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The following pages contain the Constitution of the United States with the 13 Amendments to the Constitution; the Bill of Rights; and the Constitution of Virginia.

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I do hereby certify that the following twenty-five (25) pages, (the cover page and pages 16-39) are a true and correct photocopy of the original publication, *The Revised Code of The Laws of Virginia: Being A Collection Of All Such Acts Of The General Assembly, Of A Public And Permanent Nature, As Are Now In Force; With A General Index, Volume I*, Richmond: printed by Thomas Ritchie, Printer To The Commonwealth, 1819, now archived at the Sam Houston Regional Library and Research Center of the Archives & Information Services Division, of the Texas State Library and Archives Commission.

Witness my hand and Seal of Office at Liberty, Texas on the 3rd day of July, 2008.

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*Making
information
work
for all
Texans*

The Revised Code

OF THE

LAWS OF VIRGINIA :

BEING

A COLLECTION OF ALL SUCH ACTS

OF THE

GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

OF A PUBLIC AND PERMANENT NATURE, AS ARE NOW IN FORCE ;

WITH A GENERAL INDEX.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED,

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES ;

THE DECLARATION OF RIGHTS ;

AND

THE CONSTITUTION OF VIRGINIA.

Published pursuant to an act of the General Assembly, entitled "An act providing for the re-publication of the Laws of this Commonwealth," passed March 12, 1819.

VOLUME I.

RICHMOND :

PRINTED BY THOMAS RITCHE,

PRINTER TO THE COMMONWEALTH.

.....
1819.

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A. D. 1819.
A. R. C. 43.

Revised bills passed the present session, not to be printed with the laws thereof.
Exception.
Repeal of all acts of a general nature not published in such Code.
Proviso.

8. *AND* be it also enacted, That the revised bills passed during the present session of the General Assembly, shall not be printed with the other laws passed at the present session, except such bills and parts of bills as take effect before the first day of January next.

9. ALL acts and parts of acts, of a general nature, which shall not be published in the code aforesaid, pursuant to the directions of this act, either entire or by their titles, shall be, and the same are hereby repealed, from and after the first day of January next: *Provided, however,* That such repeal shall not prevent the prosecution of any offence committed, or impair any right accrued before the said first day of January; but such offence may be prosecuted, and such right may be maintained and asserted, in the same manner as if this repealing section had never passed.

Commencement.

10. THIS act shall commence and be in force from and after the passage thereof.

C. 2.

A. D. 1788—9.
A. R. C. 13.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

WE, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure 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 1.

Section 1.

Legislative powers vested in congress. 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.

House of representatives; its members; by whom chosen; qualifications of electors.

A representative to be aged 25; seven years a citizen of the United States, and an inhabitant of his state when elected.
Representatives and taxes to be apportioned according to numbers.

1. 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.

2. 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.

3. 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 de-

terminated 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 choose 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.

A. D. 1788—9.
A. R. C. 13.

Actual enumeration every ten years.

Limitation of the ratio of representation, &c.

First apportionment of representatives.

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

Writs of election for filling vacancies.

5. THE house of representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

The house of representatives to choose their speaker, &c.

Section 3.

1. 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.*

Two senators chosen by the legislature of each state, for 6 years; each a vote.

2. 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.

[*Sec art. 5. cl. 1.]
The senators divided into three classes.
One third of the senatorial seats vacated and filled, every two years.

3. 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.

Executives of states to fill vacancies, in the recess of legislatures, &c.

4. THE vice president of the United States shall be president of the senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

A senator aged 30; nine years a citizen of the United States, and an inhabitant of his state when chosen.

5. THE senate shall choose 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.

Vice-president to be president of the senate; to vote on an equal division only.

6. 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.

The senate to choose their president pro tempore, &c.

The sole power to try impeachments, in the senate, &c.

A. D. 1788—9.
A. R. C. 13.

Extent of judgment in cases of impeachment. Party liable also to judgment, &c. according to law.

7. 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.

Times, &c. of holding elections for senators and representatives, regulated by the states or by congress.

1. 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 choosing senators.

Congress to assemble annually on the first Monday in December, &c.

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

Section 5.

Each house judge of the election of its own members. Quorum.

1. 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 authorised to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner and under such penalties as each house may provide.

Each house to determine its own rules, &c.

2. 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.

Journals to be kept by each house, and published, &c.

3. 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.

Adjournment of both houses.

4. 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.

Senators and representatives to be paid, &c. Privileged from arrest, &c.

1. 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 or returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

Concerning the holding of offices by senators and representatives.

2. 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.

A. D. 1788-9.
A. R. C. 13.

1. 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.

Revenue bills to originate in the house of representatives, &c.

2. 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.

Powers of the president and of congress in the enacting of laws, and the forms of proceeding on bills in that respect.

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.

3. 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.

Joint resolutions, except for adjournment, to receive the same sanction as bills.

Section 8.

THE congress shall have power—

1. 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:

Congress have power to lay taxes, &c.

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States:

To borrow money.

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes:

To regulate commerce.

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

To establish the rule of naturalization, &c.

