

A Declaration by the Representatives of the UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA, in General Congress assembled.

When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for a people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the ~~self-evident~~ ^{one} station to which the laws of nature & 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 ~~& independent~~. That ~~from that equal creation~~ they derive ~~inherent & inalienable~~ rights; that ~~these~~ ^{they are endowed by their creator with} life, ^{liberty,} & the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these ends, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, & to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles & organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety & happiness. ^{Conscience} indeed will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light & 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 & usurpations, [begun at a distinguished period, &] pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to ~~reduce~~ reduce them ^{under absolute Despotism}, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such

* Mr. Franklin's handwriting
** no administration writing
+ It to provide new ^{wards} for their future security, such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; & such is now the necessity which constrains them to ~~expunge~~ ^{alter} their former systems of government. the history of ^{the} present ~~King of Great Britain~~ ^{King of Great Britain} is a history of ^{repeated} ~~unremitting~~ injuries and usurpations, [among which, ^{appears no solitary fact} to contradict the uniform tenor of the rest, ^{but all the facts}] all of which have in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. to prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world, [for the truth of which we pledge a faith yet unsullied by falsehood.]

he has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good:

he has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate & pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has ^{utterly} neglected & studiously 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 inviolable to them. It becomes ~~him~~ ^{time after such violations} to form its allies: ^{together legislative bodies at places unusual, une} the depositing of their public records for the sole purpose of fat with ^{measures}

L from
[unclear]

* Mr Adams

~~himself~~, he has refused for a long space of time, 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 & convulsions within: has endeavored to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither; & raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands:

he has ~~suspected~~ ^{stated} the administration of justice totally to cease in some of these states, refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers:

he has made [ours] judges dependant on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, ^{the + payment} and amount of their salaries: ^{+ D. Franklin}

he has erected a multitude of new offices [by a self-assumed power,] & sent hi: ^{the + payment} other swarms of officers to harass our people & eat out their substance:

he has kept among us in times of peace standing armies ^{without the consent of our legislature,} & ships of war:

he has affected to render the military independent of & superior to the civil power:

he has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our country, & unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their pretended acts of legislation, for quartering large bodies of armed troops among us; for protecting them by a mock-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 of the benefits of trial by jury;

for transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences:

for abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, & gradually making it subordinate, so as to render it, at once an example & fit instrument for introducing the same into these colonies.

+ Dr. Franklin

^{+ valuable} abolishing our most important laws.

for taking away our charters & altering fundamentally the forms of our governments,
for suspending our own legislatures & declaring themselves invested with power to
legislate for us in all cases whatsoever:
he has abdicated government here, [withdrawing his governors, & declaring us out
of his allegiance & protection:]

he has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns & destroyed the
lives of our people:

^{Sect. and other}
he is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete

the works of his ~~abolition~~^{treacherous} & tyrannical ~~abolition~~^{war} with ~~our~~^{the} slaves
scarcely passable in the most ~~barbarous~~^{abominable} ages. - totally
of cruelty & perfidy, unworthy the head of a civilized nation:
~~He has~~^{been} ~~excited~~^{caused} domestic insurrections among us and has
he has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian
savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of
all ages, sexes, & conditions [of existence.]

[He has incited treasonable insurrections of our fellow-citizens, with the

allurements of forfeiture & confiscation of our property;
he has constrained others ~~to~~^{to} go into his dominions, on the high seas to beg arms against their country & to become the executioners of their friends. He has chosen
to wage cruel war against Human nature itself, violating it's most sa-
cred rights of life & liberty in the persons of a distant people who never of-
fended him, captivating & carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere,
or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. The
piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the
Christian king of Great Britain. determined to keep open a market
where MEN should be bought & sold. He has prostituted his negative
for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this
determining to keep open a market where MEN should be bought & sold:
execrable commerce: and that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact
of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms
among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them,
by commanding ~~the~~ ^{the} people upon whom he also obstructed them: thus paying
off former crimes committed against the liberties of one people, with crimes
which he urges them to commit against the lives of another.]

48th. Franklin

in every stage of these oppressions" we have petitioned for redress in the most humble
terms; our repeated petitions have been answered ^{only} by repeated injuries". a prince
whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant," is unfit
to be the ruler ^{free} of a people [who mean to be free]. future ages will scarce believe
that the hardness of one man" adventured within the short compass of twelve years
~~to lay~~^{and} a foundation so broad & undisguised, for tyranny
"only", ~~over a people~~, over a people fostered & fixed in principles
of liberty". freedom]

Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. we have
warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend a jurisdiction over [these our states] ^{an unwarrantable}. we have reminded them of the circumstances of
our emigration & settlement here, [no one of which could warrant so strange a
pretension: that these were effected at the expence of our own blood & treasure,
assisted by the wealth or the strength of Great Britain: that in constituting
indeed our several forms of government, we had adopted one common king, thereby
laying a foundation for perpetual league & amity with them: but that submission to their

credited: and we have appealed to their native justice & magnanimity, [as well as to the ties
of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations which ^{were likely to interrupt} connection &
our correspondence.] They too have been deaf to the voice of justice &
of consanguinity, [We must therefore when occasions have been given them, by the regular course of
their laws, of removing from their councils the disturbers of our harmony, they
have by their free election re-established them in power. at this very time too they
are permitting their chief magistrate to send over not only soldiers of our common
blood, but Scotch & foreign mercenaries to invade ^{destroy us.} These facts

give on the first start to a令人悲哀的 affection and mankind in it bids us to re-
monstrance: as we are base unfeeling brethren, we must endeavor to forget our former
love for them, and to hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war,
in peace friends. we might have been a free & a great people together; but a commu-
nication of grandeur & of freedom it seems is below their dignity. be it so, since they
will have it: the road to ^{glory} happiness, is open to us too; we will ^{choose} treat it on
apart from them.

~~repeatedly~~, and ^{de-} acquiesce in the necessity which ^{and hold them as who} renounces our ^{colonies} war, in peace, &c.

~~extinguished~~ ^[eternal] separation!

We therefore the representatives of the United States of America in General Con-
gress assembled, do, in the name & by authority of the good people of these ^{colonies} states,

reject all allegiance & subjection to the kings of Great Britain ^{a different place}
& all others who may hereafter claim by, through, or under them; & utterly
dissolve & break off all political connection which may ^{have} heretofore ^{subsisted} between us & the people or parliament of Great Britain; and finally
we do assert and declare these colonies to be free and independant states,
and that as free & independant states they shall hereafter have ^{full} power to levy
war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, & to do all other
acts and things which independant states may of right do. And for the
support of this declaration we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our
fortunes, & our sacred honour.