The Works of Thomas Jefferson in Twelve Volumes

Federal Edition
The Works of
Thomas Jefferson

Collected and Edited
by
Paul Leicester Ford

Volume II

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OF
THOMAS JEFFERSON
1771-1779

1771.—Feb. 20. At Monticello.
    Mar. 14-16. At Albemarle, attending County Court.
    19-22. At Augusta, attending County Court.
    Apr. 8. At “The Forrest” (Charles City).
    Apr. 10-May 11. At Williamsburg, attending General Court.
    May 17. At “The Forrest.”
    May 21-24. At Augusta, attending County Court.
    June 1. At Monticello.
    June 5. At Tuckahoe.
    July 11. At “The Forrest.”
         15-20. At Williamsburg.
         25. At Tuckahoe.
    Aug. 3. At Monticello.
         8-10. At Albemarle, attending County Court.
    Aug. 20-23. At Augusta, attending County Court.
    Aug. 30-1. At Tuckahoe.
    Sept. 7. At Monticello.
    Oct. 2. At Eppington.
         8. At “The Forrest.”
         10. At Williamsburg, attending General Court.
         Argues case of Godwin et al. v. Lunan.
    Nov. 11. At “The Forrest.”
         14-16. At Albemarle, attending County Court.
         19-22. At Augusta, attending County Court.
    Dec. 10. At Williamsburg, attending Court of Oyer and Terminus.
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1772.—Jan. 1.  At "The Forrest."
         - Marries Martha (Waylies) Skelton.

25.  At Monticello.

Feb. 25.  At Albemarle.

Mar. 30.  At Shadwell.

May 19.  At Charlottesville.

28.  At Eppington.

June 1.  At "The Forrest."

11.  At Williamsburg.

23.  At "The Forrest."

July 15—Aug. 20.  At Monticello.

Sept. 27.  At Monticello.

         - His first daughter, Martha, born.

Nov. 4.  At "The Forrest."

12.  At Monticello.

Dec. 5.  At Rocky Ridge.

19.  At Richmond.

1773.—Feb. 25.  At Albemarle.

Mar. 4.  At Williamsburg, attending House of Burgesses.

12—13.  Attends Committee of Correspondence.

15.  House of Burgesses dissolved.

Apr. 6.  Attends Committee of Correspondence.

May 19.  At Charlottesville.

25—28.  At Williamsburg, attending Committee of Correspondence.


1774.—Mar.—Apr.  At Monticello.

Apr. 3.  His second daughter, Jane Randolph, born.

May 9.  At Williamsburg, attending House of Burgesses.


    - Resolutions for Fast.


May 27.  Signs Association.

30.  Attends meeting of members.

June.  At Monticello.

         - Recommends Fast.

July.  At Monticello.


    - Writes "A Summary View."

    - Starts for Williamsburg, but is taken sick.

Aug. 3.  At Monticello.

Oct.—Dec.  At Monticello.
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24. On Committee on condition of North Carolina.
   On Committee on Petition of Newton.
8. On Committee on Petition of Hudson.
11. On Committee on Petition of Beveridge.
13. On Committee on Committee of Congress.
15. Prepares rules for Committee of Congress.
18. On Committee on Letters of Schuyler.
22. On Committee on Business of Congress.
1776.—Jan. 2. At Bushtown.
3. At Baltimore.
4. At Upper Marlboro.
5. At Piscataway.
7. At Fredericksburg.
9. At Monticello.
Mar. 31. Mother dies.
May 7. Leaves Monticello.
8. At Orange Court-House and Culpeper Court-House.
9. At Fairfax Court-House and Red House.
10. At Lacy's, Leesburgh, and Knowlands on Potomac.
11. At Fredericstown and Tawneytown.
12. At Rhengher and Wright's ferriage (Susquehannah).
13. At Lancaster.
   Lodges at "Randolphs.''
   Attends Congress.
   On Committee on Letters.
   On Committee to address foreign mercenaries.
23. Takes lodgings at Mrs. Graafs.
28. On Committee to prepare address.
5. On Committee for preventing news and supplies for enemy.
10. On Committee to prepare rules for Congress.
1776.—June 11. On Committee to prepare Declaration of Independence.

