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Historical Pragmatics and the American Declaration of Independence

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Master's Degree (Mres) in English
Language and English Linguistics

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Abstract

Research on the American Declaration of Independence has predominantly taken the form of textual criticism, wherein the chief aim is the approximation of an archetype or autograph of the text and whereby variants are useful only insofar as they are capable of indicating likely features of the archetype or autograph. The present study moves in the opposite direction: rather than using later texts to arrive at an understanding of an earlier version, the study begins in 1776 and follows the text—from its first authorised reprint in book form to a mid-nineteenth-century political campaign pamphlet and on to an early-twentieth-century internationalist volume—to learn whether and how variations in the text's form reflect changes its function over time.

This study draws on qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis to examine bibliographical and textual evidence which manifest the pragmatics of the textual encounter. The first texts analysed are the 'Original Rough Draught' and the Dunlap broadside, examined here with the primary aim of establishing a basic profile of features present in the Declaration as it was originally encountered—first by Congress and then by the public. Quantitative measures are also employed, utilising basic methods of computer-assisted text analysis (concordance and collocation) to observe possible associations between words. These same qualitative and quantitative methods are then applied to three later versions of the Declaration and to the text and paratext which accompany them. The findings derived therefrom are then contextualised within broader historical trends in the ways individuals have received, analysed and shared texts.

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Accompanying material

One compact disc containing diplomatic transcriptions of the accompanying texts and paratexts in the following volumes:

1. United States. (1781) *The Constitutions of the Several Independent States of America; the Declaration of Independence; the Articles of Confederation between the Said States; the Treaties between His Most Christian Majesty and the United States of America* Philadelphia: Francis Bailey
2. John P Jewett and Company. (1856) *Republican Campaign Edition for the Million, published by John P Jewett & Company*
3. Scott, J. B., ed (1917) *The Declaration of Independence[,] the Articles of Confederation[,] and the Constitution of the United States* New York: Oxford University Press

Prefatory note

In the interest of transparency, the present author would like to state explicitly that the present study began as a study of typography and the ways in which diachronic typographical changes suggest changing ways of interacting with the Declaration of Independence over time. As the study progressed, it became clear that typographical features could not be considered as separate from their pragmatics—a principle demonstrated by Malcolm Parkes (1993). The historical-pragmatic approach was suggested to the author by her supervisor, Professor Jeremy Smith, and it was thus that the present study was formulated by degrees. Having benefitted from her supervisor's extensive expertise and unfailing guidance, any injustices done to the concepts put forth by the authors of the works cited, to computer-assisted text analysis, the field of pragmaphilology or to the broader fields of pragmatics and linguistics are her own.

Furthermore, the present author strongly believes the necessity of a researcher locating her- or himself within qualitative research. As the following study contains a substantial qualitative element, a personal disclaimer is felt to be necessary here. The author, working on an American text, must acknowledge her own nationality as American—her analyses, it is hoped, do not (as she has so often observed in other studies) assume some teleological progression of textual evolution or some inherent grandeur in the Declaration as a 'founding document' of the United States. She has at every possible juncture borne in mind that a text's significance is culturally-determined and, in the case of certain key texts, culturally-determining. She has, therefore, attempted to approach the Declaration not deductively, as a 'founding document'—not as *the* Declaration of Independence, not as a pillar of democracy—but inductively, as a text like any other: a collection of features which manifest the processes by which meaning is negotiated within the context of specific historical, social and cultural conventions.

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To the attendees at the University of Glasgow's 'Signs of Interdependence' Archipelagic Conference, the University of Edinburgh's Language and English Linguistics Postgraduate Conference and the Historical Perspectives 'Revolutionary or Not?' Postgraduate Conference at the University of Stirling, for their valuable feedback on two papers which, augmented by their enquiries and insights, feature in the dissertation below;

To my husband, Rory, for putting up with my late hours, my emotional distress and my constant preoccupation, and also my cats, Beulah and Margot, who not only fulfil Schweitzer's observation on the species but perfect it;

To my parents, Bob and Sharon Nelson, to whom I owe everything good about myself.



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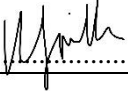
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1. Introduction

1.1 The Declaration of Independence today

On July 2nd, 2014, *The New York Times* featured the following title: ‘If Only Thomas Jefferson Could Settle the Issue: A Period Is Questioned in the Declaration of Independence’. (Schuessler, 2014) On the 3rd, the *Washington Times* ran an article titled ‘Mystery comma: Could Jefferson’s punctuation change the meaning of the Declaration of Independence?’ (Howell, 2014) Two days after that, on the opposite side of the Atlantic, *The Telegraph* featured an article headlined ‘Declaration of Independence transcript contains a “serious” error, says Princeton academic’. (Akkoc, 2014)¹ This is not a trend peculiar to the present year: on July 3rd four years earlier *The Washington Post* featured an article describing a discovery made at the Library of Congress which showed that Jefferson had in his draft called the inhabitants of the British American colonies ‘subjects’ and then scratched it out, writing ‘citizens’ in its place. Several decades before that, *The Manchester Guardian* published an article stating that, according to the *New York Times*, ‘Mr. Julian P. Boyd, the librarian of Princeton . . . has described . . . the discovery of what appears to be a fragment of Jefferson’s earliest draft’. (1947: 4)

These discoveries and the news articles which describe them illustrate the ways in which scholarly and popular interest has fixated on the Declaration's origins². Research on the Declaration's ideological and rhetorical significance follows a similar pattern³, and debate on what went on in John Dunlap's printing office on the night of July 4th, 1776 does not appear to be ceasing any time soon.⁴ On one hand, such interest has yielded an ample and

¹ That academic has argued that in the engraving of the Declaration’s ‘engrossed copy’ there appears to be an ‘errant’ full stop, evidently misread by engraver William Stone in 1823. (Allen, 2014: 10 and *passim*)

² The 2004 film *National Treasure*, wherein a character played by Nicholas Cage finds a treasure map on the verso of the Engrossed Copy of the Declaration, certainly deserves a mention here.

³ Please see, as examples of the former, Armitage, D. (2004) ‘The Declaration of Independence in World Context’ In *OAH Magazine of History* Bloomington, IN: Organization of American Historians Vol. 18, No. 3, p. 61-6; also Cross, J. (2012) ‘“Done in Convention”: The Attestation Clause and the Declaration of Independence’ In *The Yale Law Journal* New Haven, CT: Yale Law Journal Company p. 1236-70; of the latter please see Howell, W. S. (1976) ‘The Declaration of Independence: Some Adventures with America’s Political Masterpiece’ In *The Quarterly Journal of Speech* Vol. 62, No. 3, p. 221-33; also, Lucas, S. (1998) ‘The Rhetorical Ancestry of the Declaration of Independence’ In *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan State University Press Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 143-84; also, Friedenwald, H. (1904) *The Declaration of Independence: An Interpretation and an Analysis* Lancaster, PA: New Era Printing Company p. 184-207

⁴ Please see, for example, Boyd’s 1976 article ‘The Declaration of Independence: The Mystery of the Lost Original’ In *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 100, No. 4, p. 438-67 and Wilfred J. Ritz’s agonisingly-titled rebuttal nearly twenty years later: ‘From the Here of Jefferson’s Handwritten Rough Draft of the Declaration of Independence to the There of the Printed Dunlap Broadside’ (1992) in *The*

indeed overwhelming body of literature representing myriad questions and hypotheses about the Declaration's origins. On the other hand, the resultant research has, with only one known exception, taken the form of textual criticism, wherein the chief aim is the approximation of an archetype or autograph of the Declaration and whereby variants are useful only insofar as they are capable of indicating likely features of the archetype or autograph. The present study moves in the opposite direction; rather than using later texts to arrive at a better understanding of an archetypal Declaration or the Declaration according to its composer's original intent, the present study begins in 1776 and follows the text—from its first authorised reprint to a mid-nineteenth-century political campaign pamphlet and on to an early-twentieth-century internationalist volume—to learn whether, and if so, how, variations in the text's form reflect changes its function over time.

1.2 Literature review

The present study's research process was highly iterative; thus the body of literature consulted and the methodology developed therefrom necessarily tend toward the eclectic.⁵

Julian Boyd's (1976) article, 'The Declaration of Independence: the Mystery of the Lost Original' is perhaps the first study to make a direct connection between accidentals in the Declaration's first imprint and sociocultural and linguistic phenomena that could explain them. In the study, Boyd postulates that aberrant quotation marks in a 'proof copy' of the Declaration were, in fact, a compositor's misinterpretation of diacritical marks used by Thomas Jefferson to denote emphatic pauses or words.⁶ It is the 'Mystery of the Lost Original' which, by demonstrating the power of a text's form to reveal its function, in many ways inspired and gave shape to the purpose and structure of the present study. Jay Fliegelman's (1993) *Declaring Independence: Jefferson, Natural Language & the Culture*

Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 116, No. 4, p. 499-512; please see also Danielle Allen's (2014) study, noted above, 'Punctuating Happiness'.

⁵ The literature which informed the present study is given in (roughly) the order in which it was encountered, thus reflecting (roughly) the way in which the methodology was developed (to be discussed in more detail below).

⁶ Allen equates the reason Jefferson employed diacritical marks with the reason '[John] Adams used capitalization liberally, doing so, it would appear, as a guide to spoken emphasis'. (2014: 5) The present author would argue that Jefferson employed diacritical marks to indicate emphatic words or pauses while Adams simply followed eighteenth-century convention, systematically capitalising substantives (insofar as can be seen from the figures in Allen's study). Jefferson's diacritical marks are not limited to substantives, and Adams's capitalisation does not appear to apply to any class of words but substantives. [Note: Allen has, since this dissertation was submitted in September 2014, revised her assessment of Jefferson's and Adams's script.]

of Performance extends Boyd's (1976) findings, situating Jefferson more precisely within contemporaneous conventions of communication, thus expounding in greater detail the circumstances in which the Declaration was composed.

Malcolm Parkes demonstrates in his comprehensive *Pause and Effect* (1993) the extent to which variations in punctuation reveal the particularly heightened 'interaction between logical and rhetorical analysis' in the eighteenth century. (90) Furthermore, Parkes's work highlights the pragmatics of punctuation not only in making 'elocutionary units' (1993: 91) comprehensible to an individual declaiming text but also in conveying intimacy and emotion to a reader of sentimental fiction. Naomi Baron's (2001) study extends the history of punctuation through the twentieth century and helpfully provides specific examples from the United States.

Further illustrating communicative conventions of the eighteenth century, Paul Goring's (2005) work on 'sensibility' argues that that century saw the classical rhetorical style fall from favour while more emotional, physical language, which encouraged emotionally- and physically-performed responses, gained cultural currency. Andrew Burstein (1995) examines Thomas Jefferson's engagement with sensibility in his relationship to sentimental fiction and his style of writing personal letters, thus revealing Jefferson's familiarity with the conventions of those types of communication.

The above literature having provided a general understanding of how linguistic and pragmatic features were encoded and analysed in American texts since the eighteenth century, it becomes necessary to determine what external circumstances mediated the processes of encoding and analysis. *A History of the Book in America*, comprising five volumes, presents a comprehensive, multidisciplinary collection of studies in textual production, transmission and reception from the earliest European colonies in (what would become) the United States to the present time; the first volume, *The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World* (Amory and Hall, eds., 2007) has informed the present study's approach to eighteenth-century texts as physical, cultural artefacts, as have the third and fourth volumes with regard to texts produced during the mid-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Yet a *text* does not typically exist on its own, as Gérard Genette⁷ has demonstrated:

⁷ The author is indebted to doctoral candidates Magdalena Leitner and Francesca Mackay at the University of Glasgow for their inspirational seminar, which illustrated the value of paratextual analysis in historical pragmatics.

‘paratext’—described as ‘verbal or other productions, such as the author’s name, a title, a preface’ and so on—‘is what enables a text to become a book’. (1997: 1) Mediating features inherent to each copy of the Declaration, then, are not limited to the physical format of a broadside or pamphlet or book but to the ‘paratext’ which ‘surround and extend’ the text and make it comprehensible to the reader. (*ibid.*)

By the time the present author came into contact with Genette’s work, however, the copies of the Declaration used in the study had already been selected; three of these copies were ‘surrounded and extended’ by amounts of text which would have been unmanageable to analyse sufficiently without recourse to quantitative measures, i.e., computer-assisted text analysis.⁸ A cursory review of smaller monographs on quantitative text analysis proved unhelpful, as various authors advocate disparate and often conflicting suggestions regarding the purpose of text analysis, the definitions of its measurements and, frustratingly, the most reliable statistical measures (if any statistical measures are suggested at all). McEnery and Hardie’s (2012) *Corpus Linguistics: Method, Theory and Practice*, however, provides a comprehensive and, importantly, critical overview of the various traditions and approaches in corpus linguistics and text analysis, from which it became apparent that methods and findings which hold across and even incorporate a range of traditions would be preferable to adherence to a single tradition of text analysis.

While individuals studying the Declaration’s eighteenth-century history may have dedicated body of scholarship to draw upon, no such body of literature exists for the Declaration’s textual afterlives, and it is this gap in scholarship which the present study seeks to address. Indeed, Andreas Jucker and Irma Taavitsainen’s recently-published (2013) handbook on historical pragmatics confirms that not only is it possible to synthesise the diverse methodological and theoretical frameworks indicated by the above literature, but such a synthesis is *desirable*:

...electronic corpora encourage a shift away from contextual assessments when a great deal of material is available in an easily accessible form. The corpus user may not be familiar with the background facts of texts, and without this knowledge quantitative analysis . . . cannot be performed without risking the integrity of the study. The problem of

⁸ The *Oxford English Dictionary Online* is of course a useful tool—as is the *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary*—but in this case, the amount of text requiring analysis rendered a solely qualitative approach impracticable. Additionally, many entries relevant to the present study have not been updated in the *OED* since the nineteenth century, thus jeopardising the reliability of a solely qualitative approach.

decontextualisation has been noticed as a drawback and a shift seems to be taking place in linguistics towards pragmatic approaches . . . with context playing a more prominent role than before. (Jucker and Taavitsainen, 2013: 42-3)⁹

The following section will describe in greater detail the way the synthesis of qualitative and quantitative approaches were realised in the study's methodology.

1.3 Methodology

The methodology which follows is described in as much detail as possible so that it may be replicated and improved upon and the findings derived therefrom replicated and refuted or corroborated in future studies.

1.3.1 *Assembling the corpus*

Because, as noted earlier, the body of literature dedicated to the Declaration of 1776 is substantial, it seems prudent to use the wealth of information on it to create a profile of features against which later versions can be compared. Of the several versions dating from 1776, the first authorised, public text was selected for this purpose: the broadside printed by John Dunlap on the night of July 4th, 1776. Having first considered the research of Fliegelman (1993) and Goring (1995) regarding sentimentalism and sensibility, the Dunlap broadside was scanned for linguistic features which would reflect these modes of communication; indeed, what appeared to be palimpsests of such language were found, but could only be explicated by referencing Jefferson's 'Original Rough Draught'¹⁰. In similar fashion, these features in the Draught was only fully explicable when supplemented with analysis of the fragment of Jefferson's earliest-known draft; these two holographs are treated together solely for that purpose. The popular 'Engrossed copy' of the Declaration is noted, though it does not feature substantially in either qualitative or quantitative analysis.

The primary concern in assembling a body of the Declaration's later versions lay in selecting a set of copies which would cover a substantial portion of the Declaration's

⁹ The author is indebted to Professor Jeremy Smith for reminding her of this apt quotation.

¹⁰ This is in fact a misnomer, but convention has perpetuated its use in scholarship. See further Boyd 1976, *passim*.

history. It was decided that the maximum number such copies should be three, as anything over that would, it was suspected, be unmanageable. Among the imprints located, as an attempt to control for variables which would render comparison ineffectual, versions selected were produced in the same region of the United States and at comparable moments in United States history: all three copies were published in the major printing centres (Philadelphia, Boston and New York) at times when the country was under considerable duress (the Revolutionary War, the years immediately preceding the Civil War and the Great War).

The three versions, published in 1781,¹¹ 1856¹² and 1917¹³, span 134 years, with 75 and 56 years between successive copies, respectively. In 1781, the treaties between the States and France had been recently agreed upon, changing the course of the Revolution, and the Articles of Confederation had been adopted by a majority of states; 1856 saw the last presidential election before Lincoln sat in office and the South seceded from the Union; in 1917, after years of neutrality, the United States declared war on Germany and entered the Great War. These three versions are all also situated within larger volumes, each featuring other political documents such as the Articles of Confederation, the Republican Platform of 1856 and the Constitution as well as contemporaneous paratextual elements, effectively crystallising the Declaration within a particular context at these points in time.

1.3.2 *Analysing the corpus*

A text-centred and text-led analysis has been considered central to the study since its beginning, primarily as a way of mitigating confirmation bias which, it was feared, would be all too possible in analysing such a high-profile text. The methodology is therefore primarily inductive, i.e. the ‘material’ being analysed has been approached ‘without preconceived ideas about what it might yield’. (Jucker and Taavitsainen, 2013: 43)

The primary strands of analysis are those of material and textual features. In the course of the study, ‘material features’ was reconceptualised as ‘bibliography’, defined in the *Oxford*

¹¹ *The Constitutions of the Several Independent States of America; the Declaration of Independence; the Articles of Confederation between the Said States; the Treaties between His Most Christian Majesty and the United States of America*, and published in Philadelphia by Francis Bailey

¹² *Republican Campaign Edition for the Million*, published in Boston by John P Jewett & Company

¹³ *The Declaration of Independence[,] the Articles of Confederation[,] and the Constitution of the United States*, printed in New York by the Oxford University Press for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Dictionary of Literary Terms as ‘[t]he study of books as material objects, involving technical analysis of paper, printing methods, bindings, page-numbering, publishing history, and library holdings.’ (Baldick, 2008a) ‘Textual features’ are simply taken to mean features of ‘[t]he wording of anything written or printed; the structure formed by the words in their order; the very words, phrases and sentences as written’. (*OED*, 2014)¹⁴

Qualitative analysis of physical features was principally conducted via secondary sources which provided information on the volumes’ dimensions, binding and methods of printing. Textual features were analysed in terms of punctuation, spelling and capitalisation. The reception of texts was extrapolated from the volumes themselves where possible, then compared to external accounts of reading and other communicative practices at the time.

Before computer-assisted text analysis could be performed, diplomatic transcriptions of the versions’ accompanying texts and paratexts were made and saved as simple text files.¹⁵ Line breaks and typographical detail were not rendered in these transcriptions, unlike the transcriptions of the Declaration itself where such details were preserved as signals which would guide readers’ interpretations of the text.

Text analysis was conducted using Laurence Anthony's AntConc (3.4.1) software, which offers two measures for identifying collocates: the *t*-score and Mutual Information (MI). The former indicates the likelihood an attraction exists between words, and the latter indicates the intensity of that attraction. As stated by Stefan Evert (2004; 2007) and others, many standard statistical methods for determining collocates are insufficient, especially when used on their own. Though tailored to small samples (which characterises the variably-sized texts in the present corpus), the *t*-test assumes a normal distribution and random selection of the sample which, as has been argued, is not the case with linguistic data.¹⁶ MI is also problematic, known to give unwarrantedly high scores to collocates which occur very few times.¹⁷ Evert acknowledges in his (2007) study that, ‘[a]t this

¹⁴ However, as this entire study seeks to discern variation in the same text over time, ‘textual features’ in its broader sense approaches ‘textuality’, i.e., ‘[t]he condition of being textual, or in other words of “writtenness”’, thus creating a sort of continuum between the purely physical and purely textual features which includes traditionally-termed ‘accidentals’ and paratextual features. For the *OED* definition of ‘text’ please see <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/200002>; also, for the *Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms* definition of ‘textuality’, please see <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199208272.001.0001/acref-9780199208272-e-1136>.

¹⁵ Transcriptions were saved in separate files for text, paratext and accompanying texts so that concordance lines could be traced with greater accuracy to their original sources during text analysis.

¹⁶ See again, for example, McEnery and Hardie, 2012: 51-2.

¹⁷ See, for example, Xiao and McEnery, 2006; McEnery and Hardie, 2012: 51-3.

point, no definitive recommendation can be made [regarding statistical measures of collocation]’, and that ‘it is perhaps better to apply several measures with well-understood and distinct properties than attempt to find a single optimal choice’. (42) Both measures offered by AntConc were used in an attempt to mitigate the shortcomings of each, and a minimum co-occurrence frequency (or ‘threshold’) was adopted. Though ‘collocate’ appears to be a much-disputed term in corpus linguistics, for ease of reference any word which meets the minimum *t*-score, MI and threshold criteria is called a ‘collocate’ of the node word in question. Following conventions of statistical significance tests¹⁸, the *t*-scores resulting in a confidence interval of 95 per cent (i.e., $t = 1.960$) and above are considered potential collocates. If those potential collocates also have a minimum MI score of 3 *and* occur a minimum of three times, that relationship is considered a collocate.

Text analysis is restricted to two of the Declaration’s key words, ‘free’ and ‘independent’,¹⁹ and their nominal forms (i.e. *freedom* and *independence*).

1.4 Structure and conventions of the study

The present chapter concludes with a brief introduction to the Declaration’s origins. Chapter 2 comprises qualitative and quantitative analysis of the Jefferson’s Original Rough Draught and the Dunlap broadside, establishing the baseline set of features for analysis of later versions (as discussed in 1.3.1). Chapter 3 is composed of a bibliographical account and qualitative analysis of textual features in the 1781, 1856 and 1917 versions. In Chapter 4, quantitative analysis is performed on the accompanying textual and paratextual matter associated with these versions. Chapter 5 summarises the study’s key findings, provides critical discussion of the study’s limitations and suggests future avenues for research on the Declaration’s textual afterlives.

¹⁸ The author duly notes Evert’s aversion to using ‘statistically significant’ and variations thereof in relation to the *t*-score used in linguistics (please see further Evert, 2004: 82-3; also Evert, 2007: 20-1). Any use of the phrase ‘statistically significant’ or any variation thereof in that manner is for ease of reference.

¹⁹ ‘Key word’ here is used as in *New Keywords: a Revised Vocabulary of Culture and Society*: a word that has ‘played a pivotal role in discussions of culture and society’ (Bennett, et al., 2005: xvii) The present author considers ‘free’ and ‘independent’ to be among the most ‘pivotal’ words in the Declaration; they occur in the final paragraph which, incidentally, is a ‘declaration’ according to Searle’s ‘taxonomy of illocutionary acts’, i.e., an utterance ‘which . . . bring[s] about the state of affairs that [it] describe[s]’. (Jucker and Taavitsainen, 2013: 93)

A transcription of each Declaration, including details of its paratextual features, is included in Appendix A. Transcriptions use modern analogues to archaic graphemes, e.g. (s) for (f) and indicate textual features as follows: a single vertical line (|) for a line break; a double vertical line (||) for a double space; a triple vertical line (|||) for a page break; (¶) for a normal indentation, (→) for a hanging indent. Italicisation in non-draft transcriptions is represented as such, and boldening indicates the use of black-letter type. Where manuscript versions are transcribed, the editorial process is represented as follows: strikethrough indicates a line or passage which has been struck out; in the ‘Original Rough Draught’ square brackets surrounding text are exactly as found in the manuscript, added by Jefferson to indicate words, lines or passages struck out by Congress; carets are used on either side of interlined material, and these are italicised for ease of reading; spelling errors (e.g. ‘unacknoleged’ in the Original Rough Draught) are as found in the manuscripts; square brackets enclosing a single question mark represent an illegible word or part of a word. Appendix B contains tables of all text analysis discussed in Chapters 2 and 4. Complete transcriptions of all versions and their accompanying texts and paratexts are included in the accompanying compact disk.

1.5 The usual (prehi)story²⁰

While Thomas Jefferson was beginning a career as a lawyer, George Grenville was instated as Great Britain’s prime minister (in 1763), charged with recovering financial stability after the great expenditures effected by Britain’s involvement in the Seven Years’ War. Beginning in 1765 with the so-called Stamp Act, a series of legislation was enacted intending to obtain from the American Colonies a share of this financial burden. Tensions between the Colonies and the British government grew, markedly so after the ‘Boston Massacre’ of 1770 in which several Bostonians were killed by British soldiers. In 1775 Jefferson was elected to represent Virginia in the Continental Congress, ‘[bringing] with him a reputation for literature, science, and a happy talent for composition’. (John Adams, quoted in Boyd, 1999: 20) In June of 1776 this reputation secured his election to the five-man committee (which also included John Adams and Benjamin Franklin) charged with drafting a declaration of the Colonies’ independence from Great Britain.

²⁰ Allen (2014) has suggested that ‘Adams should be seen as the motive force behind the Declaration’. (12-3) Duly noting Allen’s exception to the ‘usual story’, this does not affect the present study.

