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New states.

Public domain.

Republican government guaranteed.

Amendments to the constitution.

Validity of prior debts.

Supremacy of the federal laws.

Oaths of office.

SECTION III.

1. 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.

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

SECTION IV.

1. The United States shall guaranty 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.

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

ARTICLE VI.

1. 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.

2. 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, anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. 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 of public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

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

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

GEORGE WASHINGTON, *President, and Deputy from Virginia.*

<i>New Hampshire.</i>	THOMAS MIFFLIN	<i>Virginia.</i>
JOHN LANGDON	ROBERT MORRIS	JOHN BLAIR
NICHOLAS GILMAN	GEORGE CLYMER	JAMES MADISON, JR.
<i>Massachusetts.</i>	JARED INGERSOLL	<i>North Carolina.</i>
NATHANIEL GORMAN	JAMES WILSON	WILLIAM BLOUNT
RUFUS KING	GOVERNEUR MORRIS	RICHARD D. SPAIGHT
<i>Connecticut.</i>	<i>Delaware.</i>	HUGH WILLIAMSON
WM. SAMUEL JOHNSON	GEORGE READ	<i>South Carolina.</i>
ROGER SHERMAN	GUNNING BEDFORD, JR.	JOHN RUTLEDGE
<i>New York.</i>	JOHN DICKINSON	CHARLES COTESWORTH
ALEX. HAMILTON	RICHARD BASSETT	PINCKNEY
<i>New Jersey.</i>	JACOB BROOM	CHARLES PINCKNEY
WILLIAM LIVINGSTON	<i>Maryland.</i>	PIERCE BUTLER
DAVID BEARLEY	JAMES M'HENRY	<i>Georgia.</i>
WILLIAM PATERSON	DANIEL OF ST. THOMAS	WILLIAM FEW
JONATHAN DAYTON	JENIFER	ABRAHAM BALDWIN
<i>Pennsylvania.</i>	DANIEL CARROLL	
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN		

Attest, WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

[These amendments, proposed by the first Congress, and subsequently adopted by the States, are necessarily inserted here in order that the whole of this important instrument as it now exists may be readily referred to.]

Art. 1. 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 peace-

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Ch. 1. grievances.

Right to bear arms. Art. 2. 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.

Quartering of soldiers. Art. 3. 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.

Search warrant. Art. 4. 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.

Provisions for the protection of person and property. Art. 5. No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service, in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject, for the same offence, to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled, in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

Trial by jury and rights of the accused. Art. 6. 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 favour; and to have the assistance of council for his defence.

Suits at common law. Art. 7. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved; and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of the common law.

Bail, &c. Art. 8. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Rights retained not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people. Art. 9. The enumeration in the constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Powers reserved. Art. 10. 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.

Art. 11. 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. Bk. VI.
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Art. 12. § 1. 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. Amendment to art. II.
sect. 4,
respecting the election of president and vice-president.

2. 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.

3. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of president shall be eligible to that of vice-president of the United States.

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Ch. 1. Such is the Constitution, which was framed by the wisest and most patriotic legislators that ever guided the destiny of our country. It still remained doubtful how it would be received by the state legislatures and the people of the United States generally. There existed among the people jealousies to which the enlightened members of the convention were personally strangers. A spirit, hostile to taxation and to the bearing of those burdens which are incident to all governments, unhappily prevailed. Some feared that the interests of the poor would be sacrificed to those of the rich, and that there were not sufficient guarantees to ensure personal liberty. There was everywhere, as was to be expected, great opposition to many of the articles, especially to those which relate to slavery, state rights, and the regulation of commerce.

Opposition to the constitution.

Rise of political parties. In view of these things, the framers of the Constitution, and Congress, and the more enlightened of the community, felt intense solicitude. In that critical period, Alexander Hamilton, assisted by Jay and Madison, put forth those famous papers which are known by the name of "The Federalist," and which are the most luminous expositions of the great principles of the Constitution which have ever appeared. Those who adopted the views of the writers of these papers were called Federalists, and they embraced at that time the most intelligent and influential classes in the nation. Those who opposed them were called Republicans, Democrats, and other names; and from that moment arose those two great rival political parties which divided the nation until these later times.

Constitution adopted by the states. Delaware was the first State to adopt the Constitution (December 7th), and was followed (December 12th) by Pennsylvania. New Jersey, Georgia, and Connecticut, speedily followed the example. The Massachusetts convention, by a small majority, ratified the vote of the dele-

gates (February 7th), proposing at the same time several amendments. The conventions of Maryland, South Carolina, New Hampshire, Virginia, and New York, successively ratified the Constitution; not, however, without opposition, and without proposing several amendments. North Carolina and Rhode Island did not join the confederacy. Eleven states having adopted the constitution preparations were made for the organization of the new federal government. The old continental Congress settled up its accounts, and, after a continuance of thirteen years, quietly and without note ceased to be a public body (March 3d, 1789). It was, in the first instance, a "mere collection of consulting delegates;" but, as public danger threatened, "it boldly seized the reins of power, issued bills of credit, raised armies, declared independence, negotiated foreign treaties, carried the nation through an eight years' war, and finally extorted from the proud and powerful mother-country an acknowledgment of the sovereign authority so daringly assumed and so indomitably maintained."

The old continental Congress.

On the first Wednesday of January, 1789, electors were chosen to vote for the President and Vice-President of the United States, as well as members of the new Congress. George Washington received the unanimous vote of the electoral college for the highest office in the gift of the nation; and John Adams, recently returned from London, after a residence abroad of nine years, in different courts, as minister from the United States, received the next largest number of votes, and was accordingly elected Vice-President.

Election of president and vice-president.

Congress was to have assembled in Federal Hall, New York, on the site of the present Custom-house, on the 4th of March; but the state of the roads and other difficulties prevented a quorum until the 30th. Frederick A. Muhlen-

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Ch. I. of Representatives, and John Langdon president *pro tem-*
pore of the Senate.

On the 6th of April, the electoral votes were counted, and special messengers sent forthwith to notify Washington and Adams of their election.

The messenger selected to inform Washington was Charles Thomson, late secretary of the Continental Congress, who, on the 16th of April, executed his commission.

Journey
of Wash-
ington.

The journey of the venerable President from Mount Vernon to the city of New York (then the seat of the federal government,) resembled a triumphal procession, rather than the peaceful journey of a public magistrate. Everywhere on his route, the people flocked to the line of his progress, to see with their own eyes the illustrious man who had so signally served his country, and who was yet willing, at the age of fifty-seven, to forego his private ease and interests, with a single view to the public good.

His in-
augura-
tion.

On the 30th of April, the oath being administered by Robert R. Livingston, chancellor of New York, in an outer balcony of the Senate-chamber, and in sight of an immense concourse of spectators, George Washington became the first President of the United States.

On retiring to the Senate-chamber, he addressed both houses in an impressive speech, emphatically reminding them, that no truth was more positive than that there exists an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness — between duty and advantage — between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous people and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity; and that the propitious smiles of Heaven could never be expected on a nation which disregarded the eternal rules of order and right, which Heaven itself had ordained. He

concluded by saying that, in conformity with the principle Bk. VI.
he had adopted when commander-in-chief, he renounced Ch. I.
all pecuniary compensation for his presidential services, A. D.
further than was equivalent to his additional expenditure 1789
in office; which should not, at any time, be greater than
was required for the public good.