



COVENANT & CRISIS
IN AMERICAN HISTORY

AN ANTHOLOGY OF AMERICAN POETRY & PROSE
ILLUSTRATING SIX ERAS IN
AMERICAN HISTORY

DENNIS OLIVER WOODS

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INTRODUCTION

“The victors write the textbooks,” or so the saying goes. Most contemporary Christian writers on American history have “baptized” the U.S. Constitution as *the* definitive Christian model for civil government. To stray from this “orthodox” position is to risk being branded an historical crackpot.

Overlooked is the fact that many, if not a majority, of the Christians of the founding era opposed ratification of the Constitution. While no opinion polls were conducted to determine precise numbers, many of the most thoughtful and committed Christians stood in opposition. Notable among these was the legendary Patrick Henry, who argued almost single-handedly against ratification for 23 days in the Virginia Ratifying Convention. He almost carried the day, but was defeated by superior organization.

For many Christians today, such an outcome would have been unthinkable. Like Moses descending from Sinai with the Ten Commandments, the 55 founders are thought to have emerged from Constitution Hall with an “inspired” document (followed shortly thereafter by the equally inspired first Ten Amendments—the Bill of Rights).

This prompts a number of questions. Why was the Constitution opposed so vigorously by orthodox Christians like Patrick Henry? How is it that this opposition came to be erased from our collective consciousness? How does the “lost cause” of Patrick Henry and others like him impact our lives today? The latter question is especially pertinent in light of the cultural meltdown we witness on every hand in contemporary America. This book is designed to help you explore these questions. Our goal is to give you the tools you need to think like the children of Issachar who had “understanding of the times to know what Israel ought to do.”

The title of the book—*Covenant & Crisis in American History*—provides an important guidepost as you navigate the historical highway. Our focus will be on how successive generations of Americans have responded to the national covenant with God established by the original colonists. We learn from Scripture that God operates by covenant in history, blessing obedience to the terms of His covenant and cursing disobedience (Dt. 28). A nation covenants with God by means of the oath its leaders swear to govern in accord with the law of God (II Kg. 23:3, Jn. 3:6-9). Many leading Christian writers on American history have failed to distinguish between this kind of biblical covenant and the secular social contract such as we find in the Preamble of the U.S. Constitution. Thus, they miss the most important distinction of American history completely.

This book traces these fundamental principles through six eras of American history. The response of the American people to the terms of God’s covenant is best apprehended in the literature produced in each era. The throbbing heartbeat of history may be felt in its poetry and prose. You’ll feel the pulse of America coursing through the pages of this book.

AMERICAN POETRY & PROSE

CHAPTER ONE: *The Puritan Age* (1620-1758)

The Word of God as the Basis for Social Order

The Puritan Age extends from the founding of Plymouth in 1620 to the death of Jonathan Edwards in 1758. Puritan New England was established to be a Holy Commonwealth, in which the civil government and its leaders were under formal covenant with the triune God to rule according to His Word. For example, both the *Massachusetts Body of Liberties* and the *Abstract of the Laws of New England* were cross-referenced directly to the Bible by John Cotton. This commitment to live in accordance with the Word of God was also true of family and church.

This has been documented by Cotton Mather, who was part of the third generation of Puritans who had boarded ship for Massachusetts in the Great Migration, which began in 1630. In *Magnalia Christi Americana* Mather addressed a spirit of declension that was taking root in New England. In particular he spoke to the covetousness of Boston merchants who had begun to assume the worldview of self-sufficient “Yankees,” and he spoke against the practice of slave trading. These exhortations fell on deaf ears.

Many factors contributed to the declension that would eventually replace the Holy Commonwealth with a man-centered social contract. Among other things, they included the loss of social cohesion that came with geographic expansion from the Boston hub and other social factors such as slave trading and intolerance toward strangers. Economic impediments included the Puritan commitment to price fixing, common ownership, and the 1688 decree that the right to vote be based on property ownership instead of church membership.

Spiritual issues such as the autonomy of Congregational church government and Cotton Mather’s promotion of Newtonian natural law and (inadvertently) Deism certainly played a role. Mather’s *The Christian Philosopher* is an unabashed encomium to the work of Sir Isaac Newton. To Mather, Newton’s scientific discoveries were irrefutable evidence of God’s existence and creation of the universe. He failed to recognize that Newton’s mechanistic laws inadvertently served to push an increasingly impersonal God to the periphery of unbelieving thought. At the very least, they reinforced the Deistic view of God as the cosmic Clockmaker who wound up the universe and then stepped back to let it run on its own. Even worse, because Mather and others tied defense of the Bible so closely to Newtonian science, they inadvertently elevated the authority of science above the Bible. Later, when the Newtonian worldview was supplanted, the Bible went with it. Meanwhile, the Halfway Covenant was producing spiritual alienation among the second and third generations because the Puritans denied the Lord’s Table to their baptized children.

Other factors were political, such as the pluralism introduced by Roger Williams in Rhode Island and universal suffrage implemented by Thomas Hooker in Connecticut. Both of these developments permitted non-believers to participate in civil government and thus weakened its commitment to the authority of the Bible. On top of all this, the Salem witch trials (1692) gave the Puritans a theological black eye from which they never fully recovered. As the result of this fragmenting process, a spiritually listless and stunted church staggered out of the seventeenth century into the Age of Reason. The God-fearing Puritan was fast becoming the self-sufficient Yankee.

In spite of many shortcomings, the Puritan fathers sought earnestly to order their society according to the Bible. The most prolific poet of the Puritans, Edward Taylor, captures the severity of God’s justice and the necessity of a Redeemer in his penetrating *Dialogue Between Justice and Mercy*. God’s kindness toward His elect is portrayed by Anne Bradstreet, who sees the mercy and provision of God even in the tragedy of a home destroyed by fire.

Excerpted from full text

B. The Mercy of God

Verses upon the Burning of our House, July 18th, 1666

Anne Bradstreet

Here follows some verses upon the burning of our house, July 18th, 1666. Copied out of a loose Paper.

In silent night when rest I took,
 For sorrow near I did not look,
 I waken'd was with thund'ring noise
 And piteous shrieks of dreadful voice.
 That fearful sound of "fire" and "fire,"
 Let no man know is my Desire.
 I starting up, the light did spy,
 And to my God my heart did cry
 To straighten me in my Distress
 And not to leave me succourless.
 Then coming out, behold a space
 The flame consume my dwelling place.
 And when I could no longer look,
 I blest his grace that gave and took,
 That laid my goods now in the dust.
 Yea, so it was, and so 'twas just.
 It was his own; it was not mine.
 Far be it that I should repine,
 He might of all justly bereft
 But yet sufficient for us left.
 When by the Ruins oft I past
 My sorrowing eyes aside did cast
 And here and there the places spy
 Where oft I sate and long did lie.
 Here stood that Trunk, and there that chest,
 There lay that store I counted best,
 My pleasant things in ashes lie
 And them behold no more shall I.
 Under the roof no guest shall sit,
 Nor at thy Table eat a bit.
 No pleasant talk shall 'ere be told
 Nor things recounted done of old.
 No Candle 'ere shall shine in Thee,
 Nor bridegroom's voice ere heard shall bee.
 In silence ever shalt thou lie.
 Adieu, Adieu, All's Vanity.
 Then straight I 'gin my heart to chide:
 And did thy wealth on earth abide,
 Didst fix thy hope on mouldring dust,
 The arm of flesh didst make thy trust?
 Raise up thy thoughts above the sky
 That dunghill mists away may fly.