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures:

To coin money, &c.

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States:

To provide for punishing counterfeiters.

7. To establish post-offices and post-roads:

To establish post offices, &c.

8. 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 promote science, &c.

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court: To

To constitute inferior tribunals, &c.

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- A. C. 1788—9.
A. R. C. 13.
- To declare war. 9. define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations :
- To raise armies. 10. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water :
- To provide a navy. 11. To raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money to that use, shall be for a longer term than two years :
- To make rules for governing army and navy. 12. To provide and maintain a navy :
- To provide for calling forth the militia. 13. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces :
- To provide for organizing the militia, &c. 14. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions :
15. 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 jurisdiction over a territorial district not exceeding ten miles square, &c. 16. 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 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 necessary to the execution of their powers. 17. 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.

- Importation of certain persons not to be prohibited until after 1808. 1. THE migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.*
- [*See art. 5, cl. 1.]
- The writ of habeas corpus recognized, &c. 2. 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 bills of attainder, or ex post facto laws. 3. No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.
- Direct taxes according to census. 4. No capitation, or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein-before directed to be taken.
- No export duty, nor preference of one state to another in commerce. 5. 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.
- Money to be expended by legal appropriation only. 6. No monies 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 titles of nobility can be conferred by the United 7. 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.

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States; nor can its officers accept presents, &c.

[See amendments, art. 13.]

Powers withdrawn from the states individually.

Section 10.

1. 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.

2. 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 nett 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 control 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.

Powers which the states can exercise only under the sanction of congress.

ARTICLE 2.

Section 1.

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:

Executive power vested in a president, &c.

2. 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.

Electors of president and vice-president, &c.

3. 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 choose by ballot one of them for president; and if no person have a majority, then, from the five highest on the list, the said

Meeting of the electors of president, &c. Their proceedings.

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house shall, in like manner, choose 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. 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 choose from them, by ballot, the vice-president.*

[*Annulled. See amendments, art. 12.]

Congress may determine the time of choosing electors of president, &c.

The president to be natural born, or a citizen in 1788; aged 35; and 14 years a resident of the United States.

In case of vacancy in the office of president, the vice-president to act, &c.

Compensation of the president.

The president to take an oath.

Form of the oath.

4. THE congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

5. 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.

6. 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.

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

8. 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 is commander in chief, &c.

He may require written opinions from principal executive officers. He can reprieve and pardon.

He may, in conjunction with the senate, make treaties, appoint ambassadors, &c.

1. 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.

2. 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.

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Congress may vest certain appointments in the president alone, or otherwise. The president may fill vacancies during the recess of the senate.

3. 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.

1. 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.

President to inform congress, and recommend measures; may convene and adjourn congress on certain occasions; receive ambassadors, &c.; shall see the laws executed, and commission all officers of the United States.

Section 4.

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

President, &c. removable on impeachment and conviction.

ARTICLE 3.

Section 1.

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.

Judicial powers vested in a supreme court, &c. Judges to hold their offices during good behaviour, &c.

Section 2.

1. 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.*

Extent of the judicial power.

[* See a restriction of this provision, amendments, art. 11.]

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A. D. 1789—9.
A. R. C. 13.

Original and ap-
pellate jurisdiction
of the supreme
court.

Trial of crimes to
be by jury, &c.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be a 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.

3. 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.

Definition of trea-
son.

1. 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.

Congress to de-
clare the punish-
ment of treason,
&c.

2. 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 4.

Section 1.

Credit to be given
in one state to the
public acts, &c. of
another, &c.

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.

Reciprocity of citi-
zenship through-
out the states.

Criminals flying
from one state to
another, to be de-
livered up on de-
mand.

Runaway slaves,
&c. to be delivered
up.

1. THE citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privi-
leges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

2. 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.

3. No person held to service or labor 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 labor, but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

Section 3.

New states may be
admitted into the
union, &c.

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

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consent of the legislatures of the states concerned, as well as of the congress.

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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.

Congress to have power over territory, &c. Claims of the states, &c. not to be prejudiced.

Section 4.

1. 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 the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened,) against domestic violence.

Republican form of government guaranteed to each state, &c.

ARTICLE 5.

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.†

Mode of amending this constitution.

* Concerning the importation of certain persons, and direct taxes.]

† See ante, art. 1, § 3, cl. 1.]

ARTICLE 6.

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.

Assumption of debts incurred 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; any thing in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

This constitution, acts of congress, and treaties, the supreme law, &c. The state judges bound thereby.

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 or public trust under the United States.

Senators, representatives, &c. bound by oath or affirmation to support this constitution. No religious test.

A. D. 1788—9.
A. R. C. 13.

Ratification of nine
states sufficient,
&c.

ARTICLE 7.

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.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.
John Langdon,
Nicholas Gilman.

MASSACHUSETTS.
Nathaniel Gorham,
Rufus King.

CONNECTICUT.
William Samuel Johnson,
Roger Sherman.

NEW YORK.
Alexander Hamilton.

NEW JERSEY.
William Livingston,
David Brearly,
William Patterson,
Jonathan Dayton.