In 1779 Jefferson won the gubernatorial election in Virginia, six years later he replaced Benjamin Franklin as the American minister to France, and in 1796 was elected Vice President to John Adams. After the pinnacle of his political engagement, his two-term service as President from 1801 to 1809, he retired to his home, Monticello, and until his death would receive criticisms of his role in composing the Declaration. These criticisms, deriving from political disagreement between Jefferson and Federalists (primarily John Adams, Thomas Pickering and Richard Henry Lee), described his role in ‘compiling’ as unmeritorious in its lack of originality. (Fliegelman, 1993: 164) In reply to this Jefferson stated that he never considered it ‘any part of [his] charge to invent new ideas altogether’, but rather to ‘harmon[ise] sentiments of the day’²¹—to give expression to ‘the American mind’. (*ibid.*, 165) Jefferson died on July 4, 1826—exactly fifty years after John Dunlap had set the type for the Declaration of Independence—and was buried at Monticello, where his epitaph reads (*ibid.*: 166):

Here was buried
Thomas Jefferson
Author of the Declaration of Independence
of the Statute of Virginia for religious freedom
Father of the University of Virginia

²¹ For further discussion of the changing meaning of authorship in the eighteenth century, please see Fliegelman: 164-88.

2. The Declaration in 1776

2.1 Jefferson's drafts

Among the five men nominated to the committee to draft a declaration, Jefferson, having received 'one more vote than any other', was 'placed . . . at the head of the Committee' (Adams, quoted in Boyd, 1999: 20). He drafted the Declaration largely on his own, apparently asking Adams and Franklin to correct it only after he had finalised a draft and produced fair copies.

It is important to note here that the Declaration of Independence was not itself the act of separation from British governance. (Boyd, 1999: 19) Rather, apparently drawing on the longstanding tradition of formally declaiming royal proclamations¹, the Declaration made public and *thereby authenticated* to the public the authority of Congress's decision, passed two days prior, to separate from Great Britain²:

‘Resolved . . . That Copies of the Declaration be sent to the several Assemblies, Conventions & Councils of Safety, & to the several Commanding Officers of the Continental Troops, that it be proclaim'd in each of the United States, and at the head of the Army—’ (Continental Congress, 1776)

The Declaration formally justified the separation to its domestic and international audiences, but its primary function was arguably, as Jefferson wrote later in his life, to relate the cause of independence ‘in terms so plain and firm as to command [the Colonists'] assent’. (Boyd, 1999: 16).

¹ ‘In the context of English political culture the proclamation embodied the oral, the written, and the printed (this last in those versions where it reached this stage). An instrument of royal sovereignty, any English proclamation issued before 1640 had the status of statute law. Conceptually, it embodied the monarch's speech, or spoken will. Transposed into written text, the proclamation was an elaborate artifact bearing not only the royal seal and appropriate signatures but also decorative lettering. Some of this decorative lettering was carried over into the printed form, usually a single-sheet broadside. [...] The text was turned back into speech when it was read aloud, or published, in markets or other open-air settings.’ (Hall, 2007: 59)

² As noted earlier, according to Searle's taxonomy of felicity conditions, the Declaration was a ‘declaration’—i.e., a speech act ‘which, if performed successfully, bring[s] about the state of affairs that [it] describe[s]’. (Jucker and Taavitsainen, 2013: 93)

2.1.1 Elocutionism, sentimental fiction and Jefferson

The elocutionary movement has been described as the emergence and predominance of ‘emotionally affecting modes of delivery...’ (Goring, 2005: 38), the ‘transformation of the medium [of oratory] . . . from a patrician, scholastic discipline to a more democratic form of discourse, involving regular appeals to the emotions of the audience’ (*ibid*: 39) and as ‘oratorical ability, not merely to persuade by rational argumentation, but to excite, animate, motivate, and impress’. (Fliegelman, 1993: 36) Within this culture of sensibility and elocutionism, ‘polite’ emotional responses were *performed* emotional responses, and were cued by a speaker’s or author’s emotional or physical language (or indeed her or his own bodily performance of emotion); a person who did not produce these responses was considered overly scholastic, unfeeling or generally impolite.³ Jürgen Habermas has described this phenomenon in terms of the changing public sphere, whereby ‘relations between author, work, and public became intimate mutual relationships between privatized individuals who were psychologically interested in what was “human”, in self-knowledge, and in empathy’ (1987: 50) This change, Habermas argues, appears to have had its origins in the important eighteenth-century practice of letter-writing which gave rise to the works of Samuel Richardson and Laurence Sterne. (*ibid.*, 49)

A telling entry made in 1772 or 1773 in Jefferson’s Literary Commonplace Book provides insight into the way Jefferson interacted with such novels (Burstein, 1995). In the entry, Jefferson paraphrases several lines from Laurence Sterne’s *Tristram Shandy*, the original text of which reads:

‘Time wastes too fast: every letter I trace tells me with what rapidity life follows my pen; the days and hours of it more precious, my dear Jenny! than the rubies about thy neck, are flying over our heads like clouds of a windy day, never to return more—every thing presses on—whilst thou art twisting that lock,—see! it grows grey; and every time I kiss thy hand to bid adieu, and every absence which follows it, are preludes to that eternal separation which we are shortly to make.—’ (Sterne, 1767: 36-7)⁴

³ Please see further Goring, 2005: 142-3

⁴ Jefferson’s Library Catalogue does not list the editions Jefferson must have had at this time, as he had obviously read the book—later editions and anthologies are listed. Burstein mentions Sterne’s original passage but does not state anything explicit regarding the passage’s source information; as such, the first edition is used. (see note 22 in Burstein, 1995: 299)

Jefferson makes several substantive and accidental alterations to the text:

‘Time wastes too fast! every letter I trace tells me with what rapidity life follows my pen. the days & hours of it are flying over our heads like clouds of a windy day never to return more! everything presses on: and every time I kiss thy hand to bid adieu, every absence which follows it, are preludes to that eternal separation which we are shortly to make!’ (Jefferson, quoted in Burstein, 1995: 49)

This transcription suggests several important features of Jefferson’s language use, particularly his ‘[use of] exclamation marks in place of Sterne’s colon and dashes, to dramatize the sentiment further.’ (*ibid.*) While Burstein emphasises Jefferson’s use of exclamations, the other changes to punctuation are just as notable, for example Jefferson’s replacement of the first semicolon with a full stop. In so doing, he alters the passage’s grammatical and logical structure, but more salient to the present purpose is the change effected in what Malcolm Parkes has called the ‘elocutionary units’ of the rhetorical structure (1993: 91).

In the eighteenth century, this was a common convention of punctuation. In John Rice’s *Introduction to Reading with Energy and Propriety* (1765)⁵, Rice quotes Thomas Sheridan’s advice for effective punctuation:

‘Let him first find out and mark each emphatic Word; then let him examine what Number of Words belong to that emphatic one, and at the last of those let him place a Comma, or such other Stop as the Sense requires’. (Sheridan, 1762: 82; quoted in Rice 1765: 352⁶)

‘Stops’ were often given durations, e.g. a comma having one count, a semicolon two, a colon three, and so on; this rhetorically-oriented practice underscores the pragmatics of punctuation in the eighteenth century, and suggests to some extent the way in which Jefferson himself used punctuation. While Jefferson’s exclamation marks here function quite obviously for dramatic effect, his full stop may have functioned more subtly by creating emphasis by changing the cadence of the passage. Parkes makes specific

⁵ Thomas Jefferson’s acquaintance with elocutionism is demonstrated in some titles which populated his immense personal library. Among these are Thomas Sheridan’s *Lectures on Elocution*, John Rice’s *An Introduction to Reading with Energy and Propriety* (1765) and Thomas Reid’s *Inquiry into the Human Mind* (1764), wherein a distinction is made between ‘artificial’ and ‘natural’ language, the latter of which ‘every man [sic] understands by the principles of his [sic] nature’ and which is distinguished by ‘modulations of the voice, gestures, and features’. (103, 105; quoted in Fliegelman, 1993: 44-5;

⁶ This page number in Rice’s *Introduction to the Art of Reading* was a typographical error; the page number should read 252.

reference to Laurence Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*, noting that Sterne 'employs "elocutionary" punctuation to enhance the intimacy between Yorick and the reader during his description of a particularly sentimental reaction, and the conversational qualities of the prose style have been emphasized by the use of the dash and exclamation marks'. (1993: 92) Parkes does, however, suggest that this sort of 'disciplined flexibility of usage' (92) was a trait exploited by *novelists*—as such, the most that can be said about Jefferson's transcription at this point is that he did not simply copy Sterne's usage but rather pointed the passage to reflect his own analysis, thus suggesting Jefferson was *using* punctuation purposefully to reflect some particular function.⁷

Burstein provides further insight into Jefferson's situation within the literary and sociocultural context of the eighteenth century. In response to a request dated 1771 from his future brother-in-law, Robert Skipwith, Jefferson furnished a list of books which (in his estimation) fit Skipwith's desire that these be 'suited to the capacity of a common reader who understands little of the classicks and who has not leisure for any intricate or tedious study'. (Skipwith's letter quoted in Burstein, 1995: 26; referenced in Fliegelman, 1993: 44) Among these recommendations Jefferson states that fiction, composed by 'writers of feeling and sentiment', is as useful as 'sympathetic emotion of virtue' as factual histories. Jefferson suggests some 'Greek and Roman reading', the Bible, essays of David Hume, *Principles of Morality and Natural Religion* by Lord Kames, the sermons of Laurence Sterne and Samuel Richardson's *Pamela: or Virtue Rewarded* and *Clarissa*. (Burstein, 1995: 28) Such insight into Jefferson's idea of what constituted works for a 'common reader', corroborated by the transcription in his Literary Commonplace Book, suggests he was very much a (learned) man of his time, embracing the classics, the Enlightenment and the 'feeling and sentiment' and 'sympathetic emotion of virtue' characteristic of eighteenth-century sentimentalism and sensibility.

⁷Burstein notes that this passage was again transcribed by Jefferson just before his wife died—she having evidently begun the first half of the passage, he having finished it. (61) These details suggest that this passage was of some previous significance to both of them and would have been shared between them. If this sharing was, as it is thought most likely to be, achieved by reading aloud, Jefferson's (1772-3) punctuation was likely still elocutionary in function, despite differing from that of Sterne. (For more on Jefferson's Literary Commonplace Book, on his relationship with his wife and this relic from the time of her death, see Burstein, 1995: 60-2 and *passim*)

2.1.2 Elocutionism, sentimentalism and Jefferson's Declaration

The language Jefferson used in his drafts of the Declaration reflects his familiarity with sentimentalism and sensibility. The principal example of this lies in the penultimate paragraph of the draft commonly called the 'Original Rough Draught'⁸ (for full transcription, see Appendix A):

at this very time too they | are permitting their chief magistrate to send over not only soldiers of our common | blood, but Scotch & foreign mercenaries to invade & ~~deluge us in blood~~ ^destroy us^. these facts | have given the last stab to agonizing affection and manly spirit bids us to re- | -nounce [?] these unfeeling brethren. we must endeavor to forget our former | love for them, and to hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, | in peace friends. (Jefferson, 1776b)

This passage features stark examples of the bodily, physical language of sensibility in such phraseology as 'blood', 'deluge us in blood', 'stab' and 'agonizing'. Sentimentalism is also evident in 'affection', 'manly' and 'unfeeling'. Interestingly, in an earlier draft⁹, surviving only as a fragment, several of these phrases were not included in the original text but were interlined as Jefferson reviewed and edited it for (full transcriptions, see Appendix A)

~~this conduct and~~ at this ^very^ time ^they, too^ are permitting their ~~sovereign~~ chief magistrate (to?) | send over not ^only^ soldiers of our ~~own~~ ^common^ blood but ^Scotch &^ foreign mercenaries to ^invade and^ ~~destroy us.~~ ^deluge us in blood.^ ~~this is too much to be borne even by relations. enough~~ ^these facts have given the last stab to agonizing affection, & manly spirit bids us [?]^ ~~be it today, we are~~ | now done with them! ^renounce for ever these unfeeling brethren^ we must endeavor to

⁸ Julian Boyd notes that this full rough draft, created after the fragment, features few, if any, indications of being revised while being written; additional or corrected material has been interlined and, as in the case on the second page, included in a paste-on flap (which rendered the grievance regarding dissolution 'of Representative houses repeatedly' partially illegible). The draft runs four pages long and features notes in the margins, made 'at a later date, perhaps in the nineteenth century' by Jefferson, attributing particular alterations to either Benjamin Franklin or John Adams. Boyd also notes that brackets in this copy indicate 'those parts stricken out by Congress sitting as the committee of the whole'. (Boyd, 1999: 65).

⁹ The fragment is in Jefferson's hand. Half the sheet of paper is missing, and the paper was discovered by Julian Boyd hidden among other Congressional documents, apparently categorised by the writing featured on the opposite end of the paper (which had been folded). This other writing is also fragmentary, reading ' -vious appointment meant to give him, & of this they had supposed Genl Sulliv could not be ignorant as he was then a member of Congress, was present during the whole transaction & contributed by his own vote to place General Gates in his senior station. that therefore in the late app[ointmen?]t of Maj Genl Gates to be a Majr Senr the Congress proceeded & meant to proceed by according to seniority. that the relinquishmt of his command in the face of an enemy by Genl Sullivan, ^which^ however unprecedented ^he desires may not be imputed to fear^ this house does not desire ^wish^ to consider as proceeding from fear, since had ^that motive^ | they believed him to be brave & therefore appointed him. he now desires to resign, they therefore accept it.'

forget our former love for them | and to hold them, as *^we hold^* the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends. | we might have been a ~~great~~ *^free^* & a ~~happy~~ *^great^* people together, but *^a^* communication of happiness *^randeur^* | & of ~~grandeur~~ *^freedom^* it seems it ~~beneath~~ *^[-]low^* their dignity. ~~we will climb then the roads to glory & | happiness apart.~~ be it so, since they will have it. the road to ~~glory & to happiness~~ *^& to glory^* | is open to us too, we will climb it ~~[?]~~, *^apart from them^* & acquiesce in the necessity | which *pro^de^* nounces our ~~everlasting~~ *Adieu* eternal separation. ~~these facts have given the last stab to agonizing affection, & manly spirit bids us to renounce for ever these unjust~~ *^unfeeling^* ~~brethren.~~ (Jefferson, 1776a)

Taking into account that the line containing ‘stab’, ‘agonizing’, ‘affection’ and ‘manly’ was originally written at the end of the fragment, it becomes apparent that all words of physicality and emotionalism were the last to be added to the passage, suggesting that this was Jefferson’s *stylistic* choice¹⁰. The second half of the penultimate paragraph of the Original Rough Draught provides a further example:

we might have been a free & a great people together, but a commu- | -
nication of grandeur & of freedom it seems is below their dignity. be it so,
since they | will have it: the road to ~~glory & happiness~~ *^& to glory^* is open
to us too, we will ~~^must^ climb ^tread^ it in | a separately state ^apart from~~
~~them^~~, and] acquiesce in the necessity which *pro^de^*nounces our ~~ever- | -~~
~~lasting Adieu!~~ [eternal] separation *^and hold them as we hold the rest of*
mankind enemies in war, in peace friends.^! (Jefferson, 1776b)

Jefferson’s ‘everlasting Adieu!’ is also in the fragment. Though in the fragment it is struck through and followed with ‘eternal separation’, Jefferson transferred it to the subsequent draft and punctuated it emphatically. This is of course not as vivid as the image of colonists being ‘deluge[d] . . . in blood’, but it maintains the physicality of elocutionism in its reference to the *act* of bidding farewell.

Julian Boyd’s argument connecting the Declaration with the elocutionary movement (i.e., the Dunlap ‘proof copy’) is convincing, and while the following is yet to be proven conclusively, the present author would like to propose the possibility of a direct connection between the Declaration and sentimental fiction. Recalling the Sterne passage Jefferson copied into his Commonplace Book,

¹⁰ Regarding Jefferson’s stylistic practices, Burstein notes: ‘Jefferson repeatedly recommended this author [Hugh Blair] to students. . . Blair’s work is not only representative of the age in which Jefferson wrote but also of that influence on Jefferson’s development as a stylist of language which was not strictly classical or legal’. (Burstein, 1995: 127)

... everything presses on: and every time I kiss thy hand to bid adieu, every absence which follows it, are preludes to that eternal separation which we are shortly to make!’ (Jefferson, quoted in Burstein, 1995: 49)

it appears that ‘[E]verlasting Adieu’ and ‘eternal separation’ bear remarkable similitude to the sentimental language of Sterne. Consultation of the *OED Online* returns no relevant results for either phrase. As such, it seems the only explanation at present is that Jefferson had indeed imported the language of Sterne’s *Tristram Shandy*—which seems to have held particular significance to him and to his wife—directly into his drafts¹¹. Interestingly, the exclamation mark Jefferson uses is also imported: ‘...acquiesce in the necessity which ~~pro~~^{de}^nounces our ~~ever~~ | ~~lasting~~ Adieu! [eternal] separation . . . !’—further indicating a connection between the features of the Declaration and eighteenth-century sensibility and sentimentalism.

2.1.3 The Continental Congress’s revisions

These features, however, were never seen nor heard by the American public in the days following the Declaration’s adoption on July 4th, 1776. What happened in Congress during the revision process, however conjectural, suggests the Declaration was indeed read using an elocutionary mode of analysis. According to Boyd (1976), in the Congressional debate leading up to adoption of the Declaration ‘the discussion over the document. . . was of secondary order [to the question of independence itself]’ and ‘revolv[ed] around the nature of the arguments and the mode of presentation best calculated to win assent at home and abroad’ (1976: 445). From 28 June to 2 July, 1776, Jefferson’s final draft of the declaration lay on display in the congressional quarters where ‘it was available for inspection by members’ and, ‘[j]udging by the number and detail of subsequent amendments . . . on July 2, 3, and 4, some of the delegates must have subjected it to rather close scrutiny’ (ibid, 449). Indeed, diacritical marks were added to one of its paragraphs, suggesting that particular attention was given to the way the Declaration would be read to the public:

¹¹ NOTE: since submitting this dissertation in September, 2014, the author has learned that this connection with sentimentalism had in fact been suggested previously, in Martin E. Marty’s (1997) *The One and the Many: America’s Struggle for the Common Good* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press (219-221), and that the direct connection between *Tristram Shandy* and the Original Rough Draught had also been posited in Max Byrd’s (1998) “Thomas Jefferson and Great Britain in Peace and War” In *Guerres et paix: la Grande-Bretagne au XVIIIe siècle* Vol. 2. Paris: Presses Sorbonne Nouvelle (203-214). These studies do, however, corroborate the points argued in the present chapter, including Jefferson’s familiarity with the culture of sentimentalism and sensibility.

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

The amendments were primarily substantive in nature; accidentals were finalised only at John Dunlap's printing office on the night of the 4th. As attested by John Adams (also on the drafting committee), one consequence of Congress's involvement was the 'striking out' of 'several of the most oratorical Paragraphs'. (Adams quoted in Boyd, 1999: 21) From these observations, and in comparing the drafts to the Dunlap Broadside, it becomes apparent that in the alterations made by Congress, the 'nature of the arguments' encompassed not only the declaration's content but also the manner in which that content was expressed. Referring again to the excerpt above, Congress's alteration of Jefferson's dramatic and emotive 'which denounces our eternal separation!' to 'which denounces our separation.' corroborates Adams's testimony; furthermore, the alteration exemplifies the overall adjustment of the text's register from the 'more accessible and democratic' language of sentimentalism and elocutionism to the more formal, 'scholastic' register perhaps more typical of a proclamation. (Goring, 2005: 39)

Julian Boyd (1976: 451) has posited that it may be 'assume[d] . . . that Jefferson, as author of the document and as head of the Committee of Five' in charge of drafting and printing the Declaration 'would have been present at the printery'. As noted above, Danielle Allen (2014) feels it was Adams who was there. In any case, the lack of data surrounding the event preclude empirical conclusions and thus are not explored here. What *is* known about printer John Dunlap is that he was official printer to Congress—he had experience producing documents in a manner Congress found suitable. Whether Dunlap was left to his own devices at some point during the night—whether it was he or his compositor who mistakenly included the quotation marks in the 'proof copy' and changed 'inalienable rights' to 'unalienable rights'—or whether there was a member of Congress superintending the press the entire time are considerations which would have determined the conventions of punctuation adopted that night. What remains for empirical analysis is the broadside itself, discussed below.

2.2 The Dunlap broadside

2.2.1 *Jefferson's phraseology, exsanguinated*

The passage examined above, having been edited by the delegates of Congress, reads as follows (for full transcript, see Appendix A):

They too have been deaf to the Voice of Justice and of Consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the Necessity, which | denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of Mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace, Friends.

The most vivid imagery—‘blood’ and ‘deluge us in blood’ and so on—has been removed. On the 21st of July, 1776 Richard Henry Lee replied to a letter from Jefferson and the copies Jefferson had enclosed of the Declaration, one as he had written it, the other as it had been revised by the Congress. Of the former, Lee wrote, ‘I wish sincerely, as well for the honor of Congress, as for that of the States, that the Manuscript had not been mangled as it is. It [the original] is wonderful, and passing pitiful that the rage of change should be so unhappily applied’.¹² The alterations made by Congress, for whatever reason, effectively removed from the Declaration the most emotional and physical language of sensibility and sentimentalism.¹³

2.2.2 *Pragmatics of the broadside's punctuation*

The Dunlap broadside features typography typical of eighteenth-century print, including the use of the drop capital, of word-initial capitals for substantives (‘...the Course of human Events...’), of all capitals and small capitals for emphatic words and phrases (e.g., ‘UNITED STATES OF AMERICA’ and ‘FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES’), of the long s (ſ) and of ligatures (fi). As with the phraseology, so too does the punctuation dramatically differ from the Original Rough Draught. Here, for example, are the three versions of the second paragraph, from Draught to revised Draught to broadside:

¹² Lee's holograph letter is held in *The Thomas Jefferson Papers* (Series 1. General Correspondence. 1651-1827. Richard Henry Lee to Thomas Jefferson, July 21, 1776) and available online at <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.mss/mtj.mtjbib000168>

¹³ Other alterations, such as the removal of the paragraph condemning the British government's refusal to cease importing slaves, have been discussed elsewhere—please see, for example, Boyd (1999).

We hold these truths to be sacred & undeniable, that all men are | created equal & independent, that from that equal creation they derive | [?] rights, inherent & inalienable, among which are the preservation of | life, & liberty, & the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these ends, go | -vernments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from | the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government | shall become destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter | or abolish it, & to institute new government, laying it's foundation on | such principles & organising its powers in such form, as to them shall | seem most likely to effect their safety & happiness. (Original Rough Draught, pre-revision)

This critical transcription, reflecting Jefferson's original phraseology and punctuation, suggests a logical analysis (cf. Parkes, 1993), wherein the two semicolons follow two propositions and the clause between the second semicolon and the full stop is concluded deductively from the premises.¹⁴

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are | created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are | life, liberty, & the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these ends, go | -vernments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from | the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government | becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter | or abolish it, & to institute new government, laying it's foundation on | such principles & organising its powers in such form, as to them shall | seem most likely to effect their safety & happiness. (Original Rough Draught, after revisions, annotation removed for ease of comparison)

As it was revised, the second paragraph of the Declaration contains three semicolons, destroying the basic two-premise construction which, then, appears to suggest a more (though not completely) grammatical analysis. Alternatively, this change in punctuation might reflect an attempt to restructure the logical argument into 'a Series of Syllogisms following one another in a Train'¹⁵. (Duncan, 1770: 209) In such a construction, '...every Conclusion [being] deduced from known and established Truths, the very last of the Series, how far soever [one] carr[ies] it, will have no less Certainty attending it, than the

¹⁴ For different analysis of this, please see Allen, 2014: 2-3.

¹⁵ Wilbur Samuel Howell (1976) has argued in a very interesting article that Jefferson was acquainted with the William Duncan's *Elements of Logick*. Howell notes that Jefferson's course in 'Ethics, Rhetoric & Belles Lettres' at the College of William and Mary was headed, for a time at least, by William Small. (229-30) Small had studied at Marischal College under the tutelage of William Duncan, and thus Howell concludes that there is a good likelihood that Small's lectures would have comprised some element of Duncan's work on logic. Whether or not this is the case, Duncan tellingly references Locke in *Elements* and treats thoroughly the nature of 'self-evident Truths'. This being the case, Duncan's *Elements of Logic* is useful here as an example of one mode of logical argumentation Jefferson may have employed.

original intuitive Perceptions themselves’. (*ibid.*: 210) This construction is entirely abandoned in the published Dunlap broadside:

WE hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain | unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness— -That to secure these Rights, Governments are | instituted among Men, deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the Governed, that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these | Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its Foundation on such Principles, and organizing | its Powers in such Form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. (Dunlap broadside)

It has often been noted that the whole of the Declaration is ‘constructed as a single syllogism’, or at least ‘based upon an implicit syllogism’. (Howell, 1976: 224; see also Smith, 1965: 306 and Allen 2014, *passim*) Its overall syllogistic structure is still reflected somewhat in its punctuation if one takes into account Malcolm Parkes’s observation that ‘the value and function of each symbol [of punctuation] must be assessed in relation to the other symbols in the same immediate context’. (1993: 2) The second paragraph as it is punctuated in the Dunlap broadside essentially constitutes the first premise. The second premise, the conventionally-termed ‘list of grievances’, is punctuated in Jefferson’s Draught almost invariably with colons, apparently dividing the grievances into *cola* of a single premise. In the broadside, however, those grievances which are grammatically independent are ended with full stops, while those which are not grammatically independent are punctuated with colons.¹⁶ Within the grievances ended with full stops, semicolons are used less systematically, and commas appear to be used least-systematically of all, most likely indicating, as Rice wrote, ‘such . . . Stop[s] as the Sense requires’. (Sheridan, 1762: 82; quoted in Rice 1765: 352)

Yet the Declaration was written to be read aloud, and any analysis of punctuation must also take its declamatory function into account. The grievances, grammatically independent and not, are all indented, each beginning a new line; thus, individuals declaiming the Declaration would invariably have had to insert brief pauses at the end of

¹⁶ The first instance of the colon used in this way reads ‘HE has combined with others to subject us to a Jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution, and unacknowledged by our Laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of | pretended Legislation:’ and the last reads ‘FOR suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all Cases whatsoever.’ Such use of punctuation suggests these grievances were considered elements of a single larger grievance, i.e., the King’s assent to ‘Acts of pretended Legislation’.

each grievance while visually acquiring the beginning of the next. In practice, then, a grammatical analysis of punctuation has less effect on the broadside *as a speech act*, i.e., as it was first received by the colonists, than does an elocutionary analysis.

