This northwest view (1778) of the Pennsylvania State House (Independence Hall) was published in a 1787 magazine article discussing the Constitutional Convention meeting there. Six years earlier, in 1781, the steeple had been replaced by a low pyramidal roof and spire.
Signers
OF THE CONSTITUTION
Howard Chandler Christy’s rendition of the signing of the Constitution, which hangs in the U.S. Capitol, captures the spirit of the historic event.
Signers
OF THE CONSTITUTION

Historic Places Commemorating the Signing of the Constitution

ROBERT G. FERRIS
Series Editor

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This volume was based on studies prepared under contract by Prof. Charles H. McCormick, Fairmont State College, W. Va., and Mrs. Mary M. Bodnar, Springfield, Va. Also utilized were survey and evaluation reports prepared by the following National Park Service historians: Newton P. Bevin, S. Sydney Bradford, Charles E. Hatch, the late John O. Littleton, Lee H. Nelson, John D. R. Platt, Carol Ann Poh, Robert C. Post, Charles E. Shedd, Jr., Horace J. Sheely, Jr., Charles W. Snell, Louis Torres, and Martin I. Yoelson. These reports were reviewed by the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments and the Consulting Committee for the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings. Current members of these groups are listed in the Acknowledgments. Editorial Assistant Richard E. Dean, Jr., assisted with various phases of manuscript preparation.

Assistant Editor: James H. Charleton
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THIS BOOK IS ISSUED AS PART OF THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE OBSERVANCE OF OUR NATION'S BICENTENNIAL.

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In the celebration of the Bicentennial of the United States of America, we turn once more to examination and contemplation of our Nation’s origins. One of the basic contributions to the strength and character of this country is our Constitution, which provides the framework and guidance for the conduct of our Government. Its creation, ratification, and evolution is one of the thrilling chapters in the history of government, not only in the United States but throughout the world. This charter document and its amendments, particularly the Bill of Rights, mold our governmental system and undergird our liberties.

This volume not only tells the story of the Constitution, recounts the lives of the men who conceived it, and describes the sites and buildings commemorating them, but also outlines the fundamental principles upon which our Nation is based.

Believing as I do that this book will contribute to understanding of what it means to be an American, I heartily recommend it to every citizen.

THOMAS S. KLEPPE
Secretary of the Interior
The extant residences and buildings associated with the men who signed the Constitution illuminate the events surrounding the conception of this bulwark of human rights, as well as the careers and lifestyles of the Founding Fathers. Although visits to these places are always stimulating, they should be specially so during the Bicentennial era. I encourage all Americans to enjoy these hallowed structures.

Credit for the preparation of this volume is shared widely by persons both in and out of the National Park Service. The Service appreciates the assistance of the many individuals and institutions who contributed. The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, which is cosponsored by the National Trust for Historic Preservation, is authorized by the Historic Sites Act of 1935.

GARY EVERHARDT
Director
National Park Service
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Part One

Signers of the Constitution:
Historical Background
For generations the people of the United States have revered the Constitution—and rightly so. It has provided an enduring and evolving framework for almost 190 years of national development. In some respects, it reflects the time of its creation, for it incorporates basic American tenets of the 18th century. These include the theory of the state as a compact between the people and the government and the idea that fundamental laws should be written. The Constitution also reaffirms the strong belief in the traditional rights of Englishmen to the protection of life, liberty, and property that Americans defended in their rebellion against Britain.

Above all, the document expresses, both in its provisions and in the process by which they were formulated, the Founding Fathers' abiding faith in man's willingness to reason—his ability to surmount political differences by means of rational discussion and compromise. Men sometimes disagree over the meaning of specific provisions of the instrument, but within its broad outlines and mechanisms for compromise lie means to reconcile disagreements. The Constitution expresses the concerns of a past age, yet it is the embodiment of a spirit and a wisdom as modern as tomorrow.
LABORING at Philadelphia from late spring until early fall in 1787, the 55 delegates to the Constitutional Convention created a new form of government for the United States. Few of them could likely ever have imagined how successful and enduring their efforts would be, for the flexible instrument they produced to replace the Articles of Confederation has persevered through the intervening decades as the foundation of our Nation—though it has been buffeted by a civil war, two world wars, domestic conflicts, and economic depressions. During these years, amendments to and judicial clarifications of the Constitution have adapted it to a continually changing national mode of life. And today it serves as a symbol of democracy to the world, whose history it has immeasurably influenced.

The constitutional achievement is all the more remarkable when the vast social, economic, and political differences between the present age and the era of the framers are considered. While the country has evolved from a weak and basically agricultural collection of almost independent States into an industrial colossus that ranks high among the sovereign nations of the world, sweeping changes have occurred in American life, thought, and attitudes.

Living as they did in another day and serving far more restricted constituencies than our governmental representatives today, most of the Founding Fathers entertained some views that differed from our modern concept of democracy. These views reflected those of the aristocracy, the ruling-elite group to which the majority of them belonged. As legislators, politicians, lawyers, merchants, businessmen, planters, and landed gentry for the most part, they were predominantly conservative men of property.

Few of the Convention delegates would have acknowledged they were “democrats”; to most of them, “democracy” was virtually synonymous with “mob rule.” They favored “republicanism,” in which the aristocrats would be dominant. The framers were not truly seeking to establish a government under direct popular control.

Yet, though in some ways the Constitution originally demonstrated the self-interest of its creators, contained certain antidemocratic concepts, and sanctioned slavery, practically all the men who wrote it believed in the precepts of representative government and felt the people were its ultimate custodians. Thus, the document’s underlying philosophy is essentially democratic.
To most of the founders, the issue was not simply "democracy" versus "republicanism" but national union versus disintegration. As pragmatic politicians for the most part rather than political theorists, they did not seek so much to impose a fixed governmental philosophy as to find a way to reconcile conflicting political and economic theories and realities within a framework that would facilitate the orderly and stable growth of the Nation and insure its security.

Americans have always revered the basic documents of the Republic. The Constitution and the Bill of Rights, as well as the Declaration of Independence, are displayed in Exhibition Hall of the National Archives Building.
Actually, the motivations of the framers were as diverse and complex as those of humanity. If most of them were committed to the preservation or improvement of their own economic situation, they also sought to better that of all citizens. Some of the makers of the Constitution stood to gain financially from the fiscal stability the new Government would provide, but others stood to lose. On key issues, individuals often voted against or compromised their personal interests for what they believed to be the common good.

The delegates were also obviously swayed by their own political views and factions, the attitudes of their constituents, and the situations in their States. In a humanitarian vein, the Founding Fathers strove to foster the general welfare and prevent tyranny from any source. Psychological factors were also apparent. Frayed tempers, jealousies, animosities, ambitions, and friendships had a major impact. Many of the framers also recognized they could likely attain positions of power in the new Government. Finally, intellectual factors guided these men. They employed many logical premises and techniques, utilized rational dialogue, and drew on the lessons of history and political theory.

HISTORIANS have long debated the motives and aims of the founders. Some scholars contend they were often guided by selfish or even sinister interests, particularly in the economic realm; others maintain that most of them were basically altruistic; members of a third group take positions somewhere in between the two extremes. Such dichotomy is at least partially explained by the diversities in personalities, backgrounds, and goals of the framers; incomplete biographical data; inadequacies in primary historical sources: historical semantic differences in the definition of the word "democracy"; the conflicting political and socioeconomic elements that went into the making of the Constitution; the pronounced differences between the modern and 18th-century milieus; and the biases of historians themselves.

If the Founding Fathers had a contrary intent, they nevertheless devised an instrument that ultimately resulted in a democracy. As leaders of the day, they possessed the required education and political and economic experience to understand the needs of the Nation and bring about the changes in Government so necessary for its survival. Certainly it is unlikely that the framers would have been able or willing to transcend their background and experience
and prepare a document surrendering the reins of power to and reflecting the needs and desires of another group.

Legitimate channels were followed in convoking the Convention, which the Continental Congress had authorized. The only State not in attendance, Rhode Island, had rejected the invitation to take part. All the other 12 legislatures elected delegates in the approved manner. Most of these bodies, though they were not representative of the entire populace because of various voting and apportionment restrictions, were recently elected and broadly represented most areas and economic and social groups of the Nation. Furthermore, the legislatures as a whole were more democratic than perhaps any other governmental assemblies in the world at the time.

The men at Philadelphia feared any form of tyranny. During their careers, a number of them had espoused human rights, protected economic and religious minorities, and sponsored anti-slavery legislation. The delegates were not totally alienated from the masses, with whom they had shoulder to shoulder recently overthrown British rule and with whom they identified in many other ways. Americans in mind and spirit, they were guided by a strong sense of public service.

Furthermore, the Founding Fathers based the proposed new government on popular, as well as State, sovereignty, though not all people were eligible to vote at the time. The Constitution left the determination of suffrage to the States, where this responsibility had been lodged. For Federal officeholders, no property qualifications were imposed and religious tests were forbidden. Titles of nobility were also prohibited, on both the State and National level. And provisions for amendment of the instrument were far easier than in the Articles of Confederation.

