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★ THE DECLARATION
★ OF INDEPENDENCE
★ AND THE
★ CONSTITUTION OF
★ THE UNITED STATES
★ OF AMERICA
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THE DECLARATION OF
INDEPENDENCE
AND
THE CONSTITUTION
OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA



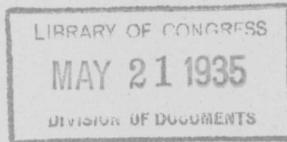
73d Congress, 1st Session

Senate Document No. 79



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SENATE CONCURRENT
RESOLUTION NUMBER 2

JUNE 13, 1933

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Constitution of the United States, as amended to April 1, 1933, together with the Declaration of Independence, be printed as a Senate document, with an index, in such form and style as may be directed by the Joint Committee on Printing, and that 3,500 additional copies be printed, of which 1,000 copies shall be for the use of the Senate and 2,500 copies for the use of the House of Representatives.

Attest: EDWIN A. HALSEY
Secretary of the Senate

Attest: SOUTH TRIMBLE
Clerk of the House of Representatives

NOTE.—The 20th and 21st Amendments are included
in this Document.

THE DECLARATION OF
INDEPENDENCE

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.

A DECLARATION

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

WHEN in the Course of human Events, it becomes necessary for one People to dissolve the Political Bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the Earth, the separate and equal Station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent Respect to the Opinions of Mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the Separation.

WE hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain 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 shewn, that Mankind are more disposed to suffer, while Evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the Forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long Train of Abuses and Usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object, evinces a Design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their Right, it is their Duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future Security. Such has been the patient Sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the Necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government.

Government. The History of the present King of Great-Britain is a History of repeated Injuries and Usurpations, all having in direct Object the Establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid World.

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

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

He has refused to pass other Laws for the Accommodation of large Districts of People, unless those People would relinquish the Right of Representation in the Legislature, a Right inestimable to them, and formidable to Tyrants only.

He has called together Legislative Bodies at Places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the Depository of their public Records, for the sole Purpose of fatiguing them into Compliance with his Measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly Firmness his Invasions on the Rights of the People.

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

He has endeavoured to prevent the Population of these States; for that Purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their Migrations hither, and raising the Conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

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

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the Tenure of their Offices, and the Amount and Payment of their Salaries.

He has erected a Multitude of new Offices, and sent hither Swarms of Officers to harrass our People, and eat out their Substance.

He has kept among us, in Times of Peace, Standing Armies, without the consent of our Legislatures.

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

He

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 and Perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous Ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized Nation.

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

HE has excited domestic Insurrections amongst us, and has 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

NOR have we been wanting in Attentions to our British Brethren. We have warned them from Time to Time of Attempts by their Legislature to extend an unwarrantable Jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the Circumstances of our Emigration and Settlement here. We have appealed to their native Justice and Magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the Ties of our common Kindred to disavow these Usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our Connections and Correspondence. They too have been deaf to the Voice of Justice and of Consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the Necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of Mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace, Friends.

WE, therefore, the Representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in GENERAL CONGRESS, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the Rectitude of our Intentions, do, in the Name, and by 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.

Signed by ORDER and in BEHALF of the CONGRESS,

JOHN HANCOCK, PRESIDENT.

ATTEST.

CHARLES THOMSON, SECRETARY.

PHILADELPHIA: PRINTED BY JOHN DUNLAP.

SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

ACCORDING TO THE AUTHENTICATED LIST PRINTED BY
ORDER OF CONGRESS OF JANUARY 18, 1777*

John Hancock.

