

Restoring Civics & Government Education: The Failing Social Studies Movement

By David Barton

The Need to Restore Government and Civics Courses

To preserve America as a federal constitutional republic (the greatest citizen-stewarded self-government on the face of the earth), every citizen must understand both the core principles and the operations of government that sustain us as the longest ongoing constitutional republic in the history of the world. Therefore, every student must be deliberately educated in both government and civics.

At a minimum, a government course must require a thorough study of the content of the US Constitution, the federative republic it establishes, its limited but specifically enumerated powers, and the differing jurisdictions of the varying levels of government. A corresponding civics course must inculcate in each student a thorough understanding of both their rights as well as their duties as a citizen in our federal republic.

Despite these simple thresholds of what should be considered minimal knowledge, current studies repeatedly confirm that students are dismally lacking in these areas of essential knowledge—and have been for the last several years.

The Introduction of Social Studies into Education

For generations, American students studied history, government, civics, and economics as separate and independent courses. Each was a singular area of emphasis. A thorough understanding of all four was deemed essential if students were to be adequately equipped to manage and preserve the country they inherited from antecedent generations. But beginning in the early 1900s, a new educational movement successfully advocated for abandoning the traditional approach.

In 1916, the National Education Association's (NEA) brand-new Committee on Social Studies issued a national report urging the replacement of the former subject courses with a much broader interdisciplinary approach focused on contemporary global events and social issues. Calling this new system "social studies," the committee explained:

The social studies should cultivate a sense of membership in the "world community," with all the sympathies and sense of justice that this involves as among the different divisions of human society.[1]

Social studies shifted America away from its focus on American history, government, and civics.

In 1921, the National Council for Social Studies (NCSS) was founded to vigorously promote the implementation of social studies throughout the nation. With the encouragement of the

US Bureau of Education, their effort gained ground. By the late 1950s, the federal government was pushing for standardized curricula in schools that replaced the traditional study of history, government, and economics with the ambiguous but all-inclusive social studies.

During that time, the social studies movement received criticism for being little more than an eclectic hodgepodge of various subjects all scrambled under one umbrella.[2] It lacked a core purpose, well-defined standards, or measurable benchmarks of practical knowledge.

By 1977, it was clear that the new approach, although still growing and expanding, was not performing as promised. Three of the key leaders on the National Council on Social Studies (Robert Barr, James Barth, and Samuel Shermis) candidly acknowledged:

The field of social studies is... caught up in ambiguity, inconsistency, and contradiction.... The confusion in the field is apparent.... The content of the social studies is a smorgasbord.... Many future social studies teachers are teased and tormented with an incoherent set of experience... with results that they enter their profession uneasy and confused. We seem to be in deep trouble.[3]

In 1983, following decades of plummeting scores, a national commission released the scathing report *A Nation at Risk*,[4] documenting the massive failures of the social studies movement.

States began to organize and push back on federal educational initiatives. By the 1990s, numerous parents and organizations, stressing educational accountability, urged a return to the traditional subject-based teaching of history, government, and economics. While their movement gained support, social studies continued to dominate education.

As the growing failures of social studies continued to be exposed, state legislators began pushing for fixed minimal standards for specific course subjects. Feeling this pressure, supporters of social studies struggled to condense their hazy assortment of nebulous topics into substantive standards. The NCSS stepped in to create an official set of social studies criteria.[5]

That effort, however, produced no measurable improvement. And today (2024), according to the NCSS, new themes still continue to be added to the existing mix of social studies, including gender studies, social justice, human rights, international organizations, LGBTQ+ studies, psychology, sociology, and anthropology.[6] Yet this is only slightly changed from their 1994 position when the NCSS directed that social studies include instruction in anthropology, philosophy, psychology, and sociology.[7]

The traditional teaching of American history, government, civics, and economics remained overshadowed and lost under the NCSS's continuing effort to prepare students to be well-functioning "*citizens of a culturally diverse, democratic society in an interdependent world.*"[8]

It is a serious error to believe or teach that America is merely one among the 193 nations across the globe currently represented at the United Nations.[9] Significantly, the average length of a constitution in the history of the world is 19 years;[10] but America's has now surpassed two centuries, producing the most stable, prosperous, and creative nation in the world.

