

INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS AND  
THE AMERICAN  
CONSTITUTION  
Fourth Edition

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# INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS AND THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION

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## FOURTH EDITION

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MATTHEW  BENDER

# DEDICATION

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For our students.



# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>Chapter 1</b>	<b>THE DECLARATION AND ITS CONSTITUTION</b>	<b>1</b>
A.	THE CONSTITUTION — MEANS OR END?	1
B.	THE COMMON LAW AND THE NATURAL LAW	1
	Richard O’Sullivan, <i>The Natural Law and Common Law</i>	2
	Notes and Questions	4
	1 WILLIAM BLACKSTONE, COMMENTARIES ON THE LAWS OF ENGLAND	4
	Notes and Questions	5
C.	THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE — A SUMMARY OF AMERICAN FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE	7
	THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE	7
	Notes and Questions	7
1.	The Declaration and the Formation of the Constitution	9
	THE FEDERALIST NO. 43 (James Madison)	10
	Notes and Questions	11
2.	The Written Constitution — A Substitute for the Declaration?	13
a.	Natural Law at the Constitutional Convention	15
	DEBATES IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION	16
	Notes and Questions	17
b.	Was There a Need for a Declaration or Bill of Rights in the Constitution?	18
	2 THE RECORDS OF THE FEDERAL CONVENTION OF 1787	19
	Notes and Questions	19
	James Iredell, <i>Reply to Mr. Mason’s Objections</i> (1788)	20
c.	Natural Law and the Ratification Debate	21
	<i>Essay of Brutus to the Citizens of New York</i>	21
	THE FEDERALIST NO. 84 (Alexander Hamilton)	23
3.	The Bill of Rights Introduced: Unenumerated Natural Law Rights Preserved	24
	1 ANNALS OF CONG. 431–40	25
4.	Natural Law in the Early Supreme Court	29
	<i>Calder v. Bull</i>	32
	Note and Question	35
5.	The Declaration, Natural Law, and the Modern Court	35

---

*Table of Contents*

<b>Chapter 2</b>	<b>A GOVERNMENT RESPECTFUL OF INDIVIDUAL CONSCIENCE</b>	<b>39</b>
A.	THE SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF PREFERRED RELIGIOUS FREEDOM	39
B.	THE PUBLIC AFFIRMATION OF GOD AND THE IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION	40
1.	Pre-Founding; Colonial America	40
	Maryland Toleration Act of 1649	40
2.	At the Founding	40
	Constitution of Pennsylvania	41
	Notes and Questions	41
	1 ANNALS OF CONG. 729–31 (Joseph Gales ed., 1789)	42
	Note	44
	George Washington, <i>Farewell Address</i>	45
	ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE, <i>DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA</i>	47
3.	Early Establishment Clause Interpretation — America as a “Religious People” Assumed	53
4.	Incorporation of the Religion Clauses Against the States	54
	<i>Zelman v. Simmons-Harris</i>	56
C.	PUBLIC NEUTRALITY TOWARD GOD AND RELIGION	57
1.	Modern Judicial Application of the No Establishment Principle	59
a.	The Exclusionary View	59
	<i>Everson v. Board of Education</i>	59
	Notes and Questions	61
b.	The Noncoercion View	63
	Virginia Statute of Religious Liberty	64
	Note	65
	<i>Lee v. Weisman</i>	65
c.	The No Endorsement Speculation	77
	Note and Question	80
d.	The Equal Protection Idea	81
	<i>Rosenberger v. Rector</i>	82
	Notes and Questions	92
2.	The Special Context of the Private, Religious School	97
a.	Direct Funding of Religious Schools	97
	Notes and Questions	98
b.	School Vouchers or the Equivalent — The Permissible Evenhanded Funding of Students or Parents	100
	<i>Zelman v. Simmons-Harris</i>	101
	Notes and Questions	117
3.	School Prayer	121