Thou hast a house on high erect
Fram'd by that mighty Architect,
With glory richly furnished
Stands permanent, though this be fled.
It's purchased and paid for too
By him who hath enough to do.
A price so vast as is unknown,
Yet by his gift is made thine own.
There's wealth enough; I need no more.
Farewell, my pelf; farewell, my store.
The world no longer let me love;
My hope and Treasure lies above.

C. Law & Liberty in Puritan Massachusetts

The Mayflower Compact

The Pilgrims knew that the colony at Jamestown had suffered mightily for lack of strong government and leadership, and evidence of faction had already appeared on board ship. Thus, while the Mayflower lay at anchor in Cape Cod on November 11, 1620, William Bradford proposed the first written compact for government in the New World. "This day, before we came to harbour, observing some not well affected to unity and concord, but gave some appearance of faction, it was thought good there should be an association and agreement, that we should combine together in one body, and to submit to such government and governors as we should by common consent agree to make and choose, and set our hands to this...."

In the name of God, Amen. We, whose names are underwritten, the Loyal Subjects of our dread Sovereign Lord, King James, by the Grace of God, of England, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c.

Having undertaken for the Glory of God, and Advancement of the Christian Faith, and the Honour of our King and Country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia; do by these presents, solemnly and mutually in the Presence of God and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil Body Politick, for our better Ordering and Preservation, and Furtherance of the Ends aforesaid; And by Virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame, such just and equal Laws, Ordinances, Acts, Constitutions and Offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the General good of the Colony; unto which we promise all due submission and obedience.

In Witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names at Cape Cod the eleventh of November, in the Reign of our Sovereign Lord, King James of England, France and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth. Anno Domini, 1620.

KEY EVENTS IN AMERICAN HISTORY: THE PURITAN AGE

Seeking a shorter route to India, Columbus discovers America.	1492
First permanent English colony in Americas at Jamestown, Virginia. Indian princess, Pocahontas, is converted to Christianity, marries colonist John Rolfe, and tours England, but contracts foreign disease and dies in London shortly thereafter.	1607
Pilgrims covenant with God in Mayflower Compact off Plymouth, Massachusetts. Early experiment with socialism rejected: a common storehouse resulted in malingering in the summer and starvation of half the colony the first winter. A free-enterprise system of privately owned fields is introduced and a bountiful harvest results in the first Thanksgiving feast.	1620
Governor John Winthrop establishes the Massachusetts Bay Company Puritan settlement in Boston, a “City Upon a Hill.” Old Testament case laws are incorporated into the civil code.	1630
The Great Migration of English Puritans fleeing Archbishop Laud’s persecution under Charles I settles in Massachusetts. ¹	1629-1641
Lord Baltimore founds Maryland as a Catholic colony.	1634
Roger Williams is about to be deported to England for disruptive behavior when he flees Massachusetts to found Rhode Island. Rhode Island is unique in requiring no religious qualifications for participation in the new government, making Williams the first political pluralist in the new world.	1636
Fundamental Orders of Connecticut base first constitution in the American colonies on the Republican form of government explained in Thomas Hooker’s sermon on Deuteronomy 1:13. Hooker abandons Winthrop’s religious test oath, a factor contributing to eventual loss of biblical imperatives for civil government under non-Christian leadership. ²	1638
Anglican cavaliers fleeing from Cromwell’s Puritan Revolution flee to the Virginia piedmont from the south and west of Britain. Sir William Berkeley governs the colony from 1642 to 1676.	1642-76
Charles II issues <i>Charter of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations</i> establishing Rhode Island as the first pluralistic government in the New World. The colony was the first to be established with no requirement of a religious test as a qualification for participation in civil government.	1663
Persecution of Protestants under Charles II and James II triggers the great migration of Quakers from north-central England and German pietists to the Delaware Valley and Pennsylvania.	1675-1725
Mississippi valley is claimed for France by LaSalle.	1682
Previously revoked by Charles II in 1684, the Massachusetts Charter is restored by William and Mary following England’s secularizing Glorious Revolution of 1688. The new charter bases the right to vote on property ownership rather than covenant with God. Great Britain’s Constitution of 1688 completely ignored the <i>Solemn League and Covenant</i> of 1643, in which rulers of both church and state had sworn to govern in accordance with the Word of God.	1691
Salem witch trials give Puritans a theological black eye. Demonic manifestations con-	1692

fused magistrates into condemning 20 innocents, contrary to advice of ministers. One of the magistrates, Samuel Sewell, later repents publicly. Another, John Hathorne, later becomes the object of his great-great-grandson's scorn and remorse when Nathaniel Hawthorne pens the *Scarlet Letter*. The writer even goes so far as to change the spelling of his last name.

Preamble to Delaware Constitution establishes authority for state government on biblical Trinity. A religious test oath is implemented by about half of the 13 colonies. However, most colonies adopt an establishment of religion in which each state government funds a particular denomination. Clergy such as Baptist Isaac Backus oppose these arrangements because they force members of non-established denominations to pay taxes in support of doctrines they do not approve. 1701

The great Scotch-Irish migration from the militant border regions of Britain begins. Steeled by centuries of warfare, this hardy stock of Presbyterians populates the American backcountry and later becomes the Reformed backbone of the Old South. 1717-1775

Jonathan Edwards preaches his famous "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God" sermon to spark the first Great Awakening. Edwards leads many to Christ, but undermines covenantal underpinnings of American society with anti-creedal emotionalism and Lockean empiricism. His failure to make cultural application of biblical law and his religious anti-covenantalism is eventually reflected in the secularized U.S. Constitution. 1741

College of New Jersey (Princeton) is founded to train Puritan ministers. 1746

The French and Indian War, a climactic conflict between Britain and France via their North American colonial surrogates, ends in a complete British victory. Removal of the French threat paves the way for the American Revolution. 1754-1763

Excerpted from full text

Fourth Debate with Stephen A. Douglas

at Charleston, Illinois (September 18, 1858)

MR. LINCOLN'S SPEECH

Mr. Lincoln took the stand at a quarter before three, and was greeted with vociferous and protracted applause, after which he spoke. This was one of many instances in which Lincoln revealed without embarrassment his bigotry toward the black race. The audience's response indicates that Northerners in general apparently found little to condemn in Lincoln's attitude.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: It will be very difficult for an audience so large as this to hear distinctly what a speaker says, and consequently it is important that as profound silence be preserved as possible.