PENNSYLVANIA.
Benjamin Franklin,
Thomas Mifflin,
Robert Morris,
George Clymer,
Thomas Fitzsimmons,
Jared Ingersoll,
James Wilson,
Gouverneur Morris.

DELAWARE.
George Read,
Gunning Bedford, jun.
John Dickinson,
Richard Bassett,
Jacob Broom.

MARYLAND.
James M'Henry,
Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer,
Daniel Carrol.

VIRGINIA.
John Blair,
James Madison, jun.

NORTH CAROLINA.
William Blount,
Richard Dobbs Spaight,
Hugh Williamson.

SOUTH CAROLINA.
John Rutledge,
Charles Cotesworth Pinckney,
Charles Pinckney,
Pierce Butler.

GEORGIA.
William Few,
Abraham Baldwin.

Attest,

WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

IN CONVENTION,

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1787.

Present, the states of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Mr. Hamilton from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia.

Constitution to be
laid before con-
gress, &c.

1. *Resolved*, That the preceding constitution be laid before the United States, in congress assembled, and that it is the opinion of this convention, that it should afterwards be submitted to a convention of delegates chosen in each state by the people thereof, under the recommendation of its legislature, for their assent and ratification; and that each convention assenting to, and ratifying the same, should give notice thereof to the United States in congress assembled.

Congress to fix a
day for appointing

2. *Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this convention, that as soon as the conventions of nine states shall have ratified this

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constitution, the United States in congress assembled, should fix a day on which electors should be appointed by the states which shall have ratified the same, and a day on which the electors should assemble to vote for the president, and the time and place for commencing proceedings under this constitution. That after such publication, the electors should be appointed, and the senators and representatives elected. That the electors should meet on the day fixed for the election of the president, and should transmit their votes, certified, signed, sealed and directed, as the constitution requires, to the secretary of the United States in congress assembled: that the senators and representatives should convene at the time and place assigned; that the senators should appoint a president of the senate, for the sole purpose of receiving, opening and counting the votes for president; and that, after he shall be chosen, the congress, together with the president, should without delay, proceed to execute this constitution.

A. D. 1788—9.
A. R. C. 13.
electors of president, &c.

Mode recommended for carrying the constitution into effect.

By the unanimous order of the convention.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, *President.*

WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

IN CONVENTION,

SEPTEMBER 17, 1787.

SIR,

WE have now the honor to submit to the consideration of the United States in congress assembled, that constitution which has appeared to us the most advisable.

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

It is obviously impracticable in the federal government of these states, to secure all rights of independent sovereignty to each, and yet provide for the interest and safety of all: individuals entering into society must give up a share of liberty to preserve the rest. The magnitude of the sacrifice must depend as well on situation and circumstance, as on the object to be obtained. It is at all times difficult to draw with precision the line between those rights which must be surrendered, and those which may be reserved; and on the present occasion this difficulty was increased by a difference among the several states, as to their situation, extent, habits and particular interests.

In all our deliberations on this subject, we kept steadily in our view that which appears to us the greatest interest of every true American, the consolidation of our union, in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our national existence. This important consideration, seriously and deeply

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A. D. 1788—9.
A. R. C. 13.

impressed on our minds, led each state in the convention to be less rigid on points of inferior magnitude, than might have been otherwise expected; and thus the constitution which we now present, is the result of a spirit of amity, and of that mutual deference and concession, which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable.

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

WITH great respect, we have the honor to be, Sir, your excellency's most obedient and humble servants,

By unanimous order of the convention,

GEORGE WASHINGTON, *President.*

His Excellency, the President of Congress.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

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

ARTICLE 2.

Right of the people to keep and bear arms, &c. A WELL regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE 3.

No soldier to be quartered in any house, during peace, without consent, &c. No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE 4.

No search warrant to issue, except on probable cause, oath, &c. 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.

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ARTICLE 5.

A. D. 1788—9.
A. R. C. 13.

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.

No person to be held to answer for a crime, unless on presentment, &c. except in the land or naval forces, nor to answer for the same offence twice, &c.

ARTICLE 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 favor; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

Assurances of speedy and public trial by jury, &c. in criminal prosecutions.

ARTICLE 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.

Right of trial by jury in suits at common law, above the value of \$ 20, &c.

ARTICLE 8.

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

Excessive bail, and unjust and cruel punishments, prohibited.

ARTICLE 9.

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

Rights enumerated, not to disparage those retained.

ARTICLE 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.

Powers not delegated, &c. are reserved to the states or people.

ARTICLE 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.

Restriction of judicial powers. [See ante, art. 3, § 2, cl. 1.]

A. D. 1788—9.
A. R. C. 13.

ARTICLE 12.*

[* See ante, art. 2,
§ 1, cl. 3.]
Actual mode of
electing the presi-
dent and vice pre-
sident of the Uni-
ted States.

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 number, 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.

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.

ARTICLE 13.

Citizenship forfeit-
ed by the accep-
tance, from a for-
eign power, of any
title of nobility, of-
fice, or emolument
of any kind, &c.
[See ante, art. 1,
§ 9, cl. 2.]