Then, too, the founders were aware they would submit their work to Congress for whatever action it cared to take and specified that 9 of the 13 States would need to ratify the Constitution before it went into effect. Thus, opponents gained an opportunity to voice their objections. Had this group been better represented at the Convention, perhaps the Constitution might not have been created. Some individuals in this category had been elected as delegates, but chose not to participate. Had they done so, because voting was by State and most delegations were small, they could have made a substantial mark on the proceedings. One such person, Patrick Henry, was a spokesman for a group that had slight voice at Philadelphia, the small farmers.
Representation in a democracy is never perfect. At least one-third of the country's population today does not vote. Even those people who do can never be precisely represented because of a host of social, geographic, and political factors and the existence of individual shades of sentiment on particular issues.

How could the 55 delegates to the Constitutional Convention conceivably have spoken equitably for all the diverse elements of the Nation? And, as a matter of fact, considering that the framers were apparently better educated, wealthier, and possessed more political experience and power than most of their fellow aristocrats, they probably even imperfectly represented their own class. Also, some of the rich delegates had come from poor or humble backgrounds and thus likely possessed some understanding of the needs and problems of this group. No blacks attended the Convention, yet some delegates vehemently argued against slavery.

The Founding Fathers were acutely aware that the fate of the Nation would probably hinge on their success or failure at the Convention. Heading a new and economically and militarily weak country that had few allies and was vulnerable to foreign and Indian intrigue or attack, they were genuinely apprehensive about national security. Autonomous acts of some of the States in the field of foreign affairs threatened to involve the country in war. Further undermining international prestige was the lack of economic stability. For all these reasons, the framers granted control over foreign relations to the Federal Government and even went so far as to risk creating a standing army—in a country where such an institution was bitterly resented because of the recent experience with the British.

Critics of the founders have formulated numerous arguments. The principal ones, some of which reflect modern attitudes and retrospective judgments, are as follows: personal economic interests clearly guided some of the delegates; the majority of them were well-to-do aristocrats; fear of social radicalism and "democracy" spurred constitutional revision, especially after Shays' Rebellion; many of the framers felt a strong central Government offered protection against majority rule; a large number doubted the stability and intelligence of the general populace; small farmers, workingmen, slaves, indentured servants, women, youth, and the poor were badly represented in Philadelphia or not at all; the
Constitution did not outlaw slavery, reduce its effects, nor help blacks win the rights of citizenship; Rhode Island did not take part in the Convention; New York and New Hampshire were not officially in attendance for extended periods; most creditors favored and most debtors opposed the Constitution; the bulk of the antinationalists who participated in the Convention departed before it ended; and certain aspects of the Constitution are intentionally nondemocratic.

It is also true that, though public opinion polls were not conducted in 1787, a substantial number of Americans would likely have preferred continuance of the Confederation. The central Government was only a distant and faint presence in the lives of most common men, who were inclined to resist any changes that might jeopardize their newly won freedom and whose basic allegiance was to their State governments. Furthermore, most of this group opposed any system resembling the British that would enjoy taxing power and maintain a standing army. Sharing this attitude were the State and local governments, which were not anxious to relinquish any of their powers.

WHATEVER their motivations, the Founding Fathers boldly and resourcefully created an instrument of Government that fostered the growth of a democratic and prosperous Nation. By so doing, they have earned the perpetual gratitude of the American people.

Many of the men at Philadelphia had played a key role in the Revolution, and in their view they were completing it. Even though they supplanted the Articles of Confederation, which had been its product, they firmly adhered to the republican ideals that lay at its heart and have attracted the allegiance of Americans ever since.

At the end of the grueling 4-month Convention, perhaps none of the delegates were fully satisfied with their accomplishments. Yet posterity has learned, and continues to relearn, their true magnitude. Today the Constitution—an emblem of the viability of our Union and a beacon to all humanity—is enshrined at the National Archives Building in Washington, D.C.

THE Constitutional Convention met in a climate of national crisis, triggered by a series of governmental and economic problems—though historians have debated whether or not they were critical enough to warrant a drastic reorganization of the Government. An
Dissatisfaction with the Articles of Confederation, whose opening paragraphs are reproduced here, engendered the movement that led to creation of the Constitution.
anxious mixture of hope and despair gripped the minds of many leaders. [U.S. political and military affairs during the period 1783-1828 and related sites are treated in *Founders and Frontiersmen*, Volume VII in this series.] Blessed with a huge territory stretching all the way to the Mississippi, the United States contained a wealth of natural resources. Its $3\frac{1}{2}$ million inhabitants had demonstrated their industry and ingenuity. Only 4 years before, in the Treaty of Paris ending the War for Independence, they had won their freedom from Great Britain. Even earlier, they had taken their place among the nations of the world. And in 1781 a new Government had been initiated under the Articles of Confederation, a constitution drawn up in 1777.

Yet, what if the experiment in self-government should fail? Such prominent men as George Washington, James Madison, and Alexander Hamilton feared it might. In many fields, the Confederation had proven to be ineffectual and its prestige had plummeted. The Continental Congress was unable to cope with all the country's problems.

The Articles of Confederation were a "firm league of friendship" among 13 semi-independent States, and did not provide for a truly sovereign national Government. The principal governmental body was a single-house Congress, in which each State held one vote. No independent executive, to carry out the laws, or autonomous court system, to administer the legal and judicial system or to adjudicate disputes between the Federal Government and the States, were provided. The approval of a minimum of seven States, who elected and paid their delegates, was required for any legislation; nine, to wage war or pass certain other measures; and all 13, to alter or amend the Articles themselves. The Continental Congress was empowered to declare and wage war, raise an Army and Navy, make treaties and alliances, appoint and receive ambassadors, decide interstate disputes, negotiate loans, emit bills of credit, coin money, regulate weights and measures, manage Indian affairs, and operate a system of interstate post offices.

Severely inhibiting the effectiveness of Congress in carrying out its prerogatives, however, were three major limitations. One was the lack of a most basic governmental power: the right to levy taxes, which would provide an independent source of revenue. Instead, Congress could only requisition, or request, money from
the States and could not enforce payment. Suffering from the economic depression and saddled with their own war debts, they furnished only a small part of the money sought from them.

The second serious congressional deficiency was absence of authority to regulate interstate and foreign commerce. The States negotiated separately with foreign powers on commercial matters to the detriment of the overall economy. And, when two States disagreed about trade matters, they dealt directly with each other much like countries did. Fortunately, to facilitate the conduct of legal business, at least the States had agreed to the mutual recognition of official acts.

Thirdly, the Continental Congress could not properly exercise its treaty power because of the autonomy of the States. Their independent conduct of foreign relations and Indian policy not only hampered Congress in its dealings with other nations but also sometimes even jeopardized national security.

The Continental Congress had led the Nation through the War for Independence, and in the Ordinances of 1784 and 1785 had established a plan to advance westward expansion by the addition of new States to the Confederation. But in financial matters, foreign affairs, national defense, mediation of interstate disputes, and protecting American sovereignty in the West it was less successful. After the war, the ramifications of political, social, and economic readjustment caught up with it. People blamed it for failure to solve problems that would have tried stronger governments. The deficiencies of Congress were real, however. By 1787 even its defenders recognized that it had fallen upon evil times.

Financially, the situation was chaotic. Congress could not pay its war debts, foreign or domestic, or meet current obligations. The private financial system of the country was feeble, and the Nation lacked a stable and uniform currency. The central Government was virtually powerless to correct the conditions.

Because much of the debt—Federal, State, and private—was owed to foreign lenders, the future of the United States in international commerce was precarious. A nation that does not pay its debts cannot command respect from other countries. Furthermore, prosperity depended on trade with Europe and the Caribbean colonies, but Congress could not conclude suitable commercial treaties.

Foreign affairs were another area where the Continental Congress had failed. Other nations showed contempt for the
During the Confederation period, domestic and foreign commerce languished. Scene at Philadelphia near the Arch Street Ferry.

United States. Many of them questioned the stability or even the continued existence of the Confederation. One British official remarked that it would be better to make 13 separate treaties with the individual States than to deal with the Continental Congress. American diplomats, whose efforts were hamstrung by the lack of a central authority that could formulate a unified foreign policy, made slight impress in world capitals. The prevailing mercantilistic system also prevented the opening up of markets for American agricultural produce.

Only a few European nations sent Ministers to this country. In 1785 Great Britain received Minister John Adams, but not until 7 years later did she reciprocate with an exchange of diplomats. She
also refused to grant trade concessions needed by the United States if prewar outlets for American goods were to be restored. And she did not evacuate a string of military and fur trading posts along the Great Lakes as called for in the Paris treaty of 1783. As grounds for refusal to do so, she contended that the United States had already violated it by failing to pay British and Loyalist claims. Congress could not solve the problem, lacking as it did the military power to drive the British out of the old Northwest or authority to force the States to settle the claims. Another source of English resentment was debts owed by individual Americans to British creditors.

France remained friendly, but trade with the United States was insignificant because the practical outlet for American raw materials was highly industrialized Britain. Since the French Foreign Minister, the Comte de Vergennes, at the peace negotiations ending the War for Independence had shown a willingness to sacrifice American claims to western territory to the interests of French diplomacy, relations between the two countries had cooled, though France remained the closest supporter of the United States.

Relations with Spain had never been cordial. Resenting U.S. acquisition of the vast Appalachian-Mississippi territory in 1783 and considering it a threat to her colonial empire, she did not recognize U.S. claims to portions of present Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, and disputed the location of the boundary between Florida and the United States as defined by the Paris treaty. Spain also used her control of New Orleans and the mouth of the Mississippi to attempt to persuade American settlers in the West, who relied on the river to ship their produce to the East and Europe, to forswear the United States and join her. Seeking accommodation, Congress authorized John Jay to negotiate with the Spanish, but he met with little success.