While I was at the hotel to-day, an elderly gentleman called upon me to know whether I was really in favor of producing a perfect equality between the negroes and white people. [Great Laughter.] While I had not proposed to myself on this occasion to say much on that subject, yet as the question was asked me I thought I would occupy perhaps five minutes in saying something in regard to it. I will say then that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races, [applause]—that I am not nor ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any other man am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race. I say upon this occasion I do not perceive that because the white man is to have the superior position the negro should be denied every thing. I do not understand that because I do not want a negro woman for a slave I must necessarily want her for a wife. [Cheers and laughter.] My understanding is that I can just let her alone. I am now in my fiftieth year, and I certainly never have had a black woman for either a slave or a wife. So it seems to me quite possible for us to get along without making either slaves or wives of negroes. I will add to this that I have never seen, to my knowledge, a man, woman or child who was in favor of producing a perfect equality, social and political, between negroes and white men. I recollect of but one distinguished instance that I ever heard of so frequently as to be entirely satisfied of its correctness—and that is the case of Judge Douglas's old friend Col. Richard M. Johnson. [Laughter.] I will also add to the remarks I have made (for I am not going to enter at large upon this subject,) that I have never had the least apprehension that I or my friends would marry negroes if there was no law to keep them from it, [laughter] but as Judge Douglas and his friends seem to be in great apprehension that they might, if there were no law to keep them from it, [roars of laughter] I give him the most solemn pledge that I will to the very last stand by the law of this State, which forbids the marrying of white people with negroes. [Continued laughter and applause.] I will add one further word, which is this: that I do not understand that there is any place where an alteration of the social and political relations of the negro and the white man can be made except in the State Legislature—not in the Congress of the United States—and as I do not really apprehend the approach of any such thing myself, and as Judge Douglas seems to be in constant horror that some such danger is rapidly approaching, I propose as the best means to prevent it that the Judge be kept at home and placed in the State Legislature to fight the measure. [Uproarious laughter and applause.] I do not propose dwelling longer at this time on this subject.

KEY EVENTS IN AMERICAN HISTORY: THE AGE OF MODERNITY

An image of Commerce Secretary, Herbert Hoover, was transmitted to a New York audience in the first long-distance, public demonstration of television. According to social critic Neil Postman, television served to trivialize and transform public discourse in America from an active, rational, written thought process to a passive, visually-stimulating entertainment process. ¹⁶	1927
Charles Lindbergh flies solo from New York to Paris in first trans-Atlantic flight.	1927
Calvin Coolidge leaves office, the last U.S. President to substantially reduce the federal budget.	1929
Stock market crash triggers Great Depression.	1929
Publication of <i>I'll Take My Stand</i> , a symposium of "The Agrarians," sought to preserve the chivalry and values of the old South: localism, low taxes, family values, and less regulation. ¹⁷	1930
Albert Einstein arrives in U.S. along with other refugees from Nazi Germany.	1933
100 days of "New Deal" social legislation.	1933
The Civilian Conservation Corp (CCC) is established to create construction work for men unemployed by the Great Depression.	1933
Franklin Delano Roosevelt abolishes the gold standard in violation of the U.S. Constitution, unleashing an era of monetary inflation.	1934
The <i>Slave Narratives</i> , commissioned by Franklin Roosevelt, reveals the generally benign nature of Southern slavery. Hundreds of random interviews with former slaves describe a cordial and benevolent relationship between master and servant, with severe abuses on the part of about 5% of slaveholders.	
Inauguration of the Social Security retirement system.	1937
Franklin Roosevelt proposes to increase the number of Supreme Court justices, hoping to pack the Court with judges sympathetic to his radical expansion of federal power. The effort fails.	1937
Supreme Court expands federal power over economy by elevating the power to regulate interstate commerce over the Tenth Amendment, which had previously reserved such power to the states.	1941
America enters World War II with the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor.	1941
Allied invasion of Normandy on D-Day led by General Dwight Eisenhower; largest sea-born invasion in history.	1944
First digital computer built by IBM at Harvard University.	1944
The Yalta Conference of Winston Churchill, Josef Stalin, and Franklin Roosevelt partitions post-war Europe into East and West.	1945
Harry Truman orders two atomic bombs dropped on non-combatant, civilian populations (Hiroshima and Nagasaki) to end WWII.	1945
United Nations founded in New York City.	1945

Post-war baby boom.	1946-1957
Harry Truman enunciates the “Truman Doctrine” designed to contain Communist aggression in Europe and the Middle East. Truman told Congress that “the policy of the United States is to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.”	1947
Fairness Doctrine imposed by FCC on radio stations was used to stifle dissenting voices with the threat of loss of license to broadcast. The order, which required balanced coverage of controversial issues, was rescinded in 1987, restoring freedom of speech on the airwaves.	1949
Cold War between U.S. and Soviet Union based on a standoff in nuclear weapons. Treaties forbidding either side to increase their arsenal or develop any defensive measures observed by U.S., but routinely broken by Soviet Union. Post-war America booms with the application of new scientific discoveries to industry and adoption of Keynesian economic policy. The latter promoted government taxation and spending fueled by inflationary expansion of the money supply to create the illusion of long-term prosperity.	1945-92
U.S. enters Korean War to resist Chinese Communist expansion.	1950-53
George Meany becomes first president of the AFL-CIO, created by the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations.	1955
Rosa Parks refuses to give up seat in back of bus to a white man and sparks the Montgomery Bus Boycott.	1955
Construction of America’s interstate freeway system authorized.	1956
A requirement of the Maryland Constitution for state office holders to profess belief in God was annulled by the U.S. Supreme Court. The final vestiges of the “religious test oath” are thus banished from American civil government.	1961
Rachel Carson’s <i>Silent Spring</i> launches the American environmental movement and subsequent attacks on private property rights in America.	1962
John Glenn becomes first American to orbit the earth.	1962
Supreme Court rules that prayer (1962) and Bible reading (1963) in government schools are unconstitutional.	1962-63
Civil Rights Act enacted to prohibit public expressions of racial animosity and bigotry. In spite of the irregular life and doctrine of the guiding light, Martin Luther King, Jr., this was a move toward biblical justice. Much of the racial hatred lingering in America was a by-product of heavy-handed policies imposed on the South during the post-Civil War Reconstruction era. Liberals later twisted the original intent of the Act to impose racial quotas in hiring, a practice that perpetuates race-based discrimination and animosity.	1964
Lyndon Johnson’s state of the union address outlines plans for a “Great Society” giving great impetus to the socialistic “welfare state” in America.	1964
U.S. engaged in Vietnam War. Policies of limited engagement hinder military effort and result in America’s first loss of a war.	1965
Neil Armstrong becomes first man to walk on the moon’s surface in the successful American Apollo 11 mission.	1969
The Supreme Court upholds use of busing to achieve integration of public schools.	1971
<i>Roe v. Wade</i> legalizes abortion in America, contrary to all legal and biblical precedent.	1973

By the turn of the century approximately 40 million babies had been aborted in the “American Holocaust.”	
As the result of the Watergate affair, Richard Nixon becomes the first President ever to resign from office.	1974
Patriotism rekindled by the Bicentennial celebration, coupled with dramatic increase in abortion, motivates many evangelical Christians to emerge from cultural isolation.	1976
U.S. Senate votes 68-32 to return control of the Panama Canal Zone to Panama on December 31, 1999. The canal had been built with American labor under terms of a lease in perpetuity obtained in 1904 in exchange for establishing Panama as a free nation.	1977
Ronald Reagan’s campaign for President further mobilizes Evangelical Christian political involvement.	1980
The Supreme Court ruled that the Ten Commandments cannot be displayed in public schools on the grounds that it “may induce school children to read, meditate upon, and perhaps venerate or obey them.”	1980
American home school movement launched with the founding of the Home School Legal Defense Association.	1983
Reagan’s rearmament policies lead to end of the Cold War, punctuated by the tearing down of the despised and dreaded Berlin Wall.	1989
Two police officers are convicted in a retrial of a videotaped beating of black motorist Rodney King in an incident captured on video.	1993
Scandalized Bill Clinton becomes second U.S. President to be impeached (for perjury and obstruction of justice) and subsequently acquitted by the Senate.	1998-99
In the closest Presidential election in American history, Texas governor George Bush, Jr. defeats Vice President Al Gore with the promise to restore integrity to the White House. The election hung on fewer than 600 disputed votes in Florida and was ultimately decided in the U.S. Supreme Court, giving Bush a narrow electoral victory.	2000
Islamic terrorists hijack four jetliners. They successfully fly two of them into the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York City. Another they crash into the Pentagon (with less dramatic effect). The fourth plane crashes in the Pennsylvania countryside after brave passengers overpower the hijackers, preventing them from hitting their target. Some 3,000 American citizens die and President Bush launches a global War on Terrorism.	2001
U.S. led coalition forces overthrow dictatorship of Saddam Hussein in Iraq.	2003