15. On Committee to investigate Cedars' cartel.

17. Drafts report of Committee.

20. Re-elected member of Congress.

28. Reports draft of Declaration.


6. On Committee to plan seal of U. S.

10. Committee to prepare rules of Congress report.

11. On Committee on Philadelphia prisoners.

15. On Committee on Flying Camp.

17. On Committee to revise journals.

18. On Committee on Letters.

24. On Committee on Gold and Silver coins.

25. On Committee on Memorial of Parsons.

? Moves for rotation of Congress.

? Requests Virginia Convention to allow his return.

Aug. 9. On Committee to encourage Hessians to desert.

14. Committee reports.


21. On Committee to revise resolutions.


Drafts report.

28. Moves resolution in regard to Drummond.

Sept. 2. Leaves Philadelphia.

4. At Whitehouse and Lancaster.

5. At Wright's ferry and York.

6. At Tawneytown and Frederic.

7. At Leesburgh.

8. At Red House.

9. At Monticello.


27. Leaves Monticello.

Oct. 1. At Williamsburg.

6. At "Coles."

8. At "Bassetts."

11. At Williamsburg.

Attends Assembly.
Itinerary and Chronology

1776.—Oct. 11.

On Committee on Propositions and Grievances.
On Committee on Privileges and Elections.
On Committee on Religion.
On Committee to draft Militia bill.
On Committee to draft Tobacco bill.
Receives thanks of Assembly.
On Committee to draft bill ending entail.
On Committee to draft repeal of frontier ordinance.

12.

On Committee to draft bill to remove seat of government.
On Committee to draft Naturalization bill. Entail bill introduced.

14.

On Committee to draft Infantry bill.

15.

On Committee to draft bill dividing Fincastle Co.

1776.4kt.

On Committee to draft Punishment bill.
Reports on Ross.

18.

Leave of absence granted by Assembly. Entail bill amended.

19.

Reports on Corbin.

25.

Reports on Garland and Barber.
On Committee to draft Courts bill.

28.

On Committee to draft bill defining treason.
On Committee to draft bill dividing Augusta Co.
Introduces Infantry bill.

Nov. 2.

Reports on Goodrich.

4.

On Committee to draft bill dissolving local governments.

5.

Bill to establish County Courts introduced.
On Committee to report on Va.–Pa. boundaries.
Bill for trial of certain offences introduced.

6.

Chosen one of five to revise laws.

7.

On Committee to draft Copper-coinage bill.

11.

Introduces bill to remove capital.

12.

On Committee to confer with Senate.

13.

On Committee to draft restraining bill.
Itinerary and Chronology

1776.—Nov. 19. On Committee to draft bill suspending tithes.
     28. Reports on Upshur.
Dec.  4. On Committee to draft bill to punish certain offences.
     6. On Committee to draft bill for loan office.
              Bill for suspending debt executions introduced.
     25-31. At Monticello.
1777.—Jan.  1-10. At Monticello.
     13-16. At Fredericksburg.
              Attends meeting of "Revisors."
     17. At Orange Court-House.
     19. At Monticello.
     10. At Monticello.
Apr.  1-19. At Monticello.
May  4. Leaves Monticello.
     5. Arrives at Williamsburg.
              Attends Assembly.
     9. On Committee on Religion.
              On Committee on Privileges and Elections.
              On Committee on Courts of Justice.
     10. Reports bill regulating militia.
     12. Reports bill for electing Congress delegates.
     20. Granted leave of absence for session.
     22. At Richmond.
     28. At Monticello.
              Son born.
June 14. Son dies.
     18. At Bedford.
     23. At Cumberland Court-House.
July  6. At Monticello.
Aug. 21. At Monticello.
Oct.  20. At "Charlton's."
     24. At "Cowles."
     30. At Williamsburg.
              Attends Assembly.
              On Committee on Religion.
              On Committee on Privileges and Elections.
              On Committee of Propositions and Grievances.
Itinerary and Chronology

1777.—Oct. 30.
On Committee of Courts of Justice.
On Committee to draft Court of Appeals bill.
On Committee to draft General Court bill
On Committee to draft Chancery Court bill.

Nov. 5.
Leave of Absence granted.
On Committee Petition of Vanbibber.
On Committee on Forestalling.

28.
On Committee to amend Militia bill.

Dec. 1.
On Committee to confer with Senate.
Prepares reply to Senate.
On Committee on Army bill.