IF any citizen of the United States shall accept, claim, receive, or retain any title of nobility or honor, or shall, without the consent of congress, accept and retain any present, pension, office, or emolument of any kind whatever, from any emperor, king, prince, or foreign power, such person shall cease to be a citizen of the United States, and shall be incapable of holding any office of trust or profit under them, or either of them.

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C. 3.

A Declaration of Rights made by the Representatives of the good People of VIRGINIA, assembled in full and free Convention; which rights do pertain to them, and their Posterity, as the basis and foundation of Government.

A. D. 1776.
A. R. C. 1.

[Unanimously adopted, June 12, 1776.]

1. THAT all men are by nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent rights, of which, when they enter into a state of society, they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity; namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.

2. THAT all power is vested in, and consequently derived from, the people; that Magistrates are their trustees and servants, and at all times amenable to them.

3. THAT government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common benefit, protection and security, of the people, nation, or community: of all the various modes and forms of government, that is best, which is capable of producing the greatest degree of happiness and safety, and is most effectually secured against the danger of mal-administration; and that, when any government shall be found inadequate or contrary to these purposes, a majority of the community hath an indubitable, unalienable, and indefeasible right, to reform, alter, or abolish it, in such manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal.

4. THAT no man, or set of men, are entitled to exclusive or separate emoluments or privileges from the community, but in consideration of public services; which not being descendible, neither ought the offices of Magistrate, Legislator, or Judge, to be hereditary.

5. THAT the Legislative and Executive powers of the state should be separate and distinct from the Judiciary; and that the members of the two first may be restrained from oppression, by feeling and participating the burthens of the people, they should, at fixed periods, be reduced to a private station, return into that body from which they were originally taken, and the vacancies be supplied by frequent, certain, and regular elections, in which all, or any part of the former members, to be again eligible, or ineligible, as the laws shall direct.

6. THAT elections of members to serve as representatives of the people, in Assembly, ought to be free; and that all men, having sufficient evidence of permanent common interest with, and attachment to, the community, have the right of suffrage, and cannot be taxed or deprived of their property for public uses, without their own consent, or that of their representatives so elected, nor bound by any law to which they have not, in like manner, assented, for the public good.

7. THAT all power of suspending laws, or the execution of laws, by any authority, without consent of the representatives

A. D. 1776.
A. R. C. 1.

of the people, is injurious to their rights, and ought not to be exercised.

8. THAT, in all capital or criminal prosecutions, a man hath a right to demand the cause and nature of his accusation, to be confronted with the accusers and witnesses, to call for evidence in his favor, and to a speedy trial by an impartial jury of his vicinage, without whose unanimous consent he cannot be found guilty; nor can he be compelled to give evidence against himself; that no man be deprived of his liberty except by the law of the land, or the judgment of his peers.

9. THAT excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

10. THAT general warrants, whereby an officer or messenger may be commanded to search suspected places without evidence of a fact committed, or to seize any person or persons not named, or whose offence is not particularly described and supported by evidence, are grievous and oppressive, and ought not to be granted.

11. THAT, in controversies respecting property, and in suits between man and man, the ancient trial by jury is preferable to any other, and ought to be held sacred.

12. THAT the freedom of the press is one of the great bulwarks of liberty, and can never be restrained but by despotic governments.

13. THAT a well regulated militia, composed of the body of the people, trained to arms, is the proper, natural and safe defence of a free state; that standing armies, in time of peace, should be avoided, as dangerous to liberty; and that in all cases, the military should be under strict subordination to, and governed by, the civil power.

14. THAT the people have a right to uniform government; and therefore, that no government separate from, or independent of, the government of *Virginia*, ought to be erected or established within the limits thereof.

15. THAT no free government, or the blessing of liberty, can be preserved to any people, but by a firm adherence to justice, moderation, temperance, frugality, and virtue, and by frequent recurrence to fundamental principles.

16. THAT religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience; and that it is the mutual duty of all to practise Christian forbearance, love, and charity towards each other.

C. 4.

The Constitution or Form of Government, agreed to and resolved upon by the Delegates and Representatives of the several Counties and Corporations of Virginia.

A. D. 1776.
A. R. C. 1.

[Unanimously adopted, June 29, 1776.]

1. WHEREAS *George* the third, King of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, and Elector of *Hanover*, heretofore entrusted with the exercise of the kingly office in this government, hath endeavoured to pervert the same into a detestable and insupportable tyranny, by putting his negative on laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good: By denying his Governors permission to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation for his assent, and, when so suspended, neglecting to attend to them for many years: By refusing to pass certain other laws, unless the persons to be benefited by them would relinquish the inestimable right of representation in the Legislature: By dissolving Legislative Assemblies repeatedly and continually, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions of the rights of the people: When dissolved, by refusing to call others for a long space of time, thereby leaving the political system without any Legislative head: By endeavoring to prevent the population of our country, and, for that purpose, obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners: By keeping among us, in time of peace, standing armies and ships of war: By affecting to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power: By combining with others to subject us to a foreign jurisdiction; giving his assent, to their pretended acts of Legislation; For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us: 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 the trial by jury: For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offences: For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever: By plundering our seas, ravaging our coasts, burning our towns, and destroying the lives of our people: By inciting insurrections of our fellow subjects, with the allurements of forfeiture and confiscation: By prompting our negroes to rise in arms among us, those very negroes, whom, by an inhuman use of his negative, he hath refused us permission to exclude by law: By endeavoring to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless *Indian* savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions of existence: By transporting at this time, a large army of foreign mercenaries, to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy unworthy the head of a civilized nation: By answering our repeated petitions for redress with a repetition of injuries: And finally, by abandoning the helm of government, and declaring us out of

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E.