2.2.3 Concluding thoughts on the broadside

Malcolm Parkes has observed that, '[i]n the second half of the eighteenth century, authors analysed their discourse and applied punctuation according to the nature of the style employed in particular contexts much more obviously than before'. (1993: 92) The changing and perhaps conflicting modes of punctuation in the Dunlap broadside appear to result, to the present author's mind, from an attempt to reconcile the 'particular contexts' of its origins as a logical argument, as a printed text and as a guide in declamation. These features are slight, as is the remnant of sentimentalism ('Separation. '), but they are important: it is these features which indicate to modern readers the nuances of meaning available to eighteenth-century reader/hearers—nuances which, if not examined closely and compared to contemporaneous modes of communication, are lost.

2.3 The engrossed copy: 'to be accepted with becoming resignation'?

On July 19th, 1776, Congress ordered '[t]hat the declaration passed on the fourth be fairly ingrossed with the title and stile of "The unanimous declaration of the thirteen united states of America"'¹⁷. The engrossed copy was completed in August, and in the early nineteenth century was engraved so facsimiles could be printed. (For the full transcription, see Appendix A)

2.3.1 Traditional views

Early-twentieth-century historian Carl Becker has noted that

[t]he engrossed parchment copy, carefully preserved at Washington, is identical in phraseology with the copy in the rough Journal. The paragraphing, except in one instance, is indicated by dashes; the capitalization and punctuation, following neither previous copies, nor

¹⁷ 'Continental Congress to George Washington, July 19, 1776, with Resolution' George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799: Series 4. General Correspondence. Digital copy at: <<http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.mss/mgw.4.037.0385.0390>>

reason, nor the custom of any age known to man, is one of the irremediable evils of life to be accepted with becoming resignation. Two slight errors in engrossing have been corrected by interlineation. (1922: 185; also referenced in Boyd, 1999: 25-6)

As evidenced in its treatment by Becker (and Julian Boyd, who seemed to be of a similar opinion), the engrossed copy has previously been considered an anomalous and unprofitable subject for analysis.

2.3.2 *Changing views*

Allen's (2014) study has taken exception to this (55), as indeed her whole study demonstrates. She has also noted that '[t]he paradox' of the Engrossed copy 'is that of all the texts of the Declaration it has been the least accessible. In that regard, it had the least influence on reception of the Declaration in the first fifteen years after the revolution'. (39)

At this stage it is not for the present author to suggest whether or not the Engrossed copy is to be 'accepted with . . . resignation' or to (continue to) displace other copies of the Declaration as it has.¹⁸ While this study does not address the copy, partly due to its nature as a primarily private document until it was engraved and facsimiles of it were made, the present study does not mean to suggest that the Engrossed copy is without merit for an historical-pragmatic approach to the Declaration.¹⁹ Indeed, over the course of time, it seems the engrossed copy has become increasingly regarded as *the* Declaration of Independence and, though empirical research to prove or disprove this would constitute an entire study in itself, this copy becomes important in Chapter 3. Before proceeding to analysis of the later copies of the Declaration, however, the Declaration(s) of 1776 will be quantitatively analysed (as described in Chapter 1).

¹⁸ As a very informal illustration of this suspicion, of the top 35 images (the first few rows of photos as displayed on the author's web browser) returned for 'Declaration of Independence', 23 of them are of facsimiles of the engrossed copy, one is a picture of the original (much decayed) engrossed copy, meaning about two thirds of the first images seen by someone searching such photos would be of the engrossed copy. Of those, not fewer than six images are highly stylized, depicting the 'engrossed copy' resting atop an American flag, or with a quill and ink pot resting atop the engrossed copy, or with a quill and ink pot resting atop the engrossed copy resting atop the American flag. Three are of the Texas Declaration of Independence, two depict the famous painting 'Declaration of Independence' (1819) by John Trumbull and one depicts 'Writing the Declaration of Independence' (1900) by Jean Leon Gerome Ferris. Only four of these 35 images (about 11.5 per cent) are of the Dunlap broadside.

¹⁹ It *had* been used for declamation at Independence Day celebrations, and as such contemporaneous accounts might provide an interesting perspective on the document from the time it was signed to the time it was engraved. Please see further Bidwell (1989: 264).

2.4. Text analysis of the Original Rough Draught and the Dunlap broadside

2.4.1 Criteria for collocates

As noted in the methodology, the *t*-score, MI score and a minimum co-occurrence frequency has been adopted to determine collocates. Because the Declaration is comparatively small, it is not possible to determine collocates as such; rather, words meeting more relaxed criteria are used, not to indicate collocates, but rather to suggest what relationships might be present in the Declaration as it was first written and as it was first (officially) published. Again, the approach is an inductive one; the copies are analysed with no word associations in mind, i.e., with a view only to see what might be happening in the texts. The Original Rough Draught is analysed as it was first written by Jefferson.²⁰

2.4.2 Concordances

Below are tables showing concordances of *free*, *freedom*, *independent* and *independence* in the Original Rough Draught and the Dunlap broadside, followed by a brief discussion.

Table 2.1 Original Rough Draught: concordance

' of a people who mean to be free ". future ages will scarce believe' that the
of our harmony, they have by their free election re-established them in power. at
peace friends. we might have been a free & a great people together, but a communicatio
assert and declare these colonies to be free and independant states, and that as free &
free and independant states, and that as free & independant states they shall hereafter hav
together, but a communication of grandeur & of freedom it seems is below their dignity. be
the powers of the earth the equal & independent station to which the laws of nature
& undeniable, that all men are created equal & independent , that from that equal creation they de
: he has affected to render the military, independent of & superior to the civil power: he
declare these colonies to be free and independant states, and that as free & independant
and independant states, and that as free & independant states they shall hereafter have power
do all other acts and things which independant states may of right do. And for
(no occurrence of 'independence')

²⁰(For ease of comparison with the analyses of later imprints, the above tables are also in Appendix B)

Table 2.2 Dunlap broadside: concordance

ied for pretended Offences: For abolishing the <i>free</i> System of English Laws in a neighbouring
unfit to be the Ruler of a <i>free</i> People. Nor have we been wanting in
are, and of Right ought to be, <i>FREE</i> AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are
to be totally dissolved ; and that as <i>FREE</i> AND INDEPENDENT STATES, they have full
(no occurrence of 'freedom')
. He has affected to render the Military <i>independent</i> of and superior to the Civil Power.
of Right ought to be, <i>FREE</i> AND <i>INDEPENDENT</i> STATES; that they are absolved fro
totally dissolved ; and that as <i>FREE</i> AND <i>INDEPENDENT</i> STATES, they have full Power to Le
do all other Acts and Things which <i>INDEPENDENT</i> STATES may of right do. And for
(no occurrence of 'independence')

It is evident that the Draught features greater polysemy, for example, in its use of *free* used to denote not being subject to despotic government ('a people who mean to be free'), the expression of uncoerced volition ('free election') and not subject to foreign rule ('free and independent states'), whereas in the broadside *free* appears to be used in just two of those senses. *Independent* is similarly restricted in the broadside, no longer used in relation to 'men' or natural rights ('independent station').

2.4.3 Potential relationships

The tables below show potential relationships between *free*, *freedom*, *independent* and *independence* and other word types in the Original Rough Draught and Dunlap broadside, preceded in each case by a brief summary of the data therein.

Bearing in mind the two occurrences of *independent* appearing adjacent to *equal*, it is unsurprising that the statistics suggest a relationship between them (though only with 80 per cent confidence). The other relationships suggested by the statistics are to be expected—the co-occurrence of *free* and *states*, *free* and *independent*, *independent* and *states* might be intuited in simply reading the Draught. (See Table 2.3 overleaf.)

Table 2.3 Original Rough Draught: potential relationships

	Mutual Information (MI)				t-score		
	NO. OF CO-OCCURRENCES	STATISTIC	POTENTIAL COLLOCATE		NO. OF CO-OCCURRENCES	STATISTIC	POTENTIAL COLLOCATE
<i>free</i>	2	7.75043	independant		3	1.71596	(states)
	3	6.75043	states		3	1.6963	and
	2	6.01346	they		2	1.40765	independent?
	2	5.87596	be		2	1.39232	they
	3	5.59842	and		2	1.39013	be
	2	5.33539	have		2	1.37919	have
	2	4.5805	a		2	1.35511	a
<i>freedom</i>	2	3.01346	to		2	1.23908	to
	2	4.99911	of		2	1.36999	of
<i>independent</i>	3	9.07236	equal		5	2.16795	the
	2	7.75043	free		4	1.98421	that
	2	7.75043	as		4	1.98142	and
	3	7.48739	states		4	1.9257	to
	4	6.98489	that		3	1.72883	(equal)
	4	6.75043	and		3	1.7224	(states)
	2	5.98489	which		2	1.40765	free?
	5	5.03673	the		2	1.40765	as
	4	4.75043	to		2	1.39188	which
<i>independence</i>	2	3.41414	of		2	1.28155	of
	-	-	-		-	-	-

Key	
()	90 per cent confidence that a relationship exists (<i>t</i> -test)
?	80 per cent confidence that a relationship exists (<i>t</i> -test)

NB: due to the size of the Declaration considered by itself (as opposed to the thousands and thousands of words in the hypertexts of Bailey, Jewett and Scott), co-occurrence frequencies of 2 (rather than 3) have been accepted here purely as an indication of potential relationships between words.

In the broadside, the relationship in the Draught between *independent* and *equal* is lost, and indeed the only relationship which can be said to exist with 90 per cent confidence is that of *independent* and *states*. As *free* and *independent* are perhaps the key words of the Declaration (specifically according to Searle's taxonomy of illocutionary acts, noted earlier), it is unsurprising that the strongest relationship among these word types is *independent* and *states*—one would simply have to add 'we' and 'are' to effectively summarise the Declaration's pragmatic function. (See Table 2.4 opposite.)

Figure 2.4 Original Rough Draught: potential relationships

	Mutual Information (MI)				t-score		
	NO. OF CO-OCCURRENCES	STATISTIC	POTENTIAL COLLOCATE		NO. OF CO-OCCURRENCES	STATISTIC	POTENTIAL COLLOCATE
<i>free</i>	2	7.37069	independent		3	1.63263	and
	2	6.56333	states		2	1.40567	independent?
	2	5.67025	that		2	1.39926	states?
	3	4.12276	and		2	1.38644	that
	2	3.12276	of		2	1.25186	of
	2	3.1039	the		2	1.24972	the
<i>freedom</i>	-	-	-		-	-	-
<i>independent</i>	2	7.37069	free		4	1.9139	and
	3	7.14829	states		3	1.71984	(states)
	2	6.56333	they		3	1.62042	to
	2	5.67025	that		2	1.40567	free?
	4	4.5378	and		2	1.39926	they
	3	3.95565	to		2	1.38644	that
	2	3.12276	of		2	1.25186	of
<i>independence</i>	-	-	-		-	-	-

Key	
()	90 per cent confidence that a relationship exists (<i>t</i> -test)
?	80 per cent confidence that a relationship exists (<i>t</i> -test)

NB: due to the size of the Declaration considered by itself (as opposed to the thousands and thousands of words in the hypertexts of Bailey, Jewett and Scott), co-occurrence frequencies of 2 (rather than 3) have been accepted here purely as an indication of potential relationships between words.

2.5 Concluding thoughts on the Draught and the Dunlap broadside

Though the above concordances and word co-occurrences reflect relatively little change in the function of *free* and *independent*, the revision process as a whole effected a substantial change in the pragmatics of the Declaration. If, as Jurgen Habermas has noted, the literary culture of the late eighteenth century was one in which ‘empathetic reader[s] repeated within [themselves] the private relationships displayed before [them] in literature’ (1987: 50), it seems that Jefferson’s Draught effectively encouraged ‘empathetic reader[s]’ of the Colonies, using the language of sensibility and the conventions of elocutionism, to repeat or enact the sentiment of the Declaration within themselves. The pragmatics of the published Declaration, however, appears to lack this sort of engagement with readers/hearers; rather than employing the ‘democratic’ language of sensibility (Goring, 2005: 39), the published Declaration adopts a register which would perhaps typify a royal proclamation, imbuing the text with sovereign authority while abandoning the royal ‘we’.

3. Three Declarations: 1781, 1856 and 1917

In the chapter that follows, introductions to each volume are given by way of brief historical and sociocultural sketches, followed by examinations of bibliographical and textual evidence of their pragmatic features.

3.1 *The Constitutions of the Several Independent States of America; the Declaration of Independence; the Articles of Confederation between the said states; the Treaties between His Most Christian Majesty and the United States of America*

3.1.1 Introduction

1780 and 1781 saw two important advances in the American States' efforts toward internationally recognised sovereignty. By the time the volume examined below was printed, the Congress had secured a majority of states' votes in support of the Articles of Confederation, and treaties of alliance and of amity and commerce had been effected between the States and France—the former providing measures for a centralised government which could facilitate unified action across all states, the latter ensuring much-needed military and economic support.

Prior to either of those events, an entry in the *Journals of Congress* dated 6th January, 1779, states:

‘Mr. John Dunlap . . . was called in, and the news-papers of the 2d and 5th of January instant, entitled, “Pennsylvania Packet or General Advertiser,” being shewn to him, he was asked whether he was the publisher; to which he answered, yes:

He was then asked who is the author of the pieces in the said papers, under the title “Common Sense to the public on Mr. Deane’s affairs;” to which he answered, Mr. Thomas Paine: he was then ordered to withdraw.’
(Continental Congress, 1909: 30)¹

¹ The proceedings regarding Dunlap can be found in the (1909) *Journals of the Continental Congress: 1774-1789*. Ford, W. C. (ed.) Washington, DC: Government Printing Office Vol. 13, p. 30 Available online at <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=lljc&fileName=013/lljc013.db&recNum=28>

The following day, the *Journal* records

‘[t]hat all the late publications in the General Advertiser, printed by John Dunlap, relative to American foreign affairs, are ill judged, premature and indiscreet, and that as they must in general be founded on very partial documents, and consequently depend much on conjecture, they ought not by any means to be considered as justly authenticated.’ (*ibid.*: 31-2)

It seems that in printing Paine’s “Common Sense to the public on Mr. Deane’s Affairs”, Dunlap had fallen from Congress’s favour.

3.1.2 Bibliographical evidence

The 8vo volume is composed of 114 leaves and is ‘bound together in boards’ as per the congressional resolution which effected its production. The Declaration contained therein is ‘the first *authorized* reprint . . . in book form’. (emphasis original, Matyas, 2009: 87)² As indicated on its title page, the volume was printed by Francis Bailey at Market Street in Philadelphia. The order to

...collect and cause to be published, two hundred correct copies of the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, the Alliances between these United States and his Most Christian Majesty, with the Constitutions or Forms of Government of the several States.... (Continental Congress, 1781: n. pag.)

was resolved on the 29th of December, 1780, before the final states ratified the Articles of Confederation on March 1st, 1781; however, the volume was almost certainly printed after 1st March, 1781, as the last states to ratify the Articles are represented among the signatories.

According to eighteenth-century printer Isaiah Thomas, Francis Bailey ‘began [his printing] business in 1771’ (1874: 286-7), going on to state that he had ‘manufactured types for himself and others’, and ‘removed to Philadelphia in 1778 or 1779’ (*ibid.* 287); beyond that, however, Thomas’s account is scant. Bailey was, in fact, among the first American typesetters (Nipps, 2013: 2) and in the course of his career became ‘closely

² NB: The author is indebted to Dr Stephen M Matyas, Jr. first and foremost for his enormous contribution to scholarship on the Declaration’s textual afterlives, and also for his time and his suggestions regarding possible sources of data for future research on this imprint.

connected to the area's various book trades . . . count[ing] as associates and customers most of the local bookmen and many prestigious civic leaders and institutions'. (*ibid.* 4)

Some interesting aspects of the text's production are evidenced in several features found in the first few pages. The typography used on the title page indicating that the volume was 'Published by order of Congress' is printed in a black-letter font, most likely Fraktur; it is, in fact, the *only* place where such font is used, having perhaps been employed to import to the volume a sense of authority by invoking antiquity.³ It is also possible that Bailey, who came from a Pennsylvania German community, had been influenced by the mid-eighteenth-century surge in Fraktur's popularity and the resultant appearance in the 1780s of printing presses established to increase the efficiency of producing texts in that font.⁴ The authority invoked by the use of Fraktur is accompanied by a quotation of the congressional resolution which occasioned the volume's publication (quoted above). This authority is, however, undermined by the glaring typographical error on the title page ('PHILLADEPHIA'), and calls into question the rapidity and systematicity with which the edition was run.⁵

The volume constitutes the most comprehensive change in format of any of the texts examined in the present study. Whereas from draft to print the format and paratextual features varied considerably little, and whereas, once established in book format, textual and paratextual features would vary somewhat predictably as technological advances altered the prevailing modes of book production and reader reception, this volume encapsulates the restructuring of the Declaration's text from the standalone broadside to one among several texts comprising a bound volume.

It is thought that Bailey's volume was intended for circulation outwith the Congress. In an entry on September 19th, 1778, the *Journals of Congress* record a resolution to print a report concerning activities of the treasury, wherein sixty copies were ordered to be printed 'for the use of the members [of Congress], and that the printer be under an oath not to

³ See, for example, Smith's (2013) discussion of Andro Hart's use of black-letter and his title-page advertisement in his 1616 edition of John Barbour's *The Bruce*—which, incidentally, is perhaps not dissimilar from the inclusion of the congressional resolution as prefatory material in Bailey's 1781 volume. (45) Smith points out Hart's effort to convey not only antiquity but accuracy: 'Newly corrected and conferred from the best . . . Manuscripts'. (Smith, 2013: 45)

⁴ The Free Library of Pennsylvania offers resources describing the cultural and popular value of Fraktur at this time. (See further Free Library of Pennsylvania, 2014)

⁵ It has been suggested by Lancaster County historians Lee J. Stoltzfus and Clarke Hess that Bailey had 'print[ed] the book at his Lancaster print shop, with some of the work "farmed out" to Philadelphia printers' (Stoltzfus, 2014), though further research is required to corroborate this.

divulge any part of the said report, nor strike off more than 60 copies, and to deliver to the secretary of Congress the said copies, together with the proofs and unfinished sheets', and furthermore '[t]hat the members of the house be enjoined not to communicate the report or any part of it, without leave of the house'. (United States, 1908: 933) The resolution of December 29th, 1780, then, as the size of the Congress had remained more or less the same, indicates an edition totalling 140 copies in excess of those which would be used by Congress if each delegate were to have received a copy.

There is little indication of where these copies went immediately after their publication. Only four holdings are presently known to exist in the United States: one at the Library of Congress in Washington, DC, one at Maryland State Law Library in Annapolis, one at the University of Georgia in Athens, and one at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis. Outwith the United States, only two copies of this edition are known to exist: one at the British Library and one at the Bibliothèque nationale de France. This is hardly enough information to draw any firm conclusions on the volume's immediate circulation, but the locations of these copies are unsurprising, being concentrated in the east coast of the United States and found in both countries whose involvement was central to the American Revolution.⁶

Textual features, however, do include some clues as to who would have received the Bailey imprint and, more importantly, how they would have interacted with it.

3.1.3 *Textual evidence*

Immediately noticeable is the abandonment of capitalisation of substantives. Furthermore, a significant change has been made to the punctuation of the second paragraph examined in the Draught and the Dunlap broadside⁷:

We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are | created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with | certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, | and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, go- | vernments are instituted among men, deriving their just po- | wers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any | form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is | the right of

⁶ It is believed that the anomalous outcrop in Minnesota occurred nearer the time of the University's founding in 1851 or the state's admission to the Union in 1858.

⁷ In her 2014 article 'Punctuating Happiness', Danielle Allen posits her own ideas as to why this might be (31), though further research is required to corroborate Allen's hypotheses.

the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundations upon such principles, and organizing its powers in such a form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. (187)

The paragraph is no longer a single sentence, and each sentence has been further divided by semicolons. In comparing the above passage in this imprint to its predecessors examined in the Draught and Dunlap broadside, it seems that the semicolons used to divide the logical argument in the Draught gave way in the broadside to what Parkes (1993) describes as a more ‘deictic’ style of punctuation, i.e., punctuation which ‘can prescribe a particular interpretation by means of selective pointing, by indicating certain emphases, and hence attributing greater value to these than to other possible emphases’. (70) This is of course the peculiar long dash, consisting of an em and an en dash, employed after ‘Happiness’. The deictic punctuation emphasising ‘Happiness’ has, in Bailey’s volume, been translated to perform a different function, one evidently not elocutionary in nature. Because the paragraph now features within it (i.e., not including the full stop after ‘their safety and happiness’) three levels of punctuation, this suggests not the disambiguation of elocutionary units (such as characterised the Dunlap broadside⁸), but a more grammatical analysis.

While the provenance of this punctuation cannot be stated conclusively at this time, it is fairly evident for various reasons that the copy of the Declaration in Bailey’s volume is not intended to be used for declamatory purposes. The Bailey imprint is, first and foremost, 226 pages in length, and the most colourful, emotive text contained in it is the Declaration, and even that text is not pointed in a way which facilitates easy disambiguation of elocutionary units. Secondly, the volume’s paratextual features, though necessarily greatly increased from those of the broadside, are remarkably scant for a book of this length. If one refers to Duncan’s (1770) *Elements of Logick* (noted in Chapter 2), it becomes apparent that a far more useful system of paratextual features was in existence at the time.⁹ It seems, then, that the Bailey imprint would have been circulated not to the general public but, perhaps, to government bodies—a single volume which codified current domestic and international legislation, unifying and in a way reifying the newly-formed Confederation.

⁸ Or, as Allen (2014: passim) notes, not a strictly rhetorical analysis

⁹ There are editorial notes in two sections: one which would contain the constitution of Connecticut and one which would contain that of Rhode Island; in the former case it appears as though none could be provided, so an ‘Account of the Constitution of Connecticut’ is provided in lieu, and in the latter the form of government in operation at the time was still that set forth in the state’s original charter.

3.2 *Republican Campaign Edition for the Million*

3.2.1 *Introduction*

On August 25, 1856 the front page of the *New-York Daily Tribune* featured the following advertisement:

FREMONT AND DAYTON BADGES—printed from our elegant steel plates, On White and Pink Satin Ribbon. Price 8 Cents single, 60 Cents per dozen, \$4 per 100. FREMONT NOTE AND LETTER PAPER, with envelopes to match. Printed from the Steel Plate. Price 50 Cents per quire, \$6 per ream. OUR GERMAN EDITION OF THE REPUBLICAN MANUAL IS NOW READY; Also the Fortieth Thousand of THE ENGLISH EDITION And the Twentieth Thousand of the FREMONT SONGS FOR THE PEOPLE. By Drew, of the Worcester Spy. Orders solicited from individuals and from Fremont Clubs. JOHN P. JEWETT & Co., Publishers, No. 117 Washington-st. Boston. JEWETT, PROCTOR & WORTHINGTON, Cleveland, Ohio. SHELDON, BLAKEMAN & Co., New-York. (1)

The 1856 presidential campaign had been highly visible and the literature associated with it highly participatory, with publishers selling pictures, portraits, biographies and song books both as single units and in bulk. The paper also features an advertisement for ‘TWO MILLION OF ACRES of FARMING LANDS’ for sale by the Illinois Central Railroad Company—warning, however, that ‘[t]hose who think of settling in Iowa or Minnesota, should bear in mind that . . . for those [lands] located in the interior [of the territories] there are no conveniences for transporting the produce to market, railroads not having been introduced there’. (*ibid.*) In ‘Fine Arts’ are advertised ‘DAGUERREOTYPE PLATES’ and life-sized portraits of the Republican candidates, and in a section titled ‘Horses, Carriages, &c.’ a pair of ‘sound, kind and fearless’ family carriage horses. (*ibid.*) The above advertisements likely characterise the (Republican) American Northeast at the time and, more salient to the present study, the potential readership of John P. Jewett’s *Republican Campaign Edition for the Million*.