Meantime, the Barbary States of North Africa plundered and exacted tribute from U.S. ships in the Mediterranean, and the Continental Congress could do nothing about it.

Vitally related to the debility in foreign affairs was the inadequate national defense. This was attributable to the Confederation's reliance on State militias and its financial difficulties. At the very time that westerners were clamoring for protection from the Indians and action against the British in the
Northwest, the Army was in a moribund state. In 1783, in response to frontiersmen's pleas, the best Congress could do was call for an increase in the size of the Regular Army from 80 to 700 men. Before the adoption of the Constitution, even this modest goal was never reached, but enough State militiamen volunteered for Regular Army service to erect and garrison a few forts in the Ohio country and provide token evidence of U.S. authority there. From 1784 until 1789, the Army consisted only of these western garrisons, small detachments at West Point, N.Y., and the Springfield, Mass., and Pittsburgh supply depots. The "navy" of the War for Independence had disappeared. After the war, the few remaining ships were sold and the sailors discharged.

In disputes among the States, Congress was no more successful. Powerless to enforce its decisions, it hesitated to make many. It could not regulate interstate commerce or, for example, prevent States from passing restrictive measures against imports from one another. When the "State of Franklin" (1784–88) claimed independence from North Carolina and a faction within the state sought annexation to Spain, Congress was unable to resolve the issue. And it could not settle the conflicting claims of New Hampshire and New York to the Vermont area, at a time when Ethan, Ira, and Levi Allen, leaders of the semi-independent state, were said to be discussing with the British its possible annexation to Canada.

Crippled by its military and diplomatic shortcomings, the Continental Congress was unable to stop Indian raids along the frontier. The Spaniards held sway over the natives in the old Southwest, machinated along the border, and threatened to close the Mississippi River to American trade. The British intrigued in the old Northwest and dominated the Indians there. All these conditions irritated western settlers, landowners, and speculators and threatened to lead them into alliances with foreign powers that would offer protection and create a climate hospitable to settlement. In response to these provocations, Congress could do little to reassure westerners, whose secession seemed possible. As Washington wrote, the West was "on a pivot" ready at the "touch of a feather" to turn to the nation that offered the most secure future.

Complicating the problems of the Confederation while at the same time revealing its impotence was the deplorable state of the
It was rocked not only by a postwar depression but also by rampant inflation, heavy British imports, and the loss of markets in Britain and the British West Indies. A logical move to counter the unfavorable balance of trade would have been imposition of a tariff to restrict imports or force Britain to make concessions in the West Indies, but the Confederation lacked authority to enact or apply such a measure. British merchants easily circumvented trade barriers erected by individual States by

Some examples of paper money issued by Rhode Island. This inflationary medium tended to benefit debtors at the expense of creditors.
shipping their goods in through others. Another adverse factor was the great popularity of British products among consumers.

In the seaports of the East and on the farms of the South and West, export trade languished. In colonial times, certain products had enjoyed a guaranteed market under British mercantilism. Now, denied that favored status, or similar access to the trade of mercantilistic France and Spain, shippers and producers and all who depended on them felt the financial pinch. As a result, business failures and property foreclosures soared and many people, particularly farmers, fell deeply into debt and lost their lands and homes.

The economic malaise affected most segments of society: merchants, shippers, planters, farmers, mechanics, artisans, and manufacturers. The farmers, who like manufacturers suffered from low prices for their products and the loss of markets, were also saddled with crippling taxes and property payments and in some regions faced crop failures. The lack of a uniform national currency, a shortage of gold and silver, and the fluctuating value of currency from State to State, hampered interstate trade. State paper, bills of exchange, and foreign coins circulated freely. Economic rivalries, as well as currency and boundary disputes, were rife among the States.

The widespread indebtedness, coupled with the scarcity of hard money, generated pressures on State legislatures to pass laws favorable to debtors and to issue inflationary paper money, unbacked by gold or silver. This medium, which kept depreciating in value, made it easier for debtors to satisfy their creditors, often men of property who were outraged by the movement. But many debtors were too poor to pay in any kind of money. Soldiers returning from the war found their farms strapped with mortgages, which in some States were partly necessitated by heavy taxes.

As a result, debtor political factions arose that advocated not only the printing of more paper money and other anti-deflationary monetary policies but also laws to prevent foreclosures. In some places, while Congress stood by helplessly, relations between creditors and debtors deteriorated almost to the point of civil war. In Rhode Island and elsewhere, paper money flowed with the speed of the presses. In other places, like Massachusetts, the creditor-hard money interests prevailed.
Farmers, along with other elements of society, suffered from the economic decline that ensued right after the United States won its independence. This painting, entitled "The Residence of David Twining, 1787," depicts a farm in Bucks County, Pa.

It was in the western part of that Commonwealth that the debtor-creditor struggle peaked in 1786-87 and culminated in a resort to arms and the shedding of blood. The legislature, dominated by wealthy eastern creditors and commercial interests intent on paying off the governmental debt, levied land and poll taxes. These burdened small farmers, who were already deep in debt and suffering particularly from the drop in produce prices caused by the cessation of trade with the British West Indies. While the legislature ignored protests and petitions from the underrepresented agrarians for stay laws, the issuance of paper money, and constitutional changes, many honest men, their mortgages foreclosed and their property confiscated, went to prison.
Abandoning the traditional deference to authority of their class and demanding their right to express themselves on governmental matters, the farmers first harassed tax collectors, moneylenders, lawyers, courts, and officials who foreclosed mortgages. In September 1786 ex-War for Independence Capt. Daniel Shays and some 600 of his followers marched on Springfield and forced the Commonwealth’s supreme court to disband. The following January, leading a force of more than 1,000 insurgents, he attacked the lightly guarded Federal arsenal there. Militia defeated them, the revolt collapsed, and Shays fled to Vermont; later, the legislature lowered taxes. Although the uprising was quickly and rather easily quelled, it was only possible through the private subscriptions of various merchants. The response to Massachusetts pleas for help by the Continental Congress, which lacked troops and money, was belated and ineffectual.

Shays’ Rebellion, as well as similar disturbances elsewhere in New England and the possibilities of others in the country, raised the specter of anarchy to businessmen, gentlemen of property, and the ruling class from New Hampshire to Georgia. To them, the Shays episode seemed to herald a period of demagogic mob rule that would destroy property rights—and with them the Nation’s future. This group feared that debt-ridden farmers in other States might take up arms; lamented congressional ineffectiveness in controlling the Shays outbreak; expressed shock at the violence; decried the attack on a Federal arsenal and the intimidation of lawyers and courts; and resented agitation for the repudiation of debts and the issuance of paper money.

Many individuals in this category, some of whom even felt that British spies and sympathizers had fomented the uprising, exploited the issue politically. Although the States were already selecting delegates to the Constitutional Convention, the rebellion helped catalyze the desire for drastic remedial action. This led to the creation of a more nationalistic Government at Philadelphia than would probably otherwise have been possible.

Many men of standing traced the rise of individuals like Shays to the apparent strength of “radical” elements within some of the States and the excessive power vested in the legislatures under the Confederation. This situation directly resulted from the Revolutionary upsurge of the 1760’s and 1770’s. In rebelling against distant British rule, Americans had rejected the monarchy,
Shays' Rebellion alarmed men of property and creditors across the land. This proclamation by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania offered a reward for Daniel Shays and three other ringleaders.
scorned the arbitrary exercise of executive authority, and placed their faith in their legislatures. All of them except those in Connecticut and Rhode Island, which merely modified their royal charters, had drawn up new written constitutions during the Revolution. Because the colonial assemblies had fought for the rights of Americans and the Royal Governors had been the principal exponents of British repression, most of these documents had granted extensive powers to the legislatures and few to the Governors, who were reduced essentially to administrators.

Since the drafting of the constitutions, though the legislatures had guided the States through the war, these bodies had too often looked to their own parochial interests instead of those of the whole country. By the 1780’s, in some States neighborly cooperation had almost ceased to exist and had given way to jealousy, mistrust, and opportunism.

Congressional effectiveness depended partly on national confidence, which by early 1787 had mostly evaporated. The people placed their faith in the State governments, which could levy taxes and duties; maintain militia; regulate commerce; and, when necessary, use force to maintain order. Members of the Continental Congress often did not even bother to attend its sessions. During one 4-month period in 1783–84, a quorum of States could be mustered but three times; only with difficulty could a sufficient number be assembled to ratify the Treaty of Paris ending the War for Independence. As the prestige of Congress continued to dim, the quality of its personnel as a whole declined. Many of the best men stayed at home near their legislatures, where the real power lay.

Despite the extent and seriousness of the problems, numerous attempts at overall revision or the correction of particular deficiencies in the Articles of Confederation had failed. Sometimes a majority of the States approved the changes, but the consent of the required 13 could never be obtained. Thus, chances for constitutional revision within prescribed governmental channels were virtually nonexistent. By 1787, the contention of thinkers of the day who held that republics were ineffective in large countries seemed accurate.

