

*Reported in the handwriting of Mr. DeKenson*  
*The manuscript after this time, here seen, was in the hand of Mr. Jefferson*

A R T I C L E S  
O F  
CONFEDERATION AND PERPETUAL UNION,  
BETWEEN THE COLONIES OF

NEW-HAMPSHIRE,  
MASSACHUSETTS-BAY,  
RHODE-ISLAND,  
CONNECTICUT,  
NEW-YORK,  
NEW-JERSEY,  
PENNSYLVANIA,

THE COUNTIES OF NEW-CASTLE,  
KENT AND SUSSEX ON DELAWARE,  
MARYLAND,  
VIRGINIA,  
NORTH-CAROLINA,  
SOUTH-CAROLINA, AND  
GEORGIA.

ART. I. **T**HE Name of this Confederacy shall be  
"THE UNITED STATES  
OF AMERICA."

ART. II. The said Colonies unite themselves so as never to be divided by any Act whatever, and hereby fe-  
derally enter into a firm League of Friendship with each  
other, for their common Defence, the Security of their  
Liberties, and their mutual and general Welfare, binding  
the said Colonies to assist one another against all Force of-  
fered to or attacks made upon them or any of them, on  
Account of Religion, Sovereignty, Trade, or any other  
Pretence whatever.

ART. III. Each Colony shall retain and enjoy as much  
of its present Laws, Rights and Customs, as it may think  
fit, and reserves to itself the sole and exclusive Regulation  
and Government of its internal police, in all matters that  
shall not interfere with the Articles of this Confederation.

ART. IV. No Colony or Colonies, without the Con-  
sent of the United States assembled, shall send any Em-  
bassy to or receive any Embassy from, or enter into any  
Treaty, Convention or Conference with the King or King-  
dom of Great-Britain, or any foreign Prince or State; nor  
shall any Colony or Colonies, nor any Servant or Servants of  
the United States, or of any Colony or Colonies, accept  
of any Present, Emolument, Office, or Title of any Kind  
whatever, from the King or Kingdom of Great-Britain,  
or any foreign Prince or State; nor shall the United States  
assembled, or any Colony grant any Title of Nobility.

ART. V. No two or more Colonies shall enter into any  
Treaty, Confederation or Alliance whatever between  
them, without the previous and free Consent and Allow-  
ance

ance of the United States assembled, specifying accurately the Purposes for which the same is to be entered into, and how long it shall continue.

ART. VI. The Inhabitants of each Colony shall henceforth always have the same Rights, Liberties, Privileges, Immunities and Advantages, in the other Colonies, which the said Inhabitants now have, in all Cases whatever, except in those provided for by the next following Article.

ART. VII. The Inhabitants of each Colony shall enjoy all the Rights, Liberties, Privileges, Immunities, and Advantages, in Trade, Navigation, and Commerce, in any other Colony, and in going to and from the same from and to any Part of the World, which the Natives of such Colony enjoy.

ART. VIII. Each Colony may affix or lay such Imposts or Duties as it thinks proper, on Importations or Exportations, provided such Imposts or Duties do not interfere with any Stipulations in Treaties hereafter entered into by the United States assembled, with the King or Kingdom of Great-Britain, or any foreign Prince or State.

*Art. VII. no vessels of war shall be kept up by any state in time of peace except such number only as shall be deemed necessary by the united states for the defence of such state, or its trade. nor shall any body of forces be kept up by any state in time of peace except such number only as in the judgement of the united states in congress assembled shall be deemed requisite to garrison the ports necessary for the defence of such state.*

ART. IX. No standing Army or Body of Forces shall be kept up by any Colony or Colonies in Times of Peace, except such a Number only as may be requisite to garrison the Ports necessary for the Defence of such Colony or Colonies; But every Colony shall always keep up a well regulated and disciplined Militia, sufficiently armed and accoutred; and shall provide and constantly have ready for Use in public Stores, a due Number of Field Pieces and Tents, and a proper Quantity of Ammunition, and Camp Equipage.

*Art. X. when land forces are raised by any state for the common defence, all officers of or under the rank of colonel shall be appointed by the Legislature of each state, respectively by whom such forces shall be raised or in such manner as such state shall direct. All vacancies shall be filled up by the state which first made the appointment.*

ART. X. When Troops are raised in any of the Colonies for the common Defence, the Commission Officers proper for the Troops raised in each Colony, except the General Officers, shall be appointed by the Legislature of each Colony respectively, or in such manner as shall by them be directed.