John Punchard Jewett was born in Lebanon, Maine on August 16th, 1814, the eldest child of Eleanor Punchard and her husband, Reverend Paul Jewett. The Jewett family’s Genealogy (1908) describes John P. Jewett as ‘actively interested in public affairs’, ‘a member of the first Anti-slavery Association in 1835’ who in the late 1840s ‘established

himself as a Book-seller, Stationer and Publisher in Boston and while in this business published “Uncle Tom’s Cabin”. (337) *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* brought Jewett great success as a publisher and solidified his reputation as a publisher of anti-slavery works.¹⁰ It is unsurprising, then, that he would ally himself with the new Republican Party, which was staunchly anti-slavery.

3.2.2 Bibliographical evidence

Composed of 72 pages, the 36mo pamphlet, sewn in wrappers, is arranged cleanly into two sections, the first of which includes the Republican platform, biographical sketches of Republican presidential and vice-presidential candidates John Fremont and William Dayton, and features continuous pagination (comprising the first 36 pages). The second section, beginning with its own full title page, is numbered separately, comprising the Declaration and the Constitution and concluding with



Figure 1. Image of *Republican Campaign Edition for the Million*, bound with other pamphlets, British Library.

four unnumbered pages, which provide a list of the previous presidents, an analysis of how many of those were representatives of ‘free states’ and ‘slave states’, separate censuses of the same, a discussion of ‘why slave-holders are so tenacious of slavery’ and five ‘suggestions’ to American citizens regarding their civic duty, namely to familiarise themselves with their country’s founding documents. (Citations from this volume use ‘a’ or ‘b’ after the page number to denote the first and second sections, respectively.)

It is believed (though uncertain, as the pamphlet’s binding could not be adequately examined; please see Figure 1) that this volume was intended to be broken into its two

¹⁰ Jewett did, around the time he published his ‘Republican Campaign Edition for the Million’, publish *Ernest Linwood*—the final novel written by slavery-supporter Caroline Lee Hentz before her death in early 1856. She had written *The Planter’s Northern Bride* (1854) in response to *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, and so Jewett’s publication of *Ernest Linwood* initially calls into question his commitment to the anti-slavery cause. Michael Winship, author of a chapter on Jewett—in *Roger Elliot Stoddard at Sixty-Five: A Celebration* New York: Thornwillow Press (85-114)—has suggested that ‘his [Jewett’s] dedication to the anti-slavery cause was very real’, referencing Jewett’s letters to Charles Sumner, wherein ‘he makes very clear all the effort he was putting into supporting the Republican party in the 1856 election’. (priv. comm., 07/08/14)

constituent gatherings after the November election, when the first gathering would be obsolete. Indeed, the disbound second gathering, comprising only the Declaration, Constitution and the unnumbered back matter, is held in the *Cowan Tracts* at the University of Newcastle.¹¹ Thus the pamphlet is particularly susceptible to Jürgen Habermas's description of the paperback book: 'a commodity prepared for easy use and quick deterioration'. (1987: 166) Depending on the extent to which the pamphlet's readership would have been cognizant of the discontinuity in pagination, readers might be similarly susceptible to the idea that the upcoming elections (and the first 36 pages) would pass away while the Declaration remained—'the transitory in the guise of the permanent'. (*ibid.*: 167)

In any case, Jewett's pamphlet was designed to be carried and passed on. With its 36mo dimensions, its targeted marketing to 'Fremont Clubs' and reduced prices for buying in bulk, the pamphlet was—as its title suggests—'for the million'. How 'the million' would have received it and shared it, though, is a matter partly elucidated by the pamphlet's textual evidence.

3.2.3 Textual evidence

Jewett's pamphlet features fairly extensive (though perhaps non-traditional) paratext, the implications of which bear directly upon the negotiation of meaning throughout the volume. The primary function of paratexts has been described by Gérard Genette as a 'zone between text and off-text', that is, a

zone not only of transition but also of transaction: a privileged place of a pragmatics and a strategy, of an influence on the public, an influence that—whether well or poorly understood and achieved—is at the service of a better reception for the text and a more pertinent reading of it. (Genette, 1997: 2)

In this case, the pamphlet cover alone functions in several ways. The front outside cover bears the pamphlet's title, lists the pamphlet's contents and identifies Jewett as publisher, i.e., functioning as a full title page. The inside of both front and back covers provides an extension of the sorts of statistics and tables given in the second section's unnumbered

¹¹ Jewett, J. P. (1856) *Declaration of Independence, and Constitution of the United States of America, with its amendments: Census of 1850* Cowan Tracts. Newcastle University Library. Newcastle. Available at <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/60202451>>

back matter, and the back outside cover performs much the same role as Jewett's advertisement in *The New-York Daily Tribune*, giving names and prices of his other Republican publications (and, oddly, the pamphlet itself, which is described as 'a neat little volume for every man to read and circulate'). (Jewett, 1856)

As analysis of the pamphlet progresses, the nature of the *Republican Campaign Edition for the Million* as a shared text becomes increasingly apparent. Of the reproductions of the Declaration examined thus far, the transcription in Jewett's 'neat little volume' is by far the most radical. Dated spellings have been modernised: e.g., 'shewn' has become 'shown' (with one exception—interestingly, 'hath' has remained untouched), and British English spellings have been Americanised: e.g., 'endeavoured' has become 'endeavored'. Aside from such alterations (and two or three compositor's mistakes) the text is substantively identical to the broadside.

The punctuation, however, immediately deviates from that of the broadside, following a punctuation closer to that of the Bailey imprint: 'When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary...' (Jewett, 1856: 3b) The use of a comma after 'When' of course makes 'in the course of human events' parenthetical, suggesting grammatical analysis. Further variations are evident in the second sentence:

We hold these truths to be self-evident—that | all men are created equal; that they are endowed | by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; | that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit | of happiness. That to secure these rights, gov- | ernments are instituted among men, deriving their | just powers from the consent of the governed; | that whenever any form of government becomes | destructive of these ends, it is the right of the | people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a | new government, laying its foundations on such | principles, and organizing its powers in such | form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect | their safety and happiness. (*ibid.*)

Where the broadside features commas in the opening paragraphs, the 1856 Declaration features a dash (though not located in the same place as in Dunlap), a full stop and semicolons—again bearing similarities to the punctuation in Bailey. The list of grievances has also been altered: whereas in the broadside and in Bailey the grievances beginning with '[f]or' are punctuated with colons, the 1856 Declaration punctuates all grievances, complete sentences or not, with full stops. Though such use of punctuation renders these grievances sentence fragments, it suggests that (the grammatically correct)

use of the colon was somehow less appropriate to the type of analysis readers were expected to employ.

A nineteenth-century book on grammar and usage by A. S. Clark, an apparently prolific writer on the subject,¹² provides one account of contemporaneous rhetorical and grammatical functions of the ‘period’, the former being simply ‘...a full pause’ (Clark, 1860: 283), the latter, ‘...used at the close of a complete or independent proposition’. (*ibid.*: 287) If Jewett’s Declaration is intended to be analysed grammatically, it is (by Clark’s account) punctuated incorrectly. Regarding the rhetorical use of the semicolon, Clark observes that it is ‘a pause longer than the Comma’ (*ibid.*: 283) and, in its grammatical function, ‘used at the close of a Sentence, which, by its terms, promises an additional Sentence’. (*ibid.*: 286) In this, Jewett’s Declaration is rhetorically satisfactory, though grammatically it remains questionable. Finally, on the nature of the dash, Clark says of its rhetorical function that it, along with the ‘Marks of Exclamation and Interrogation, require[s] pauses corresponding with either of the other marks’ (*ibid.*: 283), and of its grammatical function, that it ‘is used to indicate . . . [a]n abrupt transition’, ‘[a]n unfinished sentence’ or ‘[a] succession of particulars’. (*ibid.*: 287) Jewett’s use of the dash does perform the lattermost function described by Clark, yet the semicolon and full stop or ‘period’ seem to violate (what Clark claims to be) the correct conventions of punctuation.

It is worth noting here Parkes’s observation that the ‘treatises [of grammarians and rhetoricians] have to be employed with great caution’, as ‘[t]he principles advocated in the discussions often do not correspond with the practices manifested in the bulk of surviving manuscripts and printed books’ (1993: 4). The use of punctuation in Clark’s guide *outwith* his examples corroborates this; such inconsistency suggests that, in practice, punctuation was not necessarily used according to a single model of analysis. As such, there is only one conclusion to be drawn from the possible analyses of punctuation observed in Jewett’s pamphlet: both rhetorical and grammatical analyses seem to have been required in the disambiguation of this 1856 Declaration; however, the tension observed here between the rhetorical and the grammatical manifests itself quite differently than that observed in previous versions.

¹² On the verso of the title page is an advertisement for Clark’s other books: *Clark’s First Lessons in English Grammar*; *Clark’s New English Grammar*; *A Key to Clark’s Grammar*; *Clark’s Analysis of the English Language*; and *Clark’s Etymological Chart*. (ii)

Moving further through the text, one finds the maverick addition of an exclamation mark:

He is at this time transporting large armies of | foreign mercenaries to
complete the works of | death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun |
with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarce | paralleled in the most
barbarous ages, and totally | unworthy the head of a civilized nation!
(Jewett, 1856: 6-7a)

As noted earlier, Parkes has demonstrated that ‘the value and function of each symbol [of punctuation] must be assessed in relation to the other symbols in the same immediate context’ (1993: 2); thus this phrase was apparently of particular importance to whoever edited this copy. Indeed, according to Clark’s *Practical Grammar*, ‘[t]he mark of Exclamation is used after a Word, Phrase, or Sentence, whose prominent office is, to express sudden or intense emotion’ (1860: 288). If, as Parkes states, ‘[p]unctuation can also encourage readers to import . . . elements of their own wider behavioural experience’ (*ibid.* 1), this punctuation indicates a ‘wider behavioural experience’ or, in Clark’s terms, ‘sudden or intense emotion’, which was either insignificant or non-existent in 1776 or which would have been indicated some other way. Regarding the latter possibility, however, (as noted in Chapter 2) the Draught, too, features a single exclamation mark:

be it so, since they | will have it: the road to glory & happiness ^& to glory^
is open to us too, we will ^must^ climb ^tread^ it in | a separately state
^apart from them^, and] acquiesce in the necessity which pro^de^nounces
our ever- | -lasting Adieu! [eternal] separation ^and hold them as we hold
the rest of mankind enemies in war, in peace friends.^!

In both cases the mark is certainly emphatic; furthermore, in each case the mark is the only such punctuation employed in its respective rendering of the Declaration. Thus the two appear to be analogous in both value and function, and it would seem that the mark and its placement in the 1856 Declaration does in fact indicate a change in the ‘wider behavioural experience’ it was intended elicit.

The rest of the pamphlet within which this Declaration is situated contains some possible indications of what this wider behavioural experience might have been. In the section titled ‘The Republican Platform’, the Convention of Delegates state their opposition ‘to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise—to the policy of the present administration—to the extension of slavery into a free territory’(5a), going on to explain that the territory of Kansas:

has been **invaded** by an **armed** force; Spurious and **pretended legislative**, judicial, and executive **officers** have been **set over** them, by whose **usurped** authority, sustained by the **military power** of the government, **tyrannical** and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced... (emphasis added, *ibid.*)

In this one brief excerpt of text, the ‘Republican Platform’ invokes some of the Declaration’s most distinctive phraseology (emboldened above), in several cases words which have been used repeatedly throughout the Declaration, i.e.: invasion, invasions; armies (used twice in the Declaration), armed, arms; pretended (twice, once preceding ‘legislation’—compare with the excerpt from the ‘Platform’); officers (compare the prosodies of ‘sent hither’ in the Declaration and ‘set over’ in the ‘Platform’); usurpations (thrice); military . . . power; tyranny (twice), tyrants, tyrant. The rapidity with which the ‘Republican Platform’ invokes these key words and phrases seems, even in this short space of text, to invoke the ethos of the entire Declaration, thus imparting currency to the latter and authority to the former.

The maverick exclamation mark thus effectively indicates the intense intertextual activity occurring between the Declaration’s ‘new’ context and the Declaration itself.

Consequently, the text as a whole achieves a sort of mutual deixis among its constituent parts, indicating quite unambiguously the frame of reference in which each part is meant to be interpreted. The presence of such activity is corroborated in several locations within the Declaration’s surrounding text, none more succinct than presidential candidate Fremont’s letter of acceptance, wherein he states: ‘[n]othing is clearer in the history of our institutions than the design of the nation in asserting its own independence and freedom *to avoid giving countenance to the extension of slavery*’. (emphasis added, Jewett, 1856: 31a)

3.3 *The Declaration of Independence[,]* *The Articles of Confederation [and]* *The Constitution of the United States*

3.3.1 *Introduction*

In the years following the Civil War, the Morrill Land Grant Acts (1862) effected the construction of vocationally-centred state colleges and universities, creating an influx of

students, resulting in larger class sizes and necessitating changes to existing methods of instruction and evaluation from primarily oral to primarily written (and eventually standardised) means. (see further Mendenhall, 2011) These changes, bearing directly on modes of communication, resulted in a conceptual confluence of professionalism and learnedness, whereby “educated” language came to be associated with the linguistic conventions of specialised professions. Simultaneously, ‘technical, plain and colloquial styles were all presented as alternatives to traditional rhetorical ideas about speech’. (Cmiel, 1990: 13-4) The ‘I-speaking-to-you idiom’ that resulted from these linguistic and rhetorical shifts became prevalent at the turn of the century, ‘provid[ing] upwardly mobile business people with rhetorical resources applicable to both commercial and civic occasions’. (Sproule, 2012: 565)

These changes in communicative styles appear to have been part of a movement in the United States toward a more emotionally-restrained mode of self-presentation and public discourse—indicated in turn-of-the-century works that emphasised rational and scientific (rather than emotional) rhetorical appeals as well as contemporaneous developments in psychology, which posited emotional bases for and correlates of psychological disorders.¹³ (Malin, 2011: 2-4) Around the same time, educators and psychologists began serious investigation into the advantages of silent reading over reading aloud, and the ‘advantage of rapidity of reading’ on memory and retention (Quantz, 1897: 435). The findings of such studies overwhelmingly suggested that the former was more efficient than the latter, and the older educational standard of declamatory exercises was gradually replaced with exercises in silent reading and reading retention.¹⁴

Increasingly ubiquitous media such as radio and cinema gave rise to new modes of immediate, mass communication, and modes of personal communication were changed with increased use of the telegraph and the invention of the telephone. These and other advancements in technology meant that national boundaries became increasingly permeable, leading variously to ‘friction and conflict’ as well as ‘global consciousness’, that is, ‘the idea that efforts should be made to ensure peaceful interactions among peoples

¹³ Take, for example, the James-Lange theory of emotion. It is also interesting to compare the article by Blanton Smiley (1913) ‘The Voice and the Emotions’ In *Quarterly Journal of Speech* Vol. 1 No. 2 154-72 with the eighteenth-century writings of John Rice and Thomas Sheridan.

¹⁴ To choose a very few examples of this superlatively interesting time in the history of reading in the United States, the author would recommend Pintner, R. (1913) ‘Oral and silent reading of fourth grade pupils’ In *Journal Of Educational Psychology* Vol. 4 No. 6 pp. 333-337; also Pintner, R. and Gilliland, A. (1916) ‘Oral and silent reading’ In *Journal Of Educational Psychology* Vol. 7 No. 4, pp. 201-212; and Pintner, R. (1913) ‘Inner speech during silent reading’ In *Psychological Review*, Vol. 20 No. 2, pp. 129-153

of the world through transnational initiatives'. (Iriye, 2002: 11) It is in the latter case that the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (CEIP) was founded in 1910; it is in the former, after the United States declared war on Germany on the 6th of April, 1917, that the Endowment published the volume examined below.

3.3.2 *Bibliographical evidence*

This 8vo volume, despite its handsome, gilt red leather cover, is the most austere of the texts examined in the present study, featuring the greatest proportion of marginal and interlinear white space to text. It also contains by far the most extensive, explicit and systematic paratextual features, including a 17-page 'Introductory Note' (iii-xix), a table of contents (unnumbered), a page for each document's title (the first of which is that of the Declaration, unnumbered), a 'Historical Note' prefacing the text of each document, an 'Index to the Constitution' (51-94), a list of new works authored or edited by the Endowment (unnumbered) and a list of 'Classics of International Law', republished by the Endowment (unnumbered) and 'reproduced photographically, so as to lay the source before the reader without the mistakes which creep into a newly printed text'. Footnotes are used and employ a system wherein numbers denote citation of another text and asterisks and daggers refer readers to notes on several amendments to the Constitution. All-capitals are used for titles throughout the volume; small capitals are used, for example, in section and article titles in the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution, as well as for the names of signers of all three documents.

The volume's editor, James Brown Scott, was the Director of the CEIP's Division of International Law, and it is in fact he who proposed that the Endowment publish such a volume.¹⁵ (CEIP, 1917b: 137-8) Scott's 'Introductory Note' explicitly identifies the sociocultural and historical context in which the volume was produced, describing his intended audience as 'thoughtful men and women'¹⁶ aghast at the crumbling of society and

¹⁵ It is worth noting here that the CEIP was a somewhat famous organisation at this time, and Scott and his wife featured rather regularly in newspapers like the (Philadelphia) *Evening Ledger* and *The Washington Times*, which covered Scott's work at the Hague Conference as well as his wife's social activities, for example 'Entertain[ing] the Sister [sic] of Secretary [of State]'. (*Washington Times*, 1917: 9)

¹⁶ The explicit mention of 'women' readers is a noteworthy departure from the language used in Jewett's pamphlet, wherein women were either not considered agents of textual transmission or were implicitly acknowledged as such and subsumed under the label 'man'. A tension between women's agency and lack thereof remains, however—evidenced in the block quote above in which Scott describes 'the principles of justice' as 'controlling the conduct of *men*'. (emphasis added, iii) Thus within the paratext of this volume one sees women described as participants in textual reception but not necessarily as engaging with systems of government. Importantly, by the time the CEIP published the work discussed in the present section, activists

stunned at the spectacle of nations apparently in the throes of destruction'. (CEIP, 1917a: xix) Earlier in his Note, Scott argues for the necessity of the volume's publication:

International peace is only desirable and can only be permanent if it is based upon justice. To effect this, the conception of the State as possessing unlimited power must be rejected in favor of the conception of the State as the agent of the people creating it, subjecting it to law and to the law of its creation--a conception which has never been put in clearer, more concise, and more revolutionary form than in the Declaration of Independence of the United States. It is upon this kind of a State that we must build, and the society of nations must be composed of nations subjected to law, if the principles of justice controlling the conduct of men are to control the actions of nations. (*ibid.* iii)

Elsewhere, however, the text is less rooted in the twentieth century: the 'Historical Note' introducing the Declaration was taken from a previous text, the 1878 *The Revised Statutes of the United States*,¹⁷ and the *Revised Statutes* had imported that historical note from Benjamin Perley Poore's 1868 *Organic Laws of the United States of America*.¹⁸ The content of this twentieth-century volume is thus more intertextual than it appears at first glance, importing not only the text of the original eighteenth-century documents but also subsequent paratextual features which accompanied them in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

3.3.3 Textual evidence

The trail of footnotes seems to explain where and when this Historical Note originated, but it does not explain why it appears in the CEIP's volume. Immediately following the Historical Note, however, is another note (also apparently originating in Perley Poore's *Organic Laws*), this time regarding the transcription of the Declaration:

NOTE.--The proof of this document, as published above [below] was read by Mr. Ferdinand Jefferson, the Keeper of the Rolls at the Department of State, at Washington. He says: "In the fac-simile, as in the original, the whole instrument runs on without a break, but dashes are mostly inserted. I have, in this copy, followed the arrangement of paragraphs adopted in the publication of the Declaration in the newspaper of John Dunlap, and as

were on the cusp of securing the national legislation that would codify women's right to vote. Thus one begins to see voter manuals published around this time explicitly for use by women. Some of these manuals also include the Declaration, and it is believed that analysis of such manuals will generate new insights into women's reception of the Declaration of Independence at this pivotal moment in the history of women's rights.

¹⁷ See the footnotes in Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1917a: pages 1, 11 and 27.

¹⁸ See the footnote on p. iv in *United States (1878)*

printed by him for the Congress, which printed copy is inserted into the original Journal of the old Congress. The same paragraphs are also made by the author, in the original draught preserved in the Department of State." (CEIP, 1917a: 2)

Unsurprisingly, then, the Declaration found in the CEIP's 1917 volume features the following transcript of the same second paragraph examined in the other versions:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created | equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable | Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happi- | ness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among | Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, | That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these | ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or abolish it, and to in- | statute new Government, laying its foundation upon such principles and | organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely | to effect their future Safety and Happiness. (3)

The Engrossed copy's erratic use of capitals is preserved, as is its misspelling of 'Brittish' in the penultimate paragraph, and so on. The transcription is exactly as Ferdinand Jefferson describes it. This rendering of the Declaration, entered as such into the *Statutes* and the *Revised Statutes* in the late-nineteenth century, had apparently by 1917 become *the* official rendering of the Declaration;¹⁹ however, this level of transparency brings the present qualitative analysis to a pragmatic crux.²⁰ Though this transcription of the Declaration does not originate with this volume, that would not in and of itself preclude the text having its own pragmatics within its new context—indeed, that is the premise upon which this study is founded. Yet here the paratext effectively removes readers' need to analyse the Declaration: Scott explains exactly what the Declaration means and why a copy of it must be included in this volume at this time for the volume's intended readership; Ferdinand Jefferson explains why the Declaration's textual features are rendered as they are.

¹⁹ The reasons for this rendering of the text being included in Poore's *Organic Laws*, the *Statutes*, and the *Revised Statutes* have not yet been fully investigated, though John Bidwell's (1988) article on nineteenth-century engravings provides several clues as to the great sociocultural currency which came to be attached to the Engrossed copy by that time—a process which began in the early nineteenth century and peaked around the time of the United States' centenary celebration.

²⁰ "Pragmatic crux" is used here with regard to the pragmatics of the textual encounter as "textual crux" is used in textual criticism: a "corruption" in a text which complicates or renders impossible accurate interpretation, recension or stemmatology. In this case, identification of the complex sociocultural phenomena which led to the original decision to encode in Poore's *Organic Laws* one rendering of the Declaration over another lies outwith the scope of the present paper.

3.4 Concluding thoughts on three Declarations: 1781, 1856 and 1917

Whereas the Declaration's punctuation and surrounding texts seem to have played a central function in the pragmatics of the Bailey volume and Jewett pamphlet, the CEIP's volume effectively shifts this function to the paratext. Bailey's and Jewett's Declarations not only invited readers' analysis but required it. The CEIP's Declaration, on the other hand, reaches the reader pre-analysed—as Habermas (1987: 164) has said of the public sphere after the advent of mass media, '...the conversation itself is administered'.

4. Text Analysis of the Bailey, Jewett and CEIP Declarations' accompanying texts and paratexts

4.1 Introduction

Approaching the Declarations discussed above from the field of text analysis, the present chapter examines the ways in which two of the Declaration's key words, 'free' and 'independent', are manifested in its accompanying texts and paratexts and how those manifestations may have informed the interpretation of the Declaration itself.

Concordances and collocations are observed in relation to both terms and two of their lexical variants, *freedom* and *independence*, yielding insights into the evolving semantic values of those terms and thus possible ways in which the Declaration's 'meaning' has changed in different historical and sociocultural contexts.¹

The words around which the analysis centres are taken from the Declaration's closing paragraph:

‘...these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, Free and Independent States; that they are absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political Connection between them and the State of Great-Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do’. (Dunlap broadside, 1776)

4.2 Concordances

4.2.1 The Constitutions of the Several Independent States of America; the Declaration of Independence; the Articles of Confederation between the said states; the Treaties between His Most Christian Majesty and the United States of America, *Printed in Philadelphia by Francis Bailey (1781)*

A selection of concordance lines from Bailey's 1781 imprint shows *free* used to describe, variously, unrestricted movement (e.g. 'free and quiet passage', 'free ingress and regress',

¹ Please note that for ease of reference, smaller images are included during discussion (and, where appropriate, large amounts of data are trimmed and a sample is given to illustrate discussion). Full data of all volumes' concordances and collocations are provided in Appendix B.