NEW-HAMPSHIRE.	<i>{ Josiah Bartlett, W^m. Whipple, Matthew Thornton.†</i>	DELAWARE.	<i>{ Cæsar Rodney, Geo. Read, (Tho M:Kean.)‡</i>
MASSACHUSETTS-BAY.	<i>{ Sam^l. Adams, John Adams, Rob^t. Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry.</i>	MARYLAND.	<i>{ Samuel Chase, W^m. Paca, Tho^s. Stone, Charles Carroll, of Carrollton.</i>
RHODE-ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE, &c.	<i>{ Step. Hopkins, William Ellery.</i>		<i>{ George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Th^s. Jefferson, Benja^a. Harrison, Tho^s. Nelson, jr. Francis Lightfoot Lee, Carter Braxton.</i>
CONNECTICUT.	<i>{ Roger Sherman, Sam^l. Huntington, W^m. Williams, Oliver Wolcott.</i>	VIRGINIA.	<i>{ W^m. Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn.</i>
NEW-YORK.	<i>{ W^m. Floyd, Phil. Livingston, Fran^s. Lewis, Lewis Morris.</i>	NORTH-CAROLINA.	<i>{ Edward Rutledge, Tho^s. Heyward, jun^r. Thomas Lynch, jun^r. Arthur Middleton.</i>
NEW-JERSEY.	<i>{ Rich^d. Stockton, Jno. Witherspoon, Fra^s. Hopkinson, John Hart, Abra. Clark.</i>	GEORGIA.	<i>{ Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, Geo. Walton.</i>
PENNSYLVANIA.	<i>{ Rob^t. Morris, Benjamin Rush, Benja. Franklin, John Morton, Geo. Clymer, Ja^s. Smith, Geo. Taylor, James Wilson, Geo. Ross.</i>		

* Braces, spelling, and abbreviation of names conform to original printed list.

† Matthew Thornton's name was signed on the engrossed copy following the Connecticut Members, but was transferred in the printed copy to its proper place with the other New Hampshire Members.

‡ Thomas McKean's name was not included in the list of signers printed by order of Congress on January 18, 1777, as he did not sign the engrossed copy until some time thereafter, probably in 1781.

NOTES ABOUT THE SIGNING OF THE DECLARATION

The only names on the first printed copy of the Declaration of Independence, which is attached to the original manuscript Journals of Congress as a part of the official record of the proceedings on July 4, 1776, are printed thereon as follows:

"Signed by Order and in Behalf of the Congress, John Hancock, President. Attest, Charles Thomson, Secretary."

The manuscript Journal of July 4, 1776, does not contain any other statement in regard to signing the Declaration at that time or the names of the Members present and agreeing to its adoption. Copies of the Declaration sent to the State assemblies and to General Washington for proclamation, by order of Congress, likewise had printed thereon an authentication only by Hancock and Thomson. Their names likewise are signed to the first publication of the Declaration, on July 6, 1776, in the Pennsylvania Evening Post of Philadelphia which did not include any other signatures.

On July 19, 1776, Congress adopted the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the Declaration passed on the 4th, be fairly engrossed on parchment with the title and stile of 'The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America' and that the same, when engrossed, be signed by every member of Congress."

The Journal of August 2, 1776, further records,

"The declaration of independence being engrossed and compared at the table was signed by the members."

The subsequently printed Journals have inserted in the proceedings for July 4, 1776, the text of the Declaration as engrossed on August 2, 1776, and the names of the signers of the parchment copy which is now in the Library of Congress. The Journals for 1777 and 1800, list 55 of the 56 signers, the name of Thomas McKean of Delaware not being included, as he had not up to that time signed the engrossed Declaration. McKean voted for the resolution of independence, but was with Washington's Army when the Declaration was engrossed and was not a Member of Congress from December 1776 to January 30, 1778.

As a matter of fact, a number of the Members who later signed the Declaration were not present in Congress when it was adopted on July 4

or

or when it was engrossed on August 2. Several who were Members on July 4 did not sign the engrossed Declaration. Michael, in his "Story of the Declaration of Independence" published by the State Department, states, "It is quite certain that George Wythe signed about August 27; Richard Henry Lee, Elbridge Gerry, and Oliver Wolcott in September; Thornton in November; and Colonel McKean says he did not sign until 1781."

Thornton was not appointed by New Hampshire until September 12, 1776, and first attended Congress on November 4, 1776.

Five other signers of the engrossed Declaration—Benjamin Rush, George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor, and George Ross of Pennsylvania—were not appointed to Congress until July 20, 1776, when they succeeded three Pennsylvania Members who were in Congress on July 4 but did not support the Declaration.

Robert Morris of Pennsylvania, William Williams of Connecticut, and Samuel Chase of Maryland were absent on July 4, but signed the engrossed Declaration on August 2. Oliver Wolcott of Connecticut, and George Wythe and Richard Henry Lee of Virginia were absent on July 4 and August 2. Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts was also absent on August 2, and likewise signed on return to Congress.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton was appointed a Delegate by Maryland on July 4, 1776, presented his credentials on July 18, and signed the engrossed copy of the Declaration on August 2. Three Maryland Members who were reappointed on July 4 did not sign.