A. D. 1776.
A. R. C. 1.

Former govern-
ment dissolved.
Another declared.

his allegiance and protection. By which several acts of mis-
rule, the government of this country, as formerly exercised
under the crown of *Great Britain*, is totally dissolved :

2. WE, therefore, the Delegates and Representatives of the
good people of *Virginia*, having maturely considered the prem-
ises, and viewing with great concern the deplorable condition
to which this once happy country must be reduced, unless some
regular adequate mode of civil polity is speedily adopted, and
in compliance with a recommendation of the General Congress,
do ordain and declare the future form of government of *Vir-
ginia* to be as followeth :

Legislative, Exe-
cutive, and Judici-
ary, separated,
with an exception.

3. THE Legislative, Executive, and Judiciary departments,
shall be separate and distinct, so that neither exercise the powers
properly belonging to the other ; nor shall any person exercise
the powers of more than one of them at the same time, except
that the justices of the county courts shall be eligible to either
House of Assembly.

Legislature ; Gen-
eral Assembly,
formed of two hou-
ses, to meet once a
year.

4. THE Legislative shall be formed of two distinct branches,
who, together, shall be a complete Legislature. They shall
meet once or oftener, every year, and shall be called the Gen-
eral Assembly of *Virginia*.

House of Dele-
gates ; its mem-
bers, how quali-
fied, by whom,
and how chosen.

5. ONE of these shall be called the House of Delegates, and
consist of two Representatives to be chosen for each county,
and for the district of *West Augusta*, annually, of such men as
actually reside in and are freeholders of the same, or duly
qualified according to law, and also one Delegate or Represen-
tative to be chosen annually for the city of *Williamsburg*, and
one for the borough of *Norfolk*, and a Representative for each
of such other cities and boroughs as may hereafter be allowed
particular representation by the Legislature ; but when any city
or borough shall so decrease as that the number of persons
having right of suffrage therein shall have been for the space of
seven years successively less than half the number of voters in
some one county in *Virginia*, such city or borough thencefor-
ward shall cease to send a Delegate or Representative to the
Assembly.

When a corpora-
tion's right to re-
presentation shall
cease.

Senate ; number
of members, how
qualified, by
whom, and how
chosen.

6. THE other shall be called the Senate, and consist of twenty-
four members, of whom thirteen shall constitute a House to pro-
ceed on business, for whose election the different counties shall
be divided into twenty-four districts ; and each county of the
respective district, at the time of the election of its Delegates,
shall vote for one Senator, who is actually a resident and free-
holder within the district, or duly qualified according to law,
and is upwards of twenty-five years of age ; and the sheriffs of
each county, within five days at farthest after the last county
election in the district, shall meet at some convenient place,
and from the poll so taken in their respective counties return
as a Senator the man who shall have the greatest number of
votes in the whole district. To keep up this Assembly by ro-
tation, the districts shall be equally divided into four classes,
and numbered by lot. At the end of one year after the general
election, the six members elected by the first division shall be
displaced, and the vacancies thereby occasioned supplied from
such class or division, by new election, in the manner aforesaid.

Rotation.

This rotation shall be applied to each division, according to its number, and continued in due order annually.

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7. THAT the right of suffrage in the election of members of both Houses shall remain as exercised at present, and each House shall choose its own Speaker, appoint its own officers, settle its own rules of proceeding, and direct writs of election for supplying intermediate vacancies.

Right of suffrage; each House may choose its Speaker and officers, and issue writs for supplying vacancies.

8. All laws shall originate in the House of Delegates, to be approved or rejected by the Senate, or to be amended with the consent of the House of Delegates, except money bills, which in no instance shall be altered by the Senate, but wholly approved or rejected.

Laws shall originate in the House of Delegates; but, if not money bills, amendable by the Senate.

9. A GOVERNOR, or Chief Magistrate, shall be chosen annually, by joint ballot of both Houses, to be taken in each House respectively, deposited in the conference room, the boxes examined jointly by a Committee of each House, and the numbers severally reported to them, that the appointments may be entered; (which shall be the mode of taking the joint ballot of both Houses in all cases;) who shall not continue in that office longer than three years successively, nor be eligible until the expiration of four years after he shall have been out of that office. An adequate, but moderate salary, shall be settled on him during his continuance in office; and he shall, with the advice of a Council of State, exercise the executive powers of government according to the laws of this commonwealth; and shall not, under any pretence, exercise any power or prerogative by virtue of any law, statute, or custom, of *England*: But he shall, with the advice of the Council of State, have the power of granting reprieves or pardons, except where the prosecution shall have been carried on by the House of Delegates, or the law shall otherwise particularly direct; in which cases, no reprieve or pardon shall be granted, but by resolve of the House of Delegates.

Governor, how chosen, method of balloting in this and other cases; his salary and powers; restrained from granting reprieves or pardons in certain cases.

10. EITHER House of the General Assembly may adjourn themselves respectively. The Governor shall not prorogue or adjourn the Assembly during their sitting, nor dissolve them at any time; but he shall, if necessary, either by advice of the Council of State, or on application of a majority of the House of Delegates, call them before the time to which they shall stand prorogued or adjourned.

When he may convoke the General Assembly.

11. A PRIVY Council or Council of State, consisting of eight members, shall be chosen by joint ballot of both Houses of Assembly, either from their own members or the people at large, to assist in the administration of government. They shall annually choose out of their own members a President, who, in case of the death, inability, or necessary absence of the Governor from the government, shall act as Lieutenant Governor. Four members shall be sufficient to act, and their advice and proceedings shall be entered of record, and signed by the members present (to any part whereof any member may enter his dissent) to be laid before the General Assembly, when called for by them. This Council may appoint their own clerk, who shall have a salary settled by law, and take an oath of secrecy in such matters as he shall be directed by the Board to conceal. A sum of money appropriated to that purpose shall be divided

Privy Council, number of; their duty, power, and term of office.

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annually among the members, in proportion to their attendance ; and they shall be incapable during their continuance in office, of sitting in either House of Assembly. Two members shall be removed by joint ballot of both Houses of Assembly at the end of every three years, and be ineligible for the three next years. These vacancies, as well as those occasioned by death or incapacity, shall be supplied by new elections, in the same manner.

Delegates to Congress, how chosen.

12. THE Delegates for *Virginia* to the Continental Congress shall be chosen annually, or superseded in the mean time by joint ballot of both Houses of Assembly.

Military regulations.

13. THE present militia officers shall be continued, and vacancies supplied by appointment of the Governor, with the advice of the Privy Council, or recommendations from the respective County Courts ; but the Governor and Council shall have a power of suspending any officer, and ordering a court-martial on complaint of misbehaviour or inability, or to supply vacancies of officers happening when in actual service. The Governor may embody the militia, with the advice of the Privy Council, and when embodied, shall alone have the direction of the militia under the laws of the country.

Courts of Appeals, General, of Chancery, and Admiralty, judges of; Secretary, and Attorney General, how appointed; salaries of; excluded with some others, from the Legislative and Executive.

14. THE two Houses of Assembly shall, by joint ballot, appoint judges of the Supreme Court of Appeals, and General Court, Judges in Chancery, Judges of Admiralty, Secretary, and the Attorney General, to be commissioned by the Governor, and continue in office during good behaviour. In case of death, incapacity, or resignation, the Governor, with the advice of the Privy Council, shall appoint persons to succeed in office, to be approved or displaced by both Houses. These officers shall have fixed and adequate salaries, and, together with all others holding lucrative offices, and all Ministers of the Gospel of every denomination, be incapable of being elected members of either House of Assembly, or the Privy Council.

Counties, Justices of, how appointed; shall appoint their clerks, recommend sheriffs and coroners to be commissioned by Executive; and appoint constables.

15. THE Governor, with the advice of the Privy Council, shall appoint Justices of the Peace for the counties; and in case of vacancies, or a necessity of increasing the number hereafter, such appointments to be made upon the recommendation of the respective County Courts. The present acting Secretary in *Virginia*, and clerks of all the County Courts, shall continue in office. In case of vacancies, either by death, incapacity, or resignation, a Secretary shall be appointed as before directed, and the clerks by the respective courts. The present and future clerks shall hold their offices during good behaviour, to be judged of and determined in the General Court. The Sheriffs and Coroners shall be nominated by the respective courts, approved by the Governor, with the advice of the Privy Council, and commissioned by the Governor. The Justices shall appoint constables, and all fees of the aforesaid officers be regulated by law.

Impeachments.

16. THE Governor, when he is out of office, and others offending against the state, either by mal-administration, corruption, or other means by which the safety of the state may be endangered, shall be impeachable by the House of Delegates. Such impeachment to be prosecuted by the Attorney General, or such other person or persons as the House may appoint, in

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the General Court, according to the laws of the land. If found guilty, he or they shall be either for ever disabled to hold any office under government, or removed from such office *pro tempore*, or subjected to such pains or penalties as the law shall direct.

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17. If all, or any of the Judges of the General Court, shall, on good grounds (to be judged of by the House of Delegates) be accused of any of the crimes or offences before-mentioned, such House of Delegates may, in like manner, impeach the Judge or Judges so accused, to be prosecuted in the Court of Appeals; and he or they, if found guilty, shall be punished in the same manner as is prescribed in the preceding clause. Impeachments.