---

*Table of Contents*

	<i>Wallace v. Jaffree</i> . . . . .	122
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	134
D.	THE FREE EXERCISE CLAUSE — GOVERNMENT MAY NOT PROHIBIT RELIGIOUS EXPRESSION . . . . .	137
1.	Distinguishing Between Religious Belief and Religious Practice . . . . .	137
	<i>Reynolds v. United States</i> . . . . .	138
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	141
	<i>Wisconsin v. Yoder</i> . . . . .	142
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	150
2.	Judicial Inquiry into the Sincerity, But Not the Validity, of Religious Belief . . . . .	153
	<i>United States v. Ballard</i> . . . . .	154
	Note . . . . .	156
3.	More than Theism, But How Much More? . . . . .	156
	<i>United States v. Seeger</i> . . . . .	157
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	161
4.	Prohibitions or Burdens? . . . . .	161
	<i>Sherbert v. Verner</i> . . . . .	162
5.	No Religious Exemption from Neutral, Generally Applicable Laws . . . . .	169
	<i>Employment Division v. Smith</i> . . . . .	169
	Note . . . . .	179
	<i>City of Boerne v. Flores</i> . . . . .	181
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	186
	<i>Gonzales v. O Centro Espirita Beneficente Uniao Do Vegetal</i> . . . . .	187
6.	The “Ministerial Exception” . . . . .	192
	<i>Hosanna-Tabor v. EEOC</i> . . . . .	192
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	203
<b>Chapter 3</b>	<b>A FAIR GOVERNMENT . . . . .</b>	<b>205</b>
I.	THE SUBSTANTIVE PROTECTION OF VESTED RIGHTS . . . . .	205
A.	THE PROTECTION OF CONTRACT AGAINST STATE IMPAIRMENT . . . . .	205
1.	The Precipitating Hardship . . . . .	205
2.	Debate in Convention . . . . .	206
	2 The Records of the Federal Convention 434, 439–40 . . . . .	206
3.	Post-Convention Justification . . . . .	208
	THE FEDERALIST NO. 7 (Alexander Hamilton) . . . . .	208
	THE FEDERALIST NO. 44 (James Madison) . . . . .	208
	Note . . . . .	209
	3 JOSEPH STORY, COMMENTARIES ON THE CONSTITUTION (1833) . . . . .	209

---

*Table of Contents*

a.	Prohibiting Retrospective Debtor Relief . . . . .	210
b.	Extension to Public Contracts . . . . .	212
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	215
c.	The Reserved Police Power . . . . .	217
	<i>Home Building &amp; Loan Ass'n v. Blaisdell</i> . . . . .	219
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	225
B.	THE PROTECTION OF PROPERTY . . . . .	232
1.	Historical and Philosophical Justification . . . . .	232
	WILLIAM BRADFORD, OF PLYMOUTH PLANTATION . . . . .	233
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	233
	JOHN LOCKE, SECOND TREATISE OF GOVERNMENT . . . . .	233
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	238
	<i>Kelo v. City of New London, Connecticut</i> . . . . .	240
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	249
2.	Regulatory Takings and the Supreme Court . . . . .	251
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	260
	<i>Koontz v. St. Johns River Water Management District</i> . . . . .	262
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	273
II.	PROCEDURAL DUE PROCESS . . . . .	275
A.	WHAT CONSTITUTES STATE ACTION? . . . . .	275
	<i>Shelley v. Kraemer</i> . . . . .	278
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	283
	<i>Deshaney v. Winnebago County Department of Social Services</i> . . . . .	289
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	297
B.	WHAT CONSTITUTES “LIFE, LIBERTY, OR PROPERTY”? . . . . .	298
	<i>Board of Regents v. Roth</i> . . . . .	298
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	305
C.	WHAT PROCESS IS DUE? . . . . .	310
	<i>Goldberg v. Kelly</i> . . . . .	310
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	316
	<i>Mathews v. Eldridge</i> . . . . .	318
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	322
<b>Chapter 4</b>	<b>A GOVERNMENT COMMITMENT TO FREEDOM . . .</b>	<b>327</b>
A.	FIRST AMENDMENT SPEECH . . . . .	327
1.	The Presumption Against Prior Restraint . . . . .	329
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	336
2.	Content-Neutral Regulatory Authority in and Outside a “Public Forum” . . . . .	340
	<i>International Society for Krishna Consciousness, Inc. v. Lee</i> . . . . .	341