The New York State convention did not authorize its Delegates to approve the Declaration until July 9, and Congress was so notified on July 15. Four of the New York Members who refrained from voting for lack of authority on July 4 signed the engrossed Declaration on August 2.

The Journal for January 18, 1777, contains the following entry:

"Ordered, That an authenticated copy of the Declaration of Independence, with the names of the members of Congress subscribing the same, be sent to each of the United States, and that they be desired to have the same put upon record."

Accordingly, authenticated copies of the Declaration with the names of subscribing members and the order of Congress signed by John Hancock as President and attested by Charles Thomson, as Secretary, were printed in broadside form by Mary Katharine Goddard in Baltimore, where Congress was then in session.

A copy

A copy of the Goddard broadside, authenticated in writing by "John Hancock, Presid^t"; and "Attest Chas. Thomson, Secy., A TRUE COPY"; is in the Library of Congress, together with the following letter, written and signed by Hancock on January 31, 1777, transmitting copies of the broadside to the States:

"I am therefore commanded by Congress, to transmit to you the enclosed copy of the act of Independence, with the list of the several members of Congress, subscribed thereto; and to request that you will cause the same to be put upon record, that it may henceforth form a part of the archives of your state and union, a lasting testimony of your approbation of that necessary and important measure."

The print of the Declaration in January 1777 contains the first list of the signers to be published by order of Congress. The list does not include the name of Thomas McKean, as evidently he had not then signed the engrossed copy. The printed list of signers varies from the engrossed copy by placing the name of Matthew Thornton with those of the other New Hampshire signers. Thornton's signature on the engrossed copy follows the Connecticut Members.

The signatures on the original engrossed copy were written in six columns, without State designations but in geographical order from north to south beginning with the right column.

The Goddard broadside groups the names of the signers in four columns, braced with their respective States, reading from right to left as follows: First column, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut; second column, Delaware (without McKean's name), New York, New Jersey, and New Hampshire (including Thornton); third column, Virginia and Pennsylvania; fourth column, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Maryland. John Hancock's name is printed in large letters above the center.

To conform to the size of the present publication, the names of the signers have been placed in two columns with a reproduction of the braces used for State designations in the Goddard print of 1777. The geographical order of States from north to south, as regularly observed in the proceedings and roll calls of the Continental Congress, has been followed.

THE CONSTITUTION
OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA

WE, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

Seçt. 1. ALL legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Seçt. 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states, and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each state shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the state of New-Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New-York six, New-Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North-Carolina five, South-Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any state, the Executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The

The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Sect. 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any state, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall chuse their other officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

Sect. 4. The times, places and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of chusing Senators.

The

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Sect. 5. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each house may provide.

Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behaviour, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

Sect. 6. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been encreased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

Sect. 7. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the house of representatives; but the senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the house of representatives and the senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the president of

of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Sect. 8. The Congress shall have power

To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

To establish post offices and post roads;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited

limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings;—And

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

Se&t. 9. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No

No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

No capitation, or other direct, tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one state over those of another: nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one state, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States:—And no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

Sect. 10. No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No state shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any state on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and controul of the Congress. No state shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

II.

Sect. 1. The executive power shall be vested in a president of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the vice-president, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows.

Each

Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the state may be entitled in the Congress: but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the senate. The president of the senate shall, in the presence of the senate and house of representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the house of representatives shall immediately chuse by ballot one of them for president; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said house shall in like manner chuse the president. But in chusing the president, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the president, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the vice-president. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the senate shall chuse from them by ballot the vice-president.

The Congress may determine the time of chusing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall be eligible to the office of president; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the president from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office

office, the same shall devolve on the vice-president, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation or inability, both of the president and vice-president, declaring what officer shall then act as president, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a president shall be elected.

The president shall, at stated times, receive for his services, a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of president of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the constitution of the United States."

Sect. 2. The president shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law. But the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the president alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The president shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Sect. 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the union, and recommend to their consideration such measures

measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

Sect. 4. The president, vice-president and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

III.

Sect. 1. The judicial power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behaviour, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Sect. 2. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States, between a state and citizens of another state, between citizens of different States, between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens or subjects.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any state, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Sect. 3.

Sect. 3. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attaider of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

IV.

Sect. 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Sect. 2. The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service or labour in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.

Sect. 3. New states may be admitted by the Congress into this union; but no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state; nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular state.

Sect. 4. The United States shall guarantee to every state in this union a Republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

The

V.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided, that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight* hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the senate.

VI.