APPENDIX I

**PHILOSOPHICAL ROOTS
OF THE U.S. CONSTITUTION**

PHILOSOPHICAL ROOTS OF THE U.S. CONSTITUTION

Although the historical forces that shaped America are complex, it is nonetheless possible to identify some of the dominant influences. Understanding these influences is the first step toward correcting our intractable national problems.

Pagan Greece and Rome. The framers liked to assume Roman pseudonyms in the debates and virtually all of their references in the *Federalist* are to Greece and Rome, not to the Bible. Cicero in particular was a favorite of the framers. Cicero contributed theories of natural law and democracy (“we the people”). A strong Greek influence came from Xenophon, whose writing was assigned to the Sophomore class by John Witherspoon at the College of New Jersey.¹⁸ Xenophon was a military adventurer and defender of the Socratic approach to discovering truth. Many founding fathers, most notably James Madison, were graduates of the College of New Jersey (now Princeton).

Religion was viewed favorably by Rome as a kind of social cement as long as it remained subservient to Caesar. All the local gods were welcome in the Pantheon. Christianity’s offense lay in its call for Caesar to submit to Christ. The American founders tended toward a similar favorable, but utilitarian, view of Christianity. There is a reason that they almost always assumed Greek and Roman pseudonyms in the debates—never biblical names. There is little question where their affections lay.

The founders’ pronouncements on Christianity typically laud the importance of religion for a stable and secure society. They focus on the blessing of the rights that God confers, but are characteristically vague concerning the government’s responsibility to God. For example, in October 1789, George Washington declared, “While just government protects all in their religious rights, true religion affords to government its surest support.”¹⁹ Moreover, Franklin’s call for prayers of submission to God in their task of constructing a political edifice was simply ignored by the Constitutional assembly. This was ironic because Franklin was probably the least orthodox of the group.

Many of the Founders were Unitarian in religion, although Unitarianism had not yet emerged as a formal denomination. For example, we have John Adams’ comment on the Trinity in a letter to Jefferson: “This revelation had made it certain that two and one make three and that one is not three nor can three be one. We can never be so certain of any prophecy . . . as we are from the revelation of nature, that is, nature’s God, that two and two are equal to four. . . .”²⁰ Thus, Christ was typically welcomed as loyal servant of the state, but not its Lord.

This comment by historian Thomas Cumming Hall confirms the mood of the day and the fact that the Bible had nothing of use to say about governments: “Indeed Alexander Hamilton almost goes out of his way to ignore the Old Testament in his recital of the various republics and their history in ‘The Federalist,’ and in his list of republics Sparta, Athens, Rome and Carthage . . . are all reviewed; but of Judaism there is no mention. . . . Indeed it is very striking to observe the authorities that have taken the place of Moses and the prophets. . . . The eighteenth-century conception of Greco-Roman Paganism has completely supplanted Puritanic Judaism.”²¹

If the founders were writing from a biblical perspective, we would expect to see at least occasional authoritative references to the Bible scattered throughout the primary source documents. However, we search in vain the Constitution itself, the *Federalist Papers*, and *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787* for even one such reference. The latter fills four volumes and almost a half foot of shelf space. And yet Hamilton, Madison, and Jay refer to the governments of pagan Greece and Roman at least 30 times in the *Federalist Papers* alone. The founders certainly did not make “the Bible their great political textbook” as is parroted by so many “Christian Constitution” authors.

Continues in full document

APPENDIX II

**JUDICIAL EROSION
OF THE U.S. CONSTITUTION**

JUDICIAL EROSION OF THE U.S. CONSTITUTION

In rejecting covenant with God, the founders divorced the U.S. Constitution from the ultimate source of truth and justice. In so doing, they left the document vulnerable to those who are adept at twisting language to expand the power of the nation at the expense of the states. To a great extent this has occurred through a revolution in the judiciary.

Here is a very brief summary of some of the key Supreme Court decisions that have made this revolution possible. The list is by no means exhaustive or even comprehensive. Some recent victories in the battle to restrict the power of the federal government are also included. Note that the preponderance of radical decisions fall in the 1900s, an indication of the dramatic shift in legal philosophy and judicial activism at the turn of the century. However, this is not to diminish the influence of the fourth Chief Justice, John Marshall, who laid the foundations for centralization in the early years of the republic.

Summary of Selected Supreme Court Decisions

Ware v. Hylton: (1796) Federal supremacy over state legislation is established when the court struck down a Virginia law which forgave debts owed to British citizens prior to the Revolution. The *Treaty of Paris*, which concluded the War, had stipulated that these debts be honored.

Marbury v. Madison: (1803) Supreme Court establishes supremacy over other branches via the process of judicial review. It was decided that “The Very Essence of Judicial Duty” is determining whether or not a law conforms with the Constitution.

McCulloch v. Maryland: (1819) Because “the power to tax involves the power to destroy,” the states may not tax the operations of the Federal government in executing Constitutional laws, in this case the Second Bank of the United States. Marshall used the “necessary and proper” clause to grant “implied powers” to the Federal government beyond those enumerated in Article II.

Updegraph v. The Commonwealth: (1824) Court upholds a state blasphemy law with the assertion that “general Christianity is and always has been a part of the common law.” However, this was Christianity emptied of its content, “not Christianity founded on any particular religious tenets . . . but Christianity with liberty of conscience to all men.”

Dred Scott v. Sanford: (1857) Dred Scott, a slave living in a free state, appealed to the Supreme Court for his freedom prior to moving back to the slave state of Missouri. The majority ruled that because a “negro” was not a citizen, he had no right to sue. It was held that the founding fathers believed blacks “had no rights which the white man was bound to respect; and that the negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit. He was bought and sold and treated as an ordinary article of merchandise and traffic, whenever profit could be made by it.”

Schechter Poultry Corp. v. United States: (1935) The Interstate Commerce Clause (Article I, Section 8), originally intended to eliminate tariffs between the states, has been expanded to include federal regulation of virtually any economic activity between states. However, in *Schechter* the Supreme Court denied the right of Congress to establish a minimum wage under a limited interpretation of the Commerce Clause.

U.S. v. Butler: (1936) The court rules that the power to tax is not limited to the delegated powers listed
Continues in full document

APPENDIX III

THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Article. I.

Section 1.

All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section. 2.

Clause 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.

Clause 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.

Clause 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 determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons. The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New-York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

Clause 4: When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

Clause 5: The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

Section. 3.

Clause 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.

Clause 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.

Clause 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.

Clause 4: The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

Clause 5: The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the Absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

Clause 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.