‘free navigation’, ‘free and at liberty to pursue her voyage’), unrestricted personal preference and conduct (‘free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession), legal status in a body-politic (‘free citizen’, ‘free denizen’, ‘free inhabitants’, ‘free white man’), absence of despotic or foreign rule or institutions (‘free government’, ‘that all elections may be free and open’), exemption from duties (‘free ports’, ‘free ship’, ‘free goods’), etc. (See Table 4.1; for full concordance see Appendix B)

17	shall likewise be given to them for their	free and quiet passage from thence, and the return	Treaties.txt
20	of the limits of the same, without their	free and voluntary consent, or the consent of the	Massachusetts.txt
21	; and enjoy all the other benefits of a	free citizen. 12. Every person absenting himself from	Georgia.txt
24	one year's residence, shall be deemed a	free denizen thereof, and intitled to all the rights	Pennsylvania.txt
25	be enjoyed in this commonwealth, in the most	free, easy, cheap, expeditious and ample manner; and sh	Massachusetts.txt
26	this state, ordain, determine and declare, that the	free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and	New-York.txt
33	use; all which shall be wholly reckoned among	free goods; as likewise all other merchandizes and thin	Treaties.txt
35	are odious, contrary to the spirit of a	free government, and the principles of commerce, and ou	Maryland.txt
43	every citizen to be tried by judges as	free, impartial, and independent, as the lot of humanit	Massachusetts.txt
45	; and the people of each state shall have	free ingress and regress to and from any other	Articles of Confedera
46	of the different states in this union, the	free inhabitants of each of these states, paupers, vaga	Articles of Confedera
48	upon reciprocal utility, and the just rules of	free intercourse; reserving withal to each other party	Treaties.txt
49	elections ought to be free; and that all	free men having a sufficient evident common interest wi	Pennsylvania.txt
50	heretofore have been claimed by Virginia, except the	free navigation and use of the rivers Potomaque and	Virginia.txt
56	the French islands of America, of all which	free ports the said subjects of the united states	Treaties.txt
60	extended to persons who are on board a	free ship, with this effect, that although they may	Treaties.txt
67	of New-Hampshire, chosen and appointed by the	free suffrages of the people of said colony, and	New-Hampshire.txt
71	. The qualification of electors shall be that every	free white man, and no other person, who acknowledges	South-Carolina.txt
72	any ministry, contrary to or against his own	free will and consent, and that no authority can	Delaware.txt
2	she shall have shewed such passport, shall be	free and at liberty to pursue her voyage, so	Treaties.txt
4	of Massachusetts. Art. I. All men are born	free and equal, and have certain natural, essential, an	Massachusetts.txt
10	of Pennsylvania. 1. That all men are born equally	free and independent, and have certain natural, inheren	Pennsylvania.txt
11	assembly, and in all respects to be a	free and independent branch of the legislature of this	New-Jersey.txt
16	, to the intent that all elections may be	free and open. 11. No person shall be entitled to	Georgia.txt
19	or in general assembly, shall be by ballot,	free and voluntary: And any elector, who shall receive	Pennsylvania.txt
32	hold themselves their houses, papers, and possessions	free from search and seizure and therefore warrants wit	Pennsylvania.txt

Table 4.1. Concordance of free, 1781 (sample)

freedom appears to have a more restricted range of uses, with eight out of 17 total occurrences relating to freedom of speech or of the press, and two occurrences relating to unrestricted movement, (see Table. 4.2).

1	America." Art. 2. Each State retains its sovereignty,	freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction	Articles of Confe
2	shall hold religious principles incompatible with the	freedom and safety of the state, shall be capable	North-Carolina.t
3	--that he should in all cases, act with	freedom for the benefit of the public---that he	Massachusetts.t
4	the press is essential to the security of	freedom in a state; it ought not, therefore, to	Massachusetts.t
5	lett or molestations, to pass and repass with	freedom into and through the rest of the English	Rhode-Island.tx
6	the legislature shall expressly provide for. XXI. The	freedom of deliberation, speech, and debate, in either	Massachusetts.t
7	congress assembled, each state shall have one vote.	freedom of speech and debate in congress shall not	Articles of Confe
8	egislature, ought to be exercised or allowed. 8. That	freedom of speech and debates, or proceedings in the	Maryland.txt
9	sacred. 12. That the people have a right to	freedom of speech, and of writing, and publishing their	Pennsylvania.tx
10	any pretence whatever. Sect. 47. In order that the	freedom of the commonwealth may be preserved inviolate	Pennsylvania.tx
11	tend more to preserve the liberty and equal	freedom of the people than voting viva voce. To	New-York.txt
12	corpus act, shall be part of this constitution. 61.	freedom of the press, and trial by jury, to	Georgia.txt
13	ought to remain sacred and inviolable. 15. That the	freedom of the press is one of the great	North-Carolina.t
14	riting, and publishing their sentiments; therefore the	freedom of the press ought not to be restrained. 13.	Pennsylvania.tx
15	is one of the best securities of permanent	freedom. 32. That no person ought to hold at the	Maryland.txt
16	laws, and do no act wittingly whereby the	freedom thereof may be prejudiced." And also make and	Delaware.txt
17	stipulated, that free ships shall also give a	freedom to goods, and that every thing shall be	Treaties.txt

Table 4.2. Concordance of freedom, 1781

independent appears to be yet more restricted in its uses, referring only to legal status within a body politic, sovereignty, discreteness (‘formed into independent companies’, line 6, refers to military organisation) and impartiality in jurisprudence (See Table. 4.3)

1	. 1. That all men are born equally free and	<i>independent</i> , and have certain natural, inherent and una	Pennsylvania.txt
2	state of South-Carolina to be a free,	<i>independent</i> , and sovereign state, and that the people t	South-Carolina.tx
3	be tried by judges as free, impartial, and	<i>independent</i> , as the lot of humanity will admit. It	Massachusetts.tx
4	, to form themselves into a free, sovereign, and	<i>independent</i> body-politic or state by the name of,	Massachusetts.tx
5	in all respects to be a free and	<i>independent</i> branch of the legislature of this colony; s	New-Jersey.txt
6	two hundred and fifty shall be formed into	<i>independent</i> companies. 36. There shall be established	Georgia.txt
7	necessary for the legislature of a free and	<i>independent</i> state. 6. All money-bills for the support	Delaware.txt
8	of governing themselves as a free, sovereign, and	<i>independent</i> state; and do, and forever hereafter shall,	Massachusetts.tx
9	right ought to be, a free, sovereign and	<i>independent</i> state; and I do swear, that I will	Massachusetts.tx
10	said colonies, that they be henceforth free and	<i>independent</i> states, and that just, permanent, and prope	Pennsylvania.txt
11	united colonies of America have been since constituted	<i>independent</i> states, and the political connection hereto	South-Carolina.tx
12	aving at length constrained them to declare themselves	<i>independent</i> states, and to assume government under the	Maryland.txt
13	The CONSTITUTIONS OF THE SEVERAL	<i>INDEPENDENT</i> STATES OF AMERICA; THE Declaration of Indep	title page.txt
14	are, and for ever shall be, free and	<i>independent</i> states: Wherefore, in our present state, in	North-Carolina.tx

Table 4.3. Concordance of *independent*, 1781

independence appears to be the most restricted of the four word types, referring only to the sovereignty of a state or political representation of a person within a state (see Table. 4.4).

1	to maintain effectually the liberty, sovereignty, and	<i>independence</i> absolute and unlimited, of the said united	Treaties.txt
2	to the united states, their liberty, sovereignty, and	<i>independence</i> , absolute and unlimited, as well in matter	Treaties.txt
3	rt. 2. Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and	<i>independence</i> , and every power, jurisdiction and right w	Articles of Con
4	overnment. Sect. 36. As every freeman to preserve his	<i>independence</i> , (if without a sufficient estate) ought to	Pennsylvania.t
5	Lord, 1778, and in the third year of the	<i>independence</i> of America[.?] The aforesaid articles of	Articles of Con
6	particular, and America in general. And whereas the	<i>independence</i> of the united states of America has been	Georgia.txt
7	not to lay down their arms, until the	<i>independence</i> of the united states shall have been forma	Treaties.txt
8	, two hundred correct copies of the Declaration of	<i>independence</i> , the Articles of Confederation and Perpetu	prefatory reso
9	ERAL INDEPENDENT STATES OF AMERICA; THE Declaration of	<i>INDEPENDENCE</i> ; THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION BETWEEN THE	title page.txt

Table 4.4. Concordance of *independence*, 1781

On the whole, *free*, *freedom*, *independent* and *independence* in Bailey’s 1781 volume seem to refer to the absence of foreign or despotic rule and systems and institutions which prevent of foreign or despotic rule. In this respect, the volume indeed seems to be both international and national in terms of its content. A clear preference for *free* is apparent, though the mechanism(s) by which this is achieved are undetermined at this point in time.

4.2.2 Republican Campaign Edition for the Million, *Printed in Boston by John P Jewett & Co. (1856)*

In Jewett’s pamphlet, of the 36 concordance lines for *free* 32 lines refer to states and territories in which slavery is forbidden (‘Free State’, ‘Free States’, ‘her [Kansas’s] present free Constitution’), to paid labour (as opposed to slave labour), to enfranchised men within or outwith ‘Slave States’ (‘free men’, ‘free population’), and to ‘Free-Soil’—an anti-

slavery political party which two years earlier had merged with another to form the Republican Party). The most telling occurrence is perhaps the eighth concordance line for *free*: ‘The constitution being the basis of national law, its terms must be taken in the sense usual in other legal instruments. Thus, in Art. I., Sec. 2, [Paragraph] 3, the term "free" is to be taken in its political sense; that is, endowed with franchises; and not, *as it often means*, unrestrained. Being used here as in other political papers, it distinguishes citizens from foreigners or aliens.’ (emphasis added, unnumbered back matter, ‘Census of 1850’; See Table 4.5 overleaf)

1	Presidential Electoral Vote OF THE	FREE AND SLAVE STATES COMPARED ----- We give	frontinsideco
2	the Presidential electoral vote of the	Free and Slave States. By reference to	frontinsideco
3	same basis of representation as the	free, are entitled to only 65 representatives in	unnumbered
4	of this Union, with her present	free Constitution, as at once the most	Republican Pl
5	establishment of religion, or prohibiting the	free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom	Constitution a
6	make every settler upon them a	free-holder. If the people entrust to	Fremont lette
7	relied upon as the bulwark of	free institutions. Trusting that I have a	Fremont lette
8	Art. I., Sec. 2, [P] 3, the term "	free" is to be taken in its	unnumbered
9	in the scheme to take from	free labor the country secured to it	Fremont lette
10	inevitably result in the triumph of	free labor, the natural capital which constitutes	Fremont lette
11	homes, cannot be conquered from the	free laborers, who have long considered it	Fremont lette
12	refrain of Free-soil, Free-speech,	Free-men, and Fremont! With him in	The Republica
13	throbs with the patriotism of the	free men of both sections, will have	Fremont lette
14	"held to service," and were all	free persons, as indented apprentices, indented servant	unnumbered
15	adding to the whole number of	free persons, including those bound to service	Constitution a
16	29 1/2, and in the slave states about 6 1/2,	free persons to the square mile. A	unnumbered
17	Congress, while New Hampshire, with a	free population greater by 34,000 has only 3; and	unnumbered
18	Virginia has 13, while Massachusetts, with a	free population greater by 45,000, has only 11; and	unnumbered
19	has 5, while Wisconsin, with about 10,000 greater	free population, has only 3. The slave states,	unnumbered
20	; while the slave states, having a	free population of about 6,400,000, have 942,196 square	unnumbered
21	district in South Carolina, having a	free population of 5,800 of whom 500, are slave-	unnumbered
22	, and to the power of a	free press, which, by its broad dissemination	Fremont lette
23	ring with the stirring refrain of	Free-soil, Free-speech, Free-men, and	The Republica
24	the stirring refrain of Free-soil,	Free-speech, Free-men, and Fremont! With	The Republica
25	ansas 4 14. Florida 3 15. Texas 4 ---- Total 120	Free State majority, 56.	frontinsideco
26	the admission of Kansas as a	free state--of restoring the action of	Republican Pl
27	necessary to the security of a	free state, the right of the people	Constitution a
28	Kansas into the Union as a	free State. The South should, in my	Fremont lette
29	942,196 square miles. This gives in the	free states 29 1/2, and in the slave states	unnumbered
30	is, how much longer will the	Free States be ruled by the slave	frontinsideco
31	N.H., from 1853 Reckoning to 1857, the	free states have the office 18 years, 8 months	unnumbered
32	be ruled by the slave power?	Free States. No. of Electors. 1. Maine 8 2. New	frontinsideco
33	. B. The above shows that the	free states (not including California, whose political	unnumbered
34	electoral votes in favor of the	Free States. With this remedy at hand,	frontinsideco
35	against the extension of slavery into	free territory, are of record and well	Dayton letter
36	--to the extension of slavery into	free territory; in favor of the admission	Republican Pl

Table 4.5 Concordance of free, 1856

Likewise *freedom* in Jewett’s pamphlet refers, eight times out of ten, to the absence of slavery. The remaining two instances of freedom refer to freedom of speech and of the press, one of which is extracted from a transcription of the Constitution, the other modelled on the language of the Constitution. Of wholly contemporaneous constructions, then, freedom is used to denote the antithesis of slavery. (See Table 4.6)

1	be employed on the side of	freedom and its benign order. It is	The Republican Can
2	sudden convert to the party of	freedom, as the views of that party	William Dayton.txt
3	to settle which in favor of	freedom has caused so many old political	William Dayton.txt
4	the West, and his ardor for	freedom has never failed or wavered. A	The Republican Can
5	, without due process of law; That	freedom of speech and of the press	Republican Platform
6	free exercise thereof; or abridging the	freedom of speech, or of the press;	Constitution and An
7	him in great part her present	freedom. The whole country, therefore, and every	The Republican Can
8	in asserting its own independence and	freedom to avoid giving countenance to the	Fremont letter of ac
9	, AND FOR ALL THE FRIENDS OF	FREEDOM TO CIRCULATE ----- Sumner's Great Kansas	backoutsidcover.tb
10	I consider the cause of Constitutional	Freedom. Very respectfully, Your obedient servant, J.	Fremont letter of ac

Table 4.6. Concordance of freedom, 1856

The accompanying text and paratext in Jewett's pamphlet features only one instance of *independent*, and that is in reference to the name of a newspaper. (See Table 4.7)

1	, we copy from the New York	Independent. As our readers well know, we	The Republican
---	-----------------------------	---	----------------

Table 4.7. Concordance of independent, 1856

Regarding *independence*, lines 1-2, 4-5 and 8 simply refer to the Declaration of Independence. Part of Presidential Candidate Fremont's letter of acceptance, the full sentences from which lines 3 and 6 are extracted read as follows: 'Nothing is clearer in the history of our institutions than the design of the nation in asserting its own independence and freedom to avoid giving countenance to the extension of slavery' (31a); and 'The great body of non-slave-holding freemen, including those of the South, upon whose welfare slavery is an oppression, will discover that the power of the General Government over the public lands may be beneficially exerted to advance their interests and secure their independence.' (32-3a) In both instances, Frémont equates the independence achieved in the late eighteenth century with the 'independence' (abolitionism, free labour, etc.) of a distinctly American, nineteenth-century context. (See Table 4.8)

1	DECLARATION OF	INDEPENDENCE, AND CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES	second title p
2	principles promulgated in the Declaration of	Independence, and embodied in the Federal Constitution,	Republican Pl
3	the nation in asserting its own	independence and freedom to avoid giving countenance	Fremont lette
4	OF EACH. ALSO, THE DECLARATION OF	INDEPENDENCE, AND THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED	frontoutsidcc
5	OF EACH. ALSO, THE DECLARATION OF	INDEPENDENCE, AND THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED	title page.txt
6	advance their interests and secure their	independence. Knowing this, their suffrages will not	Fremont lette
7	and eighty seven, and of the	independence of the United States of America,	Constitution a
8	, with their portraits, the Declaration of	Independence, the Constitution of the United States,	backoutsidcc

Table 4.8. Concordance of independence, 1856

4.2.3 The Declaration of Independence[,] The Articles of Confederation [and] The Constitution of the United States, *Printed in New York for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*

With regard to *free*, two occurrences are quotes from the final paragraph of the Declaration, with the phrase ‘free and independent states’ comprising five of the twelve concordance lines, all of which are extracted from the volume’s ‘Introductory Note’. Additionally, lines from the Articles of Confederation (lines 6, 9 and 10, also seen in Bailey’s 1781 imprint) and the Constitution (lines 8, 11 and 12, also seen in Jewett’s 1856 pamphlet) feature in this concordance. Only three lines are original constructions, i.e. written by editor James Brown Scott. (See Table 4.9 overleaf.)

1	the United States affords an example of sovereign,	<i>free</i> , and independent States creating a general agency	Introductory N
2	Colonies are, and of Right ought to be	<i>Free</i> and Independent States; that they are Absolved fro	Introductory N
3	ought to be totally dissolved; and that as	<i>Free</i> and Independent States, they have full Power to	Introductory N
4	ounced the right which they possessed as sovereign,	<i>free</i> and independent States to settle their disputes by	Introductory N
5	permanent court. As States claiming to be sovereign,	<i>free</i> and independent-they had expressly declared then	Introductory N
6	be entitled to all privileges and immunities of	<i>free</i> citizens in the several States; and the people	Articles of Con
7	of the Constitution, is a political community of	<i>free</i> citizens, occupying a territory of defined boundar	Introductory N
8	cting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the	<i>free</i> exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of spee	Constitution ar
9	; and the people of each State shall have	<i>free</i> ingress and regress to and from any other	Articles of Con
10	of the different States in this Union, the	<i>free</i> inhabitants of each of these States, paupers, vaga	Articles of Con
11	determined by adding to the whole Number of	<i>free</i> Persons, including those bound to Service for a	Constitution ar
12	Militia, being necessary to the security of a	<i>free</i> State, the right of the people to keep	Constitution ar

Table 4.9. Concordance of *free*, 1917

freedom follows much the same pattern as *free* above, with only one line (3) having been written by Scott, and that line uses the phraseology of an older document—in this case the Articles of Confederation. (See Table 4.10)

1	ica." Article II. Each State retains its sovereignty,	<i>freedom</i> and independence, and every power, jurisdiction	Articles of Conf
2	ion declares that "Each State retains its sovereignty,	<i>freedom</i> and independence, and every power, jurisdiction	Introductory No
3	of Confederation each State retained its sovereignty,	<i>freedom</i> , and independence, and every power, jurisdictio	Introductory No
4	Congress assembled, each State shall have one vote.	<i>Freedom</i> of speech and debate in Congress shall not	Articles of Conf
5	rohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the	<i>freedom</i> of speech, or of the press; or the	Constitution an

Table 4.10. Concordance of *freedom*, 1917

As in the concordance of *free* (Table. 4.9), several of the concordance lines (8-10) for *independent* quote the final paragraph of the Declaration of Independence. The rest of the lines are either written by Scott or quote Supreme Court rulings pertaining to the various rights of individual states and the whole of the United States under the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution. (See Table 4.11)

1	been said, that they were sovereign, were completely	independent, and were connected with each other only by	Introductory Not
2	, can there be no loss of separate and	independent autonomy to the States, through their union	Introductory Not
3	with all the functions essential to separate and	independent existence," and that "without the States in	Introductory Not
4	, "accessible to all, in the midst of the	independent powers," to quote the preamble to the conve	Introductory Not
5	be remembered," the letter reads, "that the thirteen	independent sovereign states have, by express delegatio	Introductory Not
6	States furnish an example of a league of	independent States associated for a limited and specifi	Introductory Not
7	States affords an example of sovereign, free, and	independent States creating a general agency which thei	Introductory Not
8	to do all other Acts and Things which	Independent States may of right do. The second of	Introductory Not
9	, and of Right ought to be Free and	Independent States; that they are Absolved from all All	Introductory Not
10	be totally dissolved; and that as Free and	Independent States, they have full Power to levy War,	Introductory Not
11	right which they possessed as sovereign, free and	independent States to settle their disputes by negotiat	Introductory Not
12	of the new constitution, we were divided into	independent states, united for some purpose, but in mos	Introductory Not
13	. As States claiming to be sovereign, free and	independent-they had expressly declared themselves to b	Introductory Not

Table 4.11. Concordance of independent, 1917

The concordance for *independence* features nine direct references to the Declaration of Independence (lines 1, 5, 9-15). Six lines are extracted from or quote directly the historical documents contained in the volume: three from the Articles of Confederation (2, 6-7), one from the Constitution, one quoting the Articles and one employing phraseology similar to the Articles (3, 4). Of the sixteen lines in this concordance, seven lines are extracted from original sentences written by Scott (5, 9-10, 12-13, 15-16), and all describe or explain some aspect of Declaration, the Articles or the Constitution. (See Table 4.12)

1	THE DECLARATION OF	INDEPENDENCE	Section title (Decl
2	II. Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and	independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right,	Articles of Confed
3	that "Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and	independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right,	Introductory Note
4	tion each State retained its sovereignty, freedom, and	independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right	Introductory Note
5	which they had claimed in the Declaration of	Independence and exercised against Great Britain. But	Introductory Note
6	-seven, and in the Second Year of the	Independence of America agree to certain articles of Co	Articles of Confed
7	-eight, and in the third year of the	independence of America. On the part & behalf of the	Articles of Confed
8	seven hundred and Eighty seven, and of the	Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth	Constitution and A
9	more revolutionary form than in the Declaration of	Independence of the United States. It is upon this	Introductory Note
10	define its form and content, the Declaration of	Independence, the Articles and Confederation and the Co	Introductory Note
11	CONTENTS Introductory note iii The Declaration of	Independence 3 The Articles of Confederation 13 The C	Contents.txt
12	s development. These documents are the Declaration of	Independence (1776), the Articles of Confederation (178	Introductory Note
13	onnection appropriate passages from the Declaration of	Independence, the Articles of the Confederation, and th	Introductory Note
14	ace DIVISION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW THE DECLARATION OF	INDEPENDENCE THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION THE CONSTITU	Title page.txt
15	involved. In the preamble to the Declaration of	Independence the revolutionary statesmen dissolved the	Introductory Note
16	, it should appear that the States declaring their	independence were States in the sense of international	Introductory Note

Table 4.12. Concordance of independence, 1917

From Bailey (1781) to Jewett (1856), then, the influence of intertextuality becomes increasingly apparent, not only in referencing texts contained in other sections of the volumes but also in closely modelling the phraseology of those texts without direct attribution. Scott (1917) continues this trend, indeed closely modelling the texts which comprise other sections but also quoting those texts and stating clearly the text to which the quote is attributed whilst quoting other texts which commented on, and in some cases quoted, the texts included in the volume.

4.3 Collocates

Collocates of Bailey, Jewett and CEIP Declarations are briefly summarised below. (For the associated tables of collocates, please see Appendix B.)

4.3.1 The Constitutions of the Several Independent States of America; the Declaration of Independence; the Articles of Confederation between the said states; the Treaties between His Most Christian Majesty and the United States of America, *Printed in Philadelphia by Francis Bailey (1781)*

In Bailey's volume, collocates returned for *free* which meet the criteria for the *t*-values and Mutual Information scores are: *independent*, *government*, *state*, *elections*, *exercises* and *sovereign*. Freedom returns only one word, *speech*. Collocates returned for *independent* are *free*, *state*, *states* and *sovereign*. (There are no collocates returned for *independence*.)

4.3.2 Republican Campaign Edition for the Million, *Printed in Boston by John P Jewett & Co. (1856)*

Collocates of *free* are *states*, *free*, *population* and *slave*. No lexical words are returned as potential collocates for *freedom*; however, something very interesting is returned in the output for *independence*: for the first time in the present study, *declaration* is a collocate (its confidence interval within the 95th percentile) of *independence*, and, perhaps more interestingly, so is *constitution*. (There are no collocates of *independent*.)

4.3.3 The Declaration of Independence[,] The Articles of Confederation [and] The Constitution of the United States, *Printed in New York for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*

In the CEIP's 1917 volume, collocates of *free* are *independent* and *states*. *freedom* returns no lexical co-occurrences meeting the criteria. *independent* returns three collocates: *states*, *free* and *sovereign*. (Interestingly, a grammatical word is present in both the MI and *t*-test outputs which was not observed in the previous analyses—*were*.) *independence* returns three collocates: *declaration*—this time with a confidence interval over 99 per cent—*articles* and *confederation*, both with a confidence interval in the 95th percentile.

Several notable phenomena are apparent here. First, the collocates of Bailey's volume differ substantially from those of Jewett's, suggesting a definite change between 1781 and 1856 in the polysemy of *free*, *freedom*, *independence* and *independent* and the meanings most likely to be attributed to them in these texts. This, however, in some ways reverts in the CEIP's 1917 volume to meanings in Bailey's (particularly for *independent*, where Bailey's and Scott's volumes share three out of four collocates: *free*, *states* and *sovereign*). Jewett's volume and Scott's contain a collocation not present in Bailey's—the collocation of *independence* and *declaration*. Indeed, this collocation becomes increasingly established from Jewett to CEIP, to the extent that one can say with 99 per cent confidence that *declaration* is, in this 1917 volume, a collocate of *independence*.

4.4 Summary of text analysis findings

Having first analysed the texts qualitatively, then examined the word frequencies and concordances of each text prior to analysing them for collocates, it is believed that any surprising (i.e., false) collocates would most likely have been noticed. As such, it appears that the currency of the Declaration in these three texts is indeed a result of the changing denotative and connotative semantic values of *free*, *freedom*, *independent* and *independence* achieved via collocation.