AGAINST this background, was it any wonder that a movement originated to revise the Articles of Confederation? Many leaders
believed that the country required a more truly national Government to replace the existing loose compact of States. Although many of the prevalent difficulties would probably be encountered by any new nation while establishing its sovereignty and authority over its people, most of them were attributed to weaknesses in the Confederation.

DESPITE all the weaknesses of the Confederation that might have sparked reform, it was the congressional lack of power to regulate commerce that brought about the Mount Vernon Conference and the Annapolis Convention, two interstate meetings of limited scope. These led to the Constitutional Convention.

The Mount Vernon Conference, held in March 1785, began at Alexandria, Va., and concluded at George Washington's nearby estate. Representatives of the legislatures of Maryland and Virginia, who convened basically for the purpose of discussing
mutual navigation problems along the lower Potomac, also achieved agreement on maritime use of the Chesapeake Bay, fishing and harbor rights, criminal jurisdiction, import duties, currency control, and other matters. Although James Madison did not attend, he had been the prime mover behind the conference. Washington, whose canal-oriented Patowmack Company sought to develop east-west trade and who was concerned about foreign intrigue among western settlers, sympathized with the goals of the meeting even if he was not instrumental in convening it.

Spurred by the success of this interstate diplomacy, in January 1786 the Virginia legislature, acting on a resolution possibly drafted by Madison, invited all the States to another conference. This one was to deal with domestic and foreign trade and make recommendations for their improvement to the States and the Continental Congress.

The Annapolis Convention met in September 1786 at the Maryland State House. In attendance were 12 representatives of 5 States (Delaware, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia), including Chairman John Dickinson, Alexander Hamilton, Abraham Clark, William C. Houston, George Read, Richard Bassett, Edmund J. Randolph, and James Madison. Delegates from Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and North Carolina either did not participate or arrived too late to take part; Maryland, Connecticut, South Carolina, and Georgia did not make any appointments.

Because of the sparse representation, the commissioners took no action on the announced topic. Hamilton and Madison, however, convinced them that they should exceed their limited mandate and recommend a national meeting to consider the adequacy of the Articles of Confederation. The carefully couched report, drafted by Hamilton, proposed that all the States and the Continental Congress endorse another conference to be convened at Philadelphia on the second Monday of May in 1787. Its purpose, in essence, would be the framing of measures to strengthen the Articles.

When the delegates rode away from Annapolis, they could not be sure that the proposed meeting would even take place. But the unfavorable national economic situation among other factors, and possibly the outbreak of debtor disturbances in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, prompted the Continental Congress to act
Annapolis in the State of Maryland
September 11th 1786.

As a meeting of commissioners for the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Virginia.

Present:
Alexander Hamilton - New York
John Adam - New York
Jonathan Clark - New Jersey
William C. Hanson - New Jersey
James Schneider - Pennsylvania
Joseph Reed - Pennsylvania
George Read - Delaware
John Dickinson - Delaware
Richard Bassett - Virginia
James Madison - Virginia
James Wilson - Virginia

Mr. Dickinson was unanimously elected Chairman.

The commissioners proceeded then under hand from their respective states, which was read.

After a full communication of the state and deliberate consideration of what would be proper to be done by the commissioners thereof, it was unanimously agreed, that a committee be appointed to prepare a draft of a report, to be laid to the states having commissioners attending at this meeting — returning two days earlier afterwards.

Wednesday, September 13th 1786.

Not agreeable to Agreements

The committee was appointed for that purpose, report the draft of the report, which being read, the meeting proceeded to the consideration thereof, and after some time spent therein, adjourned until tomorrow morning.
after seven States (Virginia, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, New Hampshire, Delaware, and Georgia) had already authorized delegations and named most of their representatives. On February 21, 1787, that body passed a resolution calling for the new convention:

Whereas there is provision in the Articles of Confederation & perpetual Union for making alterations therein by the Assent of a Congress of the United States and of the legislatures of the several States; And whereas experience hath evinced that there are defects in the present Confederation, as a mean to remedy which several of the States and particularly the State of New York by express instructions to their delegates in Congress have suggested a convention for the purposes expressed in the following resolution and such Convention appearing to be the most probable mean of establishing in these states a firm national government

Resolved that in the Opinion of Congress it is expedient that on the second Monday in May next a Convention of delegates who shall have been appointed by the several States be held at Philadelphia for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation and reporting to Congress and the several legislatures such

Among the prominent men who were not elected as delegates to the Constitutional Convention were Thomas Jefferson (left) and John Adams (right), who were on diplomatic service in Europe.
alterations and provisions therein as shall when agreed to in Congress and confirmed by the States render the federal constitution adequate to the exigencies of Government & the preservation of the Union

ALL 13 States appointed delegates except Rhode Island, an insufficient number of whose leaders sympathized with the nationalistic goals of the Convention. A total of more than 70 individuals were originally nominated, but a substantial number of them did not accept the assignment or did not attend. Their reasons included opposition to constitutional revision, poor health, family illness, and the press of personal or professional business.

Some of the men in this category were prominent, including Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Nelson, Jr., and Patrick Henry of Virginia; Abraham Clark of New Jersey; George Walton of Georgia; Henry Laurens of South Carolina; and Maryland's Thomas Stone and Charles Carroll of Carrollton. All these individuals except Henry and Laurens had signed the Declaration of Independence. Part of the group who rejected nomination or did not take part in the Convention later favored the new frame of Government and supported ratification of the Constitution; others opposed it.

Various national leaders and eminently qualified people were not even elected. Among these were such men as Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, who were on diplomatic duty in Europe; Samuel Adams, whose political fortunes were temporarily on the decline; and John Hancock, who was busy as Governor of Massachusetts.

New York named the smallest delegation, three; Pennsylvania the largest, eight. Attendance ranged from New York, which for much of the time had only one unofficial representative (Hamilton) on hand, and New Hampshire, with two late arrivals, to Pennsylvania, whose eight delegates all participated throughout most of the Convention. The States usually paid all or part of their representatives’ expenses, and apparently in some instances compensated them.

Each State specified what portion of its delegation needed to be present to act for it and cast its vote. The credentials of all the delegates except those from thinly populated Delaware authorized them to approve such changes in the Articles of Confederation as
Four national leaders who did not attend the Constitutional Convention. Upper left, Richard Henry Lee; upper right, Patrick Henry; lower left, John Jay; lower right, Samuel Chase. The latter two were not elected, and the first two declined to serve.
they deemed desirable. Delaware directed its emissaries not to agree to any changes in the basis of congressional representation from the one State-one vote system in the Continental Congress, though during the Convention the Delawareans disregarded these instructions when the large and small States reached a compromise on this matter.

MANY of the delegates arrived at Philadelphia bone-weary and dusty or mud-splattered from their tedious journeys. The unpaved and rutted roads, dangerous bridges, treacherous fords, and unreliable ferries made cross-country travel hazardous, undependable, and unpleasant even in the best of weather. Stagelines, which frequently involved partial boat travel, were the usual mode of transportation. Three lines connected Philadelphia with New York City; three with Baltimore; and one with Annapolis. Some of the framers, however, made the trip mainly by ship, and Washington drove up from Mount Vernon in his carriage. Personnel coming from New York City, including the sizable contingent from the Continental Congress, were among the most fortunate. That city, under favorable circumstances, was less than a day’s journey away by stage or stage-boat combination. But Virginia and the southern part of New England required 4 days on the road; and, more distant points, even longer.

Philadelphia, founded in 1682 by William Penn and the metropolis of the Nation, had a population of more than 40,000. Cosmopolitan and sophisticated, it was a center of commerce, science, medicine, and culture. Fashionable gentlemen in powdered wigs and velvet and satin clothes and their elegant ladies ambled along the brick sidewalks in the prosperous and booming downtown area among mechanics in felt hats, leather aprons, and buckskin breeches; visiting farmers in homespun and moccasins; black slaves and freedmen; foreign and domestic sailors; and an occasional Indian. The principal thoroughfares, often cleaned by prisoners from the city jail, were paved and lighted at night. More than 500 iron-handled pumps throughout the area provided the citizens with water.

By 1787 expansion had resulted in urban sprawl, and the initial grid pattern of broad streets and spacious lots had in some sections given way to narrow alleys and crowded houses. Sanitation problems plagued poor residents. Insects bred in the
The State of Georgia by the grace of God, free, sovereign and independent:

To the honorable William Houstoun Esquire

Whereas you the said William Houstoun are in and by an ordinance of the general assembly of our said State nominated and appointed a deputy to represent the same in a convention of the United States to be assembled at Philadelphia, for the purpose of devising and discussing all such attentions and further provisions as may be necessary to render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of the Union.

You are therefore hereby commissioned to proceed on the duties required of you in virtue of the said ordinance.

Witnes our trust and well beloved.

Captain general, governor and commander in chief, under his hand and seal at Augusta, this seventeenth day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty seven and of our sovereignty and independence the eleventh.

By His Honor's Command

[Signature]
piles of trash, livery stables, and backyard privies. The din was distracting. The air reverberated with the sounds of construction, calls from street hawkers, church bells, and the “thundering of Coaches, Chariots, Chaises, Waggons, Drays, and the whole Fraternity of Noise.”

Many Philadelphians sought refuge from the summer heat on their balconies and piazzas under awnings or in their shaded gardens. In the evenings, some people braved the mosquitoes to cool off on benches flanking the front doors. But by 11 o’clock most of them had retired, leaving the streets to members of the watch, who hourly until dawn called out the time and weather.