All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the confederation.

This constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, any thing in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

The senators and representatives beforementioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support this constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

VII.

The ratification of the conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done

* Misprinted "seven" in the original broadside of September 17, 1787, when the figures of the preceding draft were spelled out. Corrected by Dunlap & Claypoole in their Pennsylvania Packet reprint of September 19, 1787. It was the only error of text in the original print. Noted in Edmund Pendleton's copy. Correct in engrossed copy.

Done in Convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our Names.*

GEORGE WASHINGTON, President,
And Deputy from VIRGINIA.

NEW-HAMPSHIRE.	{ John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.	DELAWARE.	{ George Read, Gunning Bedford, Junior,
MASSACHUSETTS.	{ Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King.		{ John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jacob Broom.
CONNECTICUT.	{ William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman.	MARYLAND.	{ James M'Henry, Daniel of St. Tho. Jenifer, Daniel Carroll.
NEW-YORK.	{ Alexander Hamilton.	VIRGINIA.	{ John Blair, James Madison, Junior.
NEW-JERSEY.	{ William Livingston, David Brearley, William Paterson, Jonathan Dayton.	NORTH-CAROLINA	{ William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamson.
PENNSYLVANIA.	{ Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris.	SOUTH-CAROLINA.	{ John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler.
		GEORGIA.	{ William Few, Abraham Baldwin.

Attest, William Jackson, SECRETARY.

IN CONVENTION, Monday September 17th, 1787.
P R E S E N T

The States of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Mr. Hamilton from New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina and Georgia:

R E S O L V E D,

*T*HAT the preceding Constitution be laid before the United States in Congress assembled, and that it is the opinion of this Convention, that it should afterwards be submitted to a Convention of Delegates, chosen in each State by

* Braces and spelling of names conform to original printed copy.

by the People thereof, under the recommendation of its Legislature, for their assent and ratification; and that each Convention assenting to, and ratifying the same, should give Notice thereof to the United States in Congress assembled.

Resolved, *That it is the opinion of this Convention, that as soon as the Conventions of nine States shall have ratified this Constitution, the United States in Congress assembled should fix a day on which Electors should be appointed by the States which shall have ratified the same, and a day on which the Electors should assemble to vote for the President, and the time and place for commencing proceedings under this Constitution. That after such publication the Electors should be appointed, and the Senators and Representatives elected: That the Electors should meet on the day fixed for the Election of the President, and should transmit their votes certified, signed, sealed and directed, as the Constitution requires, to the Secretary of the United States in Congress assembled, that the Senators and Representatives should convene at the time and place assigned; that the Senators should appoint a President of the Senate, for the sole purpose of receiving, opening and counting the votes for President; and, that after he shall be chosen, the Congress, together with the President, should, without delay, proceed to execute this Constitution.*

By the unanimous Order of the Convention,

GEORGE WASHINGTON, President.

William Jackson, Secretary.

In Convention, September 17, 1787.

WS I R,
E have now the honor to submit to the consideration of the United States in Congress assembled, that Constitution which has appeared to us the most adviseable.

The friends of our country have long seen and desired, that the power of making war, peace and treaties, that of levying money and regulating commerce, and the correspondent executive and judicial authorities should be fully and effectually vested in the general government of the Union: but the impropriety of delegating such extensive trust to one body of men is evident—Hence results the necessity of a different organization.

It is obviously impracticable in the federal government of these States, to secure all rights of independent sovereignty to each, and yet provide for the interest and safety of all—Individuals entering into society, must give up a share of liberty to preserve the rest. The magnitude of the sacrifice

sacrifice must depend as well on situation and circumstance, as on the object to be obtained. It is at all times difficult to draw with precision the line between those rights which must be surrendered, and those which may be reserved; and on the present occasion this difficulty was increased by a difference among the several States as to their situation, extent, habits, and particular interests.

In all our deliberations on this subject we kept steadily in our view, that which appears to us the greatest interest of every true American, the consolidation of our Union, in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our national existence. This important consideration, seriously and deeply impressed on our minds, led each State in the Convention to be less rigid on points of inferior magnitude, than might have been otherwise expected; and thus the Constitution, which we now present, is the result of a spirit of amity, and of that mutual deference and concession which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensible.

That it will meet the full and entire approbation of every State is not perhaps to be expected; but each will doubtless consider, that had her interests been alone consulted, the consequences might have been particularly disagreeable or injurious to others; that it is liable to as few exceptions as could reasonably have been expected, we hope and believe; that it may promote the lasting welfare of that country so dear to us all, and secure her freedom and happiness, is our most ardent wish.