---

## *Table of Contents*

	Notes and Questions . . . . .	348
3.	Ascertaining Content and Viewpoint Discrimination by the Government . . . . .	350
	<i>Hill v. Colorado</i> . . . . .	350
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	361
4.	Qualified Speech Protection . . . . .	365
a.	Libel and the “Actual Malice” Standard . . . . .	365
	<i>New York Times Co. v. Sullivan</i> . . . . .	365
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	377
b.	Commercial Speech . . . . .	379
	<i>Central Hudson Gas &amp; Electric Corp. v. Public Service     Commission of New York</i> . . . . .	379
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	388
5.	Do Actions Speak as Loud as Words? Expressive Conduct and the First Amendment . . . . .	394
a.	Draft Card Burning . . . . .	394
	<i>United States v. O’Brien</i> . . . . .	394
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	400
b.	Flag Burning . . . . .	401
	<i>Texas v. Johnson</i> . . . . .	401
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	413
c.	Obscenity and Pornography . . . . .	415
	<i>Barnes v. Glen Theatre, Inc.</i> . . . . .	415
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	425
d.	Expressions of Hate . . . . .	435
	<i>Wisconsin v. Mitchell</i> . . . . .	438
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	442
	<i>Snyder v. Phelps</i> . . . . .	444
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	453
6.	Special Contexts . . . . .	455
a.	Government Speech . . . . .	455
	<i>Agency for International Development v. Alliance for Open     Society International, Inc.</i> . . . . .	455
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	463
b.	Public Employee Speech . . . . .	472
	<i>Garcetti v. Ceballos</i> . . . . .	472
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	483
c.	Speech Within Private Associations . . . . .	491
	<i>Roberts v. United States Jaycees</i> . . . . .	491
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	501
	<i>Boy Scouts of America v. Dale</i> . . . . .	501

---

*Table of Contents*

	Notes and Questions . . . . .	512
B.	THE SECOND AMENDMENT . . . . .	527
	<i>District of Columbia v. Heller</i> . . . . .	528
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	561
C.	ECONOMIC LIBERTY . . . . .	564
1.	Privileges and Immunities . . . . .	564
a.	Historical Origins . . . . .	565
	James Wilson, <i>Of Man, as a Member of a Confederation</i> —	
	<i>A History of Confederacies</i> . . . . .	566
b.	Giving Definition . . . . .	567
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	570
2.	Privileges or Immunities . . . . .	572
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	573
	<i>Saenz v. Roe</i> . . . . .	578
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	587
3.	Substantive Economic Due Process . . . . .	589
	<i>Lochner v. New York</i> . . . . .	591
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	596
	<i>United States v. Carolene Products Co.</i> . . . . .	601
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	603

---

**Chapter 5                    A GOVERNMENT COMMITMENT TO EQUALITY . . . 607**

A.	RACE . . . . .	608
1.	Slavery . . . . .	608
	Records of the Federal Convention . . . . .	608
	Pennsylvania Ratifying Convention . . . . .	610
	FEDERALIST NO. 42 (Madison) . . . . .	611
	<i>Scott v. Sandford</i> . . . . .	613
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	617
2.	Civil Rights and Non-Discrimination . . . . .	620
	<i>Plessy v. Ferguson</i> . . . . .	620
	<i>Brown v. Board of Education</i> . . . . .	628
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	631
3.	Vestiges of Discrimination — The Difficulty of Past Racial Effect . . . . .	632
	<i>Freeman v. Pitts</i> . . . . .	632
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	647
4.	Proving Discriminatory Intent . . . . .	648
	<i>Washington v. Davis</i> . . . . .	648
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	653
5.	Civil Right or Preference? . . . . .	657
	<i>Adarand Constructors, Inc. v. Pena</i> . . . . .	659