Blinds protected the Convention members, sitting in the Pennsylvania State House (present Independence Hall), from the worst of the afternoon sun, but they were frequently uncomfortable in their close-fitting clothes and wigs, especially the New Englanders in their heavy woolen suits. When the windows were shut to reduce the noise, the air became oppressive; when they were opened, flies buzzed in.

Most of the delegates took accommodations near the State House. The majority lodged and boarded in hostleries or roominghouses, but Washington stayed at Robert Morris’ elegant townhouse and Elbridge Gerry rented a house for himself and his family. Most of the framers, however, were separated from their loved ones. To reduce living costs and perhaps to quell any loneliness, some of them stayed two to a room. The Indian Queen Tavern, the city’s most comfortable inn where many stayed, became an informal Convention center and the management even provided them with a private common hall. Another popular spot was the City Tavern, furnished in the London mode. In addition to these inns, well-patronized dining and drinking spots were the George and the Black Horse.

During their free time, when they were not discussing Convention proceedings, visiting with one another, or writing letters home, the delegates found many diversions, particularly during the two adjournments. Social affairs were numerous, though some of the less sophisticated individuals disliked the excess of “etiquette and nonsense so fashionable.” Some men were invited to dinner by Benjamin Franklin, Robert Morris, and other members of the Pennsylvania delegation, who all resided in the city or its environs.
Various framers visited John Bartram’s botanical gardens across the Schuylkill River; heard a July 4 oration at a Lutheran Church; dined at the splendid fish-eating clubs; and probably patronized Peale’s Museum. A common pastime was likely reading, for which the Library Company collection in Carpenters’ Hall, only a block from the State House, was conveniently located. The shops and twice-weekly farm markets offered an enticing assortment of food and imported goods. Some delegates went fishing. From time to time, others, particularly those from nearby States, took trips home to see their loved ones or conduct personal and professional business. And, especially on weekends or during adjournments, a few went sightseeing to nearby areas.

Washington, the supreme national hero, was welcomed to town on May 13 by pealing bells, an artillery salute, and an escort of the City Light Horse Troop. Quickly swept up in a whirl of social affairs and ceremonies, he received the City Light Horse and infantry militiamen; attended a Roman Catholic Mass; dined with the Society of the Cincinnati, the Sons of St. Patrick, and at the homes of various prominent people; visited several country estates, including those of Robert Morris and Thomas Mifflin; drank tea at different houses most every day; rode horses for exercise; sat for a portrait by Charles Willson Peale; and attended plays, concerts, and poetry readings. He also paid a nostalgic visit to Valley Forge and made an excursion to the Trenton Iron Works.

But, despite all the social hubbub, for most of the delegates it was a busy, lonely summer taken up with work, working dinners, and not much real leisure.

THE number of delegates who served at Philadelphia totaled 55, though they were not all on hand for the entire Convention. Some
Philadelphia, the site of the Convention, was the national metropolis. Pictured here is a scene about a decade later along Arch Street. The Second Presbyterian Church looms over the scene.

arrived late, left early, or were temporarily absent for various lengths of time. The 55 men, 39 of whom subscribed to the Constitution, were as follows (nonsubscribers indicated by asterisks):

Baldwin, Abraham (Ga.)
Bassett (Basset), Richard (Del.)
Bedford, Gunning, Jr. (Del.)
Blair, John (Va.)
Blount, William (N.C.)
Brearly (Brearley), David (N.J.)
Broom, Jacob (Del.)
Butler, Pierce (S.C.)
Carroll, Daniel (Md.)
Clymer, George (Pa.)
Davie, William R. (N.C.)*
Dayton, Jonathan (N.J.)
Dickinson, John (Del.)
Ellsworth (Elsworth), Oliver (Conn.)*
Few, William (Ga.)
Fitzsimons (FitzSimons; Fitzsimmons), Thomas (Pa.)
Franklin, Benjamin (Pa.)
Gerry, Elbridge (Mass.)*
Gilman, Nicholas (N.H.)
Gorham, Nathaniel (Mass.)
Hamilton, Alexander (N.Y.)
Houston, William C. (N.J.)*
Houstoun, William (Ga.)*
Ingersoll, Jared (Pa.)
Attending all or practically every session were 29 men: Bassett, Bedford, Blair, Brearly, Broom, Butler, Clymer, Fitzsimons, Franklin, Gerry, Gorham, Ingersoll, Jenifer, Johnson, King, Madison, Mason, Mifflin, Robert Morris, Charles Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Randolph, Read, Rutledge, Sherman, Spaight, Washington, Williamson, and Wilson. Ten individuals missed only a few weeks: Baldwin, Davie, Dayton, Dickinson, Ellsworth, Livingston, Alexander Martin, Luther Martin, Gouverneur Morris, and Strong. Twelve persons were away for long periods: Blount, Carroll, Few, Gilman, Hamilton, Houstoun, Langdon, Lansing, McClurg, McHenry, Paterson, and Yates. Four men attended for extremely short stretches: Houston, Mercer, Pierce, and Wythe. Reasons for absences included personal and family illness, service in Congress, other professional or personal business, late appointment, early departure, boredom or a feeling of uselessness, faith in the views and actions of fellow State delegates, and opposition to the prevalent nationalism.

Although the group hardly matched Jefferson's characterization as an "assembly of demigods," it was a distinguished one. Statesmen, legislators, patriots, and leaders in commerce and agriculture for the most part, the men were as a whole highly talented and well educated. They also enjoyed extensive political and worldly experience.
Nearly all of the body had much at stake in the experiment in Government that was called the United States and they were determined to see that experiment succeed. Four-fifths, or 44, of the 55 individuals were serving in or had been Members of the Continental Congress. Most of them had heartily backed the rebellion against Great Britain, and about half had fought in the City Tavern, where many of the delegates to the Convention stayed, as it appeared around 1800.
Continental Army or State militia. Eight (Clymer, Franklin, Gerry, Robert Morris, Read, Sherman, Wilson, and Wythe) had signed the Declaration of Independence [see Signers of the Declaration, Volume XVIII in this series]. All but a few had participated in or were at the time actively involved in colonial, State, and local governments—from minor county offices to governorships. Many had helped draft the constitutions of their States or codified their laws. And a large number were to assume important posts, including the Presidency (Washington and Madison), under the Government they were to establish and in the State governments.

A considerable number of the Founding Fathers were friends or acquaintances. Many had attended college together or been political or business colleagues. Most of the men were wealthy or well-to-do and lived under comfortable circumstances. Land, slaves, and commerce were the principal sources of wealth. Almost a third of the group sprang from aristocratic families; practically all the rest, from those that were respectable and substantial. Not much more than a handful of individuals were of humble origins or of modest means.

By profession, the law predominated. This was the pursuit of more than half the delegates, though a substantial number were businessmen, merchants, planters, and large-scale farmers. In numerous cases, because of multiple occupations, overlapping occurred. Only two owned small farms. At least 12 men received their major incomes in the form of salaries from public office. Three were physicians, and the same number had retired from active economic pursuits.

As a group, the framers were relatively youthful. The average age was 43. The youngest was Jonathan Dayton at 26. The eldest was 81-year-old Franklin, who was so infirm that prisoners from the city jail usually had to carry him from his nearby home to the sessions in his sedan chair, which had been made specially for him after his return from France.

About half the delegates had attended college, principally at William and Mary, Harvard, Yale, College of New Jersey (present Princeton), King's College (Columbia), and the College of Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania). Several men had studied abroad and held or were to hold graduate and honorary degrees. A considerable number were privately educated or self-taught.
The best known and respected were Washington of Virginia and Franklin of Pennsylvania. Their presence not only cooled passions but also lent dignity and authority to the proceedings and helped to assure their success. Madison of Virginia, a political genius, was an excellent debater and a keen student and practitioner of government. The first to arrive in Philadelphia, on May 3, he had carefully prepared himself by studying various forms of governments since ancient times and had formed a

A correspondent observes, that as the time approaches for opening the business of the federal convention, it is natural that every lover of his country should experience some anxiety for the fate of an expedient so necessary, yet so precarious. Upon the event of this great council, indeed, depends every thing that can be essential to the dignity and stability of the national character. The Veteran who has toiled in the field, the Statesman who has laboured in the cabinet, and every man who participates in the blessings of American Independence, must feel that all the glory of the past, and all the fortune of the future, are involved in this momentous undertaking. The imperfections and debility of the league, framed during a struggle for liberty and political existence, were obscured and concealed by the ardor of enterprise, and the proximity of danger. The feelings of the people were then more obligatory than the positive injunction of law; and men, in the pursuit of an important object, required no consideration to discharge their duty, but their interests and their passions. Though the federal compact, therefore, thus fortified, might be adequate to the acquisition, yet from the nature and disposition of human affairs, it becomes inadequate to the preservation of sovereign power. Unless some rule is prescribed, some motive introduced, which in a state of tranquility will enforce a regard to the general interest, equal to the voluntary enthusiasm arising from common sufferings and apprehensions, we have only exchanged tyranny for anarchy—we have

This extract from a Philadelphia newspaper on the eve of the Convention reveals how concerned some Americans were about its success.
realistic conception of what a government should be. He was to play a predominant role at the Convention.