With great respect,

We have the honor to be,

SIR,

Your EXCELLENCE's most

Obedient and humble Servants,

George Washington, President.

By unanimous Order of the CONVENTION.

HIS EXCELLENCE
The President of Congress.

PRINTED BY DUNLAP & CLAYPOOLE.

The United States

In C O N G R E S S Assembled,

FRIDAY, September 28, 1787.

PRESENT—New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia, and from Maryland Mr. Ross.

Congress having received the Report of the Convention lately assembled in Philadelphia,

Resolved Unanimously,

THAT the said Report, with the Resolutions and Letter accompanying the same, be transmitted to the several Legislatures, in order to be submitted to a Convention of Delegates, chosen in each State by the People thereof, in Conformity to the Resolves of the Convention, made and provided in that Case.

Charles Thomson, Secretary.

*Philadelphia, Printed by Dunlap & Claypoole **

* Original printed as a folio 9 3/4 by 11 1/2 inches, evidently to accompany the preceding Report of the Convention which was also printed by Dunlap & Claypoole.

THE United States
IN CONGRESS Assembled,

SATURDAY, September 13, 1788.*

Congress assembled—Present, New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North-Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia; and from Rhode-Island, Mr. Arnold, and from Delaware, Mr. Kearny.

On the question to agree to the proposition† which was yesterday postponed by the state of Delaware, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Gilman,

New-Hampshire	Mr. Gilman	ay { ay
	Mr. Wingate	ay { ay
Massachusetts	Mr. Dane	ay { ay
	Mr. Thatcher	ay { ay
Connecticut	Mr. Huntington	ay { ay
	Mr. Wadsworth	ay { ay
New-York	Mr. Hamilton	ay { ay
	Mr. Gansevoort	ay { ay
New-Jersey	Mr. Clark	ay { ay
	Mr. Dayton	ay { ay
Pennsylvania	Mr. Irvine	ay {
	Mr. Meredith	ay { ay
	Mr. Armstrong	ay { ay
	Mr. Reid	ay {
Virginia	Mr. Griffin	ay {
	Mr. Madison	ay { ay
	Mr. Carrington	ay { ay
	Mr. Lee	ay {
South-Carolina	Mr. Parker	ay { ay
	Mr. Tucker	ay { ay
Georgia	Mr. Few	ay { ay
	Mr. Baldwin	ay { ay

So it was resolved in the affirmative as follows:

Whereas the convention assembled in Philadelphia, pursuant to the resolution of Congress of the 21st of February, 1787, did, on the 17th of

* Reprinted from Washington's personal copy of the Journals of Congress, Vol. 13, pages 140 and 141, originally printed by John Dunlap.

† The proposition was the resolution which here follows the vote agreeing to the same.

of September in the same year, report to the United States in Congress assembled, a constitution for the people of the United States; whereupon Congress, on the 28th of the same September, did resolve unanimously, "That the said report, with the resolutions and letter accompanying the same, be transmitted to the several legislatures, in order to be submitted to a convention of delegates chosen in each state by the people thereof, in conformity to the resolves of the convention made and provided in that case." And whereas the constitution so reported by the convention, and by Congress transmitted to the several legislatures, has been ratified in the manner therein declared to be sufficient for the establishment of the same, and such ratifications* duly authenticated have been received by Congress, and are filed in the office of the Secretary; therefore,

Resolved, That the first Wednesday in January next, be the day for appointing electors in the several states, which before the said day shall have ratified the said constitution; that the first Wednesday in February next, be the day for the electors to assemble in their respective states, and vote for a president; and that the first Wednesday in March next, be the time, and the present seat† of Congress the place for commencing proceedings under the said constitution.