The change from Bailey's volume, wherein the strongest collocate of *free* is *independent*, to Jewett's volume, wherein collocates of *free* come to include *population* and *slave*, effectively confirms the changes intuited from reading the texts and consulting concordances. Yet, as unsurprising as these results may seem to someone who has read the texts, the statistics yielded by a text-analytical approach corroborate, formalise, quantify and make replicable and falsifiable these findings.

Most gratifying of all, however, is the strong collocation in Scott's 1917 volume of *independence* and *declaration*. In Bailey's 1781 volume, references to the Declaration, for example in the following phrases:

...(more fully set forth in the declaration of congress) whereby all allegiance and fealty to the said king and his successors, are dissolved and at an end, and all power and authority derived from him ceased in these colonies...

and

...the declaration of the honorable the continental congress, dated the 4th day of July 1776, for the many great and weighty reasons therein particularly set forth...

apparently refer to the document (rather than the act of declaring), but do not refer to it as the ‘Declaration of Independence’—a phrase which, incidentally, occurs in that volume just two times; once in the title page, once in the prefatory extract from the Journals of Congress. It seems, then, that ‘Declaration of Independence’ was perhaps not the conventional designation for the Declaration at that time.

Bearing in mind that there are no lexical collocates of *independence* in Bailey’s volume, the first time *declaration* and *independence* were shown to have a possible relationship in the present study was in Jewett, wherein the Declaration is referred to as ‘the Declaration of Independence’ and in its paratextual matter is titled not with the original ‘In Congress, July 4, 1776...’ title but, simply, ‘Declaration of Independence’.

Continuing this trend in the CEIP’s volume, the Declaration is apparently discussed to such an extent and in such a manner that *independence* has three collocates: *declaration*, *constitution* and *articles* and, as noted above, the grammatical word *were*.

5. Concluding remarks

This final chapter critiques the strengths and weaknesses of this study as a contribution toward research on Declaration's textual afterlives and suggests avenues for analysis which future studies might pursue.

5.1 Critical discussion

Though the study has presented new and exciting insight into the Declaration of Independence, it is not without its shortcomings. The study's second, third and fourth chapters' notable findings are discussed below, followed in each case by ways in which these must be augmented if such an approach is to provide definitive contributions to a larger project on the Declaration's textual afterlives.

5.1.1 *Establishing the baseline: Jefferson's drafts and the published Declaration*

In Chapter 2, the pragmatics of the Declaration were examined in its draft form(s), in its first public manifestation and in its engrossed form. It was suggested that Jefferson had used phraseology from Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* in his drafts—first 'Adieu!', then 'eternal separation!'. Furthermore, it was observed that in the earliest known fragment, the most vivid, physical language (typical of sensibility) used in the drafts was that which Jefferson had interlined, suggesting that the use of such language was a conscious one, i.e., a deliberate alteration of style. Though this phraseology (and the physical language of sensibility it contained) did not survive Congress's revisions, a remnant of it did: 'separation'. In its quantitative investigation, however, the present study did not analyse the text of the Declaration comprehensively—or even the specific uses of the language of sensibility in Jefferson's drafts—to find all existing relationships between all word types or the keyness of words; as such, findings cannot be extrapolated or extended conclusively, nor can they be considered falsifiable as yet. Additionally, only two statistical tests were available in the concordancing software used; to test the reliability of the measures used and determine whether other measures may be more appropriate, different software which offers other statistical measures should be investigated. There was no attempt to annotate ("tag") the text, thus rendering words such as 'Nature's' as two tokens ('Nature' and 's'); thus the total number of tokens on which statistical measures are

based is inflated and, consequently, the *t* and MI values are likely somewhat skewed. Also, the absence of tags precludes full use of modern concordancer capabilities.

5.1.2 *Qualitative analysis of the Bailey, Jewett and CEIP imprints*

Chapter 3 introduced three volumes published after 1776, analysing qualitatively the physical and textual features and analysing quantitatively subtle linguistic relationships which together effected an apparent change in the Declaration's 'meaning'. Most notably, it was suggested that the layered intertextuality of the transcriptions used in Scott's 1917 volume were have resulted, at least partially, from the Declaration's changing function from an editable text to that of an uneditable document, to be preserved in defensibly accurate transcriptions and authorised facsimiles. Yet, primary data used in qualitative analysis were restricted to those sources digitised and accessible to the author online or within reasonable travelling distance (and, in the case of Jewett's 1856 pamphlet, was even restricted by the measures taken to preserve it). This greatly limited the copies available for use in the study; moreover, qualitative analysis of the copies used is far from exhaustive, as external evidence for the methods of production, circulation and reception of those copies are, as are most primary materials related to the Declaration, located in the United States. It should also be noted that as a result of the systematic selection of the three texts, the copies used were all produced in the Northeast (perhaps more importantly in the case of Jewett's pamphlet, in the North

¹) of the United States, meaning this small corpus of Declarations is not balanced and cannot therefore be representative—a point which should be borne in mind (and mitigated) in future studies.

5.1.3 *Quantitative analysis of the Bailey, Jewett and Scott imprints*

Following what experts in the field of text analysis and corpus linguistics have suggested regarding the reliability of statistical measures, Chapter 4 identified what appear to be collocational means by which the text of the Declaration, while remaining substantively unchanged, may have appropriated varying semantic values for the adjectival and nominal forms of FREE and INDEPENDENT. In the three volumes analysed, this manifested as a marked shift in the collocational tendencies of *free* (most notably in its collocation with

¹ The author owes this insight to Chris Baker at the Historical Perspectives Postgraduate Conference.

slave in the antebellum period) and *independence* (most notably the development of a very strong relationship with *declaration* by the early twentieth century). However, text analysis was only performed on running text and on paratext which occurs within or immediately adjacent to running text, excluding the comprehensive index to the Constitution in Scott's 1917 volume; such paratext could be analysed as future studies incorporate volumes with comparable paratextual elements. This part of the quantitative analysis was affected by the same limitations mentioned in 5.1.1, and all quantitative analysis would have benefitted from increased familiarity with statistical methods and associated software.

5.2 Avenues of future analysis

The present study's limitations, discussed above, are several; yet in understanding its limitations, three possible avenues of future analysis have been identified.

5.2.1 *Analysing non-traditional textual inheritances*

Having suggested a direct (though faint) inheritance from sentimental fiction in the published Declaration, further examination of Jefferson's personal library might prove fruitful in identifying other non-traditional sources of the Declaration's intertextuality, thus providing a better understanding of the ways the Declaration might have been received upon its first declamations and readings.

5.2.2 *Enlarging the corpus*

The Declaration has been reproduced in textbooks, voter manuals, newspapers, magazines, pamphlets and facsimiles for 238 years. The number of copies is likely unfathomable at this point,² and as such there are a great many ways to proceed in enlarging the corpus assembled here. There are, however, two key tasks which ought to be borne in mind in selecting more copies, both relating to 'filling the gaps' left in the present corpus. Most obviously, the study ends with a 1917 copy of the Declaration; eventually more recent

² By way of example, Dr Stephen Matyas, Jr, who has compiled a checklist of imprints covering the first fifty years after the Declaration was published, has located 400 books, pamphlets and non-newspaper periodicals, plus 272 newspaper reprints of the Declaration. As printing technology has advanced over time, the present author doubts that a rough figure of 670 imprints per fifty years would hold.

copies will have to be incorporated. Perhaps of more immediate importance is the balancing of the corpus already assembled (with a view to maintaining as representative a body of texts as possible as the corpus grows over time). The eventual compilation of a corpus which is synchronically and diachronically representative will better accommodate the data requirements of a broader variety of research questions and better support the methodologies employed to answer them.

5.2.3 Exploiting the capabilities of modern corpora

It is believed that the creation of a searchable online corpus of Declarations and their accompanying texts is worth serious consideration. Whereas the present study analyses each text separately, such a corpus would allow researchers to analyse broader synchronic and more specific diachronic ways in which people referred to, interacted with and negotiated the meaning of the Declaration. Such a venture would, it is believed, increase the usability of the available data, thus expanding the relevance, enlarging the scope and enhancing the impact of studies on the Declaration's textual afterlives.

5.3 Final thoughts

The author cannot but notice the abundance of questions and work this study has yielded relative to answers it has found. Perhaps the net was cast too wide. At the very least, the abovementioned findings have answered the research question put forward in the first chapter: the form of the Declaration changed significantly in the volumes examined, and these significant changes to its form had an equally significant impact on its pragmatics.

Documents can remain encased in a protective atmosphere behind bulletproof glass, but texts cannot; texts move through cultures and space and time and are inextricably bound to the ways that people attempt to make sense of them, share them and pass them on. It is this which, despite what failings this study might have, has been sufficiently demonstrated: texts which have largely been regarded as mere variants of the Declaration, as corruptions of the Declaration, are worthy of study in their own right.

Appendix A

1. Earliest known fragment

~~this conduct and~~ at this ^{^very ^time ^they, too^} are permitting their ~~sovereign~~ chief
magistrate (to?) | send over not ^{^only^} soldiers of our ~~own~~ ^{^common^} blood but ^{^Scotch}
& [^] foreign mercenaries to ~~invade and~~ ^{^deluge us in blood.^} ~~this is too much~~
~~to be borne even by relations. enough~~ ^{^these facts have given the last stab[*] to agonizing}
^{affection, & manly spirit bids us [?]^} ~~be it today, we are~~ | now done with them! ^{^renounce}
^{for ever these unfeeling brethren^} we must endeavor to forget our former love for them |
and to hold them, as ^{^we hold^} the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends. | we
might have been a ~~great~~ ^{^free^} & a ~~happy~~ ^{^great^} people together, but ^{^a^} communication
of happiness ^{^randeur^} | & of ~~grandeur~~ ^{^freedom^} it seems it ~~beneath~~ ^{^[-]low^} their
dignity. ~~we will climb then the roads to glory & | happiness apart.~~ be it so, since they will
have it. the road to ~~glory & to~~ happiness ^{^& to glory^} | is open to us too, we will climb it
^{[?], ^apart from them^} & acquiesce in the necessity | which ~~pre~~ ^{^de^} nounces our
~~everlasting Adieu~~ eternal separation. ~~these facts have given the last stab to agonizing~~
~~affection, & manly spirit bids us to renounce for ever these unjust~~ ^{^unfeeling^} ~~brethren.~~

2. Jefferson's 'Original Rough Draught'

¹¶When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for a ^{^one^} people to |
~~advance from that subordination in which they have hitherto remained, & to~~ ^{^dissolve the}
~~political bands which have connected them with another, and to~~ ^{|-sume among the}
powers of the earth ~~the equal & independent~~ ^{^separate and equal^} station to | which the
laws of nature and of nature's got entitle them, a decent respect | to the opinions of
mankind requires that they should declare the causes | which impel them to ~~the change~~
^{^the^ separation.} ¶¶We hold these truths to be ~~sacred & undeniable~~ ^{^self-evident^}, that all
men are | created equal ~~& independent~~, that ~~from that equal creation they [derive?]~~ ^{[[?]}
~~rights, ^they are endowed by their creator with equal / rights, some of which are^~~ [inherent
&] ^{^certain^} inalienable, ^{^rights; that^} among ~~which~~ ^{^these^} are ~~the preservation of~~ | life,
& liberty, & the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these ends, go | -vernments are
instituted among men, deriving their just powers from | the consent of the governed; that
whenever any form of government | ~~shall~~ becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right
of the people to alter | or abolish it, & to institute new government, laying it's foundation
on | such principles & organising its powers in such form, as to them shall | seem most
likely to effect their safety & happiness. prudence indeed | will dictate that governments
long established should not be changed for | light & transient causes: and accordingly all
experience hath shewn that | mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable
than to | right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. but |
when a long train of abuses & usurpations [begun at a distinguished period | &] pursuing
invariably the same object, evinces a design to ~~subject~~ ^{reduce} them to ~~arbitrary power,~~
^{^†2^} ^{under absolute Despotism^}, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such |
government & to provide new guards for their future security. such has | been the patient
sufferance of these colonies; & such is now the necessity | which constrains them to
[expunge] ^{^alter^} their former systems of government. | the history of ~~his~~ ^{^the^} present
~~majesty~~ ^{^*3^} ^{King of Great Britain^} is a history of [unremitting] ^{^repeated^} injuries and |
usurpations, [among which, no one fact stands single or solitary to contra- | -dict the
uniform tenor of the rest, all of which have in direct object the | establishment of an
absolute tyranny over these states. to prove this, let facts be | submitted to a candid world,
[for the truth of which we pledge a faith | yet unsullied by falsehood.] ||| → he has refused
his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the pub- | -lic good: |→ he has
forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate & pressing importance, | unless
suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; | and when so suspended, he
has ^{^utterly^} neglected ~~utterly~~ to attend to them. → he has refused to pass other laws for
the accomodation of large districts of people | unless those people would relinquish the
right of representation ^{^in the legislature^}, a right | inestimable to them, & formidable to
tyrants only: → he has dissolved Representative houses repeatedly[?] | manly firmness his
invasions on the rights of the people: →[?], he has refused for a long ~~space of time~~ ^{^time}
^{after such dissolutions^*} to cause others to be elected, | whereby the legislative powers,
incapable of annihilation, have returned to | the people at large for their exercise, the state
remaining in the mean time | exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without &
convulsions within: → he has endeavored to prevent the population of these states; for that
purpose | obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others | to

¹ A Declaration by the Representatives of the UNITED STATES | OF AMERICA, in General Congress Assembled. ||

² The dagger (†) appears in the original document next to substantive changes made by Benjamin Franklin; notes are made in the margin, in Jefferson's hand, the first instance of which reads 'Dr Franklin's handwriting', thereafter just 'Dr. Franklin'. This was, according to Boyd, likely added at a later date, perhaps the nineteenth century. (*ibid.*)

³ The asterisk (*) appears as in (2), but for John Adams.

encourage their migrations hither, & raising the conditions of new ap- | -propriations of lands: →he has [suffered] the administration of justice totally to cease in some of these | ~~colonies~~ ^{^states^}, refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers: →he has made [our] judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, | and ^{^the^} amount ^{^†} & ^{^payment^} of their salaries: →he has erected a multitude of new offices [by a self-assumed power,] & sent hit- | -ter swarms of officers to harrass our people & eat out their substance: →he has kept among us in times of peace ^{^without our consent^} standing armies [& ships of war^{^without the consent of our Legislatures^}:] →he has affected to render the military, independent of & superior to the civil power: →he has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitu- | -tions and unacknoleged by our laws; giving his assent to their ^{^acts of^} pretended ~~aets~~ | ~~of~~ legislation, for quartering large bodies of armed troops among us; →for protecting them by a mock-trial from punishment for any murders | ^{^which^} they should commit on the inhabitants of these states; →for cutting off our trade with all parts of the world; →for imposing taxes on us without our consent; →for depriving us ^{^in many cases^} of the benefits of trial by jury; →for transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offenses: →for abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government | and enlarging its boundaries so as to render it at once an example & fit instrument for introducing the same [?] | into these [?] ||| →for taking away our charters, ^{^†} ~~abolishing our most important~~ ^{^valuable^} ^{^Laws^} & altering fundamentally the forms of our government; →for suspending our own legislatures & declaring themselves invested with power to | legislate for us in all cases whatsoever: →he has abdicated government here, ^{^by declaring us out of his protection & waging war against us^} [withdrawing his governors, & declaring us out of his allegiance & protection:] →he has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns & destroyed the | lives of our people: →he is at this time transporting large armies of ^{^Scotch and other^} foreign mercenaries to compleat | the works of death, desolation & tyranny already begun with circumstances | of cruelty & perfidy ^{^scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages and totally^} unworthy the head of a civilized nation: ^{^he has constrained [?] excited domestic insurrections amongst us and has^} →he has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian | savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of | all ages, sexes & conditions of [existence:] →[he has incited treasonable insurrections of our fellow-citizens, with the | allurements of forfeiture & confiscation of our property: →^{^he has constrained others falling into his hands taken captive on the high seas to bear arms against their country & to des- | -troy & be destroyed by their brethren whom they love, to become the executioners of their friends & brethren, | or to fall themselves by their hands.^} →he has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating it's most sa- | -cred rights of life & liberty in the persons of a distant people who never of- | -fended him, captivating & carrying them into slavery in another hemi- | -sphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. this | piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the | Christian king of Great Britain. determined to keep open a market | where MEN should be bought & sold he has prostituted his negative | for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this | execrable commerce ^{^determining to keep open a market where MEN should be bought & sold:^} and that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact | of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms | among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, | by [?]ing the people upon whom he also obtruded them: thus praying | off former crimes committed against the liberties of one people, with crimes | which he urges them to commit against the lives of another.]] “in every stage’ of these oppressions” we have petitioned for redress’ in the most humble | terms”; our repeated petitions’ have been answered ^{^†} ^{^only^} by repeated injuries”. a prince, | whose character is thus marked’ by every act which may define a tyrant”, is unfit | to be the ruler’ of a ^{^free^} people [who mean to be free”. future

ages will scarce believe' | that the hardness of one man", adventured within the short compass' of twelve years | only", ^to [?] ^build^ a foundation so broad and undisguised" for tyranny^ over a 'people' fostered & fixed in principles | of liberty". freedom.] ||| ¶ Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. we have | warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend ^an unwarrantable ^juris- | -diction over [these our states ^us^]. we have reminded them of the circumstances of | our emigration & settlement here, [no one of which could warrant so strange a | pretension: that these were effected at the expence of our own blood & treasure, | unassisted by the wealth or the strength of Great Britain: that in constituting | indeed our several forms of government, we had adopted one common king, thereby | laying a foundation for perpetual league & amity with them: but that submission to their | [?] [?] [?] [?] | credited; and] we appealed to their native justice & magnanimity, [as well as to] the ties | of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations which [were likely to ^would inevitably^] interrupt | our ^connection &^ correspondence & connection. they too have been deaf to the voice of justice & | consanguinity, [*we must therefore^* & when occasions have been given them by the regular course of | their laws of removing from their councils the disturbers of our harmony, they | have by their free election re-established them in power. at this very time too they | are permitting their chief magistrate to send over not only soldiers of our common | blood, but Scotch & foreign mercenaries to invade & deluge us in blood ^†destroy us^. these facts | have given the last stab to agonizing affection and manly spirit bids us to re- | -nounce [?] these unfeeling brethren. we must endeavor to forget our former | love for them, and to hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, | in peace friends. we might have been a free & a great people together, but a commu- | -nication of grandeur & of freedom it seems is below their dignity. be it so, since they | will have it: the road to glory & happiness ^& to glory^ is open to us too, we will ^must^ climb ^tread^ it in | a separately state ^apart from them^, and] acquiesce in the necessity which pro^de^nounces our ever- | -lasting Adieu! [eternal] separation ^and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind enemies in war, in peace friends.^! ¶ We therefore the representatives of the United States of America in General Con- | -gress assembled ^appealing to the supreme judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions^ do, in the name & by the authority of the good people of these [states] ^colonies^ | [reject⁴ and renounce all allegiance & subjection to the kings of Great Britain | & all others who may hereafter claim by, through, or under them, we utterly | dissolve & break-off all political connection which may have heretofore ^have^ sub- | -sisted between us & the people or parliament of Great Britain; and finally | we do assert and declare these colonies to be free and independant states, | and that as free & independant states they shall hereafter have ^full^ power to levy | war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, & to do all other | acts and things which independant states may of right do. And for the | support of this declaration] we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our | fortunes, & our sacred honour.

⁴ Jefferson has made a note that 'a different phraseology [was] inserted' to replace the bracketed text from 'reject and renounce' to 'for the support of this declaration'.

3. Dunlap broadside

¹¶¶WHEN in the Course of human Events, it becomes necessary for one People to dissolve the Political Bands which have connected them | with another, and to assume among the Powers of the Earth, the separate and equal Station to which the Laws of Nature and of | Nature's God entitle them, a decent Respect to the Opinions of Mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them | to the Separation. ¶WE hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain | unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness— -That to secure these Rights, Governments are | instituted among Men, deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the Governed, that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these | Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its Foundation on such Principles, and organizing | its Powers in such Form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long es- | tablished should not be changed for light and transient Causes; and accordingly all Experience hath shewn, that Mankind are more disposed to suffer, while | Evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the Forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long Train of Abuses and Usurpations, pursu- | ing invariably the same Object, evinces a Design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their Right, it is their Duty, to throw off such Government, | and to provide new Guards for their future Security. Such has been the patient Sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the Necessity which constrains | them to alter their former Systems of Government. The History of the Present King of Great-Britain is a History of repeated Injuries and Usurpations, all | having in direct Object the Establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid World. ¶HE has refused his Assent to laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public Good. ¶HE has forbidden his Governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing Importance, unless suspended in their Operation till his Assent should be obtained; | and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them. ¶HE has refused to pass other Laws for the Accommodation of large Districts of People, unless those People would relinquish the Right of Representation in | the Legislature, a Right inestimable to them, and formidable to Tyrants only. ¶HE has called together Legislative Bodies at Places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the Depository of their public Records, for the sole Purpose of | fatiguing them into Compliance with his Measures. ¶HE has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly Firmness his Invasions on the Rights of the People. ¶HE has refused for a long Time, after such Dissolutions, to cause others to be selected; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have re- | turned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the Dangers of Invasion from without, and Convulsions within. ¶HE has endeavoured to prevent the Population of these States; for that Purpose obstructing the Laws of Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others | to encourage their Migrations hither, and raising the Conditions of new Appropriations of Lands. ¶HE has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers. ¶HE has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the Tenure of their Offices, and the Amount and Payment of their Salaries. ¶HE has erected a Multitude of new Offices, and sent hither Swarms of Officers to harrass our People, and eat out their Substance. ¶HE has kept among us, in Times of Peace, Standing Armies, without the consent of our Legislatures. ¶HE has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power. ¶HE has combined with others to subject

¹ Title: IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776 ¶A DECLARATION ¶BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE
¶UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, ¶IN GENERAL CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

us to a Jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution, and unacknowledged by our Laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of | pretended Legislation : ¶FOR quartering large Bodies of Armed Troops among us : ¶FOR protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States : ¶FOR cutting off our Trade with all Parts of the World : ¶FOR imposing Taxes on us without our Consent : ¶FOR depriving us, in many Cases, of the Benefits of Trial by Jury : ¶FOR transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended Offences : ¶FOR abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an arbitrary Government, and enlarging its Boundaries, so | as to render it at once an example and fit Instrument for introducing the same absolute Rule into these Colonies: ¶FOR taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments : ¶FOR suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all Cases whatsoever. ¶HE has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us. ¶HE has plundered our Seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our Towns, and destroyed the Lives of our People. ¶HE is, at this Time, transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the Works of Death, Desolation, and Tyranny, already begun with cir- | cumstances of Cruelty and Perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous Ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized Nation. ¶HE has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become Executioners of their Friends and | Brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands. ¶HE has excited domestic Insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the Inhabitants of our Frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose | known Rule of Warfare, is an undistinguished Destruction, of all Ages, Sexes and Condition. ¶IN every stage of these Oppressions we have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble Terms : Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeat- | ed Injury. A Prince, whose Character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the Ruler of a free People. ¶NOR have we been wanting in Attentions to our British Brethren. We have warned them from Time to Time of Attempts by their Legislature to extend an | unwarrantable Jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the Circumstances of our Emigration and Settlement here. We have appealed to their native | Justice and Magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the Ties of our common Kindred to disavow these Usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our | Connections and Correspondence. They too have been deaf to the Voice of Justice and of Consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the Necessity, which | denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of Mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace, Friends. ¶WE, therefore, the Representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in GENERAL CONGRESS, Assembled, ap- | pealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the Rectitude of our Intentions, do, in the Name, and by the Authority of the good People of these Colonies, so- | lemnly Publish and Declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES ; that they are | absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political Connection between them and the State of Great-Britain, is and ought to be totally dis- | solved ; and that as FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, they have full Power to Levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish | Commerce, and do all other Acts and Things which INDEPENDENT STATES may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a | firm Reliance on the Protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our Sacred Honor.^{2,3}

² Endorsement: *Signed by ORDER and in BEHALF of the* CONGRESS,||JOHN HANCOCK, PRESIDENT.||ATTEST.||CHARLES THOMSON, SECRETARY.||

³ Dunlap 'colophon': PHILADELPHIA: PRINTED BY JOHN DUNLAP.