Other outstanding delegates included Randolph, Mason, and Wythe of Virginia; Gerry, King, and Gorham of Massachusetts; Sherman, Ellsworth, and Johnson of Connecticut; Hamilton of New York; Gouverneur Morris, Robert Morris, Mifflin, and Wilson of Pennsylvania; Dickinson of Delaware; Luther Martin of Maryland; Williamson of North Carolina; Livingston of New Jersey; and Charles Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and Rutledge of South Carolina.

Despite wide differences in temperament and political views, most of the framers were nationalists and believed that the Articles of Confederation needed substantive revision. Based on their experience with the inadequacies of the Confederation, practically all of them were united in the belief that the United States should be a single, unified Nation, not an agglomeration of semi-independent States, and they transferred that faith to the Constitution.

 Probably few of the group would really have considered a monarchy or the abolition of the States; nor more than two or three the elimination of the central Government and the division of the country into three or four confederacies. All the men were fully aware that their work was unprecedented and complex. Major common concerns were the preservation and prosperity of the Union, establishment of a suitable national defense, fear of tyranny, protection of property rights, and the prevention of domestic discord.

Sometimes torn between the wishes of their constituents or States and their vision of the new Nation, concerned for posterity yet respectful of the past, and united in purpose, the delegates embarked upon their task.

DURING a 4-month period between May 25 and September 17, 1787, the “Federal” or “Grand” Convention, as the newspapers called it, created a new frame of Government for the United States. On the scheduled opening date, May 14, the conferees who were on hand convened in the Pennsylvania State House’s assembly, or east, room—the same one where the Declaration of Independence had been approved and signed. But, because of bad weather, travel difficulties, and other reasons, only about 10 were
present, apparently only just from Pennsylvania and Virginia—but in sufficient numbers for State quorums.

During the 11-day interim while awaiting a quorum of States and while other delegates kept reporting, many of the attendees held private discussions and exchanged opinions. But the Virginia delegation, led by Gov. Edmund J. Randolph and spurred by Madison, met daily to prepare for the Convention. Its early arrival and thorough planning were to place it in a position of leadership.

On May 25 the daily official meetings of the main body yielded the necessary quorum of seven States. On that date, 29 delegates were present in sufficient numbers from Delaware, New Jersey, Robert Morris' townhouse on High (present Market) Street, where Washington stayed during the Convention and later as President. In 1787 he had originally planned to reside at Mrs. House's rooming place, but Morris persuaded him to change his mind.

Thursday arrived the ship Charleston, capt. Allibone, in 9 days from Charleston, and the brig Buon Gen, captain — , in 42 days from Cadiz.

With captain Allibone came passengers,
Mrs. Young and her two daughters
Mrs. Randolph and Miss Gualdo
Mr. Graves, consul for the state of South Carolina, from the United Netherlands
General Pinkney and lady
Colonel Harriot
Major Butler, his lady and four daughters
Captain Butler
Captain Smith
Mr. Hartshorne
Mr. Gardner
Masters John and Peter Simmons, and several others

General Pinkney and major Butler, we hear, are delegates to the convention.

Friday, at the State house in this city, seven states were fully represented in convention: these forming a quorum, they proceeded to the choice of a president, and his excellency general Washington was unanimously elected to that important station.

Major William Jackson was at the same time appointed secretary to this honourable board.

On Saturday morning, between the hours of twelve and one, as Mr. Peter Knox, from Barrenhill, was coming to this city on horseback to market, he was attacked a little to the southward of the bridge over Peggs Run, near the one-mile stone, by three footpads, all of them dressed in short blue jackets and trowsers; they demanded his money, knocked him off his horse with a club, bruised his head, wounded him in the breast with the but end of a pistol, and robbed him of his hat, silk handkerchief, and five silver dollars.

Some of the delegates, including Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and Pierce Butler, arrived in Philadelphia via boat.
New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Virginia, plus one each from Massachusetts and Georgia.

Not until July 23, however, when the two New Hampshire emissaries arrived, were all 12 States that were to attend represented. Claiming financial distress but possibly also evidencing inertia or suspicion of the goals of the Convention, New Hampshire had not provided funds for its delegates, one of whom paid both their expenses. Meanwhile, though, on July 10, two of the three New York representatives had departed. This left only Alexander Hamilton from that State in an unofficial capacity and 10 States officially taking part until July 23, after which 11 did so for the duration of the Convention.

Between May 25 and September 17, except for Saturday May 26 and during the two adjournments (July 3–4 and July 26–August 6), sessions were held 6 days a week. The hours usually ranged between 10 or 11 a.m. and 3 or 4 p.m., though sometimes they were shorter or longer. But the expenditure of time in sitting on committees, drafting papers and speeches, and otherwise preparing for the sessions made for long days for most of the group.

In April, before the Convention, the Continental Congress had extended the franking privilege to the delegates. How other costs were to be defrayed was not clear at the time of the meeting; many of the representatives thought they would need to do so out of

William Jackson, secretary of the Convention.
their own pockets. Later in 1787, however, after the Convention, the Continental Congress was to pay the salaries of the secretary, doorkeeper, messenger, and the clerks who transcribed and engrossed the Constitution, as well as stationery charges; the Second U.S. Congress, in 1793, was to pay the printing bill.

MOST of the first week's business was devoted to organization. On the first day, Friday, in a fateful move, Washington was unanimously chosen as presiding officer. Although he was not to say much during the deliberations, he guided them smoothly and his presence helped make the work of the Convention acceptable to the Nation.

Maj. William Jackson was designated as secretary. Unfortunately, he performed his recordkeeping duties indifferently. Had it not been for a few individuals who kept journals or notes—especially Madison, but also Yates, Lansing, King, McHenry, Paterson, Hamilton, and Pierce—not much would be known about the details of creation of the Constitution.

Credentials were accepted and read. Most of the rules that were adopted for the conduct of business followed those of the Continental Congress. As in that body, voting was to be recorded in geographical order north to south from New Hampshire to Georgia and be by State rather than individual delegate. Decisions of the majority could be reconsidered during the life of the Convention and were to be revocable.

Finally, it was quickly decided to keep the deliberations secret. Nothing "spoken in the House" was to be "printed, or otherwise published or communicated without leave." Doormen stood at the entrances of the meeting room throughout the sessions, and the public remained essentially uninformed about the deliberations. As a result, only gradually over the course of many years did the basic story of the formulation of the Constitution emerge.

Many of the delegates believed that only an atmosphere free of publicity and external pressures would insure the free and frank exchange of ideas and allow the participants to speak their hearts with candor and sincerity. At the same time, because they could change their minds and bargain with their colleagues, compromise would be facilitated. Temporary rashnesses would not appear on the public record, and outsiders would be prevented from becoming aroused over any disputes.
On Monday, the 14th of June, 1787, and in the Capitol
of the independence of the United States of America and
the State House in the City of Philadelphia, in virtue
of appointments from the respective State Fanties
delegates to the Federal Congress, appeared, but
a majority of the States not being represented, the
members present assembled from day to day until
seven the 23rd of the said month, when, in virtue of
the said appointment, appeared from the States of
Massachusetts. The hon. and respectable. King, Esq.
Pennsylvania. Th. hon. and respectable. King, Esq.
Pennsylvania. Th. hon. and respectable. King, Esq.
Delaware. Th. hon. and respectable. King, Esq.
Virginia. Th. hon. and respectable. King, Esq.
North Carolina. Th. hon. and respectable. King, Esq.
First page of Secretary Jackson's journal. May 25, 1787, date of the first full-quorum meeting of the Constitutional Convention.
Yet, whatever the justifications, the secrecy did demonstrate a certain mistrust of the people; some of the delegates would never have dared deliver their Convention speeches, which contradicted things they said in public, to their constituents. Opponents of the secrecy rule claimed it would arouse public suspicion of the motives of the conferees.

The first substantive business was conducted on May 29-30. On those dates, evincing the planning and initiative of the Virginia delegation, Randolph presented a speech outlining the weaknesses of the Confederation and offering a series of 15 resolutions to remedy them. These came to be known collectively as the Virginia Plan. It resulted in the first major conflict and compromise: the large versus small State issue. Despite its prominence at this time, this controversy was to have almost no bearing on the evolution of the constitutional system; rather, the great disputes were to be intersectional in nature.

Because Virginia had been one of the leaders in calling the Convention and was the most populous and in many ways the most powerful State, she played a major role in the proceedings. The Virginia Plan was the product of several minds, but preeminently that of Madison. By conceiving a relatively simple and clear plan and arranging for its early introduction, he seized a commanding position for the nationalists, who were never to relinquish it.

Far more than an attempt to revise the Articles of Confederation, the plan represented nothing less than a call for a new constitution. As such, it exceeded the desires of a number of the delegates, many of whom also felt it violated congressional and constituent instructions. Considering the extent of this opposition, surprisingly the plan was not seriously challenged as a whole until June 15. Nevertheless, it was a key point of debate throughout the proceedings and became the partial basis of the Constitution.

Reducing the States to a clearly subordinate position, the Virginia Plan called for a strong central government, which would unlike that of the Confederation consist of three separate branches: executive, legislative, and judicial. The number of persons who would constitute the executive office was not specified. The legislature was to elect the executive, which was eligible for only one term. The single-house Continental Congress
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

would be replaced by a two-house, or bicameral, legislature. The plan suggested that the people elect the lower house; utilizing lists of persons nominated by the State legislatures, the lower would elect the upper. In both cases, representation would be based upon "quotas of contributions" [State monetary contributions] or the "number of free inhabitants," rather than upon State parity as under the Articles of Confederation, where Virginia held no more voting power than tiny Delaware.