---

*Table of Contents*

	Notes and Questions . . . . .	672
	<i>Grutter v. Bollinger</i> . . . . .	676
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	695
	<i>Miller v. Johnson</i> . . . . .	703
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	717
B.	NUMERICAL EQUALITY — ONE PERSON/ONE VOTE . . . . .	721
	<i>Reynolds v. Sims</i> . . . . .	723
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	736
	<i>Bush v. Gore</i> . . . . .	739
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	747
C.	GENDER . . . . .	753
	<i>Minor v. Happersett</i> . . . . .	753
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	756
	<i>United States v. Anthony</i> . . . . .	756
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	758
	<i>United States v. Virginia</i> . . . . .	760
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	775
D.	SEXUAL ORIENTATION . . . . .	778
	<i>Romer v. Evans</i> . . . . .	778
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	784
	<i>United States v. Windsor</i> . . . . .	786
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	800
<b>Chapter 6</b>	<b>A GOVERNMENT OF IMPERFECT KNOWLEDGE</b>	
	<b>—OF INKBLOTS, LIBERTY AND LIFE ITSELF . . . . .</b>	<b>805</b>
<hr/>		
A.	NATURAL LAW ECHOES — PARENTAL AND FAMILY RIGHTS . . . . .	810
1.	Directing the Upbringing of Children . . . . .	810
	<i>Meyer v. Nebraska</i> . . . . .	810
	<i>Pierce v. Society of the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary</i> . . . . .	813
	<i>Troxel v. Granville</i> . . . . .	815
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	821
2.	Family-Related Rights Beyond Parenting . . . . .	824
a.	Marriage . . . . .	824
	<i>Loving v. Virginia</i> . . . . .	824
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	827
b.	Procreation . . . . .	828
	<i>Skinner v. Oklahoma</i> . . . . .	828
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	831
c.	Family Living Arrangements . . . . .	833

---

*Table of Contents*

	<i>Michael H. v. Gerald D.</i> . . . . .	834
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	841
B.	THE NINTH AMENDMENT — A RIGHT OF PRIVACY? . . . . .	842
1.	Contraception . . . . .	842
	<i>Griswold v. Connecticut</i> . . . . .	842
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	854
	<i>Eisenstadt v. Baird</i> . . . . .	856
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	860
2.	Abortion . . . . .	862
	<i>Roe v. Wade</i> . . . . .	863
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	877
	<i>Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey</i> . . . . .	880
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	891
	<i>Gonzales v. Carhart</i> . . . . .	899
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	914
3.	Assisted Suicide . . . . .	917
	<i>Washington v. Glucksberg</i> . . . . .	917
	<i>Vacco v. Quill</i> . . . . .	930
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	933
4.	Homosexual Conduct . . . . .	936
	<i>Lawrence v. Texas</i> . . . . .	938
	Notes and Questions . . . . .	952
<b>Table of Cases</b> . . . . .		<b>TC-1</b>
<b>Table of Articles</b> . . . . .		<b>TA-1</b>
<b>Index</b> . . . . .		<b>I-1</b>

# *PREFACE TO THE FOURTH EDITION*

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This entirely revised fourth edition arrives on your doorstep at a time when United States has, depending on your party affiliation, either a constitutional scholar or a dangerous revolutionary as president. The House of Representatives is controlled by the President's antagonists; the Senate narrowly held by his apologists. The two Houses of Congress have permitted increasing budget deficits and occasionally allowed fiscal deadlines to go unmet, thereby allowing the closure of the government. The politics of the day is rancorous and divisive and often in need of honesty and civility.

Honest assessment of case development is what we have prided ourselves in the past, and teachers and students will find that quality of getting to the point still very much present from the previous three editions. Since its inception, this work has faithfully kept to the purpose of presenting the full statement of the "law" of the Constitution in the context of its philosophical and historical origins, without either narrowed originalist glint or undisclosed progressive bias.

Because we teach — among the three of us — legal history, human rights, appellate advocacy/Supreme Court litigation as well as constitutional law, the note materials are enriched with many sub-disciplines. The book is designed for the individual rights semester of a two semester required constitutional law survey and makes an ideal book as well as the core casebook around which advanced courses in legal history, economic liberties, or jurisprudence might be organized. In whatever setting, teachers will enjoy the depth and collaboration of the accompanying teacher's manual, for which we have received many compliments.

What's new in the Fourth edition — primarily, the inclusion of cases of importance decided since 2009, sensibly edited (and they have to be since 80+ page opinions are now commonplace on the bench). Unless you have, like one of our co-authors, been on an island in the Mediterranean during that time, you know the important areas touched by the Roberts Court, are still being mediated by Justice Kennedy, who remains firmly ensconced as the Court's principal center swing vote.

In truth, those of us writing or assembling this volume love our work because we appreciate the institutional role of the judiciary, the only branch of government that writes opinions to explain its actions, opinions that can be tested for their factual claims, legal authority, historical accuracy and logic, even if we are occasionally (perhaps of late frequently) disappointed when the arguments fall short. Say all you want about health care as a right or as the proximate cause of Armageddon, there is something well-ordered and meritorious about a branch of government that has to explain its reasoning.