In fact, the American model has long been recognized as an exception to the rule among the other nations in the world. As French political philosopher Alexis de Tocqueville long ago (1835) observed:

The position of the Americans is quite exceptional, and it may be believed that no democratic people will ever be placed in a similar one.[11]

The best way to raise the next generation of Americans is not to teach them that we are merely one among the many nations of the world, and that different groups have different views, and all of them need to be known, accepted, and understood.

Our distinctive Constitution has brought unparalleled stability, longevity, creativity, and prosperity to our nation, and untold blessings to countless hundreds of millions throughout the world. Yet today, we largely fail to equip students to understand the unique formula it sets forth.

It is imprudent to dilute students' learning about their own country by replacing lessons in their own country's government and history with the blurry ideal of multiculturalism.

The Academic Results of Social Studies

Measuring the results from several decades of teaching social studies indicates the future for America's constitutional republic is bleak:

- Only 1 in 5 eighth-grade students are even minimally proficient in civics,[12] and only 14 percent in US history.[13]
- Just 1 in 3 Americans can correctly identify what happened at the Constitutional Convention.[14]
- 3 in 5 Americans cannot name the three branches of government,[15] and 1 in 5 cannot name any.[16]
- Only 7% of Americans can name the five freedoms protected by the First Amendment (speech, religion, press, assembly, and petition),[17] and only 1 in 5 college graduates can name a single one of them.[18] In fact, only 1 in 5 knew that freedom of religion was part of the First Amendment.[19]
- Just 2 in 5 Americans know the length of term for a US Senator.[20]

There are many other similarly disturbing measurements.

Of further concern, current studies affirm that the more recently a student has graduated from school, the less likely he or she is to vote or participate in the civic process[21]—a clear formula for national suicide.

The one exception to this trend is that the more familiar a student is with American government and civics, the more active he or she becomes in the stewardship of our government.[22] This fact alone is a compelling reason to return to a specific emphasis on government and civics.

America has arrived at the shocking situation in which a newly-arrived legal foreign immigrant now knows more about our government and civics than the typical American student who has completed 12 years of American public education. Consider some startling facts.

For an immigrant to become an American citizen, he or she is required to pass a 100-question exam that covers the traditional areas of history, civics, and government. After only months of part-time study, 96% pass this test.[23]

Many state officials, seeing the results, believed strongly that American students should graduate with as much knowledge about American history and government as a new immigrant. As a result, in a movement known as the "Civics Education Initiative,"[24] 17 states now require the American citizenship exam as their state's high-school graduation test.[25]

But shockingly, only 3% of American high-school seniors are able to pass that test[26]—and according to the Core Knowledge Sequence, three-fourths of the content in the immigration test was supposed to have been covered by the time a student finished the fourth grade.[27] This must not continue. A return to what works is fully warranted. As those involved in the creation of our government insightfully forewarned:

If a nation expects to be ignorant and free in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be.[28] **Thomas Jefferson**, *Signer of the Declaration*

Where knowledge is a duty, ignorance is a crime.[29]
Thomas Paine, *American Pamphleteer*

While the great body of freeholders are acquainted with the duties which they owe to their God, to themselves, and to men, they will remain free. But if ignorance and depravity should prevail, they will inevitably lead to slavery and ruin.[30]
Samuel Huntington, *Signer of the Declaration, Governor*

Knowledge will forever govern ignorance. A people who mean to be their own governors must arm themselves with the power which knowledge gives.[31]
James Madison, *Signer of the Constitution*

In the decades since the introduction of social studies, it has repeatedly underperformed the results it promised to achieve and thus has become a direct threat to America's future. Currently, only 8 states require high school students to pass a test in American civics or American government to graduate.[32] It is time to reinstitute specific requirements for learning American government, civics, and history, abandoning the increasingly nebulous and underperforming "social studies."