4.
On Committee on Losses of Norfolk.

5.
At Charles City.

9.
At Williamsburg.
Attends Assembly.
Reports answer to Senate.

10.
At Cowles Ferry.

12.
At Williamsburg.
Attends Assembly.

13.
On Committee to draft Tax bill.

16.
On Committee to draft Salary bill.
On Committee to draft bill legalizing certain acts.

17.
On Committee to draft bill dividing Counties.

19.
On Committee to draft bill granting Letters of Marque.

24.
On Committee to draft County Court bill.

27.
On Committee to draft bill granting powers to contractors.
On Committee to amend Small-Pox bill.

1778.—Jan. 2.
On Committee to prepare Answer to Senate.

3.
Granted leave of absence.

9.
Reports Answer to Senate.

12.
On Committee to confer with Senate.

13.
On Committee to draft Sequestration bill.
On Committee to report on Loyaute.

20.
On Committee to draft Chancery Court bill.

24.
Assembly adjourns.

At Monticello.

Mar. 2–14.
At Monticello.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apr. 8</td>
<td>At Williamsburg.</td>
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<tr>
<td>May 12</td>
<td>At Williamsburg. Attends Assembly.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>On Committee on Privileges and Elections.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>On Committee on Propositions and Grievances.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Reports bill granting Pardon.</td>
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<td>On Committee on Norfolk Losses.</td>
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<td>On Committee to draft Cavalry bill.</td>
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<td>On Committee to draft Volunteer bill.</td>
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<td>On Committee on Recruiting bill.</td>
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<td>On Committee to draft bill for Recovery of Debts.</td>
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<td>On Committee to draft bill for Foreign Correspondence.</td>
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<td>On Committee to draft bill giving appointing power to Chancery Court.</td>
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<td>On Committee to draft bill relating to Town of Bath.</td>
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<td>On Committee to draft bill enforcing attendance of Assemblymen.</td>
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<td>On Committee to consider Oyer and Terminer Court bill.</td>
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<td>On Committee to draft Salt bill.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Reports bill to attain Philips.</td>
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<tr>
<td>June 1</td>
<td>Assembly adjourns.</td>
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<tr>
<td>June 10</td>
<td>Leaves Williamsburg.</td>
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<tr>
<td>July 19</td>
<td>At Monticello.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aug. 1</td>
<td>Third daughter born (Mary Jefferson).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sept. 12</td>
<td>At Monticello.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oct. 7</td>
<td>Ordered into Custody of Sergeant at Arms of Assembly.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oct. 12–Nov. 4</td>
<td>At Monticello.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov. 22</td>
<td>At Tuckahoe.</td>
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<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>At Cowles.</td>
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<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>At Williamsburg. Attends Assembly in custody of Sergeant at Arms.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dec. 1</td>
<td>On Committee to draft bill establishing Auditors.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>On Committee on Privileges and Elections.</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>On Committee on Propositions and Grievances.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>On Committee to draft Court of Appeals bill.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
xxii  Itinerary and Chronology

1778.—Dec. 8.  On Committee to draft Pay-bill of Assembly.

12.  Ordered into Custody of Sergeant at Arms of Assembly.


15.  On Committee to draft bill agreeable to resolution of Assembly.

18.  Reports bill to prevent Forestalling.

19.  Assembly adjourns.

1779.—Jan. 22.  At Williamsburg.

Feb. 2.  At Williamsburg.

Mar. 1.  At Williamsburg.

At Monticello.

Apr. 21-29.  At Monticello.

May 8.  At Williamsburg.

At Williamsburg.

Attends Meeting of "Revisors."

At "The Forrest."

On Committee on Privileges and Elections.

On Committee on Propositions and Grievances.

On Committee to draft Board of War bill.

On Committee to draft Board of Trade bill.

On Committee to draft Money bill.

On Committee to draft Land Office bill.

On Committee to draft Militia bill.

On Committee to draft Militia Supply bill.

On Committee to draft Congressional Delegate bill.

On Committee to draft Foreign Exchange Delegate bill.

On Committee to draft Spottsylvania County bill.

On Committee to amend Congressional Delegate bill.

On Committee to draft Counterfeit bill.

Reports Escheat bill.

Ordered to draft bill for paying Members of Assembly.

On Committee to draft bill for removing Capital.