The new cases have contributed substantially to the developments with respect to the Second Amendment, some still as yet to be fully applied reaffirmation of the Takings Clause, and of course, developments in both the Establishment Clause and free exercise aspects of the First Amendment guaranteeing freedom of, not from, religion. There have been some landmark developments concerning justiciability and the claims of same-sex individuals seeking to redefine marriage. The Court also has new members. Since our last edition Justices Sotomayor and Kagan were confirmed, inheriting the seats previously

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## *PREFACE TO THE FOURTH EDITION*

held by Justices Stevens and Souter on the ideological left side of the bench. But for rare occasions, they have not disappointed jurisprudential expectations, so the ideological balance of the Court has remained generally the same as it was before their arrival. That could change dramatically in the near future, with one octogenarian already on the Court and two more who will hit that milestone before the next presidential election. With one of them from the left, one from the right, and one from the center, the next round of confirmation battles may well test our institutions in ways we have not seen for decades.

Nevertheless, the Court under the administratively efficient and ever cordial John Roberts continues to give the appearance of being the best run branch of the federal government, which may explain why the Justices decline to be televised. No reason to poke one's judicial head up while so many are grouching about (err, browsing for) — health insurance. There is something quaint and reassuring to be employed by the branch of government where “droning on” has its customary meaning. In truth, the Court reflects a remarkable collegiality notwithstanding the ideological origins of all of its appointments and the expected differences addressing some of society's genuine legal puzzlers.

It may not be fashionable in academe, but we admire the lot of the Justices, even though as a diverse set of authors we, too, are seldom in complete agreement, which we think you'll find, if you are open-minded, the very strength of the book, the enjoyment of the subject matter, and frankly its importance to the common good. Topics like religious freedom, affirmative action, and sexual orientation do not lend themselves to glib answer. In a democracy, the judicial, nonpolitical branch acquits itself with the subtlety, candor and persuasiveness of its reasoning, as long as it remembers its role of interpreting rather than making the law, of exercising judgment rather than will. We continue to hope that the historical foundations of this text inspire both current judges and future ones to keep that role evermost in mind, no matter whose president signed their commission, and that makes new editions a labor of love.

This edition reflects the blessing it has been for the co-authors to spend our lives in teaching. We have especially benefited from those who have become special friends and colleagues in adopting one of the earlier editions, and it is in that friendship and with gratitude for your suggested improvements, many of which are included and all of which were considered, that we present our Fourth Edition of *Individual Rights and the American Constitution*.

DWK  
SBP  
JCE



# *The Declaration of Independence*

---

**In Congress, July 4, 1776**

*(The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America)*

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

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. — Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

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

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

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

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

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

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

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

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## *The Declaration of Independence*

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 has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their acts of pretended Legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

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

For imposing taxes on us without our Consent:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy 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 war-fare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

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

Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our Brittish 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

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## *The Declaration of Independence*

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.

JOHN HANCOCK

New Hampshire  
JOSIAH BARTLETT  
WM. WHIPPLE  
MATTHEW THORNTON

Connecticut  
ROGER SHERMAN  
SAM'EL HUNTINGTON  
WM. WILLIAMS  
OLIVER WOLCOTT

Massachusetts Bay  
SAML. ADAMS  
JOHN ADAMS  
ROBT. TREAT PAINE  
ELBRIDGE GERRY

New York  
WM. FLOYD  
PHIL. LIVINGSTON  
FRANS. LEWIS  
LEWIS MORRIS

Rhode Island  
STEP. HOPKINS  
WILLIAM ELLERY

Virginia  
GEORGE WYTHE  
RICHARD HENRY LEE  
TH. JEFFERSON  
BENJA. HARRISON  
THS. NELSON, JR.  
FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE  
CARTER BRAXTON

New Jersey  
RICHD. STOCKTON  
JNO. WITHERSPOON  
FRAS. HOPKINSON  
JOHN HART  
ABRA. CLARK

North Carolina  
WM. HOOPER  
JOSEPH HEWES  
JOHN PENN

*The Declaration of Independence*

Pennsylvania  
ROBT. MORRIS  
BENJAMIN RUSH  
BENJA. FRANKLIN  
JOHN MORTON  
GEO. CLYMER  
JAS. SMITH  
GEO. TAYLOR  
JAMES WILSON  
GEO. ROSS

South Carolina  
EDWARD RUTLEDGE  
THOS. HEYWARD, JUNR.  
THOMAS LYNCH, JUNR.  
ARTHUR MIDDLETON

Delaware  
CAESAR RODNEY  
GEO. READ  
THO. M'KEAN

Georgia  
BUTTON GWINNETT  
LYMAN HALL  
GEO. WALTON

Maryland  
SAMUEL CHASE  
WM. PACA  
THOS. STONE  
CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton

# *The Constitution of the United States*

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**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.**

**Section 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.

**Section 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 House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

**Section 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.

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## *The Constitution 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.