18. COMMISSIONS and grants shall run *In the name of the COMMONWEALTH of VIRGINIA*, and bear test by the Governor, with the seal of the Commonwealth annexed. Writs shall run in the same manner, and bear test by the clerks of the several courts. Indictments shall conclude, *Against the peace and dignity of the Commonwealth*. Commissions, grants and writs, style, and test of. Indictments, conclusion of.

19. A TREASURER shall be appointed annually, by joint ballot of both Houses. Treasurer.

20. ALL escheats, penalties, and forfeitures, heretofore going to the King, shall go to the Commonwealth, save only such as the Legislature may abolish, or otherwise provide for. Escheats, penalties, forfeitures.

21. THE territories contained within the charters erecting the colonies of *Maryland, Pennsylvania, North and South-Carolina*, are hereby ceded, released, and for ever confirmed to the people of those colonies respectively, with all the rights of property, jurisdiction, and government, and all other rights whatsoever which might at any time heretofore have been claimed by *Virginia*, except the free navigation and use of the rivers *Potowmac* and *Pohomoke*, with the property of the *Virginia* shores or strands bordering on either of the said rivers, and all improvements which have been or shall be made thereon. The western and northern extent of *Virginia* shall in all other respects stand as fixed by the charter of King *James* the first, in the year one thousand six hundred and nine, and by the public treaty of peace between the Courts of *Great-Britain* and *France*, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three; unless, by act of Legislature, one or more territories shall hereafter be laid off, and governments established westward of the *Allegheny* mountains. And no purchase of lands shall be made of the *Indian* natives, but on behalf of the public, by authority of the General Assembly.* Territorial limits; cession to co-terminous states; future governments west of Mount Allegheny how to be established. No purchases from Indian natives, but for republic.

* The territory of Virginia, granted by the charters of King James I., was very extensive; see charters of April 10. 1606. § 4. Of May 23. 1609. § 6. Of March 12. 1611-12. § 4. 1 *Hen. st. at large*, p. 58. 88. 100. The first charter authorised a company to plant a colony in Virginia or America, any where between 34° and 41° N. latitude; and granted for that purpose, all the territory, extending from the first seat of the plantation, 50 English Statute miles to the West and S. West, and 50 miles to the East and N. East or North, along the sea coast, and running back from that line of coast, 100 miles into the main land, with the islands opposite to and within 100 miles of the coast. Under this charter, the colony of Virginia was planted. The second charter granted the Virginia company, a much larger territory, extending from [old] Point Comfort, 200 miles to the South, and 200 miles to the North, along the Atlantic coast, and thence, a breadth of 400 miles, to the West and North West, quite through the continent, to the coast of the Pacific, with all the islands opposite to and within 100 miles of both coasts.

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22. IN order to introduce this government, the representatives of the people met in Convention shall choose a Governor and Privy Council, also such other officers directed to be chosen by both Houses as may be judged necessary to be immediately appointed. The Senate to be first chosen by the people, to continue until the last day of *March* next, and the other officers until the end of the succeeding session of Assembly. In case of vacancies, the Speaker of either House shall issue writs for new elections.*

And the third granted the company, the islands within 300 leagues of both coasts. The extensive territory granted by these charters, was reduced before the revolution, by the charters granted to other colonies, and by the treaty of 1763, between France and Great-Britain, referred to in this article of the constitution; and, since the revolution, by the cession of the territory N. West of the Ohio to the United States, and the erection of Kentucky into a separate state. The boundaries of Virginia have also been adjusted on all sides; see *post*, c. 5. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21.