Clause 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.

Clause 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 chusing Senators.

Clause 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.

Clause 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 authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

Clause 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.

Clause 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.

Clause 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.

Clause 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, bepriviledged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

Clause 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.

Clause 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.

Clause 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. 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.

Clause 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.

Section. 8.

Clause 1: The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Impost 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;

Clause 2: To borrow Money on the credit of the United States;

Clause 3: To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

Clause 4: To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

Clause 5: To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

Clause 6: To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;

Clause 7: To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

Clause 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;

Clause 9: To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

Clause 10: To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offences against the Law of Nations;

Clause 11: To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

Clause 12: To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

Clause 13: To provide and maintain a Navy;

Clause 14: To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;

Clause 15: To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

Clause 16: 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;

Clause 17: To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings;—And

Clause 18: 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.

Clause 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.

Clause 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.

Clause 3: No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

Clause 4: No Capitation, or other direct, Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

Clause 5: No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

Clause 6: 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.

Clause 7: No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

Clause 8: No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

Section. 10.

Clause 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.

Clause 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 it's inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Controul of the Congress.

Clause 3: No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any Duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay.

Article. II.**Section. 1.**

Clause 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

Clause 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.

Clause 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 chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; A quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice President.

Clause 4: The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

Clause 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.

Clause 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.

Clause 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.

Clause 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.

Clause 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.

Clause 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.

Clause 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.

He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

Section. 4.

The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

Article. III.

Section. 1.

The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behaviour, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services, a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

Section. 2.

Clause 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.

Clause 2: In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.

Clause 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.

Clause 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.

Clause 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. IV.**Section. 1.**

Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

Section. 2.

Clause 1: The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.

Clause 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.

Clause 3: No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.

Section. 3.

Clause 1: New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or Parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

Clause 2: The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Section. 4.

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

Article. V.

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

Article. VI.

Clause 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.

Clause 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.

Clause 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.

Article. VII.

The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

done in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth In witness whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names,

GO WASHINGTON—Presidt. and deputy from Virginia

[Signed also by the deputies of twelve States.]

Delaware	Maryland
Geo: Read	James MCHenry
Gunning Bedford jun	Dan of ST ThoS. Jenifer
John Dickinson	DanL Carroll.
Richard Bassett	
Jaco: Broom	Virginia
	John Blair--
	James Madison Jr.

North Carolina

WM Blount
RichD. Dobbs Spaight.
Hu Williamson

South Carolina

J. Rutledge
Charles IACotesworth Pinckney
Charles Pinckney
Pierce Butler.

Georgia

William Few
Abr Baldwin

New Hampshire

John Langdon
Nicholas Gilman

Massachusetts

Nathaniel Gorham
Rufus King

Connecticut

WM. SamL. Johnson
Roger Sherman

New York

Alexander Hamilton

New Jersey

Wil: Livingston
David Brearley.
WM. Paterson.
Jona: Dayton

Pennsylvania

B Franklin
Thomas Mifflin
RobT Morris
Geo. Clymer
ThoS. FitzSimons
Jared Ingersoll
James Wilson.
Gouv Morris

Attest William Jackson Secretary

Amendments to the Constitution

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, PROPOSED BY CONGRESS, AND RATIFIED BY THE LEGISLATURES OF THE SEVERAL STATES, PURSUANT TO THE FIFTH ARTICLE OF THE ORIGINAL CONSTITUTION

Article [I.]

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

Article [II.]

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

Article [III.]

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Article [IV.]

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Article [V.]

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same 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.

Article [VI.]

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

Article [VII.]

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

Article [VIII.]

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

Article [IX.]

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

Article [X.]

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

[Article XI.]

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.

Proposal and Ratification

The eleventh amendment to the Constitution of the United States was proposed to the legislatures of the several States by the Third Congress, on the 4th of March 1794; and was declared in a message from the President to Congress, dated the 8th of January, 1798, to have been ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States. The dates of ratification were: New York, March 27, 1794; Rhode Island, March 31, 1794; Connecticut, May 8, 1794; New Hampshire, June 16, 1794; Massachusetts, June 26, 1794; Vermont, between October 9, 1794 and November 9, 1794; Virginia, November 18, 1794; Georgia, November 29, 1794; Kentucky, December 7, 1794; Maryland, December 26, 1794; Delaware, January 23, 1795; North Carolina, February 7, 1795.

Ratification was completed on February 7, 1795.

The amendment was subsequently ratified by South Carolina on December 4, 1797. New Jersey and Pennsylvania did not take action on the amendment.

[Article XII.]

The Electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;—The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.—The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

Proposal and Ratification The twelfth amendment to the Constitution of the United States was proposed to the legislatures of the several States by the Eighth Congress, on the 9th of December, 1803, in lieu of the original third paragraph of the first section of the second article; and was declared in a proclamation of the Secretary of State, dated the 25th of September, 1804, to have been ratified by the legislatures of 13 of the 17 States. The dates of ratification were: North Carolina, December 21, 1803; Maryland, December 24, 1803; Kentucky, December 27, 1803; Ohio, December 30, 1803; Pennsylvania, January 5, 1804; Vermont, January 30, 1804; Virginia, February 3, 1804; New York, February 10, 1804; New Jersey, February 22, 1804; Rhode Island, March 12, 1804; South Carolina, May 15, 1804; Georgia, May 19, 1804; New Hampshire, June 15, 1804.

Ratification was completed on June 15, 1804.

The amendment was subsequently ratified by Tennessee, July 27, 1804.

The amendment was rejected by Delaware, January 18, 1804; Massachusetts, February 3, 1804; Connecticut, at its session begun May 10, 1804.

Article XIII.

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

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

Proposal and Ratification

The thirteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States was proposed to the legislatures of the several States by the Thirty-eighth Congress, on the 31st day of January, 1865, and was declared, in a proclamation of the Secretary of State, dated the 18th of December, 1865, to have been ratified by the legislatures of twenty-seven of the thirty-six States. The dates of ratification were: Illinois, February 1, 1865; Rhode Island, February 2, 1865; Michigan, February 2, 1865; Maryland, February 3, 1865; New York, February 3, 1865; Pennsylvania, February 3, 1865; West Virginia, February 3, 1865; Missouri, February 6, 1865; Maine, February 7, 1865; Kansas, February 7, 1865; Massachusetts, February 7, 1865; Virginia, February 9, 1865; Ohio, February 10, 1865; Indiana, February 13, 1865; Nevada, February 16, 1865; Louisiana, February 17, 1865; Minnesota, February 23, 1865; Wisconsin, February 24, 1865; Vermont, March 9, 1865; Tennessee, April 7, 1865; Arkansas, April 14, 1865; Connecticut, May 4, 1865; New Hampshire, July 1, 1865; South Carolina, November 13, 1865; Alabama, December 2, 1865; North Carolina, December 4, 1865; Georgia, December 6, 1865.

Ratification was completed on December 6, 1865.

The amendment was subsequently ratified by Oregon, December 8, 1865; California, December 19, 1865; Florida, December 28, 1865 (Florida again ratified on June 9, 1868, upon its adoption of a new constitution); Iowa, January 15, 1866; New Jersey, January 23, 1866 (after having rejected the amendment on March 16, 1865); Texas, February 18, 1870; Delaware, February 12, 1901 (after having rejected the amendment on February 8, 1865); Kentucky, March 18, 1976 (after having rejected it on February 24, 1865).

