products, initiate a catalog operation, and build models for a kiosk, standard retail outlet, and consignment retail outlet. The latter will have an added feature of accepting the products from local independent new product developers on a consignment basis.

A private stock placement will next be sold to expand the management team, develop more proprietary products, open franchisee outlets, and conduct an advertising campaign throughout the United States. The intent of this mode of operation is to provide a continuous line of new products derived from an in-house new product department and the elevation of selected consignment products for distribution throughout the JPP network.

An initial public offering will next be sold to permit expanding outlets under a goal to have seven thousand (7,000) kiosks, seven hundred (700) standard outlets, and seventy (70) consignment outlets in the United States.

The benchmark for the standard outlets will be modeled after **Dick's Sporting Goods**, which is working on an expansion goal to have 800 outlets in operation

Dedication& Acknowledgments:

I hereby dedicate this essay to all past, present, and future members of the Dirigo Energy Institute, Inc.

I want to first thank the Officers (Tom Hall - Secretary and Brian Spaulding - Treasurer) and Advisors (John Bewick, Jim Ertner, LeRoy Fournier, and Clinton Crackel) of the Dirigo Energy Institute (DEI). Without their support, DEI would not exist and this essay would never have been written.

Next I need to thank Brian O'Connell for providing a substantial input into – Remote Island Waste Management. In March of 2009 I read a Letter to the Editor Mr. O'Connell submitted to the Brunswick, Maine Times Record on the cancellation of Yucca Mountain. I responded and we initiated a long series of over 140 email exchanges on this topic, which continues to this day.

For planned chapters Three and Four I used the results of research projects conducted during the Spring Semester of 2009 by groups of MBA students (Scott Firmin, Susannah Levy, Joseph Rank, Andrew Sangalang for chapter Three and Adrien Boudreau, Mariya Klevanets, Kim Clement, Patricia Shields for chapter Four) organized by Professor John J. Voyer from the University of Southern Maine.

The information in planned chapter Four is based on the Perpetual Harvest Greenhouse System of Chris Marron and the vertical farm work of Dr. Dickson Despommier.

Let me be quick to point out that, in spite of the above support, I accept full responsibility in this essay for poor use of the English language (spelling, punctuation, syntax, etc), sins of commission (things I said that I should not have said), and sins of omission (things I did not say that I should have said).

About the Author

Leon Neihouse was born in 1939. His initial education started in the parochial school system of Fort Smith, Arkansas, continued at the University of Dallas, and ended at the University of Wisconsin at Madison under a three year National Science Foundation Fellowship in Physics but he quit after two semesters.

He then joined the U.S. Navy, entered Officer Candidate School in Newport, Rhode Island, was accepted into the nuclear power program, attended Nuclear Power School in Bainbridge, Maryland; Nuclear Power Prototype in West Milton, New York; Submarine School in Groton, Connecticut; new construction on the USS Simon Bolivar (SSBN 641) in Newport News, Virginia; made three deterrent patrols operating out of Charleston, South Carolina during which time he qualified in Submarines and as Chief Engineer; and served two years in a staff position at nuclear power school in Mare Island, California to complete his active duty service in 1969. He was honorably discharged several years later from the U. S. Naval Reserves as a Lieutenant Commander.

After discharge from the Navy he worked three years for the Tennessee Valley Authority at Brown's Ferry in Athens, Alabama and four years for Combustion Engineering on the start up of Maine Yankee Atomic Power Plant in Wiscasset and Arkansas Nuclear One, Unit Two near Russellville.

He then went to work for John J. McMullen & Associates, later purchased by Alion Science & Technology, and was employed for over 30 years serving as a Project Manager supporting the U.S. Navy in their FFG (frigate), CG (cruiser), and DDG (destroyer) shipbuilding programs.

Essay

Occupy the Imaginary World of Economy

Wilhelmus de Wilde *

ABSTRACT

Revaluation of the human being is one of the most important issues in this egoistic World. The material revaluation lies in the fact that each human represents daily energy received by the sun and a certain surface of the earth, he is not the Owner but is responsible for that, a human is not only a social number or a unit for consummation. Our Economy has become the new religion, with a God that is called money, this God has no spiritual background but only materialistic and egoistic guidelines. Even the 10 commandments become worthless for obtaining PROFIT. Profit is not Well Being, Growth is only admissible in the spiritual way. Work is a word invented by factory owners and should be replaced by voluntary efforts, people need not to be retired they can proceed with their voluntary efforts at any time during their lives, no more pension funds that play dice with our money. As each human being is a representative of real Material and Spiritual value, they have the right for Housing, Food, Education, Health Care and free Transport, all this cannot be arranged in one day, we must start with our free will and become conscious of the things we really like to do to arrange a future society, so at the end of each life one can say "I have added to the well being of our world".

Key Words: money as God, economy, slavery, profit, non-profit, human dignity, personal responsibility, consciousness, stability, well being.

History

In the beginning mankind lived in little groups and moved to the places where there was food, there were no fences and no one called himself OWNER of land, of course there were struggles when two or more groups arrived at the same spot where there was not enough food for all of them, but the weakest had the possibility to move on to the next spot.

Once we started agriculture, we settled and fences were established, we had to defend our so called "property", this was the beginning of imprisoning of mankind, the surplus that was harvested from this fenced land could be exchanged for products that were also needed but were not cultivated.

However it was possible for every individual to agree upon the value of the products he exchanged, it was the origin of the counter-value. Arrived also the voyagers who travelled from fence to fence and from settlement to settlement with products or services that were unknown to the little communities, they also exchanged their services and products for food and beverage.

When people began to organise their little communities over bigger areas countries arose, that had to create rules in order to prevent a so called "disorder", so by these rules in fact imprisonment of mankind continued and individuals were more and more chained in these rules that became laws.

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The “progress” went on and we sailed the seas and the oceans in order to get products from until then unknown countries, in the case of for example America and Africa, these products were (in the beginning) still exchanged with the original habitants but for objects, that in the country where the merchants came from were worthless. Later on they just were stolen , the original habitants murdered and made slave, without any respect and only for profit of the few.

This was also the time that gold was mined (and stolen). In their home-countries this gold served as a counter value for the so called “MONEY”, money that in the beginning was still in the form of coins made of copper, silver or even gold, these early coins represented a value that was agreed upon, by achieving gold it became possible for counties to emit the so called paper money, behind a piece of imprinted paper was the value of a certain amount of gold.

This was also the reason that some people did not labour any more , but just were busy to collect more and more imprinted paper, gold, silver and diamonds, these activities had nothing to do any more with the original “exchange” of basic products, where in fact the value was the labour of a human being.

The people who were doing this kind of “activity” grouped together and created the “BANKS”, they fooled the people by telling them that they gave “SERVICE”, all kind of service was invented like Insurance (negative lottery), Intermediates (making love with dick of someone else)

So in fact all these “activities” were the origin of the devaluation of the background of money, the original labour was no longer highly estimated , but was looked upon as inferior, worthless and simple. “Educated” people were taking over the power together with the Church (who gave only education to their priests, whose religious “SERVICE” had also to be paid very expensive) , the normal guy who was working hard was in fact busy to make the rich richer and lived himself in poverty (like it has always been) . All the energy from the working class (which is a lot) was consumed by a few.

After the industrial revolution the factories were established to make more products in a cheaper way in order to make more profit, the working class had to fulfil another task namely that of “CONSUMER”, the wages were just enough to buy food and drink, and it was made clear to them , by means of publicity for the products made by themselves , that they were unhappy, because they did not possess the latest model of some product.

Grieves

In fact this was a psychological move that worked very well for the class of the happy few, because unhappy people work harder to become as happy as the people that were shown in the advertisements.

What we see here is that the value of the money lost every background, from the natural products of the field, to gold, to nothing, air, promises and now it has become only digits in a list of imaginary numbers, it has become virtual.

The people who are just contributing nothing to society as being present in reunions, are receiving the highest rewards, and the mass “the 99%” is kept “eager” with new ideas and gadgets, but is paid just enough not to starve, and even that is now too much, people who are working don’t have a roof above their head and have to go to the food bank because of the fact that the “SERVICES” offered by the few are no longer offered but are “IMPOSED”. In fact these are the same services as mentioned above , it is just another way of stealing legally from the poor.

The Economy has become the new religion, governments are only busy with the so called prevention of crisis, they do that by pumping worthless money (without any value behind it) in Banks, Banks that are spoiling our money in adventures of share holders in Stock Exchanges, this spoiling money they call rendering Service, but it is gambling in order that the happy few gain more. In the meantime the pensions of the working class have been wasted in their same system, and their solution is clear : let them pay more premium and let us pay them less pension !!!

The institutions housed in their huge buildings with lots of precious metals as wall paper , to impress people , and give them the idea that their money is safe, and you can trust them! This is a kind of trustworthy that is complete irrelevant, it is extravagance that should be distrusted, it is our money, our work, our sweat that is spoiled there.

The people have the idea that democracy works, but when you look further then you see that the trust we gave to persons to represent us, once they are settled they just act for themselves and their future position in the top of the system (with a view on a commissariat in a great bank).

In the news we are warned that a new recession is coming, that our pensions will be worthless and our purchasing power will be diminished, be aware that this only counts for the 99%, the other 1% is earning so much that it never touches them, our mentality is worked upon in a way that we think it is inevitable , but in fact we have the power to change things, it is beginning in the “OCCUPY” demonstrations. But we have to be aware that only a demonstration is not enough we also have to propose solutions.

What can you do?

For instance we can show our influence in a direct way . Think also that when you receive your monthly salary on the bank and withdraw directly this whole amount, what will happen then ? All the banks will have problems because they just don’t have these amounts. We ARE the 99%, if you take for instance just the city of London with its 20 million habitants, lest say that 30% is working and has a salary : 6 million people with an average monthly salary of £.1.500,-- take for the automatic payments £.600,-- so everyone takes from his bank £.900,-- makes a total of £.5.400.000.000,-- in one month, and I am now just talking of London.

This action is two-sided : It is very useful also for yourself, you divide your money over 4 weeks and you will see that all those so called easy-pay methods and credit cards are very expensive and only created to make you a slave, the repayment of the debts that they offer you with the best promises become handcuffs, they OWN you, so you always are the victim of so called opportunities that are not relevant. When you pay cash, you become more

conscious of the fact that money is a means of exchange, you will be more aware of the pricing of articles and less a victim of publicity.

This is only to point out that in fact it is the 99% , the fundament of society and the power that we in fact represent but are not aware of. But of course this is not the way to change the system, it is only a warning for the 1% that we still exist not only as numbers but also as individuals not only puppets on a string.

To change the system we need to come back to a **value behind our work, expressed now in a certain amount of money that we receive in exchange**. The money we receive is worthless virtual figures are used for fear. The essence is our contribution to the society in the form of our efforts.

What does each human being represent?

When we take for instance the energy policy all over the world, it is ridiculous that 7 great companies (the so called Seven Sisters) have all the power in their hands , we pay very expensive oil, while the free energy is at hand in the form of the Sun, the Wind, the Sea and our own Earth. Each quarter of an hour sun shine is enough for all our energy needs, the argument that is too expensive to make the solar panels is nonsense. When we all together decide that we are going to produce these solar panels then the energy we put in this work will be fruitful and of great value even for our children, building together wind mills and solar panels is better as pumping up the last oil from the earth, but therefore we need another form of economy.

So if we are aware of the facts that :

1. we are not powerless, each human being represents an amount of solar energy, the total of energy that the earth receives is 174 Petawatt (10^{15} watt), divided by 7 billion (habitants of the earth) it means that **each human being is representing each day 102.000.000 watts, and you pay for your energy bill !!!**
2. The surface of the earth (land) 148.940.000 km², this means that each living human being represents 21,000 m² **so 2,1 hectare**. Representing this surface does not mean that you possess it, no but you are responsible for it, the time we are living this responsibility counts.

Being responsible and representing a certain surface of the earth and a repeating incoming energy gives the material value of each human being, not the amount of precious metals he possesses (also only during his life) not the amount of Zero's that form the number of virtual money that he could use, the REAL VALUE of course is beside this formulation the CONSCIOUSNESS of each human being, and with a revaluation of the material side of the human being also the revaluation of the SPIRITUAL side has to be accounted for.

It must be possible to work and think together to find a new way of distributing and really using these energies (energy of our efforts and surrounding energy of nature), we are now with 7 billion people on earth, if everyone is just spending one hour per week to achieve this goal it could work.

Arrangements to be made

1. agreeing on a new value behind our work : for instance if we achieve the solar project (on the earth scale) the energy is X megawatt over for instance 25 years, this has to be divided over 7 billion people, over the coming 25 years. These kind of earth (Gaia) projects need to be centralised .
2. The word “WORK” has to be changed in EFFORT, work is in our society a duty, and it must become free will even become a desire.
3. The other form of centralisation, but not of political power but of thinking power (for instance by the use of the internet) has to be : taking care of the actual food problems, we must achieve together by solving the energy problem (and so being no longer a slave of the oil companies) enlarge the well being of the whole human race, it is not a problem of sharing wealth, but of sharing well being, the earth must be looked upon as our treasure , and it is big enough to take care of all its inhabitants (also the animals). Wars for oil will be finished, the energy spent on making wars can be spent on rising food and advancing science.
4. Once the energy project has started, the final result will be free energy for all, the “work” to be done will be continuation and improvement of the technique , science for that can be a speciality of people interested in the area, they do that because of the fact that they are : 1. interested and 2. have the wish to do it, not because of the fact that they “have to”.
5. The word **PROFIT has to disappear** from our vocabulary, the word “well being” and “happiness” will be the most important goal of mankind, egoism like the share holder society that we live in must disappear, the word **GROWTH and MORE** should only be used for well being and happiness. It is absolute ridiculous that some company that has generated a profit of 600 million and now generates “only” 500 million is a reason for the egoists to say that something is going wrong, this being the cause of a recession where the lowest paid are the first victims.
6. If there is enough free energy available ALL **EDUCATION MUST BE FREE** for everybody, no matter the age, the teachers will be men and women who like it to teach and get a good feeling when they do it, then the level of education in the world will automatically grow. Also the ones that choose for a special education will be really interested, the whole atmosphere will be pleasant. The basic education however for children has to be a duty, inherent to the above mentioned responsibilities.
7. Because of the fact that nobody these days does anything for nothing the “COSTS” are becoming incredible high and in no relation with the end product, costs in fact are also an expression of not being willing or able to achieve something for another being without profit, the **word IDEALISM must be revaluated.** In fact everybody needs to achieve the feelings of an artist, for an artist needs to express himself in his own personal way, and so he does no matter what the material gain will be, it is just the expression that gives the well being.
8. Banks have to do what they are for: being a **distribution and accounting centre** for values, no longer speculations on stock exchanges, just keeping mankind informed of the “energy” status , the work done in this banks will in the future be done by computers and eventually Artificial Intelligence.
9. **Public transport will be free,** the real public transport. More so called “Nerds” (whose hobby it is to achieve technical structures) will be used to arrange that this

means of transport is flowing in the right order. It is ridiculous that private companies who's only goal is to make profit are used for public transport.

10. Factories will still exist , but with less workers, the workers that exercise these jobs do it because of their interest in the “making of” and contribute to the “improvement” of the products. The age of the contributors is of no importance.
11. People are achieving more and more high ages, **so there will be no more pensions**, no one will retire at a certain age, the elderly will by their way of living and thinking contribute to the total of the new society, the fact that every human being is granted a life (food, education, transport, housing, energy) means that pension funds are useless (as they are already because they receive our money but don't pay).
12. The **HEALTH CARE must be free too**. It is a basic human right. People that are taking care of other people do this with their heart, as lots of them do it already.
13. In this world we try to preserve personal reserves because of the fact that our personal well being can be attacked every moment , if the new energetically unified society becomes a reality then there is no more need to create your own reserves, because the whole mankind is your reserve, and the value of the material representation (earth surface) and responsibility for the energy are assuring our REAL material VALUE.
14. Criminality : criminality in the form of sick people attacking others cannot be eliminated, science however will continue to search for healing , but killing someone for a dollar will be finished, there are no more dollars, burglary is not useful any more, bank robbery is not existing any more, fraud neither.