**Section 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 Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall be Law appoint a different Day.

**Section 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.

**Section 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 increased 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.

**Section 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 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.

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## *The Constitution of the United States*

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.

**Section 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 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.

**Section 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

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## *The Constitution of the United States*

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 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.

**Section 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.

### **Article II**

**Section 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 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



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## *The Constitution of the United States*

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, 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 encreased 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.”

**Section 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.

**Section 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 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.

**Section 4.** The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be

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## *The Constitution of the United States*

removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

### **Article III**

**Section 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.

**Section 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.

**Section 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 Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

### **Article IV**

**Section 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.

**Section 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.

**Section 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

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## *The Constitution of the United States*

Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

**Section 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.

### **Article 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 it's equal Suffrage in the Senate.

### **Article 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 before mentioned, 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.

### **Article 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.

The Word, "the," being interlined between the seventh and eighth Lines of the first Page, The Word "Thirty" being partly written on an Erasure in the fifteenth Line of the first Page, The Words "is tried" being interlined between the thirty second and thirty third Lines of the first Page and the Word "the" being interlined between the forty third and forty fourth Lines of the second Page.

Attest WILLIAM JACKSON Secretary 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,

Go: WASHINGTON

### **Amendment 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.

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## *The Constitution of the United States*

### **Amendment 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.

### **Amendment 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.

### **Amendment 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.

### **Amendment 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 offense 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.

### **Amendment 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 defense.

### **Amendment 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 reexamined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

### **Amendment VIII**

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

### **Amendment IX**

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

### **Amendment 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.

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## *The Constitution of the United States*

### **Amendment XI**

(1798)

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.

### **Amendment XII**

(1804)

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 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.

### **Amendment XIII**

(1865)

**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.

### **Amendment XIV**

(1868)

**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

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## *The Constitution of the United States*

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 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.

### **Amendment XV**

(1870)

**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.

### **Amendment XVI**

(1913)

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 of enumeration.

### **Amendment XVII**

(1913)

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 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.

### **Amendment XVIII**

xxviii

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## *The Constitution of the United States*

(1919)

**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.

**Section 2.** The Congress and the several states shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

**Section 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.

### **Amendment XIX**

(1920)

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.

### **Amendment XX**

(1933)

**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.

**Section 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.

**Section 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.

**Section 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.

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

**Section 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.

### **Amendment XXI**

(1933)

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

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## *The Constitution of the United States*

**Section 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.

**Section 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.

### **Amendment XXII**

(1951)

**Section 1.** No person shall be elected to the office of the President more than twice, and no person who has held the office of President, or acted as President, for more than two years of a term to which some other person was elected President shall be elected to the office of the President more than once. But this article shall not apply to any person holding the office of President when this article was proposed by the Congress, and shall not prevent any person who may be holding the office of President, or acting as President, during the term within which this article becomes operative from holding the office of President or acting as President during the remainder of such term.

**Section 2.** 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 to the states by the Congress.

### **Amendment XXIII**

(1961)

**Section 1.** The District constituting the seat of government of the United States shall appoint in such manner as the Congress may direct:

A number of electors of President and Vice President equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives in Congress to which the District would be entitled if it were a state, but in no event more than the least populous state; they shall be in addition to those appointed by the states, but they shall be considered, for the purposes of the election of President and Vice President, to be electors appointed by a state; and they shall meet in the District and perform such duties as provided by the twelfth article of amendment.

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

### **Amendment XXIV**

(1964)

**Section 1.** The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax.

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

### **Amendment XXV**

(1967)

**Section 1.** In case of the removal of the President from office or of his death or resignation, the Vice President shall become President.

**Section 2.** Whenever there is a vacancy in the office of the Vice President, the President shall



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## *The Constitution of the United States*

nominate a Vice President who shall take office upon confirmation by a majority vote of both Houses of Congress.