Restoring the Study of Government and Civics

What are the minimal essentials of knowledge that must be attained for an individual to be a competent steward of our government and effectively participate in the civic process?

First and foremost is a thorough knowledge of the Constitution, including a working familiarity with its essential parts and elements. Attaining this knowledge is not a difficult task.

The US Constitution is one of the shortest governing documents in the world. It is less than 7,800 words long, including its 27 Amendments.[33] The average American reads non-fiction works at an average rate of 238 words per minute,[34] so the Constitution can be read in about 30 minutes (or in just 20, omitting the amendments).

This is quite different from other nations—including India, whose constitution is 146,000 words (19 times longer than the US Constitution); and Brazil (64,000 words, 8 times longer); and Mexico (57,000 words); and South Africa (43,000 words); and scores of others. And while America has had only one constitution since 1787, Haiti has had 23 since 1801;[35] Venezuela, 25 since 1811;[36] Brazil, 7 since 1822;[37] Nigeria, 9 since 1922;[38] and so forth.

Clearly, not all governments are equal; and not all constitutions work. But America's does—and any American can learn and master it. Yet our current educational paradigm clearly does not invest sufficient time or emphasis in preserving and perpetuating its unique principles. Original Supreme Court Justice and author of the *Federalist Papers* John Jay affirmed:

Every member of the State ought diligently to read and study the constitution of his country.... By knowing their rights, they will sooner perceive when they are violated and be the better prepared to defend and assert them.[39]

In addition to a knowledge of the Constitution, previous generations insisted that both the Declaration of Independence and George Washington's "Farewell Address" also be studied in civics and government. These two documents were viewed as indispensable for understanding the spirit, scope, and intent of the Constitution.

Documents such as these must always be studied according to their original intent and purpose—an important approach affirmed by countless eminent legal authorities across the generations. This can easily be accomplished by studying the written text of those documents, consulting the records of the Convention that formed the Constitution, the writings of those who attended that Convention, the various state conventions that ratified the Constitution, the early commentaries on the original intent of the Constitution such as the *Federalist Papers*, the writings of the anti-Federalists that led to the inclusion of the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, and George Washington's "Farewell Address."

The Spirit of the Constitution: The Declaration of Independence

The 20th century's transition to social studies correlated with an erroneous transition away from thoroughly teaching the Declaration of Independence. The Constitution and the Declaration are interdependent documents, and it is an error not to study the two side by side. Concerning this interdependency, the US Supreme Court affirmed:

It is always safe to read the letter of the Constitution in the spirit of the Declaration of Independence.[40]

The relationship between the Declaration and Constitution is parallel to that between a corporation's Articles of Incorporation and its By-Laws. The first calls the entity into legal existence, and the second explains how it will be governed. Both documents are vital to its legal existence and daily operation.

The Declaration is America's Articles of Incorporation, and the Constitution is its By-Laws. The Constitution neither abolished nor replaced what the Declaration established. As Founding Father Samuel Adams affirmed:

Before the formation of this Constitution... [t]his Declaration of Independence was received and ratified by all the States in the Union and has never been disannulled.[41]

John Quincy Adams (an early US president who was unanimously confirmed to, but declined, a seat on the US Supreme Court) likewise explained:

The virtue which had been infused into the Constitution of the United States...was no other than the concretion of those abstract principles which had been first proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence.... This was the platform upon which the Constitution of the United States had been erected. Its virtues, its republican character, consisted in its conformity to the principles proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence.[42]

At least four important areas of federal law identify the Declaration as an indispensable constitutional authority.

1. Time-Dating the Constitution

Significantly, the Constitution dates itself not to the Constitutional Convention that drafted it but rather to the enactment of the Declaration of Independence, as Article VII acknowledges:

Done in convention by the unanimous consent of the States present the seventeenth day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth.

2. Couplets between the Declaration and the Constitution

Many clauses in the Constitution solve specific issues raised in the Declaration's 27 grievances.