The key word for this new society is “WELL BEING”

All the above seems perhaps too idealistic for changing our reality of today, therefore I should like to introduce a manual for any individual who is trying to change the direction of egoism to the direction of well being and so we can all begin :

1. Look around you and become aware of the reality, become aware of the fact that you are being deceived, note all the deceptions for yourself in a little notebook (just an example, any means is good), bring out these facts on the social media.
2. Go search in “yourself” for the interests that really apply to your personal wishes. You will encounter then the real voluntaries of your life, write them down, if it is only one be happy , these activities are in fact the new bases of the future society. When there is a central point to collect all these activities you will see that even at this very moment a lot of so called “work” can be achieved!
3. Become aware of all the publicity around you and become consciousness how this publicity is changing your well being, if your well being is diminished the publicity is a trap. Mention these trap publicities in your paper or on the social media.
4. When you are blogging try to forward this message or your personal interpretation of it.
5. IF YOU DON'T COME TOGETHER? IT KEEPS FOREVER BUBBLING UNDER !

If these propositions just were used in order to ameliorate your own perception, perhaps than we missed a very important issue, namely the amelioration of our planet, that as a matter of fact has enough potentiality for the well being of us all.

In order to arrange that it would be important that the remarks that you found on the nr.2 above should be emitted to an internet site that is like a future bank collecting all the data and putting them in the right order, this becomes then a real treasure bank with the treasures of all the human possibilities. You see what is happening , all the data from individuals around the world are being collected and from there we are already indicating the amount of people and their personal activity that can be done just for free, in this way we are giving the rest of the society already a clue that we are not crazy, so we expect reactions from EVERYBODY !!!

WE CAN IN THIS WAY PROVE THAT ALL THE SO CALLED WORK IN THE WORLD CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED BY VOLUNTEERS.

The OCCUPY movement is the beginning of the dawn of this new form of living, as a matter of fact this is the dawning of the age of AQUARIUS.

Keep on thinking free

Essay**The True and Profound Democracy Amendment:
The Omnibus Anti-Corruption Amendment**

Philip Wolfson, MD*

ABSTRACT

In light of the US Supreme Court recent rulings in the Citizens United case which altered the intent of the Constitution, I propose “the True and Profound Democracy Amendment” to our constitution to reverse the pollution of the political process by mandating that elected officials represent the citizens of this country only, and are entirely unavailable to be influenced by funds, gifts or gimmicks.

Key Words: democracy, US Constitution, anti-corruption, amendment.

Rationale

Whereas the US Supreme Court in the recent ruling in the Citizens United case has altered the intent of the Constitution to suggest that entities other than citizens, such as corporations, or unions may have as applicable the terms of the US Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and the Amendments to the Constitution, therefore the citizens of the United States for the sake of their liberty and to reverse the pollution of the political process shall mandate that elected officials represent the citizens of this country only, and are entirely unavailable to be influenced by funds, gifts or gimmicks.

Entities such as corporations and unions have the right to make their interests known and to influence by reasoned persuasion, not by buying the votes of elected or to be elected officials.

Therefore, the influence of self-interested funding and any form of financial lobbying of members of the Congress shall cease once and for all.

Therefore, political campaigns will henceforth be funded by assessment of a small and justifiable fee to each citizen, in a range based on wealth - for example up to 100 dollars per citizen per year, to be distributed to candidates' campaigns for Federal election on the basis of the results of primary campaigns.

No candidate shall be allowed to expend more than \$10,000 of their own or relatives' and friends' funds for any election - primary or final elections.

Therefore, the proposed 28th Amendment shall restore democracy to the citizenry of the United States by eliminating the financial influence of entities and individuals on both the election and the political processes of the Federal government.

Only citizens are fully protected by the Constitution of the United States.

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Proposed 28th Amendment to the United States Constitution

As per Article Two of the United States Constitution which defines the pay of the President: Pay. The President receives "Compensation" for being the President, and this compensation may not be increased or decreased during the president's term in office.

The President may not receive other compensation from either the United States or any of the individual states.

Therefore, All Representatives and Senators elected by the citizenry of the United States also shall be so bound and this shall apply to their staffs and offices as well. Pay: Representatives and Senators receive "Compensation" for being Representatives and Senators, and this compensation may not be increased or decreased save as per the 27th Amendment: No law, varying the compensation for the services of Senators and Representatives, shall take effect, until an election of Representatives shall have intervened. Representatives and Senators may not receive other compensation from either the United States or any of the individual states. No other compensation may be received from any other sources whatsoever other than citizens of the United States and those amounts must be declared by each recipient and the limit on all such contributions made by individual citizens shall be set by law by Congress.

No other entity may seek to influence by electioneering or contribution to candidates for election to both houses of Congress. Only citizens of the United States have the right to vote and the citizens of the United States have the right to have their Representatives and Senators solely represent them and no other entity. The Bill of Rights applies solely to citizens of the United States as per the Constitution and not to any other entity.

Congress shall have the right to assess and collect funds from the citizenry on an equal person by person basis for the sake of making funds available directly to candidates for election and this revenue shall be the sole source available for electioneering.

The terms of Representatives shall be limited to six, or twelve years. The number of terms for Senators shall be limited to two or twelve years.

Federal political campaigns will henceforth be funded by assessment of a small and justifiable fee to each citizen, in a range based on wealth--for example up to 100 dollars per citizen per year, to be distributed to candidates' campaigns for Federal election on the basis of the results of primary campaigns, this range to be set by Congress.

No candidate shall be allowed to expend more than \$10,000 of their own, or relatives' and friends' funds for any election--primary or final elections.

Dated: May 24, 2010

Editorial Note

Responses to "American Dream of the 21st Century"

Huping Hu*

ABSTRACT

Since the release of "The American Dream of the 21st Century: A Call for Transformation of America," I have received over a dozen responses expressing/offering support, sympathy, writings or views. So far, there are three supporters/signers who are listed herein. Three of the writings are also published in this issue. The online and free PDF edition of SGJ V2(7) also contains three historical documents "Common Sense" by Thomas Paine, "Declaration of Independence" by Thomas Jefferson and "Gettysburg Address" by Abraham Lincoln which are all in the public domain plus quotes/excerpts from Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "I Have a Dream."

Key Words: American Dream, 21st Century, proposal, supporter.

Since the release of "The American Dream of the 21st Century: A Call for Transformation of America" [1], I have received over a dozen responses expressing/offering support, sympathy, writings or views.

Three of the writings are published in this issue. They are "Power without Borders" by Leon J. Neihouse [2], "Occupy the Imaginary World of Economy" by Wilhelmus de Wilde [3], and "The True and Profound Democracy Amendment: The Omnibus Anti-Corruption Amendment" by Phil Wolfson, MD [4].

So far, there are three supporters/signers on "The American Dream of the 21st Century: A Call for Transformation of America" who are listed herein below.

The online and free PDF edition of SGJ V2(7) also contains three historical documents "Common Sense" by Thomas Paine, "Declaration of Independence" by Thomas Jefferson and "Gettysburg Address" by Abraham Lincoln which are all in the public domain plus quotes/excerpts from Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "I Have a Dream."

Supporters/Signers of the Proposed Declaration of American Dream

10/23/2011: Huping Hu, Ph.D., J.D., Stony Brook, New York, USA

10/24/2011: Christopher Holvenstot, Independent Researcher in Consciousness Studies, USA

10/25/2011: Pradeep B. Deshpande, Ph.D., Prof. Emeritus of Chem. Engineering, Univ. of Louisville & President Six Sigma and Advanced Controls, Inc., USA

(Source: <http://2012daily.com/?q=node/41>)

* Correspondence: Huping Hu, PhD, JD, Scientific GOD, Inc., P.O. Box 267, Stony Brook, NY 11790, USA E-mail: editor@scigod.com

Comment by Christopher Holvenstot

I am in solidarity with the inspiration and purpose of this document. Like many, I dream of applying its ethics and responsibilities at a global scale. Boundaries (whether racial, national, cultural, or personal) are no longer a rational parameter for determining human rights or corporate responsibilities. And since we cannot rely on our national governments to promote a non-nationalistic ethos, we must find our own way to manifest a global solidarity. A combination of social media and empathy allows us to bring pressures to bear on injustices wherever they occur. Witness and partake in the new strength of We The People. We are all in it together, and we are enormously resourceful. With the sudden rise of new technology that enables global participation, the only thing that can stop this dream of universal rights is our own indolence, our own inability to rise to our universal responsibilities (Source: <http://2012daily.com/?q=comment/1#comment-1> dated: 10/24/2011)

Comment by Pradeep B. Deshpande, Ph.D

I wholeheartedly concur with the vision Dr. Hu outlined in this fine article. It is for similar reasons I have been developing tools, technologies, instructional materials, and workshops for over a decade now to teach folks how to turn the vision into reality. Rise and decline are natural phenomena and as per my theory of rise and decline the eventual US decline is inevitable. However, if we, the members of the society were to come together and begin to do the right things, perhaps the decline can be sufficiently delayed.

Pradeep B. Deshpande, Professor Emeritus of Chemical Engineering, University of Louisville and President Six Sigma and Advanced Controls, Inc. (Source: <http://2012daily.com/?q=comment/3#comment-3> Dated: 10/25/2011)

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COMMON SENSE

by

Thomas Paine

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

OF THE ORIGIN AND DESIGN OF GOVERNMENT IN GENERAL, WITH CONCISE REMARKS ON THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION

OF MONARCHY AND HEREDITARY SUCCESSION

THOUGHTS ON THE PRESENT STATE OF AMERICAN AFFAIRS

OF THE PRESENT *ABILITY* OF AMERICA, WITH SOME MISCELLANEOUS *REFLECTIONS*

APPENDIX

INTRODUCTION

Perhaps the sentiments contained in the following pages, are not YET sufficiently fashionable to procure them general favour; a long habit of not thinking a thing WRONG, gives it a superficial appearance of being RIGHT, and raises at first a formidable outcry in defense of custom. But the tumult soon subsides. Time makes more converts than reason.

As a long and violent abuse of power, is generally the Means of calling the right of it in question (and in Matters too which might never have been thought of, had not the Sufferers been aggravated into the inquiry) and as the King of England hath undertaken in his OWN RIGHT, to support the Parliament in what he calls THEIRS,

and as the good people of this country are grievously oppressed by the combination, they have an undoubted privilege to inquire into the pretensions of both, and equally to reject the usurpation of either.

In the following sheets, the author hath studiously avoided every thing which is personal among ourselves. Compliments as well as censure to individuals make no part thereof. The wise, and the worthy, need not the triumph of a pamphlet; and those whose sentiments are injudicious, or unfriendly, will cease of themselves unless too much pains are bestowed upon their conversion.

The cause of America is in a great measure the cause of all mankind. Many circumstances hath, and will arise, which are not local, but universal, and through which the principles of all Lovers of Mankind are affected, and in the Event of which, their Affections are interested. The laying a Country desolate with Fire and Sword, declaring War against the natural rights of all Mankind, and extirpating the Defenders thereof from the Face of the Earth, is the Concern of every Man to whom Nature hath given the Power of feeling; of which Class, regardless of Party Censure, is the AUTHOR.

P.S. The Publication of this new Edition hath been delayed, with a View of taking notice (had it been necessary) of any Attempt to refute the Doctrine of Independance: As no Answer hath yet appeared, it is now presumed that none will, the Time needful for getting such a Performance ready for the Public being considerably past.

Who the Author of this Production is, is wholly unnecessary to the Public, as the Object for Attention is the DOCTRINE ITSELF, not the MAN. Yet it may not be unnecessary to say, That he is unconnected with any Party, and under no sort of Influence public or private, but the influence of reason and principle.

Philadelphia, February 14, 1776

**OF THE ORIGIN AND DESIGN OF GOVERNMENT IN GENERAL,
WITH CONCISE REMARKS ON THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION**

Some writers have so confounded society with government, as to leave little or no distinction between them; whereas they are not only different, but have different origins. Society is produced by our wants, and government by our wickedness; the former promotes our POSITIVELY by uniting our affections, the latter NEGATIVELY by restraining our vices. The one encourages intercourse, the other creates distinctions. The first a patron, the last a punisher.

Society in every state is a blessing, but government even in its best state is but a necessary evil; in its worst state an intolerable one; for when we suffer, or are exposed to the same miseries BY A GOVERNMENT, which we might expect in a country WITHOUT GOVERNMENT, our calamity is heightened by reflecting that we furnish the means by which we suffer. Government, like dress, is the badge of lost innocence; the palaces of kings are built on the ruins of the bowers of paradise. For were the impulses of conscience clear, uniform, and irresistibly obeyed, man would need no other lawgiver; but that not being the case, he finds it necessary to surrender up a part of his property to furnish means for the protection of the rest; and this he is induced to do by the same prudence which in every other case advises him out of two evils to choose the least. WHEREFORE, security being the true design and end of government, it unanswerably follows, that whatever FORM thereof appears most likely to ensure it to us, with the least expense and greatest benefit, is preferable to all others.

In order to gain a clear and just idea of the design and end of government, let us suppose a small number of persons settled in some sequestered part of the earth, unconnected with the rest, they will then represent the first peopling of any country, or of the world. In this state of natural liberty, society will be their first thought. A thousand motives will excite them thereto, the strength of one man is so unequal to his wants, and his mind so unfitted for perpetual solitude, that he is soon obliged to seek assistance and relief of another, who in his turn requires the same. Four or five united would be able to raise a tolerable dwelling in the midst of a wilderness, but one man might labour out of the common period of life without accomplishing any thing; when he had felled his timber he could not remove it, nor erect it after it was removed; hunger in the mean time would urge him from his work, and every different want call him a different way. Disease, nay even misfortune would be death, for though neither might be mortal, yet either would disable him from living, and reduce him to a state in which he might rather be said to perish than to die.

Thus necessity, like a gravitating power, would soon form our newly arrived emigrants into society, the reciprocal blessings of which, would supersede, and render the obligations of law and government unnecessary while they remained perfectly just to each other; but as nothing but heaven is impregnable to vice, it will unavoidably happen, that in proportion as they surmount the first difficulties of emigration, which bound them together in a common cause, they will begin to relax in their duty and attachment to each other; and this remissness will point out the necessity of establishing some form of government to supply the defect of moral virtue.

Some convenient tree will afford them a State-House, under the branches of which, the whole colony may assemble to deliberate on public matters. It is more than probable that their first laws will have the title only of REGULATIONS, and be

enforced by no other penalty than public disesteem. In this first parliament every man, by natural right, will have a seat.

But as the colony increases, the public concerns will increase likewise, and the distance at which the members may be separated, will render it too inconvenient for all of them to meet on every occasion as at first, when their number was small, their habitations near, and the public concerns few and trifling. This will point out the convenience of their consenting to leave the legislative part to be managed by a select number chosen from the whole body, who are supposed to have the same concerns at stake which those who appointed them, and who will act in the same manner as the whole body would act, were they present. If the colony continues increasing, it will become necessary to augment the number of the representatives, and that the interest of every part of the colony may be attended to, it will be found best to divide the whole into convenient parts, each part sending its proper number; and that the ELECTED might never form to themselves an interest separate from the ELECTORS, prudence will point out the propriety of having elections often; because as the ELECTED might by that means return and mix again with the general body of the ELECTORS in a few months, their fidelity to the public will be secured by the prudent reflection of not making a rod for themselves. And as this frequent interchange will establish a common interest with every part of the community, they will mutually and naturally support each other, and on this (not on the unmeaning name of king) depends the STRENGTH OF GOVERNMENT, AND THE HAPPINESS OF THE GOVERNED.