* The Constitution was ratified by the several States in the following order, New Hampshire on June 21, 1788, completing the nine States required by Article 7 as sufficient for the establishment of the Constitution between the States so ratifying the same:

Delaware, December 7, 1787, yeas, 30 (unanimous).
Pennsylvania, December 12, 1787, yeas, 43; nays, 23.
New Jersey, December 18, 1787, yeas, 38 (unanimous).
Georgia, January 2, 1788, yeas, 26 (unanimous).
Connecticut, January 9, 1788, yeas, 128; nays, 40.
Massachusetts, February 6, 1788, yeas, 187; nays, 168.
Maryland, April 28, 1788, yeas, 63; nays, 11.
South Carolina, May 23, 1788, yeas, 149; nays, 73.
New Hampshire, June 21, 1788, yeas 57; nays, 46.
Virginia, June 26, 1788, yeas, 89; nays, 79.
New York, July 26, 1788, yeas, 30; nays, 27.
North Carolina, November 21, 1789, yeas, 194; nays, 77.
Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, May 29, 1790,
yeas, 34; nays, 32.
Vermont, January 10, 1791, yeas, 105; nays, 4; admitted
"as a new and entire member of the United States" by
act of Congress approved February 18, 1791.

†New York City.

AMENDMENTS
TO THE CONSTITUTION

ARTICLES in addition to, and Amendment of the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by Congress, and ratified by the Legislatures of the several States, pursuant to the fifth Article of the original Constitution.*

ARTICLE I.†

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

ARTICLE II.

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.

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

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.

*The first 20 amendments were ratified by State Legislatures. The Twenty-first Amendment, by its terms, was ratified by "conventions in the several States."

† The first 10 amendments (termed articles), together with 2 others that failed of ratification, were proposed to the several States by resolution of Congress on September 25, 1789. The ratifications were transmitted by the Governors to the President and by him communicated to Congress from time to time. The first 10 amendments were ratified by 11 of the 14 States. Virginia completed the required three fourths by ratification on December 15, 1791, and its action was communicated to Congress by the President on December 30, 1791. No record of Connecticut, Georgia, and Massachusetts.

ARTICLE VI.

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

ARTICLE VII.

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

ARTICLE VIII.

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

ARTICLE IX.

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

ARTICLE X.

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

ARTICLE XI.*

The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.

ARTICLE XII.†

The Electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the

* The Eleventh Amendment was proposed by resolution of Congress on March 4, 1794. It was declared by the President, in a message to Congress dated January 8, 1798, to have been ratified by three fourths of the several States. Records of the Department of State show that the 11th Amendment was ratified by 13 of the 16 States and rejected by 2 (New Jersey and Pennsylvania).

† The Twelfth Amendment was proposed in lieu of the original third paragraph of section 1 of article II, by resolution of Congress on December 8, 1803. It was declared in a proclamation of the Secretary of State, dated September 25, 1804, to have been ratified by three fourths of the States. Records of the Department of State show that the 12th Amendment was ratified by 12 of the 17 States and rejected by 1 (Connecticut).

the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;—The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.—The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII.*

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV.

* The Thirteenth Amendment was proposed by resolution of Congress which the President approved on February 1, 1865. It was declared in a proclamation of the Secretary of State, dated December 18, 1865, to have been ratified by 27 States. Subsequent records of the Department of State show that the 13th Amendment was ratified by 6 more of the 36 States. It was rejected by 2 (Delaware and Mississippi).

ARTICLE XIV.*

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties

* The Fourteenth Amendment was proposed by resolution of Congress on June 13, 1866. By a concurrent resolution of Congress adopted July 21, 1868, it was declared to have been ratified by "three fourths and more of the several States of the Union", and the Secretary of State was required duly to promulgate the amendment as a part of the Constitution. He accordingly issued a proclamation, dated July 28, 1868, declaring the amendment to have been ratified by 30 States, "being more than three fourths." Records of the Department of State show that the 14th Amendment was subsequently ratified by 3 more of the 37 States. It was rejected by 3 (Delaware, Kentucky, and Maryland).

bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV.*

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XVI.†

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII.‡

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate

* The Fifteenth Amendment was proposed by resolution of Congress on February 26, 1869. It was declared in a proclamation of the Secretary of State, dated March 30, 1870, to have been ratified by 29 States, which "constitute three fourths." Records of the Department of State show that the 15th Amendment was subsequently ratified by 2 more of the 37 States. It was rejected by 3 (California, Delaware, and Kentucky).

† The Sixteenth Amendment was proposed by resolution of Congress on July 12, 1909. It was declared in a proclamation of the Secretary of State, dated February 25, 1913, to have been ratified by 38 States, which "constitute three fourths." Subsequent records of the Department of State show that the 16th Amendment was ratified by 4 more of the 48 States. It was rejected by 3 (Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Utah).

‡ The Seventeenth Amendment was proposed by resolution of Congress on May 13, 1912. It was declared in a proclamation of the Secretary of State, dated May 31, 1913, to have been ratified by 36 States, which "constitute three fourths." Records of the Department of State show that the 17th Amendment was subsequently ratified by 1 more of the 48 States. It was rejected by 1 (Utah).

Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided*, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

ARTICLE XVIII.*

Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

Sec. 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Sec. 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

ARTICLE XIX.†

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XX.

* The Eighteenth Amendment was proposed by resolution of Congress on December 18, 1917. It was declared in a proclamation of the Acting Secretary of State, dated January 29, 1919, to have been ratified by 36 States, which "constitute three fourths." Subsequent records of the Department of State show that the 18th Amendment was ratified by 10 more of the 48 States; no record of 2 (Connecticut and Rhode Island). By its own terms the 18th Amendment became effective one year after its ratification, which was consummated on January 16, 1919, and therefore went into effect on January 16, 1920. Repeal of the 18th Amendment on December 5, 1933, was proclaimed by the President in his proclamation of that date, when the ratification of the 21st Amendment was certified by the Acting Secretary of State.

† The Nineteenth Amendment was proposed by resolution of Congress on June 4, 1919. It was declared in a proclamation of the Secretary of State, dated August 26, 1920, to have been ratified by 36 States, which "constitute three fourths." Subsequent records of the Department of State show that the 19th Amendment was ratified by 2 more of the 48 States. It was rejected by 3 (Alabama, Maryland, and Virginia).

ARTICLE XX.*

Section 1. The terms of the President and Vice President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3d day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

Sec. 2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3d day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Sec. 3. If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President elect shall have died, the Vice President elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice President elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President elect nor a Vice President elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice President shall have qualified.

Sec. 4. The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

Sec. 5. Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of this article.

Sec. 6. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.

ARTICLE XXI.

* The Twentieth Amendment was proposed by resolution of Congress on March 2, 1932. It was declared in a proclamation of the Secretary of State, dated February 6, 1933, to have been ratified by 39 States, which "constitute more than the requisite three-fourths." Subsequent records of the Department of State show that the 20th Amendment was ratified by all of the 48 States before sections 1 and 2 became effective on October 15, 1933. The other sections of the amendment became effective on January 23, 1933, when its ratification was consummated by three-fourths of the States.

ARTICLE XXI.*

Section 1. The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

Sec. 2. The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

Sec. 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

*The Twenty-first Amendment was proposed by resolution of Congress on February 20, 1933. It was certified in a proclamation of the Acting Secretary of State dated December 5, 1933, to have been ratified by conventions of 36 States, which "constitute the requisite three fourths of the whole number of States." Subsequent records of the Department of State show that the 21st Amendment was ratified by 1 more State. It was rejected by the convention of 1 (South Carolina). North Carolina voted against holding a convention.



THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE is here reprinted in accord with the text and typographic style of the original printed by John Dunlap at Philadelphia for the Continental Congress, which, on July 4, 1776, "Ordered, That the Declaration be authenticated and printed. That the committee appointed to prepare the Declaration superintend and correct the press." The first copy of the Declaration as printed by Dunlap was attached by wafers to the Manuscript Journal of the Congress in a blank space provided for that purpose under the entry, "The Declaration being again read was agreed to as follows," and thus became the approved and official text. Similar printed copies of the Declaration were, by order of the Congress, sent to the State assemblies and to the commanding officers of the Continental troops for proclamation. In a letter to General Washington, dated July 6, 1776, John Hancock, President of the Congress, enclosed a printed Declaration and stated he had been directed to transmit it for proclamation at the head of the Army. The text of the printed Declaration and the engrossed copy in the Library of Congress are identical, two minor corrections having been made in the engrossed copy to conform to the original printed copy. Although both the printed and the engrossed copies are dated "In Congress, July 4, 1776", the Declaration was not ordered engrossed until July 19, and afterward the engrossed copy was signed by John Hancock and 55 other Members. The copy ordered printed and proclaimed on July 4 has only the printed signatures of John Hancock as President and

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Charles Thomson as Secretary. The text of the Dunlap broadside was printed with Caslon pica type. To conform to the smaller page of the present reprint, Caslon 10-point type has been used. The old-style letter "f" has been changed to "s."

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES is here reprinted in accord with the text and typographic style of the final draft printed by (John) Dunlap & Claypoole at Philadelphia by order of the Federal Convention of 1787. The original broadside consists of six pages, which, in addition to the text of the Constitution, includes the printed signatures of George Washington and other Members as having been "Done in convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present"; on September 17, 1787, the resolutions of submittal adopted on that date, and Washington's letter of transmittal to the Continental Congress. A copy of the broadside which James Madison authenticated by writing thereon "As finally agreed to by the Convention" is preserved with his Convention records in the Library of Congress. A similar copy with annotations in the handwriting of Edmund Pendleton, President of the Virginia Convention which ratified on June 26, 1788, has also been deposited in the Library. In addition to printing the official draft for the Convention, Dunlap & Claypoole used the same type for the first publication of the Constitution in their Philadelphia newspaper, "The Pennsylvania Packet and Daily Advertiser", on September 19, 1787.

The first draft of the Constitution as reported to the Convention by its Committee of Detail was "in the hands of Dunlap the printer to strike off copies for the Members" on August 4, 1787, according to notes written at that time by Dr. James McHenry, a Maryland Member. Madison's report of the Convention states that a printed copy of the Constitution was furnished to each Member on August 6. Washington filed a copy of this seven-page broadside with the papers of the Convention; other copies are preserved with the Madison and Brearley papers. On September 8 McHenry notes "the printed paper" (the Constitution) was referred to a committee to revise and rearrange.

The revised draft was reported by the Committee of "Stile and arrangement" on September 12 and, according to the official Journal, printed copies thereof were ordered furnished to the Members.

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As the text was reduced, there are only four large folios in the second printed draft of the Constitution. A copy of the September 12 broadside preserved with Washington's personal papers in the Library of Congress has noted thereon in the handwritings of Washington and William Jackson, Secretary of the Convention, the changes that were made in the printed draft from September 12 to 15, inclusive. Madison's copy shows in his own handwriting changes that were made before the Constitution was finally adopted. In his notes of the Convention proceedings on September 12, Madison wrote, "here insert a transcript of the former (the Constitution) from the annexed sheet as printed", and left a blank space for that purpose in his manuscript. David Brearley, a New Jersey Member, also used a copy of the September 12 print to record the amendments in his own handwriting and signed his name thereto. On September 13 McHenry noted that the Convention "Recd. read and compared the new printed report with the first printed amended report" of the Constitution.

*The third and final draft of the Constitution was ordered printed by the Convention on September 15. Washington, in his diary for that day, wrote "Concluded the business of the Convention all to signing the proceedings * * * and adjourned till Monday that the Constitution which it was proposed to offer to the People might be engrossed, and a number of printed copies struck off." McHenry also wrote on September 15 that the Convention ordered 500 copies "struck" (printed); and under date of September 17 he further noted, "Members to be provided with printed copies." These printed copies were the six-page broadsides bearing the imprint of Dunlap & Claypoole, one of which, authenticated by Madison, has been used as "copy" for the present reprint. The printed draft of the Constitution as amended and agreed to on September 15 was then, according to Madison, ordered to be engrossed. The engrossed copy was signed by the Members in Convention on September 17, the date of the final printed broadside. The texts of the printed and engrossed copies are identical, several minor interlineations having been made in the engrossed copy to conform to the printed text.*

By unanimous resolve of the Continental Congress on September 28, 1787, the report of the Convention, with the accompanying resolutions

resolutions and Washington's letter, was transmitted to the States for ratification. The Dunlap & Claypoole broadside evidently was used for that purpose, as the "Register of Accounts" of the Continental Congress records payment to John Dunlap on September 29, 1787, of 3 pounds and 10 shillings for "printing 100 copies of the new Constitution", and payment on October 3, 1787, of 1 pound and 4 shillings for printing an additional 100 copies, exclusive of separate charges for the paper. In printing the Constitution, Dunlap & Claypoole used Caslon small-pica type for the text, but in the present reprint the type has been reduced to conform to the smaller page, and "f" changed to "s."

Dunlap & Claypoole also printed the first draft of the Articles of Confederation by order of the Continental Congress on July 12, 1776. They likewise printed the Journals and many other official reports, resolutions, and papers ordered from time to time by the Continental Congress. On May 2, 1778, the Congress empowered and instructed the committee which it had appointed to superintend the publication of its Journals to employ John Dunlap to continue printing them. The Journals from January 1, 1776, to November 3, 1788, bear the imprint of either John Dunlap as "Printer to the United States in Congress Assembled" or his partner, David C. Claypoole, as "Printer to the Honorable the Congress."

THIS PUBLICATION of the DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE
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THE FIRST SEAL
(1782)

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