A second sharp departure from the Articles was the vesting of broad authority in the proposed national legislature. It was authorized to pass laws on all matters "to which the separate States are incompetent, or in which the harmony of the United States may be interrupted by the exercise of individual [State] Legislation." The legislature was also empowered to negate State laws that in its opinion contravened the constitution and to force obedience.

A "council of revision," made up of the executive and a number

Although Gov. Edmund J. Randolph did not sign the Constitution, he introduced the Virginia Plan and attended the Convention right up until its end.
of judges, could veto legislative acts. The plan also proposed that the legislature would choose and pay a separate judiciary. Because the legislature would elect both the executive and the judges, the three branches lacked the independence ultimately granted them in the Constitution.

The remainder of the proposals were less startling. New States were to be admitted with less than a unanimous vote of the legislature, and each State and Territory was to have a republican form of government, as were the old ones. The Continental Congress was to continue until the new government took over. State officers were to take an oath to support the new constitution. Finally, the Continental Congress and then State conventions, “expressly chosen by the people,” were to approve the new frame of government.

The plan was not a proposal for a “federal” or “confederated” union as those words were understood in 1787. Instead, it called for a consolidated “national” government. This was bound to provoke controversy. The delegates resolved to refer the plan and one offered by Charles Pinckney of South Carolina for a “federal government” to a committee of the whole, where less stringent rules would stimulate informal debate and allow the formulation of special proposals for consideration of the Convention. Daily, Washington called the meeting to order and surrendered the chair to Nathaniel Gorham of Massachusetts. Although the former took no part in the debates, he voted on all motions made by the committee of the whole; and, at other times when the Virginia vote was divided, he cast his vote, usually in accordance with Madison’s views.

Ignoring the Pinckney proposal for the most part, the committee would debate the Virginia Plan from May 30 through June 13.

ON May 30, by a vote of six (Delaware, Massachusetts, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Virginia) to one (Connecticut), with New York divided, the delegates resolved to proceed toward the establishment of a “national Government . . . consisting of a supreme Legislative, Executive, & Judiciary.” Randolph had suggested this wording as a substitute for the first resolution of the Virginia Plan, which had stressed amendment of the Articles of Confederation. This action in effect represented a commitment almost from the beginning to scrap the Articles and
focus attention on a totally new frame and form of government.

Over the next 2 weeks, the committee of the whole debated the implications of this resolution and the various provisions of the Virginia Plan. Many disagreements arose over various points, but the deepest and most persistent was over the matter of representation in the proposed legislature. For obvious reasons, most of the delegates of States with large populations or wealth or those such as Georgia with sizable areas that might be expected to be populous in the future favored representation based upon those factors.

But many ardent nationalists from the small States—Paterson of New Jersey and Sherman of Connecticut for example—resented the loss of equal power they enjoyed under the Articles of Confederation and feared they would be dominated or even swallowed up by the large States. Some of these men felt their credentials did not authorize them to support such a proposal or that their States would not approve such an action. This group insisted that representation in at least one house should be by State as it was in the Continental Congress. At first, it appeared that the large States would prevail, but by mid-June it had become clear that the small ones would not budge and that some form of compromise was imperative.

On Wednesday, June 13, the initial debate ended, and the committee reported out 19 resolutions. The Virginia Plan had undergone some modifications. Madison’s treasured “council of revision” had been thrown out. So had the authority of the national government to use force against intractable States. A 3-year term was specified for the lower house, and a 7-year term for the upper. The minimum age for both was 30. The central government, instead of the States, was to pay members of the two houses—an important step in making Congress responsible to the national rather than to the State governments. The executive, now defined as one person, was to be elected by the national legislature for a single 7-year term. To balance the executive’s dependence upon the legislature, he was given the power to veto legislative acts unless overridden by two-thirds of both houses. Finally, the upper house would choose a “supreme Tribunal” of judges. Most other provisions were virtually identical with the original Virginia Plan.

A key element of that plan retained in the committee report was
First page of the Virginia Plan as amended by the committee of the whole and recorded on June 13, 1787.
the principle of variable representation based upon the relative population and/or wealth of the States. Determination of the ratios involved was to be a major point in the continuing debate. Despite serious disagreements remaining among the delegates, it became clear that most of them sought a national government and that an increasing number favored granting some form of sovereignty to the people at large as well as the States. This contradicted classical political theory, which held that sovereignty could have only a single source and the body politic a single head.

IN mid-June, however, the sovereignty issue still needed to be settled. Several features of the revised Virginia Plan continued to alienate small-State delegates. They countered with their own plan. On June 14 Paterson asked for a day's delay so that he might submit a "purely federal" scheme as an alternative to the Virginia Plan. The fruit of his labor and that of Sherman and others was the New Jersey, or Paterson, Plan, introduced on June 15.

This proposal consisted of a set of nine resolutions designed to revise and strengthen the Articles of Confederation without abandoning them or changing their character as a league of States focused around the Continental Congress—all many of the delegates felt they were authorized to do. New and expanded powers were proposed for Congress, in which each State was still to hold one vote. Included were the raising of revenue through import duties, stamp taxes, and postage; power to regulate commerce among the States and with foreign nations; authority to force the States, when approved by an unspecified number of them, to support the government financially and militarily; and the right to use armed force to compel obedience to federal law by individuals as well as States.

Dividing the federal authority into legislative, executive, and judicial branches like the Virginia Plan, the New Jersey Plan proposed a plural executive, elected by Congress for a single term and subject to removal by a majority of the State executives. The executive would have authority to appoint a supreme court.

The New Jersey Plan was surely less radical than the nationalistic Virginia Plan, but it was not "purely federal." The sixth resolution clearly established the primacy of congressional acts and treaties—a provision hardly in keeping with the notion of a voluntary compact of 13 separate but equal States.
On June 16 and 19 the committee of the whole debated the New Jersey Plan. Arguing in its favor, Lansing of New York and Paterson of New Jersey asserted that the Virginia Plan must be rejected because the delegates lacked authority to create a government not based upon the existing Confederation and because the States and people would never approve such a plan. Wilson of Pennsylvania replied that the Convention was authorized to propose whatever it chose. South Carolina’s Charles Pinckney tartly observed that if national representation were made equal by States New Jersey would readily assent to the Virginia Plan. Randolph of Virginia claimed the national crisis was severe enough to warrant a departure from the Confederation system.

At this point, on June 18, Hamilton of New York, who attended irregularly, gave one of his rare speeches—a long one. “Continental” in nature and monarchical in spirit, the supreme central government he proposed would make all the laws and appoint all State executives. The president would be responsible for executing laws enacted by the legislature and would enjoy veto power over their passage, as well as extensive appointment and treaty-making powers. Although the members of the lower house would be elected to 3-year terms by popular vote, the upper as well as the president would be chosen indirectly by electors and would hold office for life during good behavior. Not only would the power of the States be quashed, but also governmental control would be placed in the hands of the wealthy and participation of the populace at large minimized. The plan was clearly unacceptable to the majority of the delegates and they ignored it.

Part of the reason for Hamilton’s surprisingly small role in the debates was his extreme nationalism, which put him out of step with his fellows. Another factor was undoubtedly the frustrating effect of his minority position vis-a-vis the two other New York delegates, Lansing and Yates, who usually outvoted him to cast the State’s vote. For this reason, until they departed on July 10, he spent some time at home in New York City attending to his law practice; after they left, he had little more reason to participate because, as the sole delegate present from his State, he could not cast its vote.

The day after Hamilton presented his plan, the delegates finished discussion of the New Jersey Plan. Madison made an extended address on the weakness of the proposal and sought to
appeal to the self-interest of the small States in forming a strong union. Then, by a vote of seven States (Connecticut, Georgia, Massachusetts, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Virginia) to three (Delaware, New Jersey, and New York), with Maryland divided, the framers accepted the Virginia Plan. It was clear, however, that the idea of proportional representation in both houses was continuing to be strongly opposed. The Convention adjourned the committee of the whole and went back into regular session to consider the resolutions that had been passed during the preceding weeks.

During the period June 20–27, when the resolutions on the amended Virginia Plan began to be considered, the debates touched on a variety of subjects: the nature of representation, corruption of legislatures, and the purposes and functions of the upper and lower houses. The nationalists yielded on certain minor points. Several compromises were struck. Madison, Randolph, and others in their camp agreed to drop the word "national" from the committee's first and third resolutions. That word had offended many.

Other changes included the approval of a 6-year term for members of the upper house, one-third of whom were to be elected every 2 years. Because this provision made no mention of the source of legislators' pay, it retreated from the controversial stipulation in the resolution that they were to be paid out of the national treasury. Agreement was also reached that members of the legislature would not be simultaneously eligible for State and National offices.