Thus, Article I, Section 5, ¶4 of the Constitution is the redress, or solution, for grievance #4 set forth in the Declaration;[43] Article I, Section 4, ¶1-2 is the redress of grievances #5 & #6 set forth in the Declaration;[44] Article I, Section 8, ¶4 is the corollary for grievance #7;[45] Article I, Section 8, ¶9 for grievance #8;[46] and so forth. There are many other direct couplets between the Declaration and the Constitution (See the footnote for many others).[47]

Given the direct connection with the numerous couplets, if the specific issue raised in the Declaration is not consulted when examining the corresponding clause in the Constitution, the intent of that clause will not be properly understood and therefore not correctly applied.

3. Time-Dating Federal Acts

From George Washington until the present, certain federal acts and laws enacted under the Constitution date themselves back to the Declaration, not the Constitution. Thus, on the bottoms of these federal acts are found clauses like this:

Given under my hand and the seal of the United States, in the city of New York, the 14th day of August, A. D. 1790, and in the fifteenth year of the Sovereignty and Independence of the United States (i.e., the Declaration). By the President: George Washington[48]

This practice of dating federal acts to the Declaration that began with George Washington still continues with modern presidents today, including most recently both Donald Trump[49] (579 times in his first term) and Joseph Biden[50] (708 times as of 10/18/24). Many thousands of modern US constitutional acts date themselves directly to the Declaration, not the Constitution.

4. Condition of Statehood

The entry of a new state into the United States was often predicated upon the condition that it operate according to both the Declaration and the Constitution. Federal enabling acts for admission of new states thus required:

The [state] constitution, when formed, shall be republican, and not repugnant to the Constitution of the United States and the principles of the Declaration of Independence. [51]

Clearly, for the above reasons (and others), the Constitution must not be studied in isolation from the Declaration.

The Core Philosophy of American Government

In the early part of the Declaration are 181 words identifying the specific governing philosophy on which the Constitution was subsequently built and America's government was erected:

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 to 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 affect their safety and happiness.

The six fundamental principles of American constitutional government first set forth in the Declaration of Independence are:

1. The "laws of nature and of nature's God" are a higher moral law that supersedes all human laws.*
2. There is a Creator.
3. The Creator bestows inalienable rights on every individual.
4. Government is established first and foremost to protect God-given inalienable rights.
5. Below the level of inalienable rights, the "consent of the governed" is the operational standard for government.
6. If government fails to abide by the five principles above, the people have a right to change their government, including, if necessary, abolishing the old one and instituting a completely new one that will observe the first five immutable principles.

After the Declaration identifies the fundamental principles of our government, it then lists 27 grievances against the British government showing where the first five principles were violated. This list is why America was justified in invoking the sixth principle: the creation of a new government that will honor the first five principles.

Today, critics assert that the Founders placed no explicit moral values or rights and wrongs in the Constitution; but they did not need to, for they had already done so in the Declaration. Under America's government as originally established, a violation of the principles of the Declaration was just as serious as a violation of the provisions of the Constitution.

The Nature of the Documents

In addition to the Declaration's clause affirming that the country was subject to "*the laws of nature and of nature's God*," the US Supreme Court identified its other mentions of God:

[T]he Declaration of Independence recognizes the presence of the Divine in human affairs in these words: "*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...*"; "*...appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions*"; "*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.*"[52]

But long before the US Supreme Court affirmed the nonsecular nature of our basic governmental philosophy, the Founders themselves had already done so:

The law...dictated by God Himself is, of course, superior in obligation to any other. It is binding over all the globe, in all countries, and at all times. No human laws are of any validity if contrary to this.[53] **Alexander Hamilton**, *Signer of the Constitution*

* For a detailed explanation of what the Framers meant by the phrase "the laws of nature and of nature's God," consult the writings of William Blackstone and John Locke, on whom the Founders heavily relied when writing the Declaration of Independence (cf. Donald S. Lutz, *The Origins of American Constitutionalism*, Louisiana State University Press, 1988, 142-144). Specifically reference William Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1766-1769, 4 vols), Vol. 1, Chapter 2, for a better explanation of that specific phrase, as well as John Locke's *Two Treatises of Government* (1690). Significantly, signer of the Declaration Richard Henry Lee, who made the motion that resulted in the writing of the Declaration of Independence, avowed that the Declaration was "copied from Locke's *Treatise on Government*."

[The] law established by the Creator, which has existed from the beginning, extends over the whole globe, is everywhere and at all times binding upon mankind....and is paramount to all human control.[54] **Rufus King**, *Signer of the Constitution*

The laws of nature and of nature's God...of course presupposes the existence of a God, the moral ruler of the universe, and a rule of right and wrong, of just and unjust, binding upon man, preceding all institutions of human society and of government.[55] **John Quincy Adams**, *Founding Father, US President*

Human law must rest its authority ultimately upon the authority of that law which is Divine.[56] **James Wilson**, *Signer of the Constitution; U.S. Supreme Court Justice*

George Washington's "Farewell Address": The Spirit of the Constitution

The second document historically used to interpret the Constitution was George Washington's "Farewell Address." Like the Declaration of Independence, it, too, identified the spirit of the Constitution.

Because of its profound significance, numerous steps were taken to inculcate its principles into every generation. For example, James Madison and Thomas Jefferson made it part of the curriculum at the University of Virginia;[57] states placed it in civics texts and required by state law that students be tested on it annually;[58] it was included in textbooks;[59] state legislatures reviewed it annually in their proceedings;[60] the federal government reprinted it for use by citizens;[61] local boards of education printed it for students;[62] and to this day, the US Senate still annually reads the entire Address in the Senate Chamber.[63]

America must return to its former practice of studying and learning the principles of the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, and Washington's "Farewell Address."

A Federal Republic and a Republican Form of Government

Another point of emphasis in traditional government and civics classes was correctly identifying America's specific form of government.

Today, America is commonly described as a democracy, a representative democracy, a republic, or a constitutional republic. While all four are commonly used, there is a vast difference between each, and only one is accurate.

The *World Factbook* (a popular and heavily-referenced annual publication of the Central Intelligence Agency), correctly identifies America as a constitution-based federal republic—the only one of the 193 nations in the world with that designation.[64]

We definitely are not a typical republic—such as the current republics of Angola, Bolivia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Columbia, Costa Rica, Congo, and on and on. (159 nations across the world include "republic" in their official names.[65])

Nor is America within the typical subgroups of republics, including Arab republics, confederal republics, crowned republics, democratic republics, socialistic republics, Islamic republics, people's republics, unitary republics, and so forth.

Significantly, many republics do not have a written constitution. To the contrary, they are just elevated forms of democracies, where the people do indeed elect representatives, but then the representatives act as if they are the plebiscite in a democracy, with the majority always prevailing. In these countries, there is no higher law or standard than the majority vote of elected representatives.

America, unlike the other nations, is a constitutional federal republic. We have a written constitution that is the supreme law of the land, superseding the will of any and all elected officials. In fact, many of the laws passed by our elected officials are set aside because they violate the written Constitution. This is because we are a constitutional republic. Furthermore, because the Constitution mandates a division of local, regional, state, and federal governments, we are also a federal constitutional republic. Hence, we should always be described in terms such as a "constitutional republic," or a "constitutional federal republic," but not as a mere republic, and definitely not as a democracy.

Significantly, a democracy is the specific form of government repeatedly vilified by our Founders—they hated democracies and wrote the Constitution to ensure we never became one. Notice their passion on this subject:

Democracies have ever been spectacles of turbulence and contention; have ever been found incompatible with personal security or the rights of property; and have, in general, been as short in their lives as they have been violent in their deaths.[66]

James Madison

Remember, democracy never lasts long. It soon wastes, exhausts, and murders itself. There never was a democracy yet that did not commit suicide.[67] John Adams
A simple democracy...is one of the greatest of evils.[68]

Benjamin Rush, Signer of the Declaration

Pure democracy cannot subsist long nor be carried far into the departments of state, it is very subject to caprice and the madness of popular rage.[69]