4. Engrossed Copy—facsimile from the Stone engraving

¹¶When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to | assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they | should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. __ We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator | with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. __ That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just | powers from the consent of the governed, __ That whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or abolish it, and to institute new | Government, laying its foundations upon such principles and organizing its powers in such a form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, | will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while | evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object | evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. __ Such has | been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great | Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid | world. __ He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good. __ He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate | and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them. __ He has refused to | pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right in inestimable to them and formidable | to tyrants only. __ He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their Public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into | compliance with his measures. __ He has dissolved Repres^en^tative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people. __ He has refused for | a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remain- | ing in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions from within. __ He has endeavoured to prevent the Populations of the States; for that purpose obstruc- | ting the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands. __ He has obstructed the | Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers. __ He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount | and payment of their salaries. __ He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harrass [sic] our People, and eat out

¹ Title: In CONGRESS, July 4, 1776. ¶The Unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America,

their substance. ___ He has kept among | us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislatures. ___ He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power. ___ He has combined | with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation: ___ For quartering large bodies of | armed troops among us: ___ For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States: ___ For cutting off | our Trade with all parts of the world : ___ For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent: ___ For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury: ___ For transporting us beyond | Seas to be tried for pretended offences: ___ For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries | so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies: ___ For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and | altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments: ___ For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever. ___ | He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us. ___ He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the Lives | of our People. ___ He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & Perfidy | scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation. ___ He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against | their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands. ___ He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the | inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions. In every stage of these Oppressions We | have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered ^{^only^} by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, | is unfit to be the ruler of a free People. Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our Brittish [sic] brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrant- | able jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them | by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of | consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends. ___ ¶ **We, therefore,** the Representatives of the **united States of America**, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our in- | tentions, do, in the Name, and by the Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, **Free and Independent | States**; that they are Absolved from Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and | that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent | States may of right do. ___ And for the support

of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes | and our sacred Honor.^{2,3}

² Endorsement(s), 02 August, 1776: ‘Button Gwinnett || Lyman Hall || Geo Walton. || W^m Hooper || Joseph Hewes. || John Penn || Edward Rutledge. || Tho Heyward Jun^r. || Thomas Lynch Jun^r. || Arthur Middleton || John Hancock || Samuel Chase || W^m. Paca || Tho^s. Stone || Charles Carroll of Carrollton || George Wythe || Richard Henry Lee. || Th Jefferson || Benj^a Harrison || Tho^s Nelson jr. || Francis Lightfoot Lee || Carter Braxton. || Robt Morris || Benjamin Rush || Benj^a. Franklin || John Morton || Geo Clymer || Ja. Smith. || Geo. Taylor || James Wilson || Geo. Ross || Caesar Rodney || Geo Read || Tho M:Kean || W^m Floyd || Phil. Livingston || Fran^s. Lewis || Lewis Morris || Rich^d. Stockton || Jn^o Witherspoon || Fra. Hopkinson || John Hart || Abra. Clark || Josiah Bartlett || W^m: Whipple || Sam^l Adams || John Adams || Rob^t Treat Paine || Elbridge Gerry || Step Hopkins || William Ellery || Roger Sherman || Sam^l Huntington || W^m Williams || Oliver Wolcott || Matthew Thornton’

³ Engraver’s ‘colophon’, appearing below ‘Geo Walton’ and slightly above and to the left of ‘Tho Heyward Jun^r.’: ‘W. J. STONE SC. WASH^N’

5. *The Constitutions of the Several Independent States of America; the Declaration of Independence; the Articles of Confederation between the said states; the Treaties between His Most Christian Majesty and the United States of America* (Francis Bailey, 1781)

¹¶WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes | necessary for one people to dissolve the political | bands which have connected them with another, | and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate | and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's | God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of man- | kind requires that they should declare the causes which im- | pel them to the separation. ¶We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are | created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with | certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, | and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, go- | vernments are instituted among men, deriving their just po- | wers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any | form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is | the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to insti- | tute new government, laying its foundations upon such princi- | ples, and organizing its powers in such a form, as to them | shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long esta- | blished should not be changed for light and transient causes; | and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind² ||| are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than | to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they | are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpa- | tions, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design | to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it | is their duty, to throw off such government and to provide | new guards for their future security. Such has been the pa- | tient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity | which constrains them to alter their former systems of govern- | ment. The history of the present king of Great-Britain is a | history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in di- | rect object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over | these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a can- | did world. ¶He has refused his assent to laws, the most wholesome | and necessary to the public good. ¶He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate | and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operati- | on till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended | he has utterly neglected to attend to them. ¶He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of | large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish | the right of representation in the legislature, a right inesti- | mable to them, and formidable to tyrants only. ¶He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, | uncomfortable, and distant from the repository of their pub- | lic records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into com- | pliance with his measures. ¶He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing | with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people. ¶He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to | cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, | incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at | large for their exercise; the state remaining in the mean | time exposed to all the danger of invasion from without, and convulsions within. ¶He has endeavoured to prevent the population of

¹ The page number is bracketed, occurring at the top centre of the page: (187). The title is: IN CONGRESS, ¶JULY 4, 1776. ||¶A||¶DECLARATION¶by the Representatives of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA, in CONGRESS assembled. The custom of using a drop capital is observed.

² As is customary, catch words occur at the bottom of the page throughout. This page marks the beginning of a gathering; accordingly, 'B b', occurs at the bottom centre of the page.

these states; | for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of fo- | reigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migra- ||| tions hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands. ¶He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refus- | ing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers. ¶He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the | tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of | their salaries. ¶He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hi- | ther swarms of officers to harrass our people, and eat out | their substance. ¶He has kept among us in times of peace, standing armies, | without the consent of our legislatures. ¶He has affected to render the military independent of and | superior to the civil power. ¶He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdicti- | on foreign to our constitution, and un-acknowledged by our | laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation: ¶For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us: ¶For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment | for any murders which they should commit on the inhabi- | tants of these states: ¶For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world: ¶For imposing taxes on us without our consent: ¶For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial | by jury: ¶For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended | offences: ¶For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neigh- | bouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary govern- | ment, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once | an example and fit instrument for introducing the same ab- | solute rule into these colonies: ¶For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valu- | able laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our go- | vernments: ¶For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring them- | selves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases | whatsoever. ¶He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out | of his protection, and waging war against us. |||¶He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our | towns, and destroyed the lives of our people. ¶He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign | mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and | tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and | perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and | totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation. ¶He has constrained our fellow citizens, taken captive on | the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become | the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall them- | selves by their hands. ¶He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and | has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers | the merciless indian savages, whose known rule of warfare | is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and con- | ditions. ¶In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for | redress in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions | have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, | whose character is thus marked by every action which may de- | fine a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people. ¶Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British | brethren. We have warned them from time to time of at- | tempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable | jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the cir- | cumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have | appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we | have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to | disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt | our connections and correspondence. They too have been | deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, | therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our | separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, | enemies in war, in peace friends. ¶We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States | of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to | the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our | intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the | good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, |||That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be | FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are absolve- | ed from

all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.³

³ The endorsement nearest the text is [¶] ‘JOHN HANCOCK.’ The rest of the signers are organized by state (as in the engrossed copy) but this time with large curved brackets orienting each of the signers’ names toward the state of which they are a delegate. Please see overleaf for an approximation of what that list looks like. NB: the names are not abbreviated to reflect the way they were originally signed on the parchment of the engrossed copy; also, though it is difficult to tell (in a digital reprint) whether delegate Caesar Rodney spells his name with an ash on the engrossed copy, his name is in this copy spelled with the ash. Additionally, it seems consistent punctuation of this list was attempted (a comma after each name except for each state’s final delegate, whose name was followed with a full stop); yet there are two mistakes: there is no full stop after Charles Carroll ‘of Carrollton’, and the full stop and comma are reversed between John Penn (of North Carolina) and Edward Rutledge (of South Carolina).

NEW-HAMPSHIRE,	Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple, Matthew Thornton.
MASSACHUSETTS-BAY,	Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry.
RHODE-ISLAND, &C,	Stephen Hopkins, William Ellery.
CONNECTICUT,	Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, William Williams, Oliver Walcott.
NEW-YORK,	William Floyd, Philip Livingston, Francis Lewis, Lewis Morris.
NEW-JERSEY,	Richard Stockton, John Witherspoon, Francis Hopkinson, John Hart, Abraham Clark,
PENNSYLVANIA,	Robert Morris, Benjamin Rush, Benjamin Franklin, John Morton, George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor, James Wilson, George Ross.
DELAWARE,	Cæsar Rodney, George Read.
MARYLAND,	Samuel Chase, William Paca, Thomas Stone, Charles Carroll, of Carrollton
VIRGINIA,	George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Nelson, jun. Francis Lightfoot Lee, Carter Braxton.
NORTH-CAROLINA,	William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn,
SOUTH-CAROLINA,	Edward Rutledge. Thomas Hayward, jun. Thomas Lynch, jun.
GEORGIA,	Arthur Middleton, Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, George Walton.

6. Republican Campaign Edition for the Million (John P Jewett & Co., 1856)

^{1,2}¶WHEN, in the course of human events, it be- | comes necessary for one people to dissolve the | political bands which have connected them with | another, and to assume among the powers of the | earth the separate and equal station to which the | laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, | a decent respect to the opinions of mankind re- | quires that they should declare the causes which | impel them to the separation. ¶We hold these truths to be self-evident—that | all men are created equal; that they are endowed | by their Creator with certain inalienable rights ; | that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit | of happiness. That to secure these rights, gov- | ernments are instituted among men, deriving their | just powers from the consent of the governed; | that whenever any form of government becomes | destructive of these ends, it is the right of the | people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a | new government, laying its foundations on such | principles, and organizing its powers in such | form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect | their safety and happiness. Prudence indeed will | dictate, that governments long established should | not be changed for light and transient causes, | and accordingly, all experience hath shown, that ||| mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils | are sufferable, than to right themselves by abol- | ishing the forms to which they are accustomed. | But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, | pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a | design to reduce them under absolute despotism, | it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such | government, and to provide new guards for their | future security. Such has been the patient suf- | ferance of these colonies; and such now is the | necessity which constrains them to alter their for- | mer systems of government. The history of the | resent [sic] king of Great Britain is a history of re- | peated injuries and usurpations, all having in | direct object, the establishment of an absolute | tyranny over these states. To prove this, let | facts be submitted to a candid world. ¶He has refused his assent to laws the most | wholesome and necessary for the public good. ¶He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of | immediate and pressing importance, unless sus- | pended in their operation till his assent should be | obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly | neglected to attend to them. ¶He has refused to pass other laws for the ac- | commodation of large districts of people, unless | those people would relinquish the right of repre- | sentation in the legislature; a right inestimable | to them, and formidable to tyrants only. ¶He has called together legislative bodies at | places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from | the depository of their public records, for the sole | purpose of fatiguing them into a compliance with | his measures.¶¶He has dissolved representative houses repeat- | edly, for opposing with manly firmness his inva- | sion of the rights of the people. ¶He has refused for a long time, after such dis- | solutions, to ['?']cause others to be elected; whereby | the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, | have returned to the people at large, for their | exercise: the state remaining in the mean time, | exposed to all the dangers of invasion from with- | out, and convulsions from within. ¶He has endeavored to prevent the population | of these states; for that purpose obstructing the | laws of naturalization of foreigners; refusing to | pass others to encourage their migration hither, | and raising the conditions of new appropriations | of lands. ¶He has obstructed the administration of justice, | by refusing his assent to laws for establishing | judiciary powers. ¶He has made judges dependent on his

¹ There is no number on the first page of the Declaration; the first numbering given, beginning on the verso of this leaf and continuing from the second title page, is 4.

² The title is offset from the body of the Declaration with a horizontal line, thus: 'DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.[] [] []'.

will | alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the | amount and payment of their salaries. ¶He has erected a multitude of new offices, and | sent hither swarms of new officers to harass our | people, and eat out their substances. ¶He has affected to render the military indepen- | dent of, and superior to, the civil power. ¶He has combined with others to subject us to a | jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unac- | knowledged by our laws, giving his assent to | their acts of pretended legislation.¶¶¶¶For quartering large bodies of armed troops | among us. ¶For protecting them, by a mock trial, from | punishment for any murders which they should | commit on the inhabitants of these states. ¶For cutting off our trade with all parts of the | world. ¶For imposing taxes on us without our consent. ¶For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits | of trial by jury. ¶For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for | pretended offences. ¶For abolishing the free system of English laws | in a neighboring province, establishing therein | an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boun- | daries, so as to render it at once an example and | fit instrument for introducing the same absolute | rule into these colonies. ¶For taking away our charters, abolishing our | most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally | the forms of our governments. ¶For suspending our own legislatures, and de- | claring themselves invested with power to legis- | late for us in all cases whatsoever. ¶He has abdicated government here, by declar- | ing us out of his protection, and waging war | against us. ¶He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, | burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our | people. ¶He is at this time transporting large armies of | foreign mercenaries to complete the works of | death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun | with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarce ¶ paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally | unworthy the head of a civilized nation! ¶He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken | captive on the high seas, to bear arms against | their country, become executioners of their | friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by | their hands. ¶He has excited domestic insurrections among | us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabi | tants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian sava | ges, whose known rule of warfare is an un- | distinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and | conditions. ¶In every stage of these oppressions we have | petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; | our repeated petitions have been answered only | by repeated injuries. A prince whose character | is thus marked by every act which may define a | tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people. ¶Nor have we been wanting in attention to our | British brethren. We have warned them from | time to time of attempts by their legislature to | extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. | We have reminded them of the circumstances of | our emigration and settlement here. We have | appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, | and we have conjured them by the ties of our | common kindred to disavow these usurpations, | which would inevitably interrupt our connection | and correspondence. They too, have been deaf | to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We | must therefore acquiesce in the necessity which | denounces our separation, and hold them as we | hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace, friends. ¶¶¶¶We, therefore, the representatives of the United | States of America, in general congress assembled, | appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for | the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, | and by the authority of the good people of these | colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these | united colonies are, and of right out to be | FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; | that they are absolved from all allegiance to the | British crown, and that all political connection | between them and the state of Great Britain, is, | and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that as | free and independent states, they have full power | to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, | establish commerce, and to do all other acts and | things which independent states may of right do. | And for the support of

this declaration, with a | firm reliance on the protection of Divine Provi- | dence, we mutually pledge to each other, our | lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.³

³ Unlike the previous and following copies of the Declaration, Jewett's transcription features no endorsements.

7. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (CEIP, 1917)

^{1,2}¶WHEN in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for | one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them | with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the sepa- | rate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's | God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind required | that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separa- | tion.¶¶We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created | equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable | Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happi- | ness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among | Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, | That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these | ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or abolish it, and to in- | statute new Government, laying its foundation upon such principles and | organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely | to effect their future Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate | that Governments long established should not be changed for light and | transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that man- | kind is more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to | right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accus- | tomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing | invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under abso- | lute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such | Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.¶¶Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is | now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems | of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is | a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct ob- | ject the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To | prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid World.¶¶He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and neces- | sary for the public good.¶¶He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and | pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent | should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected | to attend to them.¶¶He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large | districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of | Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and | formidable to tyrants only.¶¶He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncom- | fortable, and distant from the depository of their Public Records, for | the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.¶¶He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing | with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.¶¶He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause | others to be elected; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of | Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; | the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of | invasion from without, and convulsions within.¶¶He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for | that purpose obstructing Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; | refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither,

¹ There is no number given on this page; on the verso of this leaf, continuing from the title page, the numbering begins with 4. On subsequent pages, in all-capital serif font, the running head reads 'THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE'

² The title reads: 'THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE—1776¹' in a sans serif font; immediately below, in italicised serif font, is the title: '[[[In Congress, July 4, 1776.]]]The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America.' The superscript '1' in the first title refers the reader to the footnote in which the text's source is given: 'Revised Statutes of the United States, 1878, pp. 3-6.'

and raising | the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.|| ¶He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his | Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.|| ¶He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure | of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.||¶He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms | of Officers to harrass our People, and eat out their substance.|| ¶He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without | the Consent of our legislature.|| ¶He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior | to the Civil Power.|| ¶He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign | to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his | Assent for their acts of pretended Legislation:|| ¶For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us: ||¶For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any | Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States: ||¶For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world: ||¶For imposing taxes on us without our Consent: ||¶For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury: ||¶For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences: ||¶For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring | Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging | its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instru- | ment for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:|| ¶For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, | and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:|| ¶For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves in- | vested with Power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.|| ¶He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Pro- | tection and waging War against us.|| ¶He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, | and destroyed the lives of our people.|| ¶He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries | to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun | with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most | barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.|| ¶He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high ||Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners | of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.|| ¶He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeav- | oured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian | Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is undistinguished destruc- | tion of all ages, sexes and conditions.|| ¶In every stage of these Oppressions We have petitioned for Re- | dress in the most humble terms: Our repeated petitions have been | answered only with repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus | marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler | of a free People.|| ¶Nor have We been wanting in attention to our Brittish brethren. We | have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature | to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded | them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We | have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have | conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these | usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and | correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and | of consanguinity. We must, therefore, hold them as we hold the rest | of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.|| ¶We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, | in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of | the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do in the Name, and by | the Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and | declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be | Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Alle- | giance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between | them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dis- | solved; and

that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power | to levy War, conclude Peace,
contract Alliances, establish Commerce, | and do all other Acts and Things which
Independent States may of ||| right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm
re- | liance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to | each other our
Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.³

New Hampshire

JOSIAH BARTLETT
WM. WHIPPLE

MATTHEW THORNTON

Massachusetts Bay

SAML. ADAMS
JOHN ADAMS

ROBT. TREAT PAINE
ELBRIDGE GERRY

Rhode Island

STEP. HOPKINS

WILLIAM ELLERY

Connecticut

ROGER SHERMAN
SAM'EL HUNTINGTON

WM. WILLIAMS
OLIVER WOLCOTT

New York

WM. FLOYD
PHIL. LIVINGSTON

FRANS. LEWIS
LEWIS MORRIS

New Jersey

RICH'D. STOCKTON
JNO. WITHERSPOON
FRAS. HOPKINSON

JOHN HART
ABRA. CLARK

Pennsylvania

ROBT. MORRIS
BENJAMIN RUSH
BENJA. FRANKLIN
JOHN MORTON
GEO. CLYMER

JAS. SMITH
GEO. TAYLOR
JAMES WILSON
GEO. ROSS

Delaware

CAESAR RODNEY
GEO. READ

THO. M'KEAN

Maryland

SAMUEL CHASE

THOS. STONE

³ The body of the Declaration's text runs just over four pages, The endorsement nearest the text reads '[[[[JOHN HANCOCK'. The other signers of the Declaration are listed below, grouped by the state of which they are delegates. The general layout is approximated in the transcription.

WM. PACA

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON

Virginia

GEORGE WYTHE
RICHARD HENRY LEE
TH. JEFFERSON
BENJA. HARRISON

THOS. NELSON, JR.
FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE
CARTER BRAXTON

North Carolina

WM. HOOPER
JOSEPH HEWES

JOHN PENN

South Carolina

EDWARD RUTLEDGE
THOS. HEYWARD, JUNR.

THOMAS LYNCH, JUNR.
ARTHUR MIDDLETON

Georgia

BUTTON GWINNETT
LYMAN HALL

GEO. WALTON

Appendix B—text analysis

1. Concordances

1.1 *Original Rough Draught (1776)*

	' of a people who mean to be free ". future ages will scarce believe' that the	
1	of our harmony, they have by their free election re-established them in power. at	
2	peace friends. we might have been a free & a great people together, but a communicatio	
3	assert and declare these colonies to be free and independant states, and that as free &	
4	free and independant states, and that as free & independant states they shall hereafter hav	
1	together, but a communication of grandeur & of freedom it seems is below their dignity. be	
1	the powers of the earth the equal & independent station to which the laws of nature	
2	& undeniable, that all men are created equal & independent , that from that equal creation they de	
3	: he has affected to render the military, independent of & superior to the civil power: he	
4	declare these colonies to be free and independent states, and that as free & independant	
5	and independant states, and that as free & independent states they shall hereafter have power	
6	do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for	
	(no occurrence of 'independence')	

1.2 *Dunlap broadside (1776)*

1	ied for pretended Offences: For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring	
2	unfit to be the Ruler of a free People. Nor have we been wanting in	
3	are, and of Right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES ; that they are	
4	to be totally dissolved ; and that as FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES , they have full	
	(no occurrence of 'freedom')	
1	. He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.	
2	of Right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES ; that they are absolved fro	
3	totally dissolved ; and that as FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES , they have full Power to Le	
4	do all other Acts and Things which INDEPENDENT STATES may of right do. And for	
	(no occurrence of 'independence')	

1.3 *Bailey (1781)*

1	of the different states in this union, the free inhabitants of each of these states, paupers,	Articles of
2	be intitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several states; and the peopl	Articles of
3	; and the people of each state shall have free ingress and regress to and from any other	Articles of
4	any ministry, contrary to our against his own free will and consent, and that no authority can	Delaware
5	manner controul the right of conscience, in the free exercise of religious worship. 3. That all p	Delaware
6	, is the foundation of liberty and of all free government, and for this end all elections ou	Delaware
7	for this end all elections ought to be free and frequent, and every freeman having suffic	Delaware
8	the proper, natural, and safe defence of a free government. 19. That standing armies are dan	Delaware
9	other powers necessary for the legislature of a free and independent state. 6. All money-bills fo	Delaware
10	, to the intent that all elections may be free and open. 11. No person shall be entitled to	Georgia.t
11	; and enjoy all the other benefits of a free citizen. 12. Every person absenting himself	Georgia.t
12	direct. 56. All persons whatever shall have the free exercise of their religion; provided it be no	Georgia.t
13	, agreed to by the Delegates of Maryland, in free and full Convention assembled. A DECLARATI	Maryland.
14	ple. Therefore we, the delegates of Maryland, in free and full convention assembled, taking into ou	Maryland.
15	security of liberty, and the foundation of all free government; for this purpose, elections ought	Maryland.
16	vernment; for this purpose, elections ought to be free and frequent, and every man having property i	Maryland.
17	is the proper and natural defence of a free government. 26. That standing armies are dan	Maryland.
18	are odious, contrary to the spirit of a free government, and the principles of commerce, a	Maryland.
19	of Massachusetts. Art. I. All men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essentia	Massachu
20	and exclusive right of governing themselves as a free , sovereign, and independent state; and do, an	Massachu
21	and appointments. IX. All elections ought to be free , and all the inhabitants of this commonwealth	Massachu
22	the advantages of liberty, and to maintain a free government. The people ought, consequently,	Massachu
23	inconsistent with the fundamental principles of a free government. XXV. No subject ought, in any c	Massachu
24	every citizen to be tried by judges as free , impartial, and independent, as the lot of hu	Massachu
25	with each other, to form themselves into a free , sovereign, and independent body-politic or s	Massachu
26	of the limits of the same, without their free and voluntary consent, or the consent of the	Massachu

(Bailey, 1781 continued)