BY this time, despite such temporary harmony, feeling had grown so intense on the issue of representation that the Convention seemed on the brink of dissolution. Some members began to talk about going home, but fortunately most were not willing to abandon hope of compromise. In a long and bitter speech on June 27–28, Luther Martin, a late arrival from Maryland who consistently opposed majority programs, took the floor and denounced Virginia, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania for seeking to control the other States. He upheld the principle of one vote for each State. In a forceful rebuttal, Madison stated that these three large States had not made common cause against the others under the Confederation. What the small States really had to fear,
Luther Martin, Maryland delegate, who fought for the rights of the small States, vociferously opposed the nationalists. Frustrated, he departed before the end of the Convention.

he insisted, was a continuation of the existing system, where they were really at the mercy of their large-State neighbors.

Franklin, apparently believing that passions needed to be cooled, proposed that the daily sessions be opened with prayers offered by a local clergyman. Sherman seconded the motion, but Hamilton opposed it. The latter feared the presence of a minister might cause the public to believe the Convention was torn with dissension. Others argued that reason—not heavenly help—was what was needed. In any case, Franklin's proposal died after Williamson raised the embarrassing question of where the money would be obtained to pay the clergyman.

AT this point, bitter debate began. It would last until mid-July. The subject was still representation in the national legislature. The result was the "Great" or "Connecticut" Compromise. The prolonged contention arose largely from the central position of the legislature in the proposed new scheme of government. Under the Virginia Plan, as revised, which the Convention had accepted, the legislature would be virtually supreme. Not only would it elect the executive and the judiciary and have authority to annul all State laws, but also its overall authority in national affairs was extremely broad.
On June 29 the Convention voted six (Georgia, Massachusetts, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Virginia) to four (Connecticut, Delaware, New Jersey, and New York), with Maryland divided, to base representation in the lower house upon some system different from that used in the Confederation; this was almost precisely the same vote as on the same issue in the committee of the whole nearly 3 weeks earlier. Succeeding days brought continued discussion of the question of representation—but in the upper house. Franklin even made a complicated proposal for variable voting depending on the type of legislation.

On July 2 a deadlock occurred on a vote to allow each State an equal voice in the upper house. Five States (Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, and New York) were in favor and five (Massachusetts, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Virginia) were opposed; Georgia was divided. This key vote was determined partially by chance because one Maryland delegate was absent, which permitted Martin to cast the State's vote; and Baldwin changed his stand and divided Georgia's vote. The issue between the large and small States was joined. To break the impasse, a committee of one member from each of the 11 States present was appointed.

The main body adjourned on July 3–4 to celebrate independence and to allow time for the committee to deliberate. It consisted of Gerry of Massachusetts, Sherman of Connecticut (sitting in for Ellsworth), Yates of New York, Paterson of New Jersey, Franklin of Pennsylvania, Bedford of Delaware, Luther Martin of Maryland, Mason of Virginia, Davie of North Carolina, Rutledge of South Carolina, and Baldwin of Georgia.

The membership was notably weak in nationalists of the Madison and Wilson stripe, both of whom opposed establishment of the committee, and strong in States-rights men and moderate nationalists. The basic idea of a compromise had been suggested as early as June 2 by Dickinson, and reiterated later by several others, notably Sherman and Ellsworth. Thus, the decision of the committee came as no surprise. On July 5 Gerry brought in the report. It based representation in the lower house on the free population and three-fifths of the slaves; and in the upper by State. In neither case was an exact total specified, nor was distribution made by State in the lower house. As a concession to the large States, it was further proposed that the lower house
should possess exclusive power to initiate money bills without changes or amendments by the upper house. In the lower, every 40,000 inhabitants were to be represented by one member; States having less population were each guaranteed one.

This compromise solution still did not please most of the delegates, many of whom remained angry over the bitter debates that had preceded appointment of the committee. Its recommendations, however, provided a basis for action and steered the Convention away from complete deadlock. On July 6 the portion

On Wednesday last Sconstayah, a warrior of the Cherokee nation, sent with a letter to Congress by the king of that nation, conducted by Mr. Dromgoole, was introduced to his Excel. Alex Martin, late governor of North-Carolina, and a number of the gentlemen members of the Convention; was from thence conducted to the State-House, where he had the honour of taking his Excellency General Washington by the hand. The General said he was glad to see him, and hoped he left the King and all his people well when he came from home, which he answered and said he did. He also asked him his business to Congress, which he told the General it was chiefly respecting the white people incroaching on their lands. The General took him by the hand, and bid him farewell; wished him great success in his business, and safe return to the nation, and that he might find all his people well when he returned. Since he arrived in this city, there has been every mark of friendship shewn to him, and he has frequently had the honor to dine with several of the Members of Congress and Convention.

Apart from their official duties, George Washington and the other delegates became involved in semi-official activities. One of these was meeting with Sconstayah, a Cherokee emissary, who expressed his nation’s concern over the encroachment of whites on its lands.
of the committee report giving special powers to the lower house was approved.

That same day, another committee, dominated by large-State nationalists and made up of Gorham and King of Massachusetts, Randolph of Virginia, Rutledge of South Carolina, and Gouverneur Morris of Pennsylvania, was created to iron out the numerical formula for State representation in the proposed lower house. The next day, the Convention approved equality of votes in the upper. Two days later, on July 9, Morris presented the committee's report. It recommended that the first assembly of the lower house consist of 56 seats. These had been hastily and subjectively broken down among the 13 States (ranging from one to nine each), mainly on the basis of population but also to some degree on wealth. Subsequently, the national legislature was to vary apportionment of the seats based upon future alterations in the same elements.

Yet an additional committee immediately came into being to prepare a more satisfactory distribution of seats in the lower house. The members were King, Sherman, Yates, Brearly, Gouverneur Morris, Read, Carroll, Madison, Williamson, Rutledge, and Houstoun. The next day, King delivered the report, which raised the number of seats to 65, an increase of one for most of the States. This undoubtedly was attractive to the small ones. Efforts by Madison to double the number and by Charles Cotesworth Pinckney to increase by one the seats for North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia were both defeated. Finally, the second committee's formula was approved.

The following day, July 11, was one of the most contentious of the summer. Debate focused on the role of slaves in the scheme of representation and the need for and mechanisms of a national census; the latter subject had first arisen the day before. Slavery was the second major controversial issue to arise during the representation conflict and to be compromised. Unlike the large-small State clash, which was to have but slight later impact, this one, which revealed not only the different economic interests of the North and South but also presented a moral dilemma, was to lead to disunion and civil war.

The crux of the problem was that most northern sentiment favored the counting of slaves in deciding each State's share of direct federal taxes, but not for representation. The bulk of the
Two strong nationalist delegates who did not sign the Constitution, Oliver Ellsworth (left) and Caleb Strong (right), left before the Convention ended, for unknown reasons and family illness, respectively.

Southern-State emissaries wanted to exclude slaves from that computation, but desired to include them for the purpose of representation in the lower house, though they had no intention of permitting them to vote. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and Butler of South Carolina proposed that slaves be counted equally with freemen, but the motion failed by a vote of seven States to three (Delaware, Georgia, and South Carolina).

New York was not registered on this or any subsequent tallies during the Convention because the majority of its delegates, Yates and Lansing, had headed home after the previous day’s session. Followers of States-rights advocate Gov. George Clinton and at odds with their colleague, Hamilton, by this time they were probably sure that ultimately the Convention would advocate a highly centralized type of government. They also had pressing legal and judicial business in New York. Apparently at the end of August they decided not to return to Philadelphia. After they left, Hamilton’s status was reduced to an unofficial one, and only 10 States voted until July 23, when New Hampshire’s representatives finally arrived.

Later on July 11, six States to four voted in favor of taking a
census of free inhabitants to determine representation. By the same numerical margin, a proposal was rejected to count three-fifths of the slaves, a formula that the Continental Congress had frequently utilized in making requisitions on the States and that had been discussed earlier in the Convention. At the close of the session, the resolution on the census was annulled and the decision was made to adjourn. There was hope of progress on the morrow.

That session began with a resolution by Gouverneur Morris to correlate representation, based on wealth and population, with taxation. After discussion and amendment to "direct" taxation, the measure passed unanimously. A separate motion, as amended, provided that a census was to be taken within 6 years of the adoption of the new government and thereafter once every decade (decennially) to determine the respective wealth and population of the States. As for the matter of slaves, representation and taxation were both to be computed by counting five of them as equal to three free inhabitants. A concession by the Northern States, this assured southerners that all slaves would not be taxed as such and that their region would also gain some representational advantage. Some southern delegates once more tried to amend the motion to count slaves equally with free inhabitants, but the motion met defeat by a vote of eight States to two. A divisive issue had been bridged and the way to the Great Compromise lay open.

The most significant action on Friday, July 13, was a vote to eliminate wealth as a basis for representation in the lower house of the national legislature. Wilson and Randolph brought nine States with them in this tally, despite the vigorous protests of Gouverneur Morris. Population was thus established as the sole criterion for the apportionment of representation. When new States were admitted, representation of the old would be adjusted at the time of the succeeding census.

The next day, Saturday July 14, the large-State nationalists again tried to improve their position. Charles Pinckney proposed a specific apportionment scheme for the upper house, based generally upon population. Despite the support of Wilson and Madison, the resolution fell six States to four. The compromise was holding.

On Monday, the 16th, the body reconvened to consider the Great Compromise as a whole in its final form. The vote was close: five
The question being taken on the whole of the report from the grand committee as amended, it passed in the affirmative, and is as follows, namely,

Resolved—That in the original formation of the legislature of the United States the first Branch thereof shall consist of sