

Appendix B: A transcription of the "rough draft" as revised by Franklin and Adams. You can see the original with the revisions that were made.

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^{one}
dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another,
people to ~~advance from that subordination in which they have hitherto~~
and to ~~remained, & to~~ assume among the powers of the earth the ^{separate and equal} ~~equal and~~
~~independent~~ station to which the laws of nature and of nature's god
entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires
that they should declare the causes which impel them to ^{the separation} ~~change~~.

self-evident,
We hold these truths to be ~~sacred & undeniable,~~ that all Men
they are endowed by their creator with
are created equal ~~& independent;~~ that ~~from that equal creation they~~
~~equal rights, some of which are~~ *rights; that these*
~~derive in rights~~ inherent & inalienable ^{among} ~~which~~ are the
~~preservation of life, & liberty, & the pursuit of happiness;~~

rights
that to secure these ^{ends} ~~ends~~, governments are instituted among men,
deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that
whenever any form of government shall becomes destructive of these
ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, & to
institute new government, laying it's foundation on such principles,
& organizing it's powers in such form, as to them shall seem most
likely to effect their safety & happiness. *prudence* 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 pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to ~~subject~~ reduce them

under absolute Despotism [FRANKLIN]

~~^to arbitrary power~~, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such government, & to provide new guards for their future security such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; & such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of

government. the History of ^{the} ~~^his~~ the present ^{king of Great Britain} ~~^majesty~~ [ADAMS] is a history of

repeated injuries & usurpations, among which ^{appears no solitary fact} ~~^no one fact stands single~~

~~and solitary~~ to contradict the uniform tenor of the rest, ^{but all} ~~^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 & 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 neglected utterly to attend to them.

he has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of

^{in the Legislature} representation [^], a right inestimable to them, & formidable to tyrants only:

he has called together legislative bodies in places unusual, uncomfortable & distant from the depository of their public records for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures:

he has dissolved Representative houses repeatedly & continually, for

opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the Rights of the People.

~~he has dissolved,~~ he has refused for a long ^{time after such dissolutions} ~~space of time,~~ after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative Powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the state remaining in the meantime exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, & convulsions within:

he has endeavored to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither; & raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands:

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

he has made our judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure ^{the} and payment ^[FRANKLIN] of their offices, and [^] amount [^] of their Salaries:

he has erected a multitude of new offices by a self-assumed power, & sent hither swarms of new officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

~~without our consent~~ he has kept among us in times of peace [^] standing armies, ^{the} without ^{our} consent. of our legislatures & 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 constitutions, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his ^{acts of} 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

which
murders ^ 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, and enlarging it's

boundaries so as to render it at once an example & fit instrument

for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies states;

valuable
abolishing our most ^important laws [FRANKLIN]
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:

he is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries

to compleat the works of death, desolation & tyranny, already begun

with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy unworthy the head of a

civilized nation:

he has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the

merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare in an

undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, & conditions of

existence:

he has incited treasonable insurrections of our fellow-citizens,

within the short compass of twelve years only, ~~^on so many acts~~
~~of tyranny without a mask,~~ over a people fostered & fixed in
freedom
principles of ~~^liberty~~.

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. we
have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration &
settlement here, no one of which could warrent so strange a
pretention: that these were effected at the expence of our own
blood & treasure, unassisted by the wealth or the strength of
Great Britain: that in constituting indeed our several forms
of government, we had adopted one common king, thereby laying a
foundation for perpetual league & amity with them: but that
submission to their parliament was no part of our constitution,
nor ever in idea if history may be credited: and we appealed to
their native justice and magnanimity as well as the ties of our
common kindred to disavow these usurpations which were likely to

connection &
interrupt our ~~^~~ correspondence. they too have been deaf to the
voice of justice & of consanguinity & when occations 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 & foriegn mercinaries to

destroy us [FRANKLIN]
invade & ~~^deluge us in blood~~. these facts have given the last stab
to agonizing affection, and manly spirit bids us to renounce
forever these unfeeling bretheren. 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 communication of grandeur &
of freedom it seems is below their dignity, be it so, since they

will have it: the road to ~~glory~~ & happiness ^{& to glory} ^ is open to us too;

we will climb it ^{apart from them} ^ in a separately state, and acquiesce in the

necessity which ^{de} ~~pre~~^nounces our ^{eternal separation!} ^ ~~everlasting adieu!~~

We therefore the representatives of the United States of

America in General Congress assembled, do, in the name & by the
authority of the good people of these states, reject and

renounce all allegiance & subjection to the kings of Great Britain

& all others who may hereafter claim, by through or under them;

we utterly dissolve & ~~break off~~ all political connection which

may ^{have} ~~have~~ heretofore ^ subsisted between us & the people or parliament

of Great Britain; and do finally we do assert and declare these

colonies to be free and independent states, and that as free &

independent states they ^{full} ~~shall hereafter~~ have ^ power to levy war,

conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, & do all

other acts and things which independent states may of right do.

And for the support of this declaration we mutually pledge to each

other our lives, our fortunes, & our sacred honor.