Ordered to draft bill prescribing Oaths.
1779.—May 29.
   Ordered to draft bill suspending Oaths in certain cases.
   On Committee to report on Maryland's action on Confederation.
   June 1.
   Elected Governor of Virginia.
   13.
   Bill for Religious freedom introduced in Assembly.
   18.
   "Revisors" report Code to Assembly.
   July 1.
   Issues proclamation concerning Escheats.
   17.
   At "The Forrest."
   25.
   At Williamsburg.
   Aug. 4.
   At Monticello.
   Sept. 25.
   At Williamsburg.
   Nov. 30.
   Issues Proclamation laying Embargo.
Thomas Jefferson

structed me to give. Had the post been to go a
day later we might have been at liberty to communi-
cate this whole matter.

July 2. I have kept open my letter till this morn-
ing but nothing more new. Adieu.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

A Declaration by the Representa-
tives of the United States of America in general Congress assembled.

July 4, 1776.

The text in the first column is from a copy in the handwriting
of John Adams, now in the Adams papers at Quincy, for which I am
indebted to the courtesy of Mr. Charles Francis Adams and Mr. Theodore F. Dwight. From a comparison of it with the facsimile of
Jefferson's rough draft, it is evident that it represents the first phrasing
of the paper. The text in the second column is approximately that
reported by the committee to Congress, and is taken from Jefferson's
rough draft reproduced herein in facsimile from the original in the
Department of State. The text in the third column is from the
engrossed copy of the Declaration of Independence, also in the Depart-
ment of State. Another MSS. copy in Jefferson's writing, slightly
altered in wording, was inserted by him in his Autobiography, and is
printed, ante, i, 35. This is in the Department of State, as is likewise
a copy in his handwriting made for Madison in 1783, which is repro-
10th, Jefferson made copies of the Declaration, indicating his phrasing
and that adopted by the Congress, and sent them to R. H. Lee, Wythe,
Page, Pendleton, and Mazzei, and probably others. Lee gave his
copy to the American Philosophical Society, where it now is. Those
of Wythe, Page, and Pendleton have never been heard of. Mazzei
When in the Course of human Events it becomes necessary for a People to advance from that Subordination, in which they have hitherto remained and to assume among the Powers of the Earth, the equal and independent 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 Change.

We hold these Truths to be self-evident; that all Men are created equal and independent; that from that equal Creation they derive Rights gave his to the Countess de Tessie of France, and it has not been traced. A copy in Jefferson's writing is now owned by Dr. Thomas Addis Emmett, and a fragment of another is in the possession of Mrs. Washburn of Boston. Thus at least five copies and a fragment of a sixth are still extant.—Cf ante, vol. i., 35.
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 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 separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal and independent; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or 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, [begun at a distinguished period], pursuing invariably the same object, annuls a design to reduce them, 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 [embrace] their former systems of government. The history of the present king is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, [among which], without a change of the uniform tenor of the acts of which they are in direct object, the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states, to prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world. [For the truth of which we pledge a faith yet unsullied by falsehood.

inherent and unalienable; among which are the Preservation of Life, and Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness; that to secure these ends, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the Consent of the governed; that whenever, any form of Government, shall become 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 happiness. Prudence indeed will dictate that Governments long established should not change for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that 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 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 rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.
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 begun at a distinguished Period, and 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 expunge their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is ingly 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
What refused his consent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate importance, unless suspended in their operation till his consent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has 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 inseparable 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 perplexing them into compliance with his whims.

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

He has refused for a long time, after they are formed, 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 inseparable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has endeavored 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, totally to cease in some of these states, refusing his consent to laws for establishing justice, and appointed judges without their consent.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices.

He has kept among us in times of peace standing armies, without the consent of Congress.

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 neighboring province, establishing institutions the very word of liberty, and bola into pernicious modes of EA

Systems of Government. The History of his present Majesty, is a History of unremitting Injuries and Usurpations, among which appears no solitary fact to contradict the uniform tenor of the rest; but 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, for the truth of which we pledge a faith yet unsullied by falsehood.

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

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.
their operation, till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended he has neglected utterly 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 dissolved Representative Houses, repeatedly, and continually, 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 and continually for opposing with
for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the Rights of the People.

He has refused, for a long Space of 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

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 meantime, 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 suffered the Administration of Justice totally to cease in some of these Colonies, refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made our Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the Tenure of their offices, and amount of their Salaries:

He has created a Multitude of new offices by a Self-assumed Power, 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 and Ships of War.