Here then is the origin and rise of government; namely, a mode rendered necessary by the inability of moral virtue to govern the world; here too is the design and end of government, viz. freedom and security. And however our eyes may be dazzled with show, or our ears deceived by sound; however prejudice may warp our wills, or interest darken our understanding, the simple voice of nature and of reason will say, it is right.

I draw my idea of the form of government from a principle in nature, which no art can overturn, viz. that the more simple any thing is, the less liable it is to be disordered; and the easier repaired when disordered; and with this maxim in view, I offer a few remarks on the so much boasted constitution of England. That it was noble for the dark and slavish times in which it was erected, is granted. When the world was overrun with tyranny the least remove therefrom was a glorious rescue. But that it is imperfect, subject to convulsions, and incapable of producing what it seems to promise, is easily demonstrated.

Absolute governments (tho' the disgrace of human nature) have this advantage with them, that they are simple; if the people suffer, they know the head from which

their suffering springs, know likewise the remedy, and are not bewildered by a variety of causes and cures. But the constitution of England is so exceedingly complex, that the nation may suffer for years together without being able to discover in which part the fault lies; some will say in one and some in another, and every political physician will advise a different medicine.

I know it is difficult to get over local or long standing prejudices, yet if we will suffer ourselves to examine the component parts of the English constitution, we shall find them to be the base remains of two ancient tyrannies, compounded with some new republican materials.

FIRST - The remains of monarchical tyranny in the person of the king.

SECONDLY - The remains of aristocratical tyranny in the persons of the peers.

THIRDLY - The new republican materials in the persons of the commons, on whose virtue depends the freedom of England.

The two first, by being hereditary, are independent of the people; wherefore in a CONSTITUTIONAL SENSE they contribute nothing towards the freedom of the state.

To say that the constitution of England is a UNION of three powers reciprocally CHECKING each other, is farcical, either the words have no meaning, or they are flat contradictions.

To say that the commons is a check upon the king, presupposes two things:

FIRST - That the king is not to be trusted without being looked after, or in other words, that a thirst for absolute power is the natural disease of monarchy.

SECONDLY - That the commons, by being appointed for that purpose, are either wiser or more worthy of confidence than the crown.

But as the same constitution which gives the commons a power to check the king by withholding the supplies, gives afterwards the king a power to check the commons, by empowering him to reject their other bills; it again supposes that the king is wiser than those whom it has already supposed to be wiser than him. A mere absurdity!

There is something exceedingly ridiculous in the composition of monarchy; it first excludes a man from the means of information, yet empowers him to act in cases where the highest judgment is required. The state of a king shuts him from the world, yet the business of a king requires him to know it thoroughly; wherefore the different parts, by unnaturally opposing and destroying each other, prove the whole character to be absurd and useless.

Some writers have explained the English constitution thus: The king, say they, is one, the people another; the peers are a house in behalf of the king, the commons in behalf of the people; but this hath all the distinctions of a house divided against itself; and though the expressions be pleasantly arranged, yet when examined, they appear idle and ambiguous; and it will always happen, that the nicest construction that words are capable of, when applied to the description of some thing which either cannot exist, or is too incomprehensible to be within the compass of description, will be words of sound only, and though they may amuse the ear, they cannot inform the mind, for this explanation includes a previous question, viz. HOW CAME THE KING BY A POWER WHICH THE PEOPLE ARE AFRAID TO TRUST, AND ALWAYS OBLIGED TO CHECK? Such a power could not be the gift of a wise people, neither can any power, WHICH NEEDS CHECKING, be from God; yet the provision, which the constitution makes, supposes such a power to exist.

But the provision is unequal to the task; the means either cannot or will not accomplish the end, and the whole affair is a *felo de se*; for as the greater weight will always carry up the less, and as all the wheels of a machine are put in motion by one, it only remains to know which power in the constitution has the most weight, for that will govern; and though the others, or a part of them, may clog, or, as the phrase is, check the rapidity of its motion, yet so long as they cannot stop it, their endeavours will be ineffectual; the first moving power will at last have its way, and what it wants in speed, is supplied by time.

That the crown is this overbearing part in the English constitution, needs not be mentioned, and that it derives its whole consequence merely from being the giver of places and pensions, is self-evident, wherefore, though we have been wise enough to shut and lock a door against absolute monarchy, we at the same time have been foolish enough to put the crown in possession of the key.

The prejudice of Englishmen in favour of their own government by king, lords, and commons, arises as much or more from national pride than reason. Individuals are undoubtedly safer in England than in some other countries, but the WILL of the king is as much the LAW of the land in Britain as in France, with this difference, that instead of proceeding directly from his mouth, it is handed to the people under the

more formidable shape of an act of parliament. For the fate of Charles the First hath only made kings more subtle—not more just.

Wherefore, laying aside all national pride and prejudice in favour of modes and forms, the plain truth is, that **IT IS WHOLLY OWING TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE PEOPLE, AND NOT TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE GOVERNMENT**, that the crown is not as oppressive in England as in Turkey.

An inquiry into the **CONSTITUTIONAL ERRORS** in the English form of government is at this time highly necessary; for as we are never in a proper condition of doing justice to others, while we continue under the influence of some leading partiality, so neither are we capable of doing it to ourselves while we remain fettered by any obstinate prejudice. And as a man, who is attached to a prostitute, is unfitted to choose or judge a wife, so any prepossession in favour of a rotten constitution of government will disable us from discerning a good one.

OF MONARCHY AND HEREDITARY SUCCESSION

Mankind being originally equals in the order of creation, the equality could only be destroyed by some subsequent circumstance; the distinctions of rich, and poor, may in a great measure be accounted for, and that without having recourse to the harsh, ill-sounding names of oppression and avarice. Oppression is often the **CONSEQUENCE**, but seldom or never the **MEANS** of riches; and though avarice will preserve a man from being necessitously poor, it generally makes him too timorous to be wealthy.

But there is another and greater distinction, for which no truly natural or religious reason can be assigned, and that is, the distinction of men into **KINGS** and **SUBJECTS**. Male and female are the distinctions of nature, good and bad the distinctions of heaven; but how a race of men came into the world so exalted above the rest, and distinguished like some new species, is worth inquiring into, and whether they are the means of happiness or of misery to mankind.

In the early ages of the world, according to the scripture chronology, there were no kings; the consequence of which was, there were no wars; it is the pride of kings which throw mankind into confusion. Holland without a king hath enjoyed more peace for this last century than any of the monarchial governments in Europe. Antiquity favours the same remark; for the quiet and rural lives of the first patriarchs hath a happy something in them, which vanishes away when we come to the history of Jewish royalty.

Government by kings was first introduced into the world by the Heathens, from whom the children of Israel copied the custom. It was the most prosperous invention the Devil ever set on foot for the promotion of idolatry. The Heathens paid divine honours to their deceased kings, and the Christian world hath improved on the plan, by doing the same to their living ones. How impious is the title of sacred majesty applied to a worm, who in the midst of his splendor is crumbling into dust!

As the exalting one man so greatly above the rest cannot be justified on the equal rights of nature, so neither can it be defended on the authority of scripture; for the will of the Almighty, as declared by Gideon and the prophet Samuel, expressly disapproves of government by kings. All anti-monarchical parts of scripture have been very smoothly glossed over in monarchical governments, but they undoubtedly merit the attention of countries which have their governments yet to form. **RENDER UNTO CAESAR THE THINGS WHICH ARE CAESAR'S** is the scripture doctrine of courts, yet it is no support of monarchical government, for the Jews at that time were without a king, and in a state of vassalage to the Romans.

Now three thousand years passed away from the Mosaic account of the creation, till the Jews under a national delusion requested a king. Till then their form of government (except in extraordinary cases, where the Almighty interposed) was a kind of republic administered by a judge and the elders of the tribes. Kings they had none, and it was held sinful to acknowledge any being under that title but the Lord of Hosts. And when a man seriously reflects on the idolatrous homage which is paid to the persons of kings, he need not wonder that the Almighty, ever jealous of his honour, should disapprove of a form of government which so impiously invades the prerogative of heaven.

Monarchy is ranked in scripture as one of the sins of the Jews, for which a curse in reserve is denounced against them. The history of that transaction is worth attending to.

The children of Israel being oppressed by the Midianites, Gideon marched against them with a small army, and victory, through the divine interposition, decided in his favour. The Jews, elate with success, and attributing it to the generalship of Gideon, proposed making him a king, saying, **RULE THOU OVER US, THOU AND THY SON AND THY SON'S SON**. Here was temptation in its fullest extent; not a kingdom only, but an hereditary one, but Gideon in the piety of his soul replied, **I WILL NOT RULE OVER YOU, NEITHER SHALL MY SON RULE OVER YOU** *THE LORD SHALL RULE OVER YOU*. Words need not be more explicit; Gideon doth not decline the honour, but denieth their right to give it; neither doth he compliment them with invented declarations of his thanks, but in the positive style of

a prophet charges them with disaffection to their proper Sovereign, the King of heaven.

About one hundred and thirty years after this, they fell again into the same error. The hankering which the Jews had for the idolatrous customs of the Heathens, is something exceedingly unaccountable; but so it was, that laying hold of the misconduct of Samuel's two sons, who were entrusted with some secular concerns, they came in an abrupt and clamorous manner to Samuel, saying, BEHOLD THOU ART OLD, AND THY SONS WALK NOT IN THY WAYS, NOW MAKE US A KING TO JUDGE US, LIKE ALL OTHER NATIONS. And here we cannot but observe that their motives were bad, viz. that they might be LIKE unto other nations, i.e. the Heathens, whereas their true glory laid in being as much UNLIKE them as possible. BUT THE THING DISPLEASED SAMUEL WHEN THEY SAID, GIVE US A KING TO JUDGE US; AND SAMUEL PRAYED UNTO THE LORD, AND THE LORD SAID UNTO SAMUEL, HEarken UNTO THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE IN ALL THAT THEY SAY UNTO THEE, FOR THEY HAVE NOT REJECTED THEE, BUT THEY HAVE REJECTED ME, *THAT I SHOULD NOT REIGN OVER THEM*. ACCORDING TO ALL THE WORKS WHICH THEY HAVE SINCE THE DAY THAT I BROUGHT THEM UP OUT OF EGYPT, EVEN UNTO THIS DAY; WHEREWITH THEY HAVE FORSAKEN ME AND SERVED OTHER GODS; SO DO THEY ALSO UNTO THEE. NOW THEREFORE HEarken UNTO THEIR VOICE, HOWBEIT, PROTEST SOLEMNLY UNTO THEM AND SHEW THEM THE MANNER OF THE KING THAT SHALL REIGN OVER THEM, I.E. not of any particular king, but the general manner of the kings of the earth, whom Israel was so eagerly copying after. And notwithstanding the great distance of time and difference of manners, the character is still in fashion. AND SAMUEL TOLD ALL THE WORDS OF THE LORD UNTO THE PEOPLE, THAT ASKED OF HIM A KING. AND HE SAID, THIS SHALL BE THE MANNER OF THE KING THAT SHALL REIGN OVER YOU; HE WILL TAKE YOUR SONS AND APPOINT THEM FOR HIMSELF, FOR HIS CHARIOTS, AND TO BE HIS HORSEMAN, AND SOME SHALL RUN BEFORE HIS CHARIOTS (this description agrees with the present mode of impressing men) AND HE WILL APPOINT HIM CAPTAINS OVER THOUSANDS AND CAPTAINS OVER FIFTIES, AND WILL SET THEM TO EAR HIS GROUND AND REAP HIS HARVEST, AND TO MAKE HIS INSTRUMENTS OF WAR, AND INSTRUMENTS OF HIS CHARIOTS; AND HE WILL TAKE YOUR DAUGHTERS TO BE CONFECTIONARIES, AND TO BE COOKS AND TO BE BAKERS (this describes the expense and luxury as well as the oppression of kings) AND HE WILL TAKE YOUR FIELDS AND YOUR OLIVE YARDS, EVEN THE BEST OF THEM, AND GIVE THEM TO HIS SERVANTS; AND HE WILL TAKE THE TENTH OF YOUR SEED, AND OF YOUR VINEYARDS, AND GIVE THEM

TO HIS OFFICERS AND TO HIS SERVANTS (by which we see that bribery, corruption, and favouritism are the standing vices of kings) AND HE WILL TAKE THE TENTH OF YOUR MEN SERVANTS, AND YOUR MAID SERVANTS, AND YOUR GOODLIEST YOUNG MEN AND YOUR ASSES, AND PUT THEM TO HIS WORK; AND HE WILL TAKE THE TENTH OF YOUR SHEEP, AND YE SHALL BE HIS SERVANTS, AND YE SHALL CRY OUT IN THAT DAY BECAUSE OF YOUR KING WHICH YE SHALL HAVE CHOSEN, *AND THE LORD WILL NOT HEAR YOU IN THAT DAY*. This accounts for the continuation of monarchy; neither do the characters of the few good kings which have lived since, either sanctify the title, or blot out the sinfulness of the origin; the high encomium given of David takes no notice of him OFFICIALLY AS A KING, but only as a MAN after God's own heart. NEVERTHELESS THE PEOPLE REFUSED TO OBEY THE VOICE OF SAMUEL, AND THEY SAID, NAY, BUT WE WILL HAVE A KING OVER US, THAT WE MAY BE LIKE ALL THE NATIONS, AND THAT OUR KING MAY JUDGE US, AND GO OUT BEFORE US, AND FIGHT OUR BATTLES. Samuel continued to reason with them, but to no purpose; he set before them their ingratitude, but all would not avail; and seeing them fully bent on their folly, he cried out, I WILL CALL UNTO THE LORD, AND HE SHALL SEND THUNDER AND RAIN (which then was a punishment, being in the time of wheat harvest) THAT YE MAY PERCEIVE AND SEE THAT YOUR WICKEDNESS IS GREAT WHICH YE HAVE DONE IN THE SIGHT OF THE LORD, AND THE LORD SENT THUNDER AND RAIN THAT DAY, AND ALL THE PEOPLE GREATLY FEARED THE LORD AND SAMUEL. AND ALL THE PEOPLE SAID UNTO SAMUEL, PRAY FOR THY SERVANTS UNTO THE LORD THY GOD THAT WE DIE NOT, FOR *WE HAVE ADDED UNTO OUR SINS THIS EVIL, TO ASK A KING*. These portions of scripture are direct and positive. They admit of no equivocal construction. That the Almighty hath here entered his protest against monarchical government, is true, or the scripture is false. And a man hath good reason to believe that there is as much of kingcraft, as priestcraft, in withholding the scripture from the public in Popish countries. For monarchy in every instance is the Popery of government.

To the evil of monarchy we have added that of hereditary succession; and as the first is a degradation and lessening of ourselves, so the second, claimed as a matter of right, is an insult and an imposition on posterity. For all men being originally equals, no ONE by BIRTH could have a right to set up his own family in perpetual preference to all others for ever, and though himself might deserve SOME decent degree of honours of his contemporaries, yet his descendants might be far too unworthy to inherit them. One of the strongest NATURAL proofs of the folly of hereditary right in kings, is, that nature disapproves it, otherwise she would not so frequently turn it into ridicule by giving mankind an ASS FOR A LION.