The amendment was rejected (and not subsequently ratified) by Mississippi, December 4, 1865.

Article XIV.

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member

of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Proposal and Ratification

The fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States was proposed to the legislatures of the several States by the Thirty-ninth Congress, on the 13th of June, 1866. It was declared, in a certificate of the Secretary of State dated July 28, 1868 to have been ratified by the legislatures of 28 of the 37 States. The dates of ratification were: Connecticut, June 25, 1866; New Hampshire, July 6, 1866; Tennessee, July 19, 1866; New Jersey, September 11, 1866 (subsequently the legislature rescinded its ratification, and on March 24, 1868, readopted its resolution of rescission over the Governor's veto, and on Nov. 12, 1980, expressed support for the amendment); Oregon, September 19, 1866 (and rescinded its ratification on October 15, 1868); Vermont, October 30, 1866; Ohio, January 4, 1867 (and rescinded its ratification on January 15, 1868); New York, January 10, 1867; Kansas, January 11, 1867; Illinois, January 15, 1867; West Virginia, January 16, 1867; Michigan, January 16, 1867; Minnesota, January 16, 1867; Maine, January 19, 1867; Nevada, January 22, 1867; Indiana, January 23, 1867; Missouri, January 25, 1867; Rhode Island, February 7, 1867; Wisconsin, February 7, 1867; Pennsylvania, February 12, 1867; Massachusetts, March 20, 1867; Nebraska, June 15, 1867; Iowa, March 16, 1868; Arkansas, April 6, 1868; Florida, June 9, 1868; North Carolina, July 4, 1868 (after having rejected it on December 14, 1866); Louisiana, July 9, 1868 (after having rejected it on February 6, 1867); South Carolina, July 9, 1868 (after having rejected it on December 20, 1866).

Ratification was completed on July 9, 1868.

The amendment was subsequently ratified by Alabama, July 13, 1868; Georgia, July 21, 1868 (after having rejected it on November 9, 1866); Virginia, October 8, 1869 (after having rejected it on January 9, 1867); Mississippi, January 17, 1870; Texas, February 18, 1870 (after having rejected it on October 27, 1866); Delaware, February 12, 1901 (after having rejected it on February 8, 1867); Maryland, April 4, 1959 (after having rejected it on March 23, 1867); California, May 6, 1959; Kentucky, March 18, 1976 (after having rejected it on January 8, 1867).

Article XV.

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

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

Proposal and Ratification

The fifteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States was proposed to the legislatures of the several States by the Fortieth Congress, on the 26th of February, 1869, and was declared, in a proclamation of the Secretary of State, dated March 30, 1870, to have been ratified by the legislatures of twenty-nine of the thirty-seven States. The dates of ratification were: Nevada, March 1, 1869; West Virginia, March 3, 1869; Illinois, March 5, 1869; Louisiana, March 5, 1869; North Carolina, March 5,

1869; Michigan, March 8, 1869; Wisconsin, March 9, 1869; Maine, March 11, 1869; Massachusetts, March 12, 1869; Arkansas, March 15, 1869; South Carolina, March 15, 1869; Pennsylvania, March 25, 1869; New York, April 14, 1869 (and the legislature of the same State passed a resolution January 5, 1870, to withdraw its consent to it, which action it rescinded on March 30, 1870); Indiana, May 14, 1869; Connecticut, May 19, 1869; Florida, June 14, 1869; New Hampshire, July 1, 1869; Virginia, October 8, 1869; Vermont, October 20, 1869; Missouri, January 7, 1870; Minnesota, January 13, 1870; Mississippi, January 17, 1870; Rhode Island, January 18, 1870; Kansas, January 19, 1870; Ohio, January 27, 1870 (after having rejected it on April 30, 1869); Georgia, February 2, 1870; Iowa, February 3, 1870.

Ratification was completed on February 3, 1870, unless the withdrawal of ratification by New York was effective; in which event ratification was completed on February 17, 1870, when Nebraska ratified.

The amendment was subsequently ratified by Texas, February 18, 1870; New Jersey, February 15, 1871 (after having rejected it on February 7, 1870); Delaware, February 12, 1901 (after having rejected it on March 18, 1869); Oregon, February 24, 1959; California, April 3, 1962 (after having rejected it on January 28, 1870); Kentucky, March 18, 1976 (after having rejected it on March 12, 1869).

The amendment was approved by the Governor of Maryland, May 7, 1973; Maryland having previously rejected it on February 26, 1870.

The amendment was rejected (and not subsequently ratified) by Tennessee, November 16, 1869.

Article XVI.

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

Proposal and Ratification

The sixteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States was proposed to the legislatures of the several States by the Sixty-first Congress on the 12th of July, 1909, and was declared, in a proclamation of the Secretary of State, dated the 25th of February, 1913, to have been ratified by 36 of the 48 States. The dates of ratification were: Alabama, August 10, 1909; Kentucky, February 8, 1910; South Carolina, February 19, 1910; Illinois, March 1, 1910; Mississippi, March 7, 1910; Oklahoma, March 10, 1910; Maryland, April 8, 1910; Georgia, August 3, 1910; Texas, August 16, 1910; Ohio, January 19, 1911; Idaho, January 20, 1911; Oregon, January 23, 1911; Washington, January 26, 1911; Montana, January 30, 1911; Indiana, January 30, 1911; California, January 31, 1911; Nevada, January 31, 1911; South Dakota, February 3, 1911; Nebraska, February 9, 1911; North Carolina, February 11, 1911; Colorado, February 15, 1911; North Dakota, February 17, 1911; Kansas, February 18, 1911; Michigan, February 23, 1911; Iowa, February 24, 1911; Missouri, March 16, 1911; Maine, March 31, 1911; Tennessee, April 7, 1911; Arkansas, April 22, 1911 (after having rejected it earlier); Wisconsin, May 26, 1911; New York, July 12, 1911; Arizona, April 6, 1912; Minnesota, June 11, 1912; Louisiana, June 28, 1912; West Virginia, January 31, 1913; New Mexico, February 3, 1913.

Ratification was completed on February 3, 1913.

The amendment was subsequently ratified by Massachusetts, March 4, 1913; New Hampshire, March 7, 1913 (after having rejected it on March 2, 1911).

The amendment was rejected (and not subsequently ratified) by Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Utah.

[Article XVII.]

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

Proposal and Ratification

The seventeenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States was proposed to the legislatures of the several States by the Sixty-second Congress on the 13th of May, 1912, and was declared, in a proclamation of the Secretary of State, dated the 31st of May, 1913, to have been ratified by the legislatures of 36 of the 48 States. The dates of ratification were: Massachusetts, May 22, 1912; Arizona, June 3, 1912; Minnesota, June 10, 1912; New York, January 15, 1913; Kansas, January 17, 1913; Oregon, January 23, 1913; North Carolina, January 25, 1913; California, January 28, 1913; Michigan, January 28, 1913; Iowa, January 30, 1913; Montana, January 30, 1913; Idaho, January 31, 1913; West Virginia, February 4, 1913; Colorado, February 5, 1913; Nevada, February 6, 1913; Texas, February 7, 1913; Washington, February 7, 1913; Wyoming, February 8, 1913; Arkansas, February 11, 1913; Maine, February 11, 1913; Illinois, February 13, 1913; North Dakota, February 14, 1913; Wisconsin, February 18, 1913; Indiana, February 19, 1913; New Hampshire, February 19, 1913; Vermont, February 19, 1913; South Dakota, February 19, 1913; Oklahoma, February 24, 1913; Ohio, February 25, 1913; Missouri, March 7, 1913; New Mexico, March 13, 1913; Nebraska, March 14, 1913; New Jersey, March 17, 1913; Tennessee, April 1, 1913; Pennsylvania, April 2, 1913; Connecticut, April 8, 1913.

Ratification was completed on April 8, 1913.

The amendment was subsequently ratified by Louisiana, June 11, 1914.

The amendment was rejected by Utah (and not subsequently ratified) on February 26, 1913.

Article [XVIII].

Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

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

Section. 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

Proposal and Ratification

The eighteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States was proposed to the legislatures of the several States by the Sixty-fifth Congress, on the 18th of December, 1917, and was declared, in a proclamation of the Secretary of State, dated the 29th of January, 1919, to have been ratified by the legislatures of 36 of the 48 States. The dates of ratification were: Mississippi, January 8, 1918; Virginia, January 11, 1918; Kentucky, January 14, 1918; North Dakota, January 25, 1918; South Carolina, January 29, 1918; Maryland, February 13, 1918; Montana, February 19, 1918; Texas, March 4, 1918; Delaware, March 18, 1918; South Dakota, March 20, 1918; Massachusetts, April 2, 1918; Arizona, May 24, 1918; Georgia, June 26, 1918; Louisiana, August 3, 1918; Florida, December 3, 1918; Michigan, January 2, 1919; Ohio, January 7, 1919; Oklahoma, January 7, 1919; Idaho, January 8, 1919; Maine, January 8, 1919; West Virginia, January 9, 1919; California, January 13, 1919; Tennessee, January 13, 1919;

Washington, January 13, 1919; Arkansas, January 14, 1919; Kansas, January 14, 1919; Alabama, January 15, 1919; Colorado, January 15, 1919; Iowa, January 15, 1919; New Hampshire, January 15, 1919; Oregon, January 15, 1919; Nebraska, January 16, 1919; North Carolina, January 16, 1919; Utah, January 16, 1919; Missouri, January 16, 1919; Wyoming, January 16, 1919.

Ratification was completed on January 16, 1919. See *Dillon v. Gloss*, 256 U.S. 368, 376 (1921).

The amendment was subsequently ratified by Minnesota on January 17, 1919; Wisconsin, January 17, 1919; New Mexico, January 20, 1919; Nevada, January 21, 1919; New York, January 29, 1919; Vermont, January 29, 1919; Pennsylvania, February 25, 1919; Connecticut, May 6, 1919; and New Jersey, March 9, 1922.

The amendment was rejected (and not subsequently ratified) by Rhode Island.

Article [XIX].

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Proposal and Ratification

The nineteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States was proposed to the legislatures of the several States by the Sixty-sixth Congress, on the 4th of June, 1919, and was declared, in a proclamation of the Secretary of State, dated the 26th of August, 1920, to have been ratified by the legislatures of 36 of the 48 States. The dates of ratification were: Illinois, June 10, 1919 (and that State readopted its resolution of ratification June 17, 1919); Michigan, June 10, 1919; Wisconsin, June 10, 1919; Kansas, June 16, 1919; New York, June 16, 1919; Ohio, June 16, 1919; Pennsylvania, June 24, 1919; Massachusetts, June 25, 1919; Texas, June 28, 1919; Iowa, July 2, 1919; Missouri, July 3, 1919; Arkansas, July 28, 1919; Montana, August 2, 1919; Nebraska, August 2, 1919; Minnesota, September 8, 1919; New Hampshire, September 10, 1919; Utah, October 2, 1919; California, November 1, 1919; Maine, November 5, 1919; North Dakota, December 1, 1919; South Dakota, December 4, 1919; Colorado, December 15, 1919; Kentucky, January 6, 1920; Rhode Island, January 6, 1920; Oregon, January 13, 1920; Indiana, January 16, 1920; Wyoming, January 27, 1920; Nevada, February 7, 1920; New Jersey, February 9, 1920; Idaho, February 11, 1920; Arizona, February 12, 1920; New Mexico, February 21, 1920; Oklahoma, February 28, 1920; West Virginia, March 10, 1920; Washington, March 22, 1920; Tennessee, August 18, 1920.

Ratification was completed on August 18, 1920.

The amendment was subsequently ratified by Connecticut on September 14, 1920 (and that State reaffirmed on September 21, 1920); Vermont, February 8, 1921; Delaware, March 6, 1923 (after having rejected it on June 2, 1920); Maryland, March 29, 1941 (after having rejected it on February 24, 1920, ratification certified on February 25, 1958); Virginia, February 21, 1952 (after having rejected it on February 12, 1920); Alabama, September 8, 1953 (after having rejected it on September 22, 1919); Florida, May 13, 1969; South Carolina, July 1, 1969 (after having rejected it on January 28, 1920, ratification certified on August 22, 1973); Georgia, February 20, 1970 (after having rejected it on July 24, 1919); Louisiana, June 11, 1970 (after having rejected it on July 1, 1920); North Carolina, May 6, 1971; Mississippi, March 22, 1984 (after having rejected it on March 29, 1920).

Article [XX.]

Section 1. The terms of the President and Vice President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3d day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

Section. 2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3d day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Section. 3. If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President elect shall have died, the Vice President elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice President elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President elect nor a Vice President elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice President shall have qualified.

Section. 4. The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

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

Section. 6. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.

Proposal and Ratification

The twentieth amendment to the Constitution was proposed to the legislatures of the several states by the Seventy-Second Congress, on the 2d day of March, 1932, and was declared, in a proclamation by the Secretary of State, dated on the 6th day of February, 1933, to have been ratified by the legislatures of 36 of the 48 States. The dates of ratification were: Virginia, March 4, 1932; New York, March 11, 1932; Mississippi, March 16, 1932; Arkansas, March 17, 1932; Kentucky, March 17, 1932; New Jersey, March 21, 1932; South Carolina, March 25, 1932; Michigan, March 31, 1932; Maine, April 1, 1932; Rhode Island, April 14, 1932; Illinois, April 21, 1932; Louisiana, June 22, 1932; West Virginia, July 30, 1932; Pennsylvania, August 11, 1932; Indiana, August 15, 1932; Texas, September 7, 1932; Alabama, September 13, 1932; California, January 4, 1933; North Carolina, January 5, 1933; North Dakota, January 9, 1933; Minnesota, January 12, 1933; Arizona, January 13, 1933; Montana, January 13, 1933; Nebraska, January 13, 1933; Oklahoma, January 13, 1933; Kansas, January 16, 1933; Oregon, January 16, 1933; Delaware, January 19, 1933; Washington, January 19, 1933; Wyoming, January 19, 1933; Iowa, January 20, 1933; South Dakota, January 20, 1933; Tennessee, January 20, 1933; Idaho, January 21, 1933; New Mexico, January 21, 1933; Georgia, January 23, 1933; Missouri, January 23, 1933; Ohio, January 23, 1933; Utah, January 23, 1933.

Ratification was completed on January 23, 1933.