* As to the form of the Colonial government, for which this constitution was substituted, see 1 *Chart.* § 7. 8. 15. 1 *Hen. st. at lar.* p. 60, 1, 4. *Royal instructions for the government of the Colony*, *Ibid.* p. 67. 75. 2 *Chart.* § 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 23. *Ibid.* p. 89, 90, 1, 2, 5. 3 *Chart.* § 6. 7. 8. *Ibid.* p. 102, 3.— By the 14th Section of the second charter and the 8th of the third, the power of establishing a form of government and magistracy for the Colony, was vested in the council and general court of the Virginia company in England; which, on the 24th July, 1621, ordained a form of government accordingly; whereby the powers of the Colonial government were vested in a governor and council of state, appointed by the company in England and holding during its pleasure, and a house of burgesses, *two* from every town, hundred and particular plantation, to be respectively chosen by the *inhabitants*; and this council of state and house of burgesses formed the Colonial legislature, called the General Assembly. The Colonial government was directed to conform, in legislation and jurisprudence, to the English government and laws; and it was provided, that no law or ordinance made by the General Assembly, should be valid, unless ratified by the general court of the company in England, and returned so ratified under its seal. See *this Constitution*, and the *commission and instructions to the first governor under it*, 1 *Hen. st. at lar.* p. 110. 113. 114. In 1624, the crown suppressed the Virginia company by proclamation, and resumed the powers granted to the company; but the form of government it had given the Colony, remained in substance unchanged. It appears, that the constitution of the colonial government was amended by George I. and instructions were given by George II. to the governor Lord Albemarle, for the regulation of the government according to the amended constitution: but these papers are not to be found. The King always retained the control over the colonial laws, and even exercised the power of suspending and repealing them; powers, often exercised capriciously, always complained of as a grievance, sometimes disputed, and at length assigned as one of the causes of the revolution; see 5 *Hen. st. at lar.* 432. This royal prerogative had a most important influence on the legislation of the Colonial government. Counties or shires were first established in 1634. 1 *Hen. st. at lar.* p. 224. It seems from our ancient records, that at first, in practice, neither the towns, hundreds and plantations, while they were represented, nor the counties, after the burgesses were elected from them, were restricted to *two* or *any fixed number* of burgesses. In 1645, the number was limited to four for each county, except James City, which was allowed five, besides one for Jamestown, the seat of government; 1 *Hen. st. at lar.* p. 299. Afterwards, *particular* parishes, and then *all* parishes, were allowed to send *one* or *two* burgesses; *Ibid.* 250. 277. 421. In 1660, the number of burgesses was limited to two for each county and one for Jamestown in James City county, with like privilege to every county, that would lay out 100 acres of land, and people it with 100 tytheable persons; 2 *Ibid.* p. 20. 106.— The 7th article of the present constitution, provides that the *right of suffrage for members of both houses of Assembly, shall remain as exercised at present*. By the constitution of July 1621, above cited, the *right of suffrage* was given to the *inhabitants*; afterwards, it seems, only *freemen* were allowed to vote; 1 *Ibid.* p. 333, 4. then *only housekeepers*; *Ibid.* p. 412. then *all freemen* again, *Ibid.* p. 403. 475. then "*freeholders and housekeepers, who only are answerable for levies*;" 2 *Ibid.* 280. then, by Bacon's laws, *all freemen* again; *Ibid.* 356. But 1677, the King instructed the Governor, that the members of Assembly should be elected by *freeholders only*; *Ibid.* p. 425. In 1684, it was resolved, that *all tenants for life* had an undoubted *right of suffrage*; 3 *Ibid.* 26. In 1699, the right

C. 5.

A. D. 1783.
A. R. C. 8.

An act to authorise the Delegates of this State in Congress, to convey to the United States in Congress assembled, all the Right of this Commonwealth to the Territory North Westward of the River Ohio.

[Passed December 20, 1783.]

1. WHEREAS the Congress of the United States did, by their Preamble. act of the sixth day of September, in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty, recommend to the several States in the Union, having claims to waste and unappropriated lands in the Western Country, a liberal cession to the United States, of a portion of their respective claims for the common benefit of the Union:

2. AND whereas this Commonwealth did, on the second day of January, in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, yield to the Congress of the United States, for the benefit of the said States, all right, title, and claim, which the said Commonwealth had to the territory North-west of the river Ohio, subject to the conditions annexed to the said act of cession:

3. AND whereas the United States in Congress assembled, have, by their Act of the thirteenth of September last, stipulated the terms on which they agree to accept the cession of this State, should the Legislature approve thereof, which terms, although they do not come fully up to the propositions of this Commonwealth, are conceived on the whole, to approach so nearly to them, as to induce this state to accept thereof, in full confidence that Congress will, in justice to this State for the liberal cession she hath made, earnestly press upon the other States claiming large tracts of waste and uncultivated territory,

of suffrage was confined to freeholders (excluding women, infants, and recusants convict) resident in the respective counties and towns; *Ibid.* p. 238. In 1736, the right of suffrage was confined to freeholders of an hundred acres of unsettled land or twenty-five acres of improved land, and all freeholders in towns, but with a right to vote, only in the county where the land or the greater part of it lay; *4 Ibid.* 475, 6. The city of Williamsburg and the borough of Norfolk were allowed a representative, by their charters, by which the right of suffrage of the citizens and burghers was regulated, but afterwards somewhat narrowed by law; *Edi.* 1769. p. 122. 287. It seems, that till 1723, free negroes, indians, and mulattoes, might vote at elections; but by the acts of that year, c. 4. § 23. *Edi.* 1733. p. 344, they were disqualified; and that particular section of the act was not repealed, though the rest of it was by royal proclamation in 1724. *Edi.* 1769. p. 15. note (a). *Edi.* 1752. p. 103. By the act of 1769. c. 1, the quantity of unimproved land, necessary to qualify a freeholder to vote, was reduced to fifty acres; but this act was suspended until the royal approbation should be signified, and such approbation was never signified. The ordinance of the convention of 1775, providing for the election of delegates to the convention of 1776, extended the right of suffrage to free white men, inhabitants of Fincastle and West Augusta, in possession of the requisite quantity of land, and claiming freeholds therein, though they should have obtained no patents or legal titles to their lands.—Thus stood the right of suffrage when the constitution was adopted. By the act of 1785, c. 55. § 2. the qualification of the freeholder in respect to the quantity of unimproved land was reduced from 100 to 50 acres; the legislature either regarding the act of 1769, as effectual, notwithstanding the want of the royal assent; or, perhaps, considering that while the principle of freehold qualification was preserved, a change as to the quantity of land was consistent with the constitution.