Secondly, as no man at first could possess any other public honours than were bestowed upon him, so the givers of those honours could have no power to give away the right of posterity. And though they might say, "We choose you for OUR head," they could not, without manifest injustice to their children, say, "that your children and your children's children shall reign over OURS for ever." Because such an unwise, unjust, unnatural compact might (perhaps) in the next succession put them under the government of a rogue or a fool. Most wise men, in their private sentiments, have ever treated hereditary right with contempt; yet it is one of those evils, which when once established is not easily removed; many submit from fear, others from superstition, and the more powerful part shares with the king the plunder of the rest.

This is supposing the present race of kings in the world to have had an honourable origin; whereas it is more than probable, that could we take off the dark covering of antiquities, and trace them to their first rise, that we should find the first of them nothing better than the principal ruffian of some restless gang, whose savage manners or preeminence in subtlety obtained the title of chief among plunderers; and who by increasing in power, and extending his depredations, overawed the quiet and defenseless to purchase their safety by frequent contributions. Yet his electors could have no idea of giving hereditary right to his descendants, because such a perpetual exclusion of themselves was incompatible with the free and unrestrained principles they professed to live by. Wherefore, hereditary succession in the early ages of monarchy could not take place as a matter of claim, but as something casual or complemental; but as few or no records were extant in those days, and traditional history stuffed with fables, it was very easy, after the lapse of a few generations, to trump up some superstitious tale, conveniently timed, Mahomet like, to cram hereditary right down the throats of the vulgar. Perhaps the disorders which threatened, or seemed to threaten, on the decease of a leader and the choice of a new one (for elections among ruffians could not be very orderly) induced many at first to favour hereditary pretensions; by which means it happened, as it hath happened since, that what at first was submitted to as a convenience, was afterwards claimed as a right.

England, since the conquest, hath known some few good monarchs, but groaned beneath a much larger number of bad ones; yet no man in his senses can say that their claim under William the Conqueror is a very honourable one. A French bastard landing with an armed banditti, and establishing himself king of England against the consent of the natives, is in plain terms a very paltry rascally original. It certainly hath no divinity in it. However, it is needless to spend much time in exposing the folly of hereditary right; if there are any so weak as to believe it, let them promiscuously worship the ass and lion, and welcome. I shall neither copy their humility, nor disturb their devotion.

Yet I should be glad to ask how they suppose kings came at first? The question admits but of three answers, viz. either by lot, by election, or by usurpation. If the first king was taken by lot, it establishes a precedent for the next, which excludes hereditary succession. Saul was by lot, yet the succession was not hereditary, neither does it appear from that transaction there was any intention it ever should be. If the first king of any country was by election, that likewise establishes a precedent for the next; for to say, that the RIGHT of all future generations is taken away, by the act of the first electors, in their choice not only of a king, but of a family of kings for ever, hath no parallel in or out of scripture but the doctrine of original sin, which supposes the free will of all men lost in Adam; and from such comparison, and it will admit of no other, hereditary succession can derive no glory. For as in Adam all sinned, and as in the first electors all men obeyed; as in the one all mankind were subjected to Satan, and in the other to Sovereignty; as our innocence was lost in the first, and our authority in the last; and as both disable us from reassuming some former state and privilege, it unanswerably follows that original sin and hereditary succession are parallels. Dishonourable rank! Inglorious connection! Yet the most subtle sophist cannot produce a juster simile.

As to usurpation, no man will be so hardy as to defend it; and that William the Conqueror was an usurper is a fact not to be contradicted. The plain truth is, that the antiquity of English monarchy will not bear looking into.

But it is not so much the absurdity as the evil of hereditary succession which concerns mankind. Did it ensure a race of good and wise men it would have the seal of divine authority, but as it opens a door to the FOOLISH, the WICKED, and the IMPROPER, it hath in it the nature of oppression. Men who look upon themselves born to reign, and others to obey, soon grow insolent; selected from the rest of mankind their minds are early poisoned by importance; and the world they act in differs so materially from the world at large, that they have but little opportunity of knowing its true interests, and when they succeed to the government are frequently the most ignorant and unfit of any throughout the dominions.

Another evil which attends hereditary succession is, that the throne is subject to be possessed by a minor at any age; all which time the regency, acting under the cover of a king, have every opportunity and inducement to betray their trust. The same national misfortune happens, when a king, worn out with age and infirmity, enters the last stage of human weakness. In both these cases the public becomes a prey to every miscreant, who can tamper successfully with the follies either of age or infancy.

The most plausible plea, which hath ever been offered in favour of hereditary succession, is, that it preserves a nation from civil wars; and were this true, it would be weighty; whereas, it is the most barefaced falsity ever imposed upon mankind. The

whole history of England disowns the fact. Thirty kings and two minors have reigned in that distracted kingdom since the conquest, in which time there have been (including the Revolution) no less than eight civil wars and nineteen rebellions. Wherefore instead of making for peace, it makes against it, and destroys the very foundation it seems to stand on.

The contest for monarchy and succession, between the houses of York and Lancaster, laid England in a scene of blood for many years. Twelve pitched battles, besides skirmishes and sieges, were fought between Henry and Edward. Twice was Henry prisoner to Edward, who in his turn was prisoner to Henry. And so uncertain is the fate of war and the temper of a nation, when nothing but personal matters are the ground of a quarrel, that Henry was taken in triumph from a prison to a palace, and Edward obliged to fly from a palace to a foreign land; yet, as sudden transitions of temper are seldom lasting, Henry in his turn was driven from the throne, and Edward recalled to succeed him. The parliament always following the strongest side.

This contest began in the reign of Henry the Sixth, and was not entirely extinguished till Henry the Seventh, in whom the families were united. Including a period of 67 years, viz. from 1422 to 1489.

In short, monarchy and succession have laid (not this or that kingdom only) but the world in blood and ashes. 'Tis a form of government which the word of God bears testimony against, and blood will attend it.

If we inquire into the business of a king, we shall find that in some countries they have none; and after sauntering away their lives without pleasure to themselves or advantage to the nation, withdraw from the scene, and leave their successors to tread the same idle ground. In absolute monarchies the whole weight of business, civil and military, lies on the king; the children of Israel in their request for a king, urged this plea "that he may judge us, and go out before us and fight our battles." But in countries where he is neither a judge nor a general, as in England, a man would be puzzled to know what IS his business.

The nearer any government approaches to a republic the less business there is for a king. It is somewhat difficult to find a proper name for the government of England. Sir William Meredith calls it a republic; but in its present state it is unworthy of the name, because the corrupt influence of the crown, by having all the places in its disposal, hath so effectually swallowed up the power, and eaten out the virtue of the house of commons (the republican part in the constitution) that the government of England is nearly as monarchical as that of France or Spain. Men fall out with names without understanding them. For it is the republican and not the monarchical part of the constitution of England which Englishmen glory in, viz. the liberty of choosing an

house of commons from out of their own body—and it is easy to see that when republican virtue fails, slavery ensues. Why is the constitution of England sickly, but because monarchy hath poisoned the republic, the crown hath engrossed the commons?

In England a king hath little more to do than to make war and give away places; which in plain terms, is to impoverish the nation and set it together by the ears. A pretty business indeed for a man to be allowed eight hundred thousand sterling a year for, and worshipped into the bargain! Of more worth is one honest man to society and in the sight of God, than all the crowned ruffians that ever lived.

THOUGHTS ON THE PRESENT STATE OF AMERICAN AFFAIRS

In the following pages I offer nothing more than simple facts, plain arguments, and common sense; and have no other Preliminaries to settle with the reader, than that he will divest himself of prejudice and prepossession, and suffer his reason and his feelings to determine for themselves; that he will put ON, or rather that he will not put OFF the true character of a man, and generously enlarge his views beyond the present day.

Volumes have been written on the subject of the struggle between England and America. Men of all ranks have embarked in the controversy, from different motives, and with various designs; but all have been ineffectual, and the period of debate is closed. Arms, as the last resource, decide this contest; the appeal was the choice of the king, and the continent hath accepted the challenge.

It hath been reported of the late Mr. Pelham (who tho' an able minister was not without his faults) that on his being attacked in the house of commons, on the score, that his measures were only of a temporary kind, replied "THEY WILL LAST MY TIME." Should a thought so fatal and unmanly possess the colonies in the present contest, the name of ancestors will be remembered by future generations with detestation.

The sun never shined on a cause of greater worth. 'Tis not the affair of a city, a county, a province, or a kingdom, but of a continent—of at least one eighth part of the habitable globe. 'Tis not the concern of a day, a year, or an age; posterity are virtually involved in the contest, and will be more or less affected, even to the end of time, by the proceedings now. Now is the seed-time of continental union, faith and honour. The least fracture now will be like a name engraved with the point of a pin on the

tender rind of a young oak; the wound will enlarge with the tree, and posterity read it in full grown characters.

By referring the matter from argument to arms, a new aera for politics is struck; a new method of thinking hath arisen. All plans, proposals, &c. prior to the nineteenth of April, i. e. to the commencement of hostilities, are like the almanacs of the last year; which, though proper then are superseded and useless now. Whatever was advanced by the advocates on either side of the question then, terminated in one and the same point. viz. a union with Great-Britain: the only difference between the parties was the method of effecting it; the one proposing force, the other friendship; but it hath so far happened that the first hath failed, and the second hath withdrawn her influence.

As much hath been said of the advantages of reconciliation which, like an agreeable dream, hath passed away and left us as we were, it is but right, that we should examine the contrary side of the argument, and inquire into some of the many material injuries which these colonies sustain, and always will sustain, by being connected with, and dependent on Great Britain: To examine that connection and dependence, on the principles of nature and common sense, to see what we have to trust to, if separated, and what we are to expect, if dependant.

I have heard it asserted by some, that as America hath flourished under her former connection with Great Britain that the same connection is necessary towards her future happiness, and will always have the same effect. Nothing can be more fallacious than this kind of argument. We may as well assert that because a child has thrived upon milk that it is never to have meat, or that the first twenty years of our lives is to become a precedent for the next twenty. But even this is admitting more than is true, for I answer roundly, that America would have flourished as much, and probably much more, had no European power had any thing to do with her. The commerce, by which she hath enriched herself, are the necessaries of life, and will always have a market while eating is the custom of Europe.

But she has protected us, say some. That she has engrossed us is true, and defended the continent at our expense as well as her own is admitted, and she would have defended Turkey from the same motive, viz. the sake of trade and dominion.

Alas, we have been long led away by ancient prejudices, and made large sacrifices to superstition. We have boasted the protection of Great Britain, without considering, that her motive was INTEREST not ATTACHMENT; that she did not protect us from OUR ENEMIES on OUR ACCOUNT, but from HER ENEMIES on HER OWN ACCOUNT, from those who had no quarrel with us on any OTHER ACCOUNT, and who will always be our enemies on the SAME ACCOUNT. Let

Britain wave her pretensions to the continent, or the continent throw off the dependence, and we should be at peace with France and Spain were they at war with Britain. The miseries of Hanover last war ought to warn us against connections.

It has lately been asserted in parliament, that the colonies have no relation to each other but through the parent country, i. e. that Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, and so on for the rest, are sister colonies by the way of England; this is certainly a very round-about way of proving relationship, but it is the nearest and only true way of proving enemyship, if I may so call it. France and Spain never were, nor perhaps ever will be our enemies as AMERICANS, but as our being the subjects of GREAT BRITAIN.

But Britain is the parent country, say some. Then the more shame upon her conduct. Even brutes do not devour their young, nor savages make war upon their families; wherefore the assertion, if true, turns to her reproach; but it happens not to be true, or only partly so and the phrase PARENT or MOTHER COUNTRY hath been jesuitically adopted by the king and his parasites, with a low papistical design of gaining an unfair bias on the credulous weakness of our minds. Europe, and not England, is the parent country of America. This new world hath been the asylum for the persecuted lovers of civil and religious liberty from EVERY PART of Europe. Hither have they fled, not from the tender embraces of the mother, but from the cruelty of the monster; and it is so far true of England, that the same tyranny which drove the first emigrants from home, pursues their descendants still.

In this extensive quarter of the globe, we forget the narrow limits of three hundred and sixty miles (the extent of England) and carry our friendship on a larger scale; we claim brotherhood with every European Christian, and triumph in the generosity of the sentiment.

It is pleasant to observe by what regular gradations we surmount the force of local prejudice, as we enlarge our acquaintance with the world. A man born in any town in England divided into parishes, will naturally associate most with his fellow-parishioners (because their interests in many cases will be common) and distinguish him by the name of NEIGHBOUR; if he meet him but a few miles from home, he drops the narrow idea of a street, and salutes him by the name of TOWNSMAN; if he travel out of the county, and meet him in any other, he forgets the minor divisions of street and town, and calls him COUNTRYMAN, i. e. COUNTRYMAN; but if in their foreign excursions they should associate in France or any other part of EUROPE, their local remembrance would be enlarged into that of ENGLISHMEN. And by a just parity of reasoning, all Europeans meeting in America, or any other quarter of the globe, are COUNTRYMEN; for England, Holland, Germany, or Sweden, when compared with the whole, stand in the same places on the larger scale, which the divisions of street, town, and county do on the smaller ones; distinctions too limited

for continental minds. Not one third of the inhabitants, even of this province, are of English descent. Wherefore I reprobate the phrase of parent or mother country applied to England only, as being false, selfish, narrow and ungenerous.

But admitting, that we were all of English descent, what does it amount to? Nothing. Britain, being now an open enemy, extinguishes every other name and title: And to say that reconciliation is our duty, is truly farcical. The first king of England, of the present line (William the Conqueror) was a Frenchman, and half the Peers of England are descendants from the same country; therefore, by the same method of reasoning, England ought to be governed by France.

Much hath been said of the united strength of Britain and the colonies, that in conjunction they might bid defiance to the world. But this is mere presumption; the fate of war is uncertain, neither do the expressions mean any thing; for this continent would never suffer itself to be drained of inhabitants, to support the British arms in either Asia, Africa, or Europe.

Besides what have we to do with setting the world at defiance? Our plan is commerce, and that, well attended to, will secure us the peace and friendship of all Europe; because, it is the interest of all Europe to have America a FREE PORT. Her trade will always be a protection, and her barrenness of gold and silver secure her from invaders.

I challenge the warmest advocate for reconciliation, to shew, a single advantage that this continent can reap, by being connected with Great Britain. I repeat the challenge, not a single advantage is derived. Our corn will fetch its price in any market in Europe, and our imported goods must be paid for, buy them where we will.

But the injuries and disadvantages we sustain by that connection, are without number; and our duty to mankind at large, as well as to ourselves, instruct us to renounce the alliance: Because, any submission to, or dependence on Great Britain, tends directly to involve this continent in European wars and quarrels; and sets us at variance with nations, who would otherwise seek our friendship, and against whom, we have neither anger nor complaint. As Europe is our market for trade, we ought to form no partial connection with any part of it. It is the true interest of America to steer clear of European contentions, which she never can do, while by her dependence on Britain, she is made the make-weight in the scale of British politics.

Europe is too thickly planted with kingdoms to be long at peace, and whenever a war breaks out between England and any foreign power, the trade of America goes to ruin, BECAUSE OF HER CONNECTION WITH ENGLAND. The next war may not turn out like the last, and should it not, the advocates for reconciliation now, will be

wishing for separation then, because, neutrality in that case, would be a safer convoy than a man of war. Every thing that is right or natural pleads for separation. The blood of the slain, the weeping voice of nature cries, 'TIS TIME TO PART. Even the distance at which the Almighty hath placed England and America, is a strong and natural proof, that the authority of the one, over the other, was never the design of Heaven. The time likewise at which the continent was discovered, adds weight to the argument, and the manner in which it was peopled increases the force of it. The reformation was preceded by the discovery of America, as if the Almighty graciously meant to open a sanctuary to the Persecuted in future years, when home should afford neither friendship nor safety.