27	is, and of right ought to be, a free , sovereign and independent state; and I do sw	Massachu
28	be enjoyed in this commonwealth, in the most free , easy, cheap, expeditious and ample manner; a	Massachu
29	of New-Hampshire, chosen and appointed by the free suffrages of the people of said colony, and	New-Harr
30	proceed to choose twelve persons, being reputable free -holders, and inhabitants within this colony,	New-Harr
31	assembly, and in all respects to be a free and independent branch of the legislature of	New-Jers
32	is state, ordain, determine and declare, that the free exercise and enjoyment of religious professio	New-York
33	representatives in general assembly, ought to be free . 7. That in all criminal prosecutions every	North-Car
34	monopolies are contrary to the genius of a free state, and ought not to be allowed. 24. That	North-Car
35	made. 25. The property of the soil in a free government being one of the essential rights	North-Car
36	colonies now are, and for ever shall be, free and independent states: Wherefore, in our pre	North-Car
37	one year's residence, shall be deemed a free citizen. 41. That a school or schools shall	North-Car
38	bitants of said colonies, that they be henceforth free and independent states, and that just, perman	Pennsylva
39	f Pennsylvania. 1. That all men are born equally free and independent, and have certain natural, in	Pennsylva
40	any ministry, contrary to, or against, his own free will and consent: Nor can any man, who	Pennsylva
41	manner controul, the right of conscience in the free exercise of religious worship. 3. That the p	Pennsylva
42	lar elections. 7. That all elections ought to be free ; and that all free men having a sufficient	Pennsylva
43	elections ought to be free; and that all free men having a sufficient evident common intere	Pennsylva
44	emselves their houses, papers, and possessions free from search and seizure and therefore warrant	Pennsylva
45	the blessings of liberty, and keep a government free : The people ought therefore to pay particular	Pennsylva
46	other powers necessary for the legislature of a free state or commonwealth: But they shall have no	Pennsylva
47	or in general assembly, shall be by ballot, free and voluntary: And any elector, who shall rec	Pennsylva
48	council. Sect. 35. The printing presses shall be free to every person who undertakes to examine the	Pennsylva
49	one year's residence, shall be deemed a free denizen thereof, and intitled to all the righ	Pennsylva
50	Dyre, and the rest of the purchasers, and free inhabitants of our island, called Rhode-Islan	Rhode-Isl
51	loving subjects, and to secure them in the free exercise and enjoyment of all their civil and	Rhode-Isl
52	benefit of our late act of indemnity, and free pardon, as the rest of our subjects in	Rhode-Isl
53	as are now, or hereafter shall be admitted, free of the company and society of our colony	Rhode-Isl
54	be willing to accept the same, to be free of the said company and body politic, and	Rhode-Isl
55	then it shall and may be lawful and free for all princes or others, to prosecute with	Rhode-Isl
56	or any of them, shall have full and free power and liberty to continue and use the	Rhode-Isl
57	person or persons, as are or shall be free of the said colony, full power and authority	Rhode-Isl
58	have and enjoy all liberties and immunities of free and natural subjects, within any the dominion	Rhode-Isl
59	East-Greenwich in our county of Kent, in free and common soccage, and not in capite, nor	Rhode-Isl
60	The qualification of electors shall be that every free white man, and no other person, who acknowlec	South-Ca
61	the state of South-Carolina to be a free , independent, and sovereign state, and that t	South-Ca
62	upon reciprocal utility, and the just rules of free intercourse; reserving withal to each other p	Treaties.t
63	, which by this treaty are to be esteemed free ; neither may they be detained on pretence of	Treaties.t
64	shall likewise be given to them for their free and quiet passage from thence, and the return	Treaties.t
65	under several. And it is hereby stipulated, that free ships shall also give a freedom to goods,	Treaties.t
66	goods, and that every thing shall be deemed free and exempt which shall be found on board	Treaties.t
67	extended to persons who are on board a free ship, with this effect, that although they ma	Treaties.t
68	use; all which shall be wholly reckoned among free goods; as likewise all other merchandizes and	Treaties.t
69	she shall have shewed such passport, shall be free and at liberty to pursue her voyage, so	Treaties.t
70	will grant them in Europe one or more free ports, where they may bring and dispose of	Treaties.t
71	to the subjects of the said states, the free ports which have been and are open in	Treaties.t
72	the French islands of America, of all which free ports the said subjects of the united states	Treaties.t
73	etofore have been claimed by Virginia, except the free navigation and use of the rivers Potomaque an	Virginia.tx
1	ca." Art. 2. Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdi	Articles of
2	press assembled, each state shall have one vote. Freedom of speech and debate in congress shall not	Articles of
3	laws, and do no act wittingly whereby the freedom thereof may be prejudiced." And also make	Delaware
4	pus act, shall be part of this constitution. 61. Freedom of the press, and trial by jury, to	Georgia.t
5	ature, ought to be exercised or allowed. 8. That freedom of speech and debates, or proceedings in t	Maryland.
6	is one of the best securities of permanent freedom . 32. That no person ought to hold at the	Maryland.
7	the press is essential to the security of freedom in a state; it ought not, therefore, to	Massachu
8	egislature shall expressly provide for. XXI. The freedom of deliberation, speech, and debate, in ei	Massachu
9	--that he should in all cases, act with freedom for the benefit of the public--that he	Massachu
10	tend more to preserve the liberty and equal freedom of the people than voting viva voce. To	New-York
11	ht to remain sacred and inviolable. 15. That the freedom of the press is one of the great	North-Car
12	I hold religious principles incompatible with the freedom and safety of the state, shall be capable	North-Car
13	sacred. 12. That the people have a right to freedom of speech, and of writing, and publishing	Pennsylva
14	g, and publishing their sentiments; therefore the freedom of the press ought not to be restrained.	Pennsylva
15	y pretence whatever. Sect. 47. In order that the freedom of the commonwealth may be preserved inv	Pennsylva
16	lett or molestations, to pass and repass with freedom into and through the rest of the English	Rhode-Isl
17	stipulated, that free ships shall also give a freedom to goods, and that every thing shall be	Treaties.t

(Bailey, 1781 continued)

1	necessary for the legislature of a free and independent state. 6. All money-bills for the sup	Delaware
2	two hundred and fifty shall be formed into independent companies. 36. There shall be establi	Georgia.t
3	at length constrained them to declare themselves independent states, and to assume government und	Maryland.
4	of governing themselves as a free, sovereign, and independent state; and do, and forever hereafter s	Massachu
5	be tried by judges as free, impartial, and independent , as the lot of humanity will admit. I	Massachu
6	, to form themselves into a free, sovereign, and independent body-politic or state by the name of,	Massachu
7	right ought to be, a free, sovereign and independent state; and I do swear, that I will	Massachu
8	in all respects to be a free and independent branch of the legislature of this colo	New-Jers
9	are, and for ever shall be, free and independent states: Wherefore, in our present stat	North-Car
10	said colonies, that they be henceforth free and independent states, and that just, permanent, and	Pennsylva
11	. 1. That all men are born equally free and independent , and have certain natural, inherent an	Pennsylva
12	colonies of America have been since constituted independent states, and the political connection h	South-Ca
13	state of South-Carolina to be a free, independent , and sovereign state, and that the peo	South-Ca
14	The CONSTITUTIONS OF THE SEVERAL INDEPENDENT STATES OF AMERICA; THE Decla	title page.
1	. Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence , and every power, jurisdiction and ri	Articles of
2	Lord, 1778, and in the third year of the independence of America[.?] The aforesaid article	Articles of
3	ticular, and America in general. And whereas the independence of the united states of America has b	Georgia.t
4	ment. Sect. 36. As every freeman to preserve his independence , (if without a sufficient estate) oug	Pennsylva
5	two hundred correct copies of the Declaration of Independence , the Articles of Confederation and Pe	prefatory
6	DENT STATES OF AMERICA; THE Declaration of Independence ; THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATI	title page.
7	aintain effectually the liberty, sovereignty, and independence absolute and unlimited, of the said u	Treaties.t
8	not to lay down their arms, until the independence of the united states shall have been	Treaties.t
9	he united states, their liberty, sovereignty, and independence , absolute and unlimited, as well in m	Treaties.t

1.4 Jewett (1856)

1	to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to	Constituti
2	of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the	Constituti
3	to the security of a free state, the right of the	Constituti
4	the extension of slavery into free territory, are of record and	Dayton le
5	to the power of a free press, which, by its broad	Fremont l
6	into the Union as a free State. The South should, in	Fremont l
7	the scheme to take from free labor the country secured to	Fremont l
8	, cannot be conquered from the free laborers, who have long considered	Fremont l
9	with the patriotism of the free men of both sections, will	Fremont l
10	every settler upon them a free-holder. If the people entrust	Fremont l
11	result in the triumph of free labor, the natural capital which	Fremont l
12	upon as the bulwark of free institutions. Trusting that I have	Fremont l
13	Presidential Electoral Vote OF THE FREE AND SLAVE STATES COMPARED -----	frontinside
14	Presidential electoral vote of the Free and Slave States. By reference	frontinside
15	votes in favor of the Free States. With this remedy at	frontinside
16	, how much longer will the Free States be ruled by the	frontinside
17	ruled by the slave power? Free States. No. of Electors. 1. Maine 8 2.	frontinside
18	4 14. Florida 3 15. Texas 4 ---- Total 120 Free State majority, 56.	frontinside
19	the extension of slavery into free territory; in favor of the	Republica
20	admission of Kansas as a free state--of restoring the action	Republica
21	this Union, with her present free Constitution, as at once the	Republica
22	with the stirring refrain of Free-soil, Free-speech, Free-men,	The Repu
23	stirring refrain of Free-soil, Free-speech, Free-men, and Fremont!	The Repu
24	of Free-soil, Free-speech, Free-men, and Fremont! With him	The Repu
25	.H., from 1853 Reckoning to 1857, the free states have the office 18 years, 8	unnumbe
26	, while New Hampshire, with a free population greater by 34,000 has only 3;	unnumbe
27	has 13, while Massachusetts, with a free population greater by 45,000, has only 11;	unnumbe
28	5, while Wisconsin, with about 10,000 greater free population, has only 3. The slave	unnumbe
29	basis of representation as the free, are entitled to only 65 representatives	unnumbe
30	. The above shows that the free states (not including California, whose	unnumbe
31	the slave states, having a free population of about 6,400,000, have 942,196 s	unnumbe
32	miles. This gives in the free states 29 1/2, and in the slave	unnumbe
33	in the slave states about 6 1/2, free persons to the square mile.	unnumbe
34	in South Carolina, having a free population of 5,800 of whom 500, are	unnumbe
35	. I., Sec. 2, [P] 3, the term " free" is to be taken in	unnumbe
36	to service," and were all free persons, as indented apprentices, indented	unnumbe
1	FOR ALL THE FRIENDS OF FREEDOM TO CIRCULATE ----- Sumner's Great	backouts
2	exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the	Constituti
3	asserting its own independence and freedom to avoid giving countenance to	Fremont l
4	consider the cause of Constitutional Freedom. Very respectfully, Your obedient servant	Fremont l
5	due process of law; That freedom of speech and of the	Republica
6	West, and his ardor for freedom has never failed or wavered.	The Repu
7	in great part her present freedom. The whole country, therefore, and	The Repu
8	employed on the side of freedom and its benign order. It	The Repu
9	settle which in favor of freedom has caused so many old	William D
10	convert to the party of freedom, as the views of that	William D
1	copy from the New York Independent. As our readers well know,	The Repu
1	their portraits, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United	backouts
2	eighty seven, and of the independence of the United States of	Constituti
3	nation in asserting its own independence and freedom to avoid giving	Fremont l
4	their interests and secure their independence. Knowing this, their suffrages will	Fremont l
5	EACH. ALSO, THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, AND THE CONSTITUTION OF	frontouts
6	promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Federal	Republica
7	DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, AND CONSTITUTION OF THE	second tit
8	EACH. ALSO, THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, AND THE CONSTITUTION OF	title page.
9	DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. _____	Title.txt

1.5 Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (1917)

1	the different States in this Union, the free inhabitants of each of these States, paupers,	Articles of
2	entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States; and the	Articles of
3	the people of each State shall have free ingress and regress to and from any	Articles of
4	by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for	Constituti
5	an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of	Constituti
6	, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to	Constituti
7	United States affords an example of sovereign, free , and independent States creating a general ag	Introducto
8	are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolve	Introducto
9	to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power	Introducto
10	the Constitution, is a political community of free citizens, occupying a territory of defined bo	Introducto
11	the right which they possessed as sovereign, free and independent States to settle their disput	Introducto
12	court. As States claiming to be sovereign, free and independent-they had expressly declared t	Introducto
13	are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolve	Historical
14	in a vote declaring the United Colonies free and independent States, was laid before Congr	Historical
15	to concur in declaring the United Colonies free and independent States, was laid before Congr	Historical
16	of July, a resolution declaring the colonies free and independent States, was adopted. A decla	Historical
1	Article II. Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisd	Articles of
2	assembled, each State shall have one vote. Freedom of speech and debate in Congress shall	Articles of
3	the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or	Constituti
4	declares that "Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisd	Introducto
5	onfederation each State retained its sovereignty, freedom , and independence, and every power, jurisd	Introducto
1	furnish an example of a league of independent States associated for a limited and sp	Introducto
2	affords an example of sovereign, free, and independent States creating a general agency which	Introducto
3	of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from al	Introducto
4	totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy	Introducto
5	do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. The second	Introducto
6	the new constitution, we were divided into independent states, united for some purpose, but i	Introducto
7	said, that they were sovereign, were completely independent , and were connected with each other or	Introducto
8	all the functions essential to separate and independent existence," and that "without the Stat	Introducto
9	there be no loss of separate and independent autonomy to the States, through their	Introducto
10	remembered," the letter reads, "that the thirteen independent sovereign states have, by express dele	Introducto
11	to all, in the midst of the independent powers," to quote the preamble to the	Introducto
12	which they possessed as sovereign, free and independent States to settle their disputes by neg	Introducto
13	States claiming to be sovereign, free and independent -they had expressly declared themselves	Introducto
14	of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from al	Historical
15	vote declaring the United Colonies free and independent States, was laid before Congress and r	Historical
16	in declaring the United Colonies free and independent States, was laid before Congress and r	Historical
17	, a resolution declaring the colonies free and independent States, was adopted. A declaration to	Historical
1	, and in the Second Year of the Independence of America agree to certain articles	Articles of
2	. Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence , and every power, jurisdiction and ri	Articles of
3	, and in the third year of the Independence of America. On the part & behalf of	Articles of
4	hundred and Eighty seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the	Constituti
5	TENTS Introductory note iii The Declaration of Independence 3 The Articles of Confederation	contents.f
6	ppment. These documents are the Declaration of Independence (1776), the Articles of Confederation	Introducto
7	revolutionary form than in the Declaration of Independence of the United States. It is upon	Introducto
8	should appear that the States declaring their independence were States in the sense of internati	Introducto
9	tion appropriate passages from the Declaration of Independence , the Articles of the Confederation, a	Introducto
10	. In the preamble to the Declaration of Independence the revolutionary statesmen dissolved	Introducto
11	"Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence , and every power, jurisdiction and ri	Introducto
12	each State retained its sovereignty, freedom, and independence , and every power, jurisdiction, and r	Introducto
13	they had claimed in the Declaration of Independence and exercised against Great Britain.	Introducto
14	its form and content, the Declaration of Independence , the Articles and Confederation and t	Introducto
15	THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE	Section tit
16	INTERNATIONAL LAW THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDER	Title page
17	THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE HISTORICAL NOTE The deleg	Historical
18	committee appointed to prepare a declaration of independence brought in a draught, which was read,	Historical
19	the 4th of July the Declaration of Independence was agreed to, engrossed on paper, s	Historical
20	THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE --1776 In Congress, July 4, 1776.	Titles and

2. Collocations

2.1 Original Rough Draught (1776)

	Mutual Information (MI)				t-score		
	NO. OF CO-OCCURRENCES	STATISTIC	POTENTIAL COLLOCATE		NO. OF CO-OCCURRENCES	STATISTIC	POTENTIAL COLLOCATE
free	2	7.75043	independant		3	1.71596	(states)
	3	6.75043	states		3	1.6963	and
	2	6.01346	they		2	1.40765	independent?
	2	5.87596	be		2	1.39232	they
	3	5.59842	and		2	1.39013	be
	2	5.33539	have		2	1.37919	have
	2	4.5805	a		2	1.35511	a
	2	3.01346	to		2	1.23908	to
freedom	2	4.99911	of		2	1.36999	of
independent	3	9.07236	equal		5	2.16795	the
	2	7.75043	free		4	1.98421	that
	2	7.75043	as		4	1.98142	and
	3	7.48739	states		4	1.9257	to
	4	6.98489	that		3	1.72883	(equal)
	4	6.75043	and		3	1.7224	(states)
	2	5.98489	which		2	1.40765	free?
	5	5.03673	the		2	1.40765	as
	4	4.75043	to		2	1.39188	which
independence	-	-	-		-	-	-

Key	
()	90 per cent confidence that a relationship exists (<i>t</i> -test)
?	80 per cent confidence that a relationship exists (<i>t</i> -test)

NB: due to the size of the Declaration considered by itself (as opposed to the thousands and thousands of words in the hypertexts of Bailey, Jewett and Scott), co-occurrence frequencies of 2 (rather than 3) have been accepted here purely as an indication of potential relationships between words.

2.2. Dunlap broadside (1776)

	Mutual Information (MI)				t-score		
	NO. OF CO-OCCURRENCES	STATISTIC	POTENTIAL COLLOCATE		NO. OF CO-OCCURRENCES	STATISTIC	POTENTIAL COLLOCATE
free	2	7.37069	independent		3	1.63263	and
	2	6.56333	states		2	1.40567	independent?
	2	5.67025	that		2	1.39926	states?
	3	4.12276	and		2	1.38644	that
	2	3.12276	of		2	1.25186	of
	2	3.1039	the		2	1.24972	the
freedom	-	-	-		-	-	-
independent	2	7.37069	free		4	1.9139	and
	3	7.14829	states		3	1.71984	(states)
	2	6.56333	they		3	1.62042	to
	2	5.67025	that		2	1.40567	free?
	4	4.5378	and		2	1.39926	they
	3	3.95565	to		2	1.38644	that
independence	-	-	-		-	-	-

Key	
()	90 per cent confidence that a relationship exists (<i>t</i> -test)
?	80 per cent confidence that a relationship exists (<i>t</i> -test)

NB: due to the size of the Declaration considered by itself (as opposed to the thousands and thousands of words in the hypertexts of Bailey, Jewett and Scott), co-occurrence frequencies of 2 (rather than 3) have been accepted here purely as an indication of potential relationships between words.

2.3 Bailey (1781)

	Mutual Information (MI)				t-score		
	NO. OF CO-OCCURRENCES	STATISTIC (descending)	POTENTIAL COLLOCATE		NO. OF CO-OCCURRENCES	STATISTIC (descending)	POTENTIAL COLLOCATE
free	4	9.65751	sovereign		62	7.39897	and
	10	9.49401	independent		36	5.24353	of
	3	7.75704	ports		25	4.66657	be
	3	7.65751	deemed		32	4.52406	the
	5	6.94381	elections		21	4.42024	a
	5	6.7164	exercise		17	3.61113	to
	3	6.39447	men		15	3.39521	shall
	9	6.2305	ought		12	3.31683	all
	3	6.17208	full		10	3.15789	independent
	9	5.76566	government		9	2.96005	ought
	4	5.58712	inhabitants		9	2.94486	government
	3	5.54203	liberty		10	2.87973	that
	3	5.52	consent		11	2.79156	in
	21	4.81908	a		7	2.45892	state
	5	4.74677	every		6	2.29096	have
	12	4.55597	all		5	2.2179	elections
	5	4.53981	are		5	2.2148	exercise
	3	4.14654	people		5	2.15278	every
	62	4.05099	and		5	2.13994	are
	3	4.00981	states		4	1.99752	sovereign
	3	3.94969	person		4	1.9584	inhabitants
	6	3.94969	have		5	1.95122	as
	25	3.90647	be		5	1.87679	for
	3	3.85015	no		4	1.83953	may
	7	3.82389	state		4	1.79743	said
	4	3.63958	may		6	1.79233	or
	3	3.50912	they		4	1.74938	this
	10	3.48438	that		3	1.72404	ports
	3	3.32122	which		3	1.72347	deemed
	4	3.30348	said		3	1.71146	men
	15	3.01905	shall		3	1.70803	full
	17	3.00958	to		3	1.69488	liberty
	4	2.99644	this		3	1.6943	consent
	36	2.9876	of		3	1.63425	people
	5	2.97269	as		3	1.62453	states
	3	2.72205	their		3	1.61996	person
	11	2.65915	in		3	1.61195	no
	5	2.6378	for		3	1.57992	they
	32	2.32011	the		3	1.55876	which
	4	2.06356	by		4	1.52155	by
	6	1.89817	or		3	1.46954	their
freedom	4	12.0818	speech		16	3.62693	the
	3	10.8594	press		15	3.60007	of
	3	5.73012	with		13	3.36396	and
	5	4.58674	that		5	2.14301	that
	3	4.11409	a		4	1.99954	speech
	13	3.89959	and		3	1.73112	press
	15	3.82693	of		3	1.69942	with
	16	3.42247	the		3	1.63203	a
	3	2.60944	to		3	1.44823	to
independent	4	12.03998	sovereign		18	4.07356	and
	10	9.49401	free		10	3.15789	free
	5	7.12924	states		6	2.39124	a
	5	5.72094	state		6	2.31896	be
	6	5.3942	a		5	2.2201	states
	18	4.64919	and		5	2.19367	state
	6	4.23005	be		4	1.99953	sovereign
	3	3.07959	shall		5	1.84678	of
	3	2.88955	to		5	1.68647	the
	5	2.52207	of		3	1.52716	shall
	5	2.02451	the		3	1.49832	to
independence	3	11.5843	sovereignty		11	3.07842	the
	10	4.1595	of		10	2.98532	of
	7	3.92405	and		7	2.47145	and
	11	3.79944	the		3	1.73149	sovereignty

Key	
	99(+) per cent confidence that a collocation exists (t-test, lexical types only)
	95-99 per cent confidence that a collocation exists (t-test, lexical types only)

2.4 Jewett (1856)

	Mutual Information (MI)				t-score		
	NO. OF CO-OCCURRENCES	STATISTIC	POTENTIAL COLLOCATE		NO. OF CO-OCCURRENCES	STATISTIC	POTENTIAL COLLOCATE
<i>free</i>	3	9.21493	soil		32	5.09908	the
	3	8.62996	greater		24	4.44865	of
	5	8.36693	population		10	3.04813	states
	3	7.21493	speech		9	2.80816	a
	3	7.21493	about		6	2.41239	free
	5	6.95189	slave		6	2.36808	with
	3	6.30804	men		6	2.32274	as
	6	6.045	free		6	2.29698	by
	3	5.967	persons		5	2.22929	population
	6	4.91115	with		5	2.21801	slave
	10	4.79202	states		4	1.91292	state
	3	4.69136	has		6	1.8992	and
	4	4.52144	state		5	1.85677	in
	3	4.30804	from		5	1.7755	to
	6	4.27241	as		3	1.72914	soil
	6	4.00547	by		3	1.72768	greater
	9	3.967	a		3	1.72039	speech
	3	3.83989	have		3	1.72039	about
	24	3.44344	of		3	1.71019	men
	32	3.34225	the		3	1.70436	persons
	5	2.55957	in		3	1.66501	has
	3	2.47346	be		3	1.64461	from
	5	2.27947	to		3	1.61109	have
	6	2.15423	and		3	1.42018	be
<i>freedom</i>	3	5.16811	or		11	3.13185	of
	11	4.1659	of		7	2.31448	the
	4	3.41726	and		4	1.81279	and
	3	3.3905	to		3	1.68388	or
	7	2.9976	the		3	1.56689	to
<i>independent</i>	-	-	-		-	-	-
<i>independence</i>	6	10.045	declaration		12	3.30489	of
	4	7.23765	constitution		12	3.23639	the
	12	4.44344	of		7	2.51839	and
	7	4.37662	and		6	2.44717	declaration
	12	3.92721	the		4	1.98675	constitution
	3	3.82261	in		3	1.60963	in

Key	
	99(+) per cent confidence that a collocation exists (<i>t</i> -test, lexical types only)
	95-99 per cent confidence that a collocation exists (<i>t</i> -test, lexical types only)

2.5 Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (1917)

	Mutual Information (MI)				t-score		
	NO. OF CO-OCCURRENCES	STATISTIC	POTENTIAL COLLOCATE		NO. OF CO-OCCURRENCES	STATISTIC	POTENTIAL COLLOCATE
free	3	9.42708	declaring		12	3.28873	and
	9	9.2465	independent		9	2.99506	independent
	3	8.28957	colonies		8	2.72519	states
	3	7.74901	sovereign		9	2.48982	the
	3	6.94165	right		8	2.46295	of
	3	5.91612	was		5	2.02714	to
	3	5.59926	they		3	1.72953	declaring
	8	4.77603	states		3	1.72652	colonies
	3	4.67219	that		3	1.724	sovereign
	12	4.30399	and		3	1.71796	right
	3	3.60945	a		3	1.70337	was
	5	3.41988	to		3	1.69632	they
	3	3.33115	be		3	1.66412	that
	8	2.95215	of		3	1.59014	a
	9	2.55589	the		3	1.55995	be
freedom	3	10.25715	sovereignty		7	2.574	and
	3	9.10515	independence		3	1.73064	sovereignty
	3	8.67219	every		3	1.72891	independence
	3	7.96765	its		3	1.7278	every
	3	5.79045	state		3	1.72513	its
	7	5.20445	and		3	1.70076	state
	3	3.21519	of		3	1.54555	of
independent	9	9.2465	free		14	3.56915	and
	5	8.39851	sovereign		13	3.51951	states
	3	8.20211	colonies		9	2.99506	free
	4	7.32169	were		6	2.24684	to
	4	5.92683	they		5	2.22944	sovereign
	3	5.82865	was		5	2.18016	that
	13	5.389	states		6	2.0011	of
	5	5.32169	that		4	1.9875	were
	14	4.43892	and		4	1.96712	they
	3	4.02492	united		4	1.86942	a
	4	3.93703	a		6	1.7856	the
	6	3.59545	to		3	1.72617	colonies
	3	3.24369	be		3	1.70157	was
	6	2.44965	of		3	1.62565	united
	6	1.88347	the		3	1.54919	be
independence	3	9.10515	freedom		29	5.0299	the
	13	9.08312	declaration		24	4.63522	of
	3	8.25715	sovereignty		13	3.5989	declaration
	3	7.42708	jurisdiction		9	2.74687	and
	5	7.03476	articles		5	2.21901	articles
	3	6.67219	every		5	2.00999	in
	4	6.19826	confederation		4	1.97276	confederation
	3	5.96765	its		4	1.81751	states
	3	5.87249	power		3	1.72891	freedom
	24	4.21519	of		3	1.72639	sovereignty
	29	3.92202	the		3	1.72199	jurisdiction
	9	3.56702	and		3	1.71507	every
	4	3.4541	states		3	1.70437	its
	5	3.30606	in		3	1.70249	power
	3	2.36099	to		3	1.39489	to

Key	
	99(+) per cent confidence that a collocation exists (t-test, lexical types only)
	95-99 per cent confidence that a collocation exists (t-test, lexical types only)

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