**Section 3.** Whenever the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that he is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, and until he transmits to them a written declaration to the contrary, such powers and duties shall be discharged by the Vice President as Acting President.

**Section 4.** Whenever the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive departments or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall immediately assume the powers and duties of the office as Acting President.

Thereafter, when the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that no inability exists, he shall resume the powers and duties of his office unless the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive department or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit within four days to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office.

Thereupon Congress shall decide the issue, assembling within forty-eight hours for that purpose if not in session. If the Congress, within twenty-one days after receipt of the latter written declaration, or, if Congress is not in session, within twenty-one days after Congress is required to assemble, determines by two-thirds vote of both Houses that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall continue to discharge the same as Acting President; otherwise, the President shall resume the powers and duties of his office.

### **Amendment XXVI**

(1971)

**Section 1.** The right of citizens of the United States, who are 18 years of age or older, to vote, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state on account of age.

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

### **Amendment XXVII**

(1992)

No law varying the compensation for the services of the Senators and Representatives shall take effect until an election of Representatives shall have intervened.



# *Supreme Court Justices*

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## **Samuel Anthony Alito, Jr.**

Associate Justice, born in Trenton, New Jersey, April 1, 1950. He married Martha-Ann Bomgardner in 1985, and they have two children, Philip and Laura. He received an A.B. from Princeton University in 1972 and a J.D. from Yale Law School in 1975. He served as a law clerk for Leonard I. Garth of the United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit from 1976–1977. He was Assistant U.S. Attorney, District of New Jersey, 1977–1981, Assistant to the Solicitor General, U.S. Department of Justice, 1981–1985, Deputy Assistant Attorney General, Office of Legal Counsel, U.S. Department of Justice, 1985–1987, and U.S. Attorney, District of New Jersey, 1987–1990. He was appointed to the United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit in 1990. President George W. Bush nominated him as an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, and he took his seat on January 31, 2006. Since joining the Court, Justice Alito has been a Distinguished Visiting Professor at Pepperdine University, teaching courses on executive power and methods of interpretation.

## **Stephen Breyer**

Born August 15, 1938, in San Francisco, California. Married, three children. Education. Stanford University, A.B., 1959, Great Distinction; Oxford University, B.A., 1961; Harvard Law School, LL.B., magna cum laude, 1964. Clerk to the Honorable Arthur J. Goldberg, Associate Justice of the United States, 1964–65. Harvard University, Assistant Professor, 1967–70; Professor of Law, 1970–80; Professor, Kennedy School of Government, 1977–80; Lecturer, 1980–present. Visiting Professor, College of Law, Sydney, Australia, 1975; University of Rome, 1993. Nominated by President Jimmy Carter to the United States Court of Appeals for the First Circuit, took oath of office December 10, 1980. Nominated by President Bill Clinton as Associate Justice of the United States; took oath of office August 3, 1994.

## **Ruth Bader Ginsburg**

Born March 15, 1933, in Brooklyn, New York. Married, two children. Education. Cornell University, B.A., 1954, with high honors in Government and distinction in all subjects; attended Harvard Law School (1956–58), Harvard Law Review; Columbia Law School, LL.B. (J.D.) 1959. Clerk to the Honorable Edmund L. Palmieri, United States District Court, Southern District of New York, 1959–61; Columbia Law School Project on International Procedure: Research Associate, 1961–62, Associate Director, 1962–63; Rutgers University School of Law, Professor, 1963–72; Columbia Law School, Professor, 1972–80; General counsel and founder of women’s rights project, ACLU, 1973–80. Nominated by President Jimmy Carter to United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, took oath of office June 30, 1980. Nominated by President Bill Clinton as Associate Justice of the United States, took oath of office August 10, 1993.

## **Elena Kagan**

Born in New York, New York, on April 28, 1960. She received an A.B. from Princeton in 1981, an M. Phil. from Oxford in 1983, and a J.D. from Harvard Law School in 1986. She clerked for Judge Abner Mikva of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit from 1986–1987 and for Justice Thurgood Marshall of the U.S. Supreme Court during the 1987 Term. After briefly practicing law at a Washington, D.C. law firm, she became a law professor, first at the University of Chicago Law School and later at Harvard Law School. She also served for four years in the Clinton Administration, as Associate Counsel to the President and then as Deputy Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy. Between 2003 and 2009, she served as the Dean of Harvard Law School. In 2009, President Obama nominated her as the Solicitor General of the United States. After serving in that role for a year, the President nominated her as an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court on

## *Supreme Court Justices*

May 10, 2010. She took her seat on August 7, 2010.