The authority of Great Britain over this continent, is a form of government, which sooner or later must have an end: And a serious mind can draw no true pleasure by looking forward under the painful and positive conviction, that what he calls "the present constitution" is merely temporary. As parents, we can have no joy, knowing that THIS GOVERNMENT is not sufficiently lasting to ensure any thing which we may bequeath to posterity: And by a plain method of argument, as we are running the next generation into debt, we ought to do the work of it, otherwise we use them meanly and pitifully. In order to discover the line of our duty rightly, we should take our children in our hand, and fix our station a few years farther into life; that eminence will present a prospect, which a few present fears and prejudices conceal from our sight.

Though I would carefully avoid giving unnecessary offense, yet I am inclined to believe, that all those who espouse the doctrine of reconciliation, may be included within the following descriptions. Interested men, who are not to be trusted; weak men, who CANNOT see; prejudiced men, who WILL NOT see; and a certain set of moderate men, who think better of the European world than it deserves; and this last class, by an ill-judged deliberation, will be the cause of more calamities to this continent, than all the other three.

It is the good fortune of many to live distant from the scene of sorrow; the evil is not sufficient brought to their doors to make THEM feel the precariousness with which all American property is possessed. But let our imaginations transport us for a few moments to Boston, that seat of wretchedness will teach us wisdom, and instruct us for ever to renounce a power in whom we can have no trust. The inhabitants of that unfortunate city, who but a few months ago were in ease and affluence, have now, no other alternative than to stay and starve, or turn and beg. Endangered by the fire of their friends if they continue within the city, and plundered by the soldiery if they leave it. In their present condition they are prisoners without the hope of redemption, and in a general attack for their relief, they would be exposed to the fury of both armies.

Men of passive tempers look somewhat lightly over the offenses of Britain, and, still hoping for the best, are apt to call out, "COME, COME, WE SHALL BE FRIENDS AGAIN, FOR ALL THIS." But examine the passions and feelings of mankind, Bring the doctrine of reconciliation to the touchstone of nature, and then tell me, whether you can hereafter love, honor, and faithfully serve the power that hath carried fire and sword into your land? If you cannot do all these, then are you only deceiving yourselves, and by your delay bringing ruin upon posterity. Your future connection with Britain, whom you can neither love nor honor will be forced and unnatural, and being formed only on the plan of present convenience, will in a little time fall into a relapse more wretched than the first. But if you say, you can still pass the violations over, then I ask, Hath your house been burnt? Hath your property been destroyed before your face! Are your wife and children destitute of a bed to lie on, or bread to live on? Have you lost a parent or a child by their hands, and yourself the ruined and wretched survivor! If you have not, then are you not a judge of those who have. But if you have, and still can shake hands with the murderers, then are you unworthy of the name of husband, father, friend, or lover, and whatever may be your rank or title in life, you have the heart of a coward, and the spirit of a sycophant.

This is not inflaming or exaggerating matters, but trying them by those feelings and affections which nature justifies, and without which, we should be incapable of discharging the social duties of life, or enjoying the felicities of it. I mean not to exhibit horror for the purpose of provoking revenge, but to awaken us from fatal and unmanly slumbers, that we may pursue determinately some fixed object. It is not in the power of Britain or of Europe to conquer America, if she do not conquer herself by DELAY and TIMIDITY. The present winter is worth an age if rightly employed, but if lost or neglected, the whole continent will partake of the misfortune; and there is no punishment which that man will not deserve, be he who, or what, or where he will, that may be the means of sacrificing a season so precious and useful.

It is repugnant to reason, to the universal order of things, to all examples from former ages, to suppose, that this continent can longer remain subject to any external power. The most sanguine in Britain does not think so. The utmost stretch of human wisdom cannot, at this time, compass a plan short of separation, which can promise the continent even a year's security. Reconciliation is NOW a fallacious dream. Nature hath deserted the connection, and Art cannot supply her place. For, as Milton wisely expresses, "never can true reconcilment grow, where wounds of deadly hate have pierced so deep."

Every quiet method for peace hath been ineffectual. Our prayers have been rejected with disdain; and only tended to convince us, that nothing flatters vanity, or confirms obstinacy in Kings more than repeated petitioning—and nothing hath contributed more than that very measure to make the Kings of Europe absolute:

Witness Denmark and Sweden. Wherefore, since nothing but blows will do, for God's sake, let us come to a final separation, and not leave the next generation to be cutting throats, under the violated unmeaning names of parent and child.

To say, they will never attempt it again is idle and visionary, we thought so at the repeal of the stamp-act, yet a year or two undeceived us; as well may we suppose that nations, which have been once defeated, will never renew the quarrel.

As to government matters, it is not in the power of Britain to do this continent justice: The business of it will soon be too weighty, and intricate, to be managed with any tolerable degree of convenience, by a power so distant from us, and so very ignorant of us; for if they cannot conquer us, they cannot govern us. To be always running three or four thousand miles with a tale or a petition, waiting four or five months for an answer, which when obtained requires five or six more to explain it in, will in a few years be looked upon as folly and childishness—There was a time when it was proper, and there is a proper time for it to cease.

Small islands not capable of protecting themselves, are the proper objects for kingdoms to take under their care; but there is something very absurd, in supposing a continent to be perpetually governed by an island. In no instance hath nature made the satellite larger than its primary planet, and as England and America, with respect to each other, reverses the common order of nature, it is evident they belong to different systems; England to Europe, America to itself.

I am not induced by motives of pride, party, or resentment to espouse the doctrine of separation and independance; I am clearly, positively, and conscientiously persuaded that it is the true interest of this continent to be so; that every thing short of THAT is mere patchwork, that it can afford no lasting felicity, —that it is leaving the sword to our children, and shrinking back at a time, when, a little more, a little farther, would have rendered this continent the glory of the earth.

As Britain hath not manifested the least inclination towards a compromise, we may be assured that no terms can be obtained worthy the acceptance of the continent, or any ways equal to the expense of blood and treasure we have been already put to.

The object, contended for, ought always to bear some just proportion to the expense. The removal of North, or the whole detestable junto, is a matter unworthy the millions we have expended. A temporary stoppage of trade, was an inconvenience, which would have sufficiently balanced the repeal of all the acts complained of, had such repeals been obtained; but if the whole continent must take up arms, if every man must be a soldier, it is scarcely worth our while to fight against a contemptible ministry only. Dearly, dearly, do we pay for the repeal of the acts, if that is all we

fight for; for in a just estimation, it is as great a folly to pay a Bunker-hill price for law, as for land. As I have always considered the independancy of this continent, as an event, which sooner or later must arrive, so from the late rapid progress of the continent to maturity, the event could not be far off. Wherefore, on the breaking out of hostilities, it was not worth while to have disputed a matter, which time would have finally redressed, unless we meant to be in earnest; otherwise, it is like wasting an estate on a suit at law, to regulate the trespasses of a tenant, whose lease is just expiring. No man was a warmer wisher for reconciliation than myself, before the fatal nineteenth of April 1775, but the moment the event of that day was made known, I rejected the hardened, sullen tempered Pharaoh of England for ever; and disdain the wretch, that with the pretended title of FATHER OF HIS PEOPLE can unfeelingly hear of their slaughter, and composedly sleep with their blood upon his soul.

But admitting that matters were now made up, what would be the event? I answer, the ruin of the continent. And that for several reasons.

FIRST. The powers of governing still remaining in the hands of the king, he will have a negative over the whole legislation of this continent. And as he hath shewn himself such an inveterate enemy to liberty, and discovered such a thirst for arbitrary power; is he, or is he not, a proper man to say to these colonies, "YOU SHALL MAKE NO LAWS BUT WHAT I PLEASE." And is there any inhabitant in America so ignorant as not to know, that according to what is called the PRESENT CONSTITUTION, that this continent can make no laws but what the king gives leave to; and is there any man so unwise, as not to see, that (considering what has happened) he will suffer no law to be made here, but such as suit HIS purpose. We may be as effectually enslaved by the want of laws in America, as by submitting to laws made for us in England. After matters are made up (as it is called) can there be any doubt, but the whole power of the crown will be exerted, to keep this continent as low and humble as possible? Instead of going forward we shall go backward, or be perpetually quarrelling or ridiculously petitioning. —WE are already greater than the king wishes us to be, and will he not hereafter endeavour to make us less? To bring the matter to one point. Is the power who is jealous of our prosperity, a proper power to govern us? Whoever says No to this question, is an INDEPENDANT, for independancy means no more, than, whether we shall make our own laws, or whether the king, the greatest enemy this continent hath, or can have, shall tell us "THERE SHALL BE NO LAWS BUT SUCH AS I LIKE."

But the king you will say has a negative in England; the people there can make no laws without his consent. In point of right and good order, there is something very ridiculous, that a youth of twenty-one (which hath often happened) shall say to several millions of people, older and wiser than himself, I forbid this or that act of yours to be law. But in this place I decline this sort of reply, though I will never cease to expose

the absurdity of it, and only answer, that England being the King's residence, and America not so, makes quite another case. The king's negative HERE is ten times more dangerous and fatal than it can be in England, for THERE he will scarcely refuse his consent to a bill for putting England into as strong a state of defense as possible, and in America he would never suffer such a bill to be passed.

America is only a secondary object in the system of British politics, England consults the good of THIS country, no farther than it answers her OWN purpose. Wherefore, her own interest leads her to suppress the growth of OURS in every case which doth not promote her advantage, or in the least interferes with it. A pretty state we should soon be in under such a secondhand government, considering what has happened! Men do not change from enemies to friends by the alteration of a name: And in order to shew that reconciliation now is a dangerous doctrine, I affirm, THAT IT WOULD BE POLICY IN THE KING AT THIS TIME, TO REPEAL THE ACTS FOR THE SAKE OF REINSTATING HIMSELF IN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PROVINCES; in order, that HE MAY ACCOMPLISH BY CRAFT AND SUBTLETY, IN THE LONG RUN, WHAT HE CANNOT DO BY FORCE AND VIOLENCE IN THE SHORT ONE. Reconciliation and ruin are nearly related.

SECONDLY. That as even the best terms, which we can expect to obtain, can amount to no more than a temporary expedient, or a kind of government by guardianship, which can last no longer than till the colonies come of age, so the general face and state of things, in the interim, will be unsettled and unpromising. Emigrants of property will not choose to come to a country whose form of government hangs but by a thread, and who is every day tottering on the brink of commotion and disturbance; and numbers of the present inhabitants would lay hold of the interval, to dispense of their effects, and quit the continent.

But the most powerful of all arguments, is, that nothing but independence, i.e. a continental form of government, can keep the peace of the continent and preserve it inviolate from civil wars. I dread the event of a reconciliation with Britain now, as it is more than probable, that it will be followed by a revolt somewhere or other, the consequences of which may be far more fatal than all the malice of Britain.

Thousands are already ruined by British barbarity; (thousands more will probably suffer the same fate.) Those men have other feelings than us who have nothing suffered. All they NOW possess is liberty, what they before enjoyed is sacrificed to its service, and having nothing more to lose, they disdain submission. Besides, the general temper of the colonies, towards a British government, will be like that of a youth, who is nearly out of his time; they will care very little about her. And a government which cannot preserve the peace, is no government at all, and in that case we pay our money for nothing; and pray what is it that Britain can do, whose power

will be wholly on paper, should a civil tumult break out the very day after reconciliation! I have heard some men say, many of whom I believe spoke without thinking, that they dreaded an independence, fearing that it would produce civil wars. It is but seldom that our first thoughts are truly correct, and that is the case here; for there are ten times more to dread from a patched up connection than from independence. I make the sufferers case my own, and I protest, that were I driven from house and home, my property destroyed, and my circumstances ruined, that as man, sensible of injuries, I could never relish the doctrine of reconciliation, or consider myself bound thereby.

The colonies have manifested such a spirit of good order and obedience to continental government, as is sufficient to make every reasonable person easy and happy on that head. No man can assign the least pretence for his fears, on any other grounds, than such as are truly childish and ridiculous, viz. that one colony will be striving for superiority over another.

Where there are no distinctions there can be no superiority, perfect equality affords no temptation. The republics of Europe are all (and we may say always) in peace. Holland and Switzerland are without wars, foreign or domestic: Monarchical governments, it is true, are never long at rest; the crown itself is a temptation to enterprising ruffians at HOME; and that degree of pride and insolence ever attendant on regal authority, swells into a rupture with foreign powers, in instances, where a republican government, by being formed on more natural principles, would negotiate the mistake.

If there is any true cause of fear respecting independence, it is because no plan is yet laid down. Men do not see their way out— Wherefore, as an opening into that business, I offer the following hints; at the same time modestly affirming, that I have no other opinion of them myself, than that they may be the means of giving rise to something better. Could the straggling thoughts of individuals be collected, they would frequently form materials for wise and able men to improve into useful matter.

LET the assemblies be annual, with a President only. The representation more equal. Their business wholly domestic, and subject to the authority of a Continental Congress.

Let each colony be divided into six, eight, or ten, convenient districts, each district to send a proper number of delegates to Congress, so that each colony send at least thirty. The whole number in Congress will be at least 390. Each Congress to sit and to choose a president by the following method. When the delegates are met, let a colony be taken from the whole thirteen colonies by lot, after which, let the whole Congress choose (by ballot) a president from out of the delegates of that province. In

the next Congress, let a colony be taken by lot from twelve only, omitting that colony from which the president was taken in the former Congress, and so proceeding on till the whole thirteen shall have had their proper rotation. And in order that nothing may pass into a law but what is satisfactorily just not less than three fifths of the Congress to be called a majority— He that will promote discord, under a government so equally formed as this, would have joined Lucifer in his revolt.

But as there is a peculiar delicacy, from whom, or in what manner, this business must first arise, and as it seems most agreeable and consistent, that it should come from some intermediate body between the governed and the governors, that is, between the Congress and the people. Let a CONTINENTAL CONFERENCE be held, in the following manner, and for the following purpose.

A committee of twenty-six members of Congress, viz. two for each colony. Two Members from each House of Assembly, or Provincial Convention; and five representatives of the people at large, to be chosen in the capital city or town of each province, for and in behalf of the whole province, by as many qualified voters as shall think proper to attend from all parts of the province for that purpose; or, if more convenient, the representatives may be chosen in two or three of the most populous parts thereof. In this conference, thus assembled, will be united, the two grand principles of business KNOWLEDGE and POWER. The members of Congress, Assemblies, or Conventions, by having had experience in national concerns, will be able and useful counsellors, and the whole, being empowered by the people, will have a truly legal authority.

The conferring members being met, let their business be to frame a CONTINENTAL CHARTER, or Charter of the United Colonies; (answering to what is called the Magna Carta of England) fixing the number and manner of choosing members of Congress, members of Assembly, with their date of sitting, and drawing the line of business and jurisdiction between them: (Always remembering, that our strength is continental, not provincial:) Securing freedom and property to all men, and above all things, the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience; with such other matter as is necessary for a charter to contain. Immediately after which, the said Conference to dissolve, and the bodies which shall be chosen conformable to the said charter, to be the legislators and governors of this continent for the time being: Whose peace and happiness may God preserve, Amen.

Should any body of men be hereafter delegated for this or some similar purpose, I offer them the following extracts from that wise observer on governments DRAGONETTI. "The science" says he "of the politician consists in fixing the true point of happiness and freedom. Those men would deserve the gratitude of ages, who

should discover a mode of government that contained the greatest sum of individual happiness, with the least national expense."[1]

But where, says some, is the King of America? I'll tell you. Friend, he reigns above, and doth not make havoc of mankind like the Royal Brute of Britain. Yet that we may not appear to be defective even in earthly honors, let a day be solemnly set apart for proclaiming the charter; let it be brought forth placed on the divine law, the word of God; let a crown be placed thereon, by which the world may know, that so far as we approve of monarchy, that in America THE LAW IS KING. For as in absolute governments the King is law, so in free countries the law OUGHT to be King; and there ought to be no other. But lest any ill use should afterwards arise, let the crown at the conclusion of the ceremony, be demolished, and scattered among the people whose right it is.

A government of our own is our natural right: And when a man seriously reflects on the precariousness of human affairs, he will become convinced, that it is infinitely wiser and safer, to form a constitution of our own in a cool deliberate manner, while we have it in our power, than to trust such an interesting event to time and chance. If we omit it now, some[2] Massanello may hereafter arise, who laying hold of popular disquietudes, may collect together the desperate and the discontented, and by assuming to themselves the powers of government, may sweep away the liberties of the continent like a deluge. Should the government of America return again into the hands of Britain, the tottering situation of things will be a temptation for some desperate adventurer to try his fortune; and in such a case, that relief can Britain give? Ere she could hear the news, the fatal business might be done; and ourselves suffering like the wretched Britons under the oppression of the Conqueror. Ye that oppose independence now, ye know not what ye do; ye are opening a door to eternal tyranny, by keeping vacant the seat of government. There are thousands, and tens of thousands, who would think it glorious to expel from the continent that barbarous and hellish power, which hath stirred up the Indians and Negroes to destroy us; the cruelty hath a double guilt, it is dealing brutally by us, and treacherously by them.

To talk of friendship with those in whom our reason forbids us to have faith, and our affections wounded through a thousand pores instruct us to detest, is madness and folly. Every day wears out the little remains of kindred between us and them, and can there be any reason to hope, that as the relationship expires, the affection will increase, or that we shall agree better, when we have ten times more and greater concerns to quarrel over than ever?

Ye that tell us of harmony and reconciliation, can ye restore to us the time that is past? Can ye give to prostitution its former innocence? Neither can ye reconcile Britain and America. The last cord now is broken, the people of England are

presenting addresses against us. There are injuries which nature cannot forgive; she would cease to be nature if she did. As well can the lover forgive the ravisher of his mistress, as the continent forgive the murders of Britain. The Almighty hath implanted in us these unextinguishable feelings for good and wise purposes. They are the guardians of his image in our hearts. They distinguish us from the herd of common animals. The social compact would dissolve, and justice be extirpated the earth, or have only a casual existence were we callous to the touches of affection. The robber, and the murderer, would often escape unpunished, did not the injuries which our tempers sustain, provoke us into justice.

O ye that love mankind! Ye that dare oppose, not only the tyranny, but the tyrant, stand forth! Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the globe. Asia, and Africa, have long expelled her—Europe regards her like a stranger, and England hath given her warning to depart. O! receive the fugitive, and prepare in time an asylum for mankind.

OF THE PRESENT *ABILITY OF AMERICA,* WITH SOME MISCELLANEOUS *REFLECTIONS*

I have never met with a man, either in England or America, who hath not confessed his opinion that a separation between the countries, would take place one time or other: And there is no instance, in which we have shewn less judgement, than in endeavouring to describe, what we call the ripeness or fitness of the Continent for independence.

As all men allow the measure, and vary only in their opinion of the time, let us, in order to remove mistakes, take a general survey of things, and endeavour, if possible, to find out the **VERY** time. But we need not go far, the inquiry ceases at once, for, the **TIME HATH FOUND US**. The general concurrence, the glorious union of all things prove the fact.

It is not in numbers, but in unity, that our great strength lies; yet our present numbers are sufficient to repel the force of all the world. The Continent hath, at this time, the largest body of armed and disciplined men of any power under Heaven; and is just arrived at that pitch of strength, in which no single colony is able to support itself, and the whole, when united, can accomplish the matter, and either more, or, less than this, might be fatal in its effects. Our land force is already sufficient, and as to naval affairs, we cannot be insensible, that Britain would never suffer an American man of war to be built, while the continent remained in her hands. Wherefore, we

should be no forwarder an hundred years hence in that branch, than we are now; but the truth is, we should be less so, because the timber of the country is every day diminishing, and that, which will remain at last, will be far off and difficult to procure.

Were the continent crowded with inhabitants, her sufferings under the present circumstances would be intolerable. The more seaport towns we had, the more should we have both to defend and to lose. Our present numbers are so happily proportioned to our wants, that no man need be idle. The diminution of trade affords an army, and the necessities of an army create a new trade.

Debts we have none; and whatever we may contract on this account will serve as a glorious memento of our virtue. Can we but leave posterity with a settled form of government, an independent constitution of its own, the purchase at any price will be cheap. But to expend millions for the sake of getting a few vile acts repealed, and routing the present ministry only, is unworthy the charge, and is using posterity with the utmost cruelty; because it is leaving them the great work to do, and a debt upon their backs, from which they derive no advantage. Such a thought is unworthy of a man of honor, and is the true characteristic of a narrow heart and a peddling politician.

The debt we may contract doth not deserve our regard, if the work be but accomplished. No nation ought to be without a debt. A national debt is a national bond; and when it bears no interest, is in no case a grievance. Britain is oppressed with a debt of upwards of one hundred and forty millions sterling, for which she pays upwards of four millions interest. And as a compensation for her debt, she has a large navy; America is without a debt, and without a navy; yet for the twentieth part of the English national debt, could have a navy as large again. The navy of England is not worth, at this time, more than three millions and an half sterling.

The first and second editions of this pamphlet were published without the following calculations, which are now given as a proof that the above estimation of the navy is just.[3]

The charge of building a ship of each rate, and furnishing her with masts, yards, sails and rigging, together with a proportion of eight months boatswain's and carpenter's seastores, as calculated by Mr. Burchett, Secretary to the navy.

		pounds Sterling
For a ship of a 100 guns	-	35,553
90 -	-	29,886
80 -	-	23,638
70 -	-	17,795
60 -	-	14,197
50 -	-	10,606
40 -	-	7,558

30	-	-	5,846
20	-	-	3,710

And from hence it is easy to sum up the value, or cost rather, of the whole British navy, which in the year 1757, when it was at its greatest glory consisted of the following ships and guns:

Ships.	Guns.	Cost of one.	Cost of all
6	- 100	- 35,553	- 213,318
12	- 90	- 29,886	- 358,632
12	- 80	- 23,638	- 283,656
43	- 70	- 17,785	- 764,755
35	- 60	- 14,197	- 496,895
40	- 50	- 10,606	- 424,240
45	- 40	- 7,558	- 340,110
58	- 20	- 3,710	- 215,180
85 Sloops, bombs, and fireships, one with another,		2,000	170,000

		Cost	3,266,786
Remains for guns,		-----	233,214

			3,500,000

No country on the globe is so happily situated, or so internally capable of raising a fleet as America. Tar, timber, iron, and cordage are her natural produce. We need go abroad for nothing. Whereas the Dutch, who make large profits by hiring out their ships of war to the Spaniards and Portuguese, are obliged to import most of their materials they use. We ought to view the building a fleet as an article of commerce, it being the natural manufactory of this country. It is the best money we can lay out. A navy when finished is worth more than it cost. And is that nice point in national policy, in which commerce and protection are united. Let us build; if we want them not, we can sell; and by that means replace our paper currency with ready gold and silver.

In point of manning a fleet, people in general run into great errors; it is not necessary that one fourth part should be sailors. The Terrible privateer, Captain Death, stood the hottest engagement of any ship last war, yet had not twenty sailors on board, though her complement of men was upwards of two hundred. A few able and social sailors will soon instruct a sufficient number of active landmen in the common work of a ship. Wherefore, we never can be more capable to begin on maritime matters than now, while our timber is standing, our fisheries blocked up, and our sailors and shipwrights out of employ. Men of war of seventy and eighty guns were built forty years ago in New-England, and why not the same now? Ship-building is America's

greatest pride, and in which she will in time excel the whole world. The great empires of the east are mostly inland, and consequently excluded from the possibility of rivalling her. Africa is in a state of barbarism; and no power in Europe hath either such an extent of coast, or such an internal supply of materials. Where nature hath given the one, she has withheld the other; to America only hath she been liberal of both. The vast empire of Russia is almost shut out from the sea: wherefore, her boundless forests, her tar, iron, and cordage are only articles of commerce.

In point of safety, ought we to be without a fleet? We are not the little people now, which we were sixty years ago; at that time we might have trusted our property in the streets, or fields rather; and slept securely without locks or bolts to our doors or windows. The case now is altered, and our methods of defense ought to improve with our increase of property. A common pirate, twelve months ago, might have come up the Delaware, and laid the city of Philadelphia under instant contribution, for what sum he pleased; and the same might have happened to other places. Nay, any daring fellow, in a brig of fourteen or sixteen guns might have robbed the whole continent, and carried off half a million of money. These are circumstances which demand our attention, and point out the necessity of naval protection.

Some, perhaps, will say, that after we have made it up with Britain, she will protect us. Can we be so unwise as to mean, that she shall keep a navy in our harbours for that purpose? Common sense will tell us, that the power which hath endeavoured to subdue us, is of all others the most improper to defend us. Conquest may be effected under the pretence of friendship; and ourselves after a long and brave resistance, be at last cheated into slavery. And if her ships are not to be admitted into our harbours, I would ask, how is she to protect us? A navy three or four thousand miles off can be of little use, and on sudden emergencies, none at all. Wherefore, if we must hereafter protect ourselves, why not do it for ourselves?

The English list of ships of war, is long and formidable, but not a tenth part of them are at any one time fit for service, numbers of them not in being; yet their names are pompously continued in the list, if only a plank be left of the ship: and not a fifth part of such as are fit for service, can be spared on any one station at one time. The East and West Indies, Mediterranean, Africa, and other parts over which Britain extends her claim, make large demands upon her navy. From a mixture of prejudice and inattention, we have contracted a false notion respecting the navy of England, and have talked as if we should have the whole of it to encounter at once, and for that reason, supposed, that we must have one as large; which not being instantly practicable, have been made use of by a set of disguised Tories to discourage our beginning thereon. Nothing can be farther from truth than this; for if America had only a twentieth part of the naval force of Britain, she would be by far an overmatch for her; because, as we neither have, nor claim any foreign dominion, our whole force

would be employed on our own coast, where we should, in the long run, have two to one the advantage of those who had three or four thousand miles to sail over, before they could attack us, and the same distance to return in order to refit and recruit. And although Britain, by her fleet, hath a check over our trade to Europe, we have as large a one over her trade to the West Indies, which, by laying in the neighbourhood of the continent, is entirely at its mercy.

Some method might be fallen on to keep up a naval force in time of peace, if we should not judge it necessary to support a constant navy. If premiums were to be given to merchants, to build and employ in their service ships mounted with twenty, thirty, forty or fifty guns, (the premiums to be in proportion to the loss of bulk to the merchants) fifty or sixty of those ships, with a few guardships on constant duty, would keep up a sufficient navy, and that without burdening ourselves with the evil so loudly complained of in England, of suffering their fleet, in time of peace to lie rotting in the docks. To unite the sinews of commerce and defense is sound policy; for when our strength and our riches play into each other's hand, we need fear no external enemy.

In almost every article of defense we abound. Hemp flourishes even to rankness, so that we need not want cordage. Our iron is superior to that of other countries. Our small arms equal to any in the world. Cannon we can cast at pleasure. Saltpetre and gunpowder we are every day producing. Our knowledge is hourly improving. Resolution is our inherent character, and courage hath never yet forsaken us. Wherefore, what is it that we want? Why is it that we hesitate? From Britain we can expect nothing but ruin. If she is once admitted to the government of America again, this Continent will not be worth living in. Jealousies will be always arising; insurrections will be constantly happening; and who will go forth to quell them? Who will venture his life to reduce his own countrymen to a foreign obedience? The difference between Pennsylvania and Connecticut, respecting some unlocated lands, shews the insignificance of a British government, and fully proves, that nothing but Continental authority can regulate Continental matters.

Another reason why the present time is preferable to all others, is, that the fewer our numbers are, the more land there is yet unoccupied, which instead of being lavished by the king on his worthless dependants, may be hereafter applied, not only to the discharge of the present debt, but to the constant support of government. No nation under heaven hath such an advantage at this.

The infant state of the Colonies, as it is called, so far from being against, is an argument in favour of independance. We are sufficiently numerous, and were we more so, we might be less united. It is a matter worthy of observation, that the more a country is peopled, the smaller their armies are. In military numbers, the ancients far exceeded the modems: and the reason is evident. For trade being the consequence of

population, men become too much absorbed thereby to attend to anything else. Commerce diminishes the spirit, both of patriotism and military defence. And history sufficiently informs us, that the bravest achievements were always accomplished in the non-age of a nation. With the increase of commerce, England hath lost its spirit. The city of London, notwithstanding its numbers, submits to continued insults with the patience of a coward. The more men have to lose, the less willing are they to venture. The rich are in general slaves to fear, and submit to courtly power with the trembling duplicity of a Spaniel.

Youth is the seed time of good habits, as well in nations as in individuals. It might be difficult, if not impossible, to form the Continent into one government half a century hence. The vast variety of interests, occasioned by an increase of trade and population, would create confusion. Colony would be against colony. Each being able might scorn each other's assistance: and while the proud and foolish gloried in their little distinctions, the wise would lament, that the union had not been formed before. Wherefore, the PRESENT TIME is the TRUE TIME for establishing it. The intimacy which is contracted in infancy, and the friendship which is formed in misfortune, are, of all others, the most lasting and unalterable. Our present union is marked with both these characters: we are young and we have been distressed; but our concord hath withstood our troubles, and fixes a memorable area for posterity to glory in.

The present time, likewise, is that peculiar time, which never happens to a nation but once, viz. the time of forming itself into a government. Most nations have let slip the opportunity, and by that means have been compelled to receive laws from their conquerors, instead of making laws for themselves. First, they had a king, and then a form of government; whereas, the articles or charter of government, should be formed first, and men delegated to execute them afterward but from the errors of other nations, let us learn wisdom, and lay hold of the present opportunity —TO BEGIN GOVERNMENT AT THE RIGHT END.

When William the Conqueror subdued England, he gave them law at the point of the sword; and until we consent, that the seat of government, in America, be legally and authoritatively occupied, we shall be in danger of having it filled by some fortunate ruffian, who may treat us in the same manner, and then, where will be our freedom? where our property? As to religion, I hold it to be the indispensable duty of all government, to protect all conscientious professors thereof, and I know of no other business which government hath to do therewith, Let a man throw aside that narrowness of soul, that selfishness of principle, which the niggards of all professions are so unwilling to part with, and he will be at delivered of his fears on that head. Suspicion is the companion of mean souls, and the bane of all good society. For myself, I fully and conscientiously believe, that it is the will of the Almighty, that there should be diversity of religious opinions among us: It affords a larger field for

our Christian kindness. Were we all of one way of thinking, our religious dispositions would want matter for probation; and on this liberal principle, I look on the various denominations among us, to be like children of the same family, differing only, in what is called, their Christian names.

In page forty, I threw out a few thoughts on the propriety of a Continental Charter, (for I only presume to offer hints, not plans) and in this place, I take the liberty of rementioning the subject, by observing, that a charter is to be understood as a bond of solemn obligation, which the whole enters into, to support the right of every separate part, whether of religion, personal freedom, or property. A firm bargain and a right reckoning make long friends.