John Witherspoon, Signer of the Declaration

The experience of all former ages had shown that of all human governments, democracy was the most unstable, fluctuating, and short-lived.[70]

John Quincy Adams

We have seen the tumult of democracy terminate...as [it has] everywhere terminated, in despotism....Democracy! savage and wild. Thou who wouldst bring down the virtuous and wise to thy level of folly and guilt.[71]

Gouverneur Morris, Signer of the Constitution

A democracy is a volcano which conceals the fiery materials of its own destruction. These will produce an eruption and carry desolation in their way.[72]

Fisher Ames, Framer of the Bill of Rights

In democracy...there are commonly tumults and disorders....Therefore a pure democracy is generally a very bad government. It is often the most tyrannical government on earth.[73]

Noah Webster (early Judge and Legislator)

It may generally be remarked that the more a government resembles a pure democracy the more they abound with disorder and confusion.[74]

Zephaniah Swift, Judge and Author of America's first legal text

Given the historical record of democracies, it is no wonder that Declaration signer Benjamin Rush considered "democracy" and "mobocracy" to be synonyms.[75] John Adams further observed that a democracy was not only a very bad form of government but it often spiraled downward to even worse forms:

[D]emocracy will soon degenerate into an anarchy—such an anarchy that every man will do what is right in his own eyes and no man’s life or property or reputation or liberty will be secure; and every one of these will soon mold itself into a system of subordination of all the moral virtues and intellectual abilities—all the powers of wealth, beauty, wit, and science—to the wanton pleasures, the capricious will, and the execrable [abominable] cruelty of one or a very few.[76]

Our Founders so despised democracy that neither the words “*democracy*” nor “*democratic*” appear anywhere in the Constitution or Declaration. In fact, the Constitution explicitly forbids America from becoming a democracy, requiring in Article IV, Section IV, that:

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a *republican form of government*...

(Incidentally, the current national movement to “Save Democracy” repudiates not only the Constitution but also our constitutional rule of law.)

To this day, when our Pledge of Allegiance is recited, we promise to support “the flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands....” The use of the word “republic” in the Pledge is not a casual or coincidental choice of words.

Previous generations understood the historic forms of government, including those that worked and those that didn’t. They thus despised democracy and venerated a constitutional republic.

A Civics Education Act

A statute must be constructed that reinstates traditional government and civics courses (excluding what is now known as “action civics”). If that course of action is not followed, then students at minimum should specifically be required to:

- Study the content as well as the immediate history surrounding the formation of the Constitution, Declaration of Independence, and Washington’s “Farewell Address.”
- Identify the six principles from the Declaration of Independence that form the core philosophy of American government.
- Explain why the Declaration and Constitution are inseparably connected.
- Identify America’s form of government as a constitutional federative republic and explain what that means.
- Distinguish between a democracy and republic and explain why America is a constitutional republic and not a democracy.

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[4] National Commission on Excellence in Education, *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform*, (1983).

[5] David Warren Saxe, “On the Alleged Demise of Social Studies: The Eclectic Curriculum in Times of Standardization--A Historical Sketch,” *The International journal of social education* (2004), 18:2:93-102.

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- [43] "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." *The Declaration of Independence*, para. 6 (U. S. 1776).
- [44] "He has dissolved representative Houses repeatedly for opposing with manly firmness his invasion 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 meantime exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without and convulsions within." *The Declaration of Independence*, para. 7-8 (U. S. 1776).
- [45] "He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands." *The Declaration of Independence*, para. 9 (U. S. 1776).
- [46] "He has obstructed the administration of justice by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers." *The Declaration of Independence*, para. 10 (U. S. 1776).
- [47] Other examples include art. I, § 8, cl. 12 and art. I, § 10, cl. 3 addressing grievance #11; art. I, § 8, cl. 14 addressing grievance #12; art. I, § 8, cl. 3 addressing grievance #16; art. I, § 7, cl. 1 addressing grievance #17; art. I, § 8, cl. 10 addressing grievance #26; etc.
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