The amendment was subsequently ratified by Massachusetts on January 24, 1933; Wisconsin, January 24, 1933; Colorado, January 24, 1933; Nevada, January 26, 1933; Connecticut, January 27, 1933; New Hampshire, January 31, 1933; Vermont, February 2, 1933; Maryland, March 24, 1933; Florida, April 26, 1933.

Article [XXI.]

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

Section 2. The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

Proposal and Ratification

The twenty-first amendment to the Constitution was proposed to the several states by the Seventy-Second Congress, on the 20th day of February, 1933, and was declared, in a proclamation by the Secretary of State, dated on the 5th day of December, 1933, to have been ratified by 36 of the 48 States. The dates of ratification were: Michigan, April 10, 1933; Wisconsin, April 25, 1933; Rhode Island, May 8, 1933; Wyoming, May 25, 1933; New Jersey, June 1, 1933; Delaware, June 24, 1933; Indiana, June 26, 1933; Massachusetts, June 26, 1933; New York, June 27, 1933; Illinois, July 10, 1933; Iowa, July

Amendment XXII

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

Section 2. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states within seven years from the date of its submission to the states by the Congress.

Amendment XXIII

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

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

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

Amendment XXIV

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

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

Amendment XXV

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

Section 2. Whenever there is a vacancy in the office of the Vice President, the President shall nominate a Vice President who shall take office upon confirmation by a majority vote of both Houses of Congress.

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

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

Thereafter, when the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that no inability exists, he shall resume the powers and duties of his office unless the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive department or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit within four days to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office. Thereupon Congress shall decide the issue, assembling within forty-eight hours for that purpose if not in session. If the Congress, within twenty-one days after receipt of the latter written declaration, or, if Congress is not in session, within twenty-one days after Congress is required to assemble, determines by two-thirds vote of both Houses that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall continue to discharge the same as Acting President; otherwise, the President shall resume the powers and duties of his office.

Amendment XXVI

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

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

Amendment XXVII

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

Appendix IV: Discussion Questions

I. The Puritan Era

1. Does Roger Williams's approach to civil government protect religious liberty or destroy it?
2. What does the Bible say about religious liberty?
3. When government takes a neutral stance toward Christianity, does this ensure the happiness and security of the people, as Williams claimed?
4. Compare and contrast the philosophy of civil government represented by William Bradford and Roger Williams.
5. How does Edward Taylor reconcile justice and mercy?
6. How did England's Glorious Revolution in 1688 affect the American Colonies, especially Massachusetts?
7. Why did the Puritan experiment in Biblical civil government fail to stand the test of time?
8. Compare and contrast the definition of liberty set forth by America's founder, John Winthrop, and the contemporary view.
9. Did the Puritans violate the principle of separation of church and state when they cross-referenced their law codes to the Old Testament?
10. Analyze the Salem Witch trials from a biblical perspective.

II. The Neoclassical Era

1. Do you think the religious views of Franklin and Jefferson were typical of the founding fathers?
2. Were the religious views of the founders typical of most Americans at the time?
3. Discuss the influence of Jonathan Witherspoon and Scottish Common Sense Rationalism.
4. What is the difference between the idea of separation of church and state and the idea of separation of God and state in the Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom?
5. Does the mention of God in the Declaration of Independence mean it is a Christian document or not? Support your answer?
6. What do you make of the fact that the least orthodox of the founding fathers, Benjamin Franklin, was the only one to call for prayer at the Constitutional Convention?
7. Does the fact that the three primary authors of the Declaration of Independence—Jefferson, Franklin, and Adams—all denied the deity of Christ have any effect on the document they produced?
8. What is the basis of governing authority in the Declaration of Independence?
9. Compare and contrast the Puritan Era and the Neoclassical Era.

III. The Romantic Era

1. In what way is Romanticism akin to Pantheism?
2. Is there a legitimate expression of Romanticism that might be consistent with Christianity?
3. How did the poetry of Thoreau and Whitman differ from that of William Bradford and Edward Taylor?
4. Summarize the influence of Andrew Jackson on the antebellum South
5. How does Emerson's view of the innate goodness of man influence his conclusions in "Self Reliance"?
6. What are the hindrances to self-reliance, according to Emerson?
7. Emerson has been called a "prophet of religious liberalism." What evidence of this can you find in his essay?
8. Some critics have identified what they call the concept of the "imperial self" at the heart of Romanticism. What does this mean and how does Emerson develop this idea in "Self Reliance"?
9. Evaluate Emerson's statement that "A foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds."
10. Discuss the impact of the two "Great Awakenings" on the development of American culture.

IV. The Era of Centralization

1. Describe Lincoln's attitude toward blacks.
2. How were black people treated in both North and South prior to the Civil War?
3. Was the South in rebellion or exercising a legitimate right to secession?
4. Describe the great irony of the Gettysburg Address.
5. Explain Manifest Destiny in the American experience.
6. In what ways did Lincoln's treatment of civilian populations during the Civil War set the stage for the "total warfare" of the twentieth century?
7. Summarize the biblical doctrine of slavery from both Old and New Testaments.
8. Summarize the underlying causes of the War Between the States.
9. How did the Confederate Constitution compare with the U.S. Constitution of 1787 in such vital matters as covenant with God and religious test oath requirement?
10. How did the era of Reconstruction affect race relations in the South?

V. The Era of Realism

1. How did Casey Jones represent the spirit of the Age of Realism?
2. Is Mark Twain correct in his accusation of U.S. imperialism or was America merely defending her legitimate interests in the Philippines, in Cuba, and elsewhere?
3. In what ways did the poetry of Emily Dickinson contribute to a spirit of skepticism?
4. Describe the impact of Darwin on the Era of Realism.
5. How does imperialism benefit its victims, according to Kipling?
6. Analyze capitalism from a biblical perspective.
7. Describe how socialism became entrenched in American politics.
8. What steps were taken to consolidate the power of the Federal Government during the Era of Realism?
9. What is the social gospel and how did it effect American life in the early twentieth century?
10. Describe the effect of a variety of creative inventions (light bulb, telephone, etc.) on life during the Era of Realism.

VI. The Modern Era

1. How would you explain the exile of Christians from public life in the mid-twentieth century?
2. What factors converged to begin a reversal of the exile of Christians from public life in the fourth quarter of the twentieth century?
3. What is naturalism and what impact did it have on modern thought?
4. In what ways have television and cinema impacted modern life?
5. Was Truman justified in dropping the atomic bomb on two Japanese cities?
6. How did rejection of the biblical covenant in 1787 manifest itself in the twentieth century?
7. Describe the effect of Roosevelt's "New Deal" on twentieth-century America.
8. In what ways was the original intent of the U.S. Constitution reversed in the twentieth century?
9. What factors contributed to the demise of Communism in the twentieth century?
10. How would you explain ongoing discrimination against black Americans a hundred years after the Civil War was fought allegedly to end such practices?

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- 3 C. Gregg Singer, *A Theological Interpretation of American History* (Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Co., 1964), p. 47.
- 16 Neil Postman, *Amusing Ourselves to Death* (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 1984).
- 17 Lewis P. Simpson, Editor, *I'll Take My Stand* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1958).
- 18 Pangle, *Spirit of Modern Republicanism*, pp. 25, 37.
- 19 Washington, *Writings* (1838), Vol. XII, p. 167, to the Synod of the Reformed Dutch Church of North America in October 1789.
- 20 Adams to Jefferson, September 14, 1813; reprinted in Wiltach, *Correspondence*, pp. 80-83.
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