In a former page I likewise mentioned the necessity of a large and equal representation; and there is no political matter which more deserves our attention. A small number of electors, or a small number of representatives, are equally dangerous. But if the number of the representatives be not only small, but unequal, the danger is increased. As an instance of this, I mention the following; when the Associators petition was before the House of Assembly of Pennsylvania; twenty-eight members only were present, all the Bucks county members, being eight, voted against it, and had seven of the Chester members done the same, this whole province had been governed by two counties only, and this danger it is always exposed to. The unwarrantable stretch likewise, which that house made in their last sitting, to gain an undue authority over the delegates of that province, ought to warn the people at large, how they trust power out of their own hands. A set of instructions for the Delegates were put together, which in point of sense and business would have dishonoured a schoolboy, and after being approved by a FEW, a VERY FEW without doors, were carried into the House, and there passed IN BEHALF OF THE WHOLE COLONY; whereas, did the whole colony know, with what ill-will that House hath entered on some necessary public measures, they would not hesitate a moment to think them unworthy of such a trust.

Immediate necessity makes many things convenient, which if continued would grow into oppressions. Expedience and right are different things. When the calamities of America required a consultation, there was no method so ready, or at that time so proper, as to appoint persons from the several Houses of Assembly for that purpose; and the wisdom with which they have proceeded hath preserved this continent from ruin. But as it is more than probable that we shall never be without a CONGRESS, every well wisher to good order, must own, that the mode for choosing members of that body, deserves consideration. And I put it as a question to those, who make a study of mankind, whether representation and election is not too great a power for one and the same body of men to possess? When we are planning for posterity, we ought to remember, that virtue is not hereditary.

It is from our enemies that we often gain excellent maxims, and are frequently surprised into reason by their mistakes, Mr. Cornwall (one of the Lords of the Treasury) treated the petition of the New-York Assembly with contempt, because THAT House, he said, consisted but of twenty-six members, which trifling number, he argued, could not with decency be put for the whole. We thank him for his involuntary honesty.[4]

TO CONCLUDE, however strange it may appear to some, or however unwilling they may be to think so, matters not, but many strong and striking reasons may be given, to shew, that nothing can settle our affairs so expeditiously as an open and determined declaration for independance. Some of which are,

FIRST. - It is the custom of nations, when any two are at war, for some other powers, not engaged in the quarrel, to step in as mediators, and bring about the preliminaries of a peace: but while America calls herself the Subject of Great Britain, no power, however well disposed she may be, can offer her mediation. Wherefore, in our present state we may quarrel on for ever.

SECONDLY. - It is unreasonable to suppose, that France or Spain will give us any kind of assistance, if we mean only, to make use of that assistance for the purpose of repairing the breach, and strengthening the connection between Britain and America; because, those powers would be sufferers by the consequences.

THIRDLY. - While we profess ourselves the subjects of Britain, we must, in the eye of foreign nations, be considered as rebels. The precedent is somewhat dangerous to THEIR PEACE, for men to be in arms under the name of subjects; we, on the spot, can solve the paradox: but to unite resistance and subjection, requires an idea much too refined for common understanding.

FOURTHLY. - Were a manifesto to be published, and despatched to foreign courts, setting forth the miseries we have endured, and the peaceable methods we have ineffectually used for redress; declaring, at the same time, that not being able, any longer, to live happily or safely under the cruel disposition of the British court, we had been driven to the necessity of breaking off all connections with her; at the same time, assuring all such courts of our peaceable disposition towards them, and of our desire of entering into trade with them: Such a memorial would produce more good effects to this Continent, than if a ship were freighted with petitions to Britain.

Under our present denomination of British subjects, we can neither be received nor heard abroad: The custom of all courts is against us, and will be so, until, by an independance, we take rank with other nations.

These proceedings may at first appear strange and difficult; but, like all other steps which we have already passed over, will in a little time become familiar and agreeable; and, until an independance is declared, the Continent will feel itself like a man who continues putting off some unpleasant business from day to day, yet knows it must be done, hates to set about it, wishes it over, and is continually haunted with the thoughts of its necessity.

APPENDIX

Since the publication of the first edition of this pamphlet, or rather, on the same day on which it came out, the King's Speech made its appearance in this city. Had the spirit of prophecy directed the birth of this production, it could not have brought it forth, at a more seasonable juncture, or a more necessary time. The bloody mindedness of the one, shew the necessity of pursuing the doctrine of the other. Men read by way of revenge. And the Speech, instead of terrifying, prepared a way for the manly principles of Independance.

Ceremony, and even, silence, from whatever motive they may arise, have a hurtful tendency, when they give the least degree of countenance to base and wicked performances; wherefore, if this maxim be admitted, it naturally follows, that the King's Speech, as being a piece of finished villany, deserved, and still deserves, a general execration both by the Congress and the people. Yet, as the domestic tranquillity of a nation, depends greatly, on the CHASTITY of what may properly be called NATIONAL MANNERS, it is often better, to pass some things over in silent disdain, than to make use of such new methods of dislike, as might introduce the least innovation, on that guardian of our peace and safety. And, perhaps, it is chiefly owing to this prudent delicacy, that the King's Speech, hath not, before now, suffered a public execution. The Speech if it may be called one, is nothing better than a wilful audacious libel against the truth, the common good, and the existence of mankind; and is a formal and pompous method of offering up human sacrifices to the pride of tyrants. But this general massacre of mankind is one of the privileges, and the certain consequence of Kings; for as nature knows them NOT, they know NOT HER, and although they are beings of our OWN creating, they know not US, and are become the gods of their creators. The Speech hath one good quality, which is, that it is not calculated to deceive, neither can we, even if we would, be deceived by it. Brutality and tyranny appear on the face of it. It leaves us at no loss: And every line convinces, even in the moment of reading, that He, who hunts the woods for prey, the naked and untutored Indian, is less a Savage than the King of Britain.

Sir John Dalrymple, the putative father of a whining jesuitical piece, fallaciously called, "THE ADDRESS OF THE PEOPLE OF *ENGLAND* TO THE INHABITANTS OF *AMERICA*," hath, perhaps, from a vain supposition, that the people here were to be frightened at the pomp and description of a king, given, (though very unwisely on his part) the real character of the present one: "But" says this writer, "if you are inclined to pay compliments to an administration, which we do not complain of," (meaning the Marquis of Rockingham's at the repeal of the Stamp Act) "it is very unfair in you to withhold them from that prince by *WHOSE NOD ALONE THEY WERE PERMITTED TO DO ANY THING*." This is toryism with a witness! Here is idolatry even without a mask: And he who can calmly hear, and digest such doctrine, hath forfeited his claim to rationality an apostate from the order of manhood; and ought to be considered as one, who hath not only given up the proper dignity of man, but sunk himself beneath the rank of animals, and contemptibly crawl through the world like a worm.

However, it matters very little now, what the king of England either says or does; he hath wickedly broken through every moral and human obligation, trampled nature and conscience beneath his feet; and by a steady and constitutional spirit of insolence and cruelty, procured for himself an universal hatred. It is *NOW* the interest of America to provide for herself. She hath already a large and young family, whom it is more her duty to take care of, than to be granting away her property, to support a power who is become a reproach to the names of men and christians—*YE*, whose office it is to watch over the morals of a nation, of whatsoever sect or denomination ye are of, as well as ye, who, are more immediately the guardians of the public liberty, if ye wish to preserve your native country uncontaminated by European corruption, ye must in secret wish a separation—But leaving the moral part to private reflection, I shall chiefly confine my farther remarks to the following heads.

First. That it is the interest of America to be separated from Britain.

Secondly. Which is the easiest and most practicable plan, *RECONCILIATION* OR *INDEPENDANCE*? With some occasional remarks.

In support of the first, I could, if I judged it proper, produce the opinion of some of the ablest and most experienced men on this continent; and whose sentiments, on that head, are not yet publicly known. It is in reality a self-evident position: For no nation in a state of foreign dependance, limited in its commerce, and cramped and fettered in its legislative powers, can ever arrive at any material eminence. America doth not yet know what opulence is; and although the progress which she hath made stands unparalleled in the history of other nations, it is but childhood, compared with what she would be capable of arriving at, had she, as she ought to have, the legislative powers in her own hands. England is, at this time, proudly coveting what would do

her no good, were she to accomplish it; and the Continent hesitating on a matter, which will be her final ruin if neglected. It is the commerce and not the conquest of America, by which England is to be benefited, and that would in a great measure continue, were the countries as independant of each other as France and Spain; because in many articles, neither can go to a better market. But it is the independance of this country of Britain or any other, which is now the main and only object worthy of contention, and which, like all other truths discovered by necessity, will appear clearer and stronger every day.

First. Because it will come to that one time or other.

Secondly. Because, the longer it is delayed the harder it will be to accomplish.

I have frequently amused myself both in public and private companies, with silently remarking, the specious errors of those who speak without reflecting. And among the many which I have heard, the following seems the most general, viz. that had this rupture happened forty or fifty years hence, instead of NOW, the Continent would have been more able to have shaken off the dependance. To which I reply, that our military ability, AT THIS TIME, arises from the experience gained in the last war, and which in forty or fifty years time, would have been totally extinct. The Continent, would not, by that time, have had a General, or even a military officer left; and we, or those who may succeed us, would have been as ignorant of martial matters as the ancient Indians: And this single position, closely attended to, will unanswerably prove, that the present time is preferable to all others. The argument turns thus—at the conclusion of the last war, we had experience, but wanted numbers; and forty or fifty years hence, we should have numbers, without experience; wherefore, the proper point of time, must be some particular point between the two extremes, in which a sufficiency of the former remains, and a proper increase of the latter is obtained: And that point of time is the present time.

The reader will pardon this digression, as it does not properly come under the head I first set out with, and to which I again return by the following position, viz.

Should affairs be patched up with Britain, and she to remain the governing and sovereign power of America, (which, as matters are now circumstanced, is giving up the point entirely) we shall deprive ourselves of the very means of sinking the debt we have, or may contract. The value of the back lands which some of the provinces are clandestinely deprived of, by the unjust extension of the limits of Canada, valued only at five pounds sterling per hundred acres, amount to upwards of twenty-five millions, Pennsylvania currency; and the quit-rents at one penny sterling per acre, to two millions yearly.

It is by the sale of those lands that the debt may be sunk, without burthen to any, and the quit-rent reserved thereon, will always lessen, and in time, will wholly support the yearly expence of government. It matters not how long the debt is in paying, so that the lands when sold be applied to the discharge of it, and for the execution of which, the Congress for the time being, will be the continental trustees.

I proceed now to the second head, viz. Which is the easiest and most practicable plan, RECONCILIATION or INDEPENDANCE; With some occasional remarks.

He who takes nature for his guide is not easily beaten out of his argument, and on that ground, I answer GENERALLY—THAT *INDEPENDANCE BEING A SINGLE SIMPLE LINE, CONTAINED WITHIN OURSELVES; AND RECONCILIATION, A MATTER EXCEEDINGLY PERPLEXED AND COMPLICATED, AND IN WHICH, A TREACHEROUS CAPRICIOUS COURT IS TO INTERFERE, GIVES THE ANSWER WITHOUT A DOUBT.*

The present state of America is truly alarming to every man who is capable of reflexion. Without law, without government, without any other mode of power than what is founded on, and granted by courtesy. Held together by an unexampled concurrence of sentiment, which, is nevertheless subject to change, and which, every secret enemy is endeavouring to dissolve. Our present condition, is, Legislation without law; wisdom without a plan; a constitution without a name; and, what is strangely astonishing, perfect Independance contending for dependance. The instance is without a precedent; the case never existed before; and who can tell what may be the event? The property of no man is secure in the present unbraced system of things. The mind of the multitude is left at random, and seeing no fixed object before them, they pursue such as fancy or opinion starts. Nothing is criminal; there is no such thing as treason; wherefore, every one thinks himself at liberty to act as he pleases. The Tories dared not have assembled offensively, had they known that their lives, by that act, were forfeited to the laws of the state. A line of distinction should be drawn, between, English soldiers taken in battle, and inhabitants of America taken in arms. The first are prisoners, but the latter traitors. The one forfeits his liberty, the other his head.

Notwithstanding our wisdom, there is a visible feebleness in some of our proceedings which gives encouragement to dissensions. The Continental Belt is too loosely buckled. And if something is not done in time, it will be too late to do any thing, and we shall fall into a state, in which, neither RECONCILIATION nor INDEPENDANCE will be practicable. The king and his worthless adherents are got at their old game of dividing the Continent, and there are not wanting among us, Printers, who will be busy in spreading specious falsehoods. The artful and hypocritical letter which appeared a few months ago in two of the New York papers,

and likewise in two others, is an evidence that there are men who want either judgment or honesty.

It is easy getting into holes and corners and talking of reconciliation: But do such men seriously consider, how difficult the task is, and how dangerous it may prove, should the Continent divide thereon. Do they take within their view, all the various orders of men whose situation and circumstances, as well as their own, are to be considered therein. Do they put themselves in the place of the sufferer whose ALL is ALREADY gone, and of the soldier, who hath quitted ALL for the defence of his country. If their ill judged moderation be suited to their own private situations only, regardless of others, the event will convince them, that "they are reckoning without their Host."

Put us, says some, on the footing we were on in sixty-three: To which I answer, the request is not now in the power of Britain to comply with, neither will she propose it; but if it were, and even should be granted, I ask, as a reasonable question, By what means is such a corrupt and faithless court to be kept to its engagements? Another parliament, nay, even the present, may hereafter repeal the obligation, on the pretense, of its being violently obtained, or unwisely granted; and in that case, Where is our redress?—No going to law with nations; cannon are the barristers of Crowns; and the sword, not of justice, but of war, decides the suit. To be on the footing of sixty-three, it is not sufficient, that the laws only be put on the same state, but, that our circumstances, likewise, be put on the same state; Our burnt and destroyed towns repaired or built up, our private losses made good, our public debts (contracted for defence) discharged; otherwise, we shall be millions worse than we were at that enviable period. Such a request, had it been complied with a year ago, would have won the heart and soul of the Continent—but now it is too late, "The Rubicon is passed."

Besides, the taking up arms, merely to enforce the repeal of a pecuniary law, seems as unwarrantable by the divine law, and as repugnant to human feelings, as the taking up arms to enforce obedience thereto. The object, on either side, doth not justify the means; for the lives of men are too valuable to be cast away on such trifles. It is the violence which is done and threatened to our persons; the destruction of our property by an armed force; the invasion of our country by fire and sword, which conscientiously qualifies the use of arms: And the instant, in which such a mode of defence became necessary, all subjection to Britain ought to have ceased; and the independancy of America, should have been considered, as dating its aera from, and published by, THE FIRST MUSKET THAT WAS FIRED AGAINST HER. This line is a line of consistency; neither drawn by caprice, nor extended by ambition; but produced by a chain of events, of which the colonies were not the authors.

I shall conclude these remarks with the following timely and well intended hints. We ought to reflect, that there are three different ways by which an independancy may hereafter be effected; and that ONE of those THREE, will one day or other, be the fate of America, viz. By the legal voice of the people in Congress; by a military power; or by a mob—It may not always happen that OUR soldiers are citizens, and the multitude a body of reasonable men; virtue, as I have already remarked, is not hereditary, neither is it perpetual. Should an independancy be brought about by the first of those means, we have every opportunity and every encouragement before us, to form the noblest purest constitution on the face of the earth. We have it in our power to begin the world over again. A situation, similar to the present, hath not happened since the days of Noah until now. The birthday of a new world is at hand, and a race of men, perhaps as numerous as all Europe contains, are to receive their portion of freedom from the event of a few months. The Reflexion is awful—and in this point of view, How trifling, how ridiculous, do the little, paltry cavillings, of a few weak or interested men appear, when weighed against the business of a world.