He has affected conditions of new appropriations of lands:

He has suffered the administration of justice totally to cease in some of these states, refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers:

He has made judges dependant 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 by a self assumed power 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 and ships of war without the consent of our legislatures:

He has affected 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.
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 pretended Acts of legislation; for quartering large Bodies of armed Troops among us; for protecting them by a Mock Tryal 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 of the Benefits of Trial by Jury; for transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offenses, 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 taking away our Charters, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Government; for suspending our own Legislatures and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all Cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, withdrawing his Governors, and

for abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government and enlarging its boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies; for taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and 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, withdrawing his governors, and

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,
for taking away our charter, declaring fundamentally the forms of our government, for suspending our own legislature & declaring ourselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever, by granting our rights & domains being suspended, he has abdicated government here, withdrawing his governor, & declaring us out of his allegiance & protection.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns & destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complect the works of death, devastation & tyranny already begun with circumstances of cruelty & perfidy surpassing the most barbarous of the age, yet undeceived by such and such he has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sex, & conditions of existence.

He has excited insurrections of our fellow-citizens, with the allurements of prospect & gratification of our property, he has waged civil war against human nature itself, violating it's most sacred rights of life & liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating & carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This privative warfare, the oppression of indulged powers, is the warfare of the Christian king of Great Britain determined to keep open a market where M.E.N. should be bought & sold, he has prohibited his negroe delegates for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce, and that this assembly of horrors might want repect of distinguished men, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms amongst, & to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people upon whom he also depended, thus paying off former crimes committed against the liberties of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble & mildmannered manner, our repeated petitions have been answered by repeated injuries & provocations whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, unworthy to be the ruler of a people who mean to be free future ages will scarce believe that the hands of one man radiating within the short compass of twelve years to lay a foundation for broad & undiscerned for granting only, by laying it over a people founded & fixed in principles of freedom.
declaring us out of his Allegiance and Protection.

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 complete the Works of death, Desolation, and Tyranny, already begun with Circumstances of Cruelty and Perfidy unworthy the Head of a civilized Nation.

He 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 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 complete the Works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has excited domestic insurrection among us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished
Conditions of existence.

He has incited treasonable insurrections of our Fellow Citizens, with the allurements of Forfeiture and Confiscation of our Property.

He has waged cruel War against human Nature itself, violating its most sacred Rights of Life and Liberty in the Persons of a distant People who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into Slavery in another Hemisphere, or to incur miserable Death, in destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

He has constrained others, 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 waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of distant people, who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their
their Transportation thither. This piratical Warfare, the opprobrium of infidel Powers, is the Warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain.

He has prostituted his Negative for Suppressing every legislative Attempt to prohibit or to restrain an execrable Commerce, determined to keep open a Market where Men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce: and that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished dye, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase the liberty of which he has deprived them by murdering the People upon whom he also obtruded them; thus paying off former crime committed against
Crimes committed against the Liberties of one People, with Crimes which he urges them to commit against the Lives of another.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress, in the most humble Terms; our repeated Petitions have been answered by repeated Injury. A Prince, whose Character is thus marked by every Act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the Ruler of a People who mean to be free.—future ages will scarce believe, that the Hardiness of one Man, adventured, within the Short Compass of twelve years only, on so many Acts of Tyranny, without a Mask, over a People, fostered and fixed in the Principles of Liberty.

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 injuries. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a people who mean to be free. Future ages will scarce believe that the hardiness of one man adventured within the short compass of twelve years only, to build a foundation, so broad and undisguised for tyranny over a people fostered and fixed in the principles of freedom.
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 its jurisdiction over these our States; we have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration to settlement here, no one of which could warrant so strange a pretension; that these were effected at the expense of our own blood & treasure, unassisted by the wealth or the strength of Great Britain; that in constituting indeed our several forms of government, we had adopted one common bond, thereby laying a foundation for perpetual league & amity with them; that submission to their parliament was no part of our constitution, nor ever in idea of history may be credited: and we appealed to their native justice & magnanimity (as well as to the ties of our common kindred to discern the usurpations which were likely to interrupt our correspondence. They too have been deep to the voice of justice & of humanity when occasions have been given them by the regular course of their laws, of removing from their councils the disturbers of our harmony, they have by their free election re-established them in power, at this very time, they are permitting their chief magistrate to send over not only soldiers of our common blood, but Scotch & foreign mercenaries to invade & destroy us, these facts have given the last stab to our animating affection, and many spirit bids us renounce for ever these unfeeling brethren. We must endeavor to forget our former love for them, and to hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends. We might have been a free & great people together, but a communication of brands & freedom it seems is below their dignity, be it so since they will have it: the road to freedom & happiness, is open to us too, we will accept it apart from them, we will not go "compromise," & acquiesce in the necessity which prompts our own resolution. We therefore the representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, in the name & by authority of the good people of these States, do, in the severance of all political connection which may have subsisted between us & the people or parliament of Great Britain; and finally we do assert & declare these colonies to be free & independent states and that as free & independent states they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, & to do all other acts & things which independent states may of right do, and for the support of this declaration we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, & our sacred honor.