### **Anthony M. Kennedy**

Born July 23, 1936 in Sacramento, California. Married, three children. Education. Stanford University, B.A., 1958; Harvard Law School, LL.B., 1961. Private Practice in Sacramento, 1961–75. Professor of constitutional law, McGeorge School of Law, University of the Pacific, 1965–88. Nominated by President Gerald Ford to United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, took oath of office May 30, 1975. Nominated by President Ronald Reagan as Associate Justice of the United States, took oath of office February 18, 1988.

### **John G. Roberts, Jr.**

Chief Justice of the United States, born January 27, 1955, in Buffalo, New York. He married Jane Marie Sullivan in 1996; they have two children — Josephine and John. He received an A.B. from Harvard College in 1976 and a J.D. from Harvard Law School in 1979. He served as a law clerk for Henry J. Friendly of the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit from 1979–1980 and as a law clerk for then-Associate Justice William H. Rehnquist of the Supreme Court of the United States during the 1980 Term. He was Special Assistant to the Attorney General, U.S. Department of Justice from 1981–1982, Associate Counsel to President Ronald Reagan, White House Counsel’s Office from 1982–1986, and Principal Deputy Solicitor General, U.S. Department of Justice from 1989–1993. From 1986–1989 and 1993–2003, he practiced law in Washington, D.C. He was appointed to the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit in 2003. President George W. Bush nominated him as Chief Justice of the United States, and he took his seat on September 29, 2005.

### **Antonin Scalia**

Born March 11, 1936 in Trenton, N.J. Married, with nine children. Education. Georgetown University, A.B., 1957; Harvard, LL.B., 1960; note editor. General counsel, Office of Telecommunications Policy, Executive Office of the President, 1971–72. Chairman, Administrative Conference of the United States, 1972–74. Assistant Attorney General, Office of Legal Counsel, U.S. Department of Justice, 1974–77. Law Teaching. Professor of Law, University of Virginia, 1967–74 (on leave 1971–74); scholar in residence, American Enterprise Institute, 1977; visiting professor of law, Georgetown University, 1977; professor of law, University of Chicago, 1977–82; visiting professor of law, Stanford University, 1980–81; Straus Distinguished Visiting Professor, Pepperdine University, Summer 1990. Nominated by President Ronald Reagan to the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, took the oath of office August 17, 1982. Nominated by President Reagan as Associate Justice of the United States, took the oath of office September 26, 1986.

### **Sonia Sotomayor**

Born June 25, 1954, in Bronx, New York. She earned a B.A. in 1976 from Princeton University, graduating summa cum laude and receiving the university’s highest academic honor. In 1979, she earned a J.D. from Yale Law School where she served as an editor of the Yale Law Journal. She served as Assistant District Attorney in the New York County District Attorney’s Office from 1979–1984. She then litigated international commercial matters in New York City at Pavia & Harcourt, where she served as an associate and then partner from 1984–1992. In 1991, President George H.W. Bush nominated her to the U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York, and she served in that role from 1992–1998. She served as a judge on the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit from 1998–2009. President Barack Obama nominated her as an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court on May 26, 2009, notably making the case for empathy as a prime consideration for appointment. See Douglas W Kmiec, *The Case for Empathy*, America magazine (May 11, 2009). She assumed by bench August 8, 2009.

## *Supreme Court Justices*

### **Clarence Thomas**

Born June 28, 1948 in the Pinpoint community, near Savannah, Georgia. Married, one child. Education. Conception Seminary, 1967–68; Holy Cross College, A.B., cum laude; Yale Law School, J.D., 1974. Assistant Attorney General of Missouri, 1974–77; Attorney, Monsanto Company, 1977–79. Government Service. Legislative assistant to Senator John C. Danforth of Missouri, 1979–81; Assistant Secretary for Civil Rights, U.S. Department of Education, 1981–82; Chairman U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1982–90. Nominated by President George Bush to the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, took oath of office, March 12, 1990. Nominated by President George Bush as Associate Justice of the United States, took oath of office October 23, 1991.