ART. XI. All Charges of Wars and all other Expenses that shall be incurred for the common Defence, or general Welfare, and allowed by the United States assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common Treasury, which shall be supplied by the several Colonies in Proportion to the Number of Inhabitants of every Age, Sex and Quality, except

except Indians not paying Taxes, in each Colony, a true Account of which, distinguishing the white Inhabitants, shall be triennially taken and transmitted to the Assembly of the United States. The Taxes for paying that Proportion shall be laid and levied by the Authority and Direction of the Legislatures of the several Colonies, within the Time agreed upon by the United States assembled.

ART. XII. Every Colony shall abide by the Determinations of the United States assembled, concerning the Services performed and Losses or Expences incurred by every Colony for the common Defence or general Welfare, and no Colony or Colonies shall in any Case whatever endeavor by Force to procure Redress of any Injury or Injustice supposed to be done by the United States to such Colony or Colonies in not granting such Satisfaction, Indemnifications, Compensations, Retributions, Exemptions, or Benefits of any Kind, as such Colony or Colonies may think just or reasonable.

ART. XIII. No Colony or Colonies shall engage in any War without the previous Consent of the United States assembled, unless such Colony or Colonies be actually invaded by Enemies, or shall have received certain Advice of a Resolution being formed by some Nations of Indians to invade such Colony or Colonies, and the Danger is so imminent, as not to admit of a Delay, till the other Colonies can be consulted: Nor shall any Colony or Colonies grant Commissions to any Ships or Vessels of War, nor Letters of Marque or Reprisal, except it be after a Declaration of War by the United States assembled, and then only against the Kingdom or State and the Subjects thereof, against which War has been so declared, and under such Regulations as shall be established by the United States assembled.

ART. XIV. No Purchases of Lands, hereafter to be made of the Indians by Colonies or private Persons before the Limits of the Colonies are ascertained, to be valid: All Purchases of Lands not included within those Limits, where ascertained, to be made by Contracts between the United States assembled, or by Persons for that Purpose authorized by them, and the great Councils of the Indians, for the general Benefit of all the United Colonies.

ART. XV. When the Boundaries of any Colony shall be ascertained by Agreement, or in the Manner herein after

after directed, all the other Colonies shall guarantee to such Colony the full and peaceable Possession of, and the free and entire Jurisdiction in and over the Territory included within such Boundaries.

ART. XVI. For the more convenient Management of the general Interests of the United States, Delegates should be annually appointed in such Manner as the Legislature of each Colony shall direct, to meet at the City of Philadelphia, in the Colony of Pennsylvania, until otherwise ordered by the United States assembled; which Meeting shall be on the first Monday of November in every Year, with a Power reserved to those who appointed the said Delegates, respectively to recal them or any of them at any Time within the Year, and to employ Delegates in their stead for the Remainder of the Year. Each Colony shall support its own Delegates in a Meeting of the States, and while they act as Members of the Council of State, herein after mentioned.

ART. XVII. In determining Questions each Colony shall have one Vote.

ART. XVIII. The United States assembled shall have the sole and exclusive Right and Power of determining on Peace and War, except in the Cases mentioned in the thirteenth Article—Of establishing Rules for deciding in all Cases, what Captures on Land or Water shall be legal—In what Manner Prizes taken by land or naval Forces in the Service of the United States shall be divided or appropriated—Granting Letters of Marque and Reprisal in Times of Peace—Appointing Courts for the Trial of all Crimes, Frauds and Piracies committed on the High Seas, or on any navigable River, not within the Body of a County or Parish—Establishing Courts for receiving and determining finally Appeals in all Cases of Captures—Sending and receiving Ambassadors under any Character—Entering into Treaties and Alliances—Settling all Disputes and Differences now subsisting, or that hereafter may arise between two or more Colonies concerning Boundaries, Jurisdictions, or any other Cause whatever—Coining Money and regulating the Value thereof—Regulating the Trade, and managing all Affairs with the Indians—Limiting the Bounds of those Colonies, which by Charter or Proclamation, or under any Pretence, are said to extend to the South Sea, and ascertaining those Bounds of any other Colony that appear to be indeterminate—Assigning Territories for new Colonies,