JEFFERSON, VOL. II, P. 212.
Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British Brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts of their Legislature to extend a Jurisdiction over these our States. We have reminded them of the Circumstances of our Emigration and Settlement here, no one of which could warrant so strange a Pretension. That these were effected at the expense of our own Blood and Treasure, unassisted by the Wealth or the Strength of Great Britain; that in constituting indeed, our Several Forms of Government, we had adopted one common King, thereby laying a Foundation for Perpetual League and Amity with them; but
that Submission to
their Parliament, was no Part of
our Constitution, nor ever in Idea, if
History may be credited; and we
appealed to their Nature, Justice and
Magnanimity, as well as to the Ties
of our common Kindred to disavow these usurpa-
tions, which were likely to interrupt
our Correspondence and Connection.

They too have been deaf to the Voice
of Justice and of Consanguinity, and
when occasions have been given
them by the regular Course of their
Laws of removing from their Coun-
cils, the Disturbers of our Harmony, they have by their free Election, re-
established them in Power. At this
very Time too, they are permit-
ting their Chief
Magistrate to send over not only soldiers of our common Blood, but Scotch and foreign Mercenaries, to invade and deluge us in Blood. These Facts have given the last Stab to agonizing affection, and manly Spirit bids us to renounce forever these unfeeling Brethren. We must endeavor to forget our former Love for them, and to hold them, as we hold the rest of Mankind, enemies in War, in Peace Friends. We might have been a free and a great People together but a Communication of Grandeur and of Freedom it seems is below their Dignity. Be it so, since they will have it: The Road to Happiness and to Glory is open to us too; we will climb it,
apart from them, and acquiesce in the Necessity which denounces our eternal Separation.

We therefore the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, do, in the Name, and by the Authority of the good People of these States, reject and renounce all Allegiance and Submission to the Kings of Great Britain, and all others, who may hereafter claim by, through, or under them; We utterly dissolve and break off, all political Connection which may have heretofore subsisted between us and the People or Parliament of Great Britain, and finally we do assert and declare these Colonies to be free and independent, and that as free and independent, 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
dependent States, and that as free and independent States they shall have 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 we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our Sacred Honour.

TO RICHARD HENRY LEE

PHILADELPHIA, July 8th, 1776.

DEAR SIR,—For news, I refer you to your brother, who writes on that head. I enclose a copy of the Declaration of Independence, as agreed to by the House, and also as originally framed: you will judge whether it is the better of worse for the critics. I shall return to Virginia after the 11th of August. I

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1 From Lee's Life of R. H. Lee, i., 275.
wish my successor may be certain to come before that time: in that case, I shall hope to see you, and not Wythe, in convention, that the business of government, which if of everlasting concern, may receive your aid. Adieu, and believe me to be your friend and servant.

TO GEORGE WYTHE

[July ? 1776.]  
The dignity and stability of government in all its branches, the morals of the people, and every blessing of society, depend so much upon an upright and skillful administration of justice, that the judicial power ought to be distinct from both the legislature and executive, and independent upon both, that so it may be a check upon both, as both should be checks upon that. The judges, therefore, should always be men of learning and experience in the laws, of exemplary morals, great patience, calmness and attention; their minds should not be distracted with jarring interests; they should not be dependent upon any man or body of men. To these ends they should hold estates for life in their offices, or, in other words, their commissions should be during good behavior, and their salaries ascertained and established by law.

For misbehavior, the grand inquest of the colony, the house of representatives, should impeach them before the governor and council, when they should have time and opportunity to make their defence; but if convicted, should be removed from their offi-

1 A fragment from The Balance, ii., 146.