Should we neglect the present favourable and inviting period, and an Independance be hereafter effected by any other means, we must charge the consequence to ourselves, or to those rather, whose narrow and prejudiced souls, are habitually opposing the measure, without either inquiring or reflecting. There are reasons to be given in support of Independance, which men should rather privately think of, than be publicly told of. We ought not now to be debating whether we shall be independant or not, but, anxious to accomplish it on a firm, secure, and honorable basis, and uneasy rather that it is not yet began upon. Every day convinces us of its necessity. Even the Tories (if such beings yet remain among us) should, of all men, be the most solicitous to promote it; for, as the appointment of committees at first, protected them from popular rage, so, a wise and well established form of government, will be the only certain means of continuing it securely to them. WHEREFORE, if they have not virtue enough to be WHIGS, they ought to have prudence enough to wish for Independance.

In short, Independance is the only BOND that can tye and keep us together. We shall then see our object, and our ears will be legally shut against the schemes of an intriguing, as well, as a cruel enemy. We shall then too, be on a proper footing, to treat with Britain; for there is reason to conclude, that the pride of that court, will be less hurt by treating with the American states for terms of peace, than with those, whom she denominates, "rebellious subjects," for terms of accommodation. It is our delaying it that encourages her to hope for conquest, and our backwardness tends only to prolong the war. As we have, without any good effect therefrom, withheld our trade to obtain a redress of our grievances, let us now try the alternative, by independantly redressing them ourselves, and then offering to open the trade. The mercantile and

reasonable part in England, will be still with us; because, peace with trade, is preferable to war without it. And if this offer be not accepted, other courts may be applied to.

On these grounds I rest the matter. And as no offer hath yet been made to refute the doctrine contained in the former editions of this pamphlet, it is a negative proof, that either the doctrine cannot be refuted, or, that the party in favour of it are too numerous to be opposed. WHEREFORE, instead of gazing at each other with suspicious or doubtful curiosity; let each of us, hold out to his neighbour the hearty hand of friendship, and unite in drawing a line, which, like an act of oblivion shall bury in forgetfulness every former dissension. Let the names of Whig and Tory be extinct; and let none other be heard among us, than those of A GOOD CITIZEN, AN OPEN AND RESOLUTE FRIEND, AND A VIRTUOUS SUPPORTER OF THE RIGHTS OF MANKIND AND OF THE *FREE AND INDEPENDANT STATES OF AMERICA*.

To the Representatives of the Religious Society of the People called Quakers, or to so many of them as were concerned in publishing the late piece, entitled "THE ANCIENT TESTIMONY and PRINCIPLES of the People called QUAKERS renewed, with Respect to the KING and GOVERNMENT, and touching the COMMOTIONS now prevailing in these and other parts of AMERICA addressed to the PEOPLE IN GENERAL."

The Writer of this, is one of those few, who never dishonours religion either by ridiculing, or cavilling at any denomination whatsoever. To God, and not to man, are all men accountable on the score of religion. Wherefore, this epistle is not so properly addressed to you as a religious, but as a political body, dabbling in matters, which the professed Quietude of your Principles instruct you not to meddle with. As you have, without a proper authority for so doing, put yourselves in the place of the whole body of the Quakers, so, the writer of this, in order to be on an equal rank with yourselves, is under the necessity, of putting himself in the place of all those, who, approve the very writings and principles, against which, your testimony is directed: And he hath chosen this singular situation, in order, that you might discover in him that presumption of character which you cannot see in yourselves. For neither he nor you can have any claim or title to POLITICAL REPRESENTATION.

When men have departed from the right way, it is no wonder that they stumble and fall. And it is evident from the manner in which ye have managed your testimony, that politics, (as a religious body of men) is not your proper Walk; for however well adapted it might appear to you, it is, nevertheless, a jumble of good and bad put unwisely together, and the conclusion drawn therefrom, both unnatural and unjust.

The two first pages, (and the whole doth not make four) we give you credit for, and expect the same civility from you, because the love and desire of peace is not confined to Quakerism, it is the natural, as well the religious wish of all denominations of men. And on this ground, as men labouring to establish an Independant Constitution of our own, do we exceed all others in our hope, end, and aim. **OUR PLAN IS PEACE FOR EVER.** We are tired of contention with Britain, and can see no real end to it but in a final separation. We act consistently, because for the sake of introducing an endless and uninterrupted peace, do we bear the evils and burthens of the present day. We are endeavoring, and will steadily continue to endeavour, to separate and dissolve a connexion which hath already filled our land with blood; and which, while the name of it remains, will be the fatal cause of future mischiefs to both countries.

We fight neither for revenge nor conquest; neither from pride nor passion; we are not insulting the world with our fleets and armies, nor ravaging the globe for plunder. Beneath the shade of our own vines are we attacked; in our own houses, and on our own lands, is the violence committed against us. We view our enemies in the character of Highwaymen and Housebreakers, and having no defence for ourselves in the civil law, are obliged to punish them by the military one, and apply the sword, in the very case, where you have before now, applied the halter— Perhaps we feel for the ruined and insulted sufferers in all and every part of the continent, with a degree of tenderness which hath not yet made its way into some of your bosoms. But be ye sure that ye mistake not the cause and ground of your Testimony. Call not coldness of soul, religion; nor put the **BIGOT** in the place of the **CHRISTIAN**.

O ye partial ministers of your own acknowledged principles. If the bearing arms be sinful, the first going to war must be more so, by all the difference between wilful attack, and unavoidable defence. Wherefore, if ye really preach from conscience, and mean not to make a political hobbyhorse of your religion convince the world thereof, by proclaiming your doctrine to our enemies, **FOR THEY LIKEWISE BEAR ARMS.** Give us proof of your sincerity by publishing it at St. James's, to the commanders in chief at Boston, to the Admirals and Captains who are piratically ravaging our coasts, and to all the murdering miscreants who are acting in authority under **HIM** whom ye profess to serve. Had ye the honest soul of **BARCLAY** ye would preach repentance to **YOUR** king; Ye would tell the Royal Wretch his sins, and warn him of eternal ruin.[5] Ye would not spend your partial invectives against the injured and the insulted only, but, like faithful ministers, would cry aloud and **SPARE NONE.** Say not that ye are persecuted, neither endeavour to make us the authors of that reproach, which, ye are bringing upon yourselves; for we testify unto all men, that we do not complain against you because ye are Quakers, but because ye pretend to be and are **NOT** Quakers.

Alas! it seems by the particular tendency of some part of your testimony, and other parts of your conduct, as if, all sin was reduced to, and comprehended in, THE ACT OF BEARING ARMS, and that by the people only. Ye appear to us, to have mistaken party for conscience; because, the general tenor of your actions wants uniformity—And it is exceedingly difficult to us to give credit to many of your pretended scruples; because, we see them made by the same men, who, in the very instant that they are exclaiming against the mammon of this world, are nevertheless, hunting after it with a step as steady as Time, and an appetite as keen as Death.

The quotation which ye have made from Proverbs, in the third page of your testimony, that, "when a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him"; is very unwisely chosen on your part; because, it amounts to a proof, that the king's ways (whom ye are desirous of supporting) do NOT please the Lord, otherwise, his reign would be in peace.

I now proceed to the latter part of your testimony, and that, for which all the foregoing seems only an introduction viz.

"It hath ever been our judgment and principle, since we were called to profess the light of Christ Jesus, manifested in our consciences unto this day, that the setting up and putting down kings and governments, is God's peculiar prerogative; for causes best known to himself: And that it is not our business to have any hand or contrivance therein; nor to be busy bodies above our station, much less to plot and contrive the ruin, or overturn of any of them, but to pray for the king, and safety of our nation, and good of all men—That we may live a peaceable and quiet life, in all godliness and honesty; UNDER THE GOVERNMENT WHICH GOD IS PLEASED TO SET OVER US"—If these are REALLY your principles why do ye not abide by them? Why do ye not leave that, which ye call God's Work, to be managed by himself? These very principles instruct you to wait with patience and humility, for the event of all public measures, and to receive that event as the divine will towards you. Wherefore, what occasion is there for your POLITICAL TESTIMONY if you fully believe what it contains? And the very publishing it proves, that either, ye do not believe what ye profess, or have not virtue enough to practise what ye believe.

The principles of Quakerism have a direct tendency to make a man the quiet and inoffensive subject of any, and every government WHICH IS SET OVER HIM. And if the setting up and putting down of kings and governments is God's peculiar prerogative, he most certainly will not be robbed thereof by us: wherefore, the principle itself leads you to approve of every thing, which ever happened, or may happen to kings as being his work. OLIVER CROMWELL thanks you. CHARLES, then, died not by the hands of man; and should the present Proud Imitator of him, come to the same untimely end, the writers and publishers of the Testimony, are

bound, by the doctrine it contains, to applaud the fact. Kings are not taken away by miracles, neither are changes in governments brought about by any other means than such as are common and human; and such as we are now using. Even the dispersion of the Jews, though foretold by our Saviour, was effected by arms. Wherefore, as ye refuse to be the means on one side, ye ought not to be meddlers on the other; but to wait the issue in silence; and unless ye can produce divine authority, to prove, that the Almighty who hath created and placed this new world, at the greatest distance it could possibly stand, east and west, from every part of the old, doth, nevertheless, disapprove of its being independent of the corrupt and abandoned court of Britain, unless I say, ye can shew this, how can ye on the ground of your principles, justify the exciting and stirring up the people "firmly to unite in the abhorrence of all such writings, and measures, as evidence a desire and design to break off the happy connexion we have hitherto enjoyed, with the kingdom of Great-Britain, and our just and necessary subordination to the king, and those who are lawfully placed in authority under him." What a slap of the face is here! the men, who in the very paragraph before, have quietly and passively resigned up the ordering, altering, and disposal of kings and governments, into the hands of God, are now, recalling their principles, and putting in for a share of the business. Is it possible, that the conclusion, which is here justly quoted, can any ways follow from the doctrine laid down? The inconsistency is too glaring not to be seen; the absurdity too great not to be laughed at; and such as could only have been made by those, whose understandings were darkened by the narrow and crabby spirit of a despairing political party; for ye are not to be considered as the whole body of the Quakers but only as a factional and fractional part thereof.

Here ends the examination of your testimony; (which I call upon no man to abhor, as ye have done, but only to read and judge of fairly;) to which I subjoin the following remark; "That the setting up and putting down of kings," most certainly mean, the making him a king, who is yet not so, and the making him no king who is already one. And pray what hath this to do in the present case? We neither mean to set up nor to pull down, neither to make nor to unmake, but to have nothing to do with them. Wherefore, your testimony in whatever light it is viewed serves only to dishonor your judgement, and for many other reasons had better have been let alone than published.

First, Because it tends to the decrease and reproach of all religion whatever, and is of the utmost danger to society to make it a party in political disputes.

Secondly, Because it exhibits a body of men, numbers of whom disavow the publishing political testimonies, as being concerned therein and approvers thereof.

Thirdly, because it hath a tendency to undo that continental harmony and friendship which yourselves by your late liberal and charitable donations hath lent a hand to establish; and the preservation of which, is of the utmost consequence to us all.

And here without anger or resentment I bid you farewell. Sincerely wishing, that as men and christians, ye may always fully and uninterruptedly enjoy every civil and religious right; and be, in your turn, the means of securing it to others; but that the example which ye have unwisely set, of mingling religion with politics, **MAY BE DISAVOWED AND REPROBATED BY EVERY INHABITANT OF AMERICA.**

[1] Dragonetti on virtue and rewards.

[2] Thomas Anello otherwise Massanello a fisherman of Naples, who after spiriting up his countrymen in the public marketplace, against the oppressions of the Spaniards, to whom the place was then subject prompted them to revolt, and in the space of a day became king.

[3] See Entic's naval history, intro. page 56.

[4] Those who would fully understand of what great consequence a large and equal representation is to a state, should read Burgh's political disquisitions.

[5] "Thou hast tasted of prosperity and adversity; thou knowest what it is to be banished thy native country, to be over-ruled as well as to rule, and set upon the throne; and being oppressed thou hast reason to know how hateful the oppressor is both to God and man: If after all these warnings and advertisements, thou dost not turn unto the Lord with all thy heart, but forget him who remembered thee in thy distress, and give up thyself to fallow lust and vanity, surely great will be thy condemnation.— Against which snare, as well as the temptation of those who may or do feed thee, and prompt thee to evil, the most excellent and prevalent remedy will be, to apply thyself to that light of Christ which shineth in thy conscience, and which neither can, nor will flatter thee, nor suffer thee to be at ease in thy sins."—Barclay's address to Charles II.

FINIS.

The Project Gutenberg EBook of The Declaration of Independence of The United States of America by Thomas Jefferson

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The Declaration of Independence of The United States of America

[By Thomas Jefferson]

IN CONGRESS, July 4, 1776

The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.—That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,—That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and 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 Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.—Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

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

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

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

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

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

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws of 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 a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

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

For imposing taxes on us without our Consent:

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

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences:

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

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

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

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

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

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy of the

Head of a civilized nation.

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

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

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free People.

Nor have We been wanting in attention 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 to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

Button Gwinnett
Lyman Hall
George Walton

William Hooper
Joseph Hewes
John Penn

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

John Hancock

Samuel Chase
William Paca
Thomas Stone
Charles Carroll of Carrollton

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

Robert Morris
Benjamin Rush
Benjamin Franklin

John Morton
George Clymer
James Smith
George Taylor
James Wilson
George Ross

Caesar Rodney
George Read
Thomas McKean

William Floyd
Philip Livingston
Francis Lewis
Lewis Morris

Richard Stockton
John Witherspoon
Francis Hopkinson
John Hart
Abraham Clark

Josiah Bartlett
William Whipple

Samuel Adams
John Adams
Robert Treat Paine
Elbridge Gerry

Stephen Hopkins
William Ellery

Roger Sherman
Samuel Huntington
William Williams
Oliver Wolcott

Matthew Thornton

(Source: Project Gutenberg's Lincoln's Gettysburg Address)

Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, given November 19, 1863 on the battlefield near Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, USA

Four score and seven years ago, our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation: conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war ... testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated ... can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war.

We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that this nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate ... we cannot consecrate ... we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here.

It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us ... that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion ... that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain ... that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom ... and that government of the people ... by the people ... for the people ... shall not perish from this earth.

"I Have a Dream" is a 17-minute public speech by Martin Luther King, Jr. delivered on August 28, 1963, in which he called for racial equality and an end to discrimination. The speech, from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial during the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, was a defining moment of the American Civil Rights Movement (Source: Wikipedia 10-31-2011).

Quotes from

I Have a Dream

Martin Luther King, Jr.

...

Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity.

But one hundred years later, the Negro still is not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination.

...When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men, yes, black men as well as white men, would be guaranteed the unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note insofar as her citizens of color are concerned.... So we have come to cash this check -- a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice. We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of now... Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice....

It would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the moment. This sweltering summer of the Negro's legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn of freedom and equality... There will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges.

...

We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force...

As we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall always march ahead. We cannot turn back. There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, "When will you be satisfied?" We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality...We cannot be satisfied as long as a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote. No, no, we are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied until justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream.

...

Go back to Mississippi, go back to Alabama, go back to South Carolina, go back to Georgia, go back to Louisiana, go back to the slums and ghettos of our northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation can and will be changed. Let us not wallow in the valley of despair.

I say to you today, my friends, so even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream.

I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal."

...

I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places will be made straight, and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together.

...

And if America is to be a great nation this must become true. So let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire. Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York. Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania!

...

And when this happens, when we allow freedom to ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, "Free at last! free at last! thank God Almighty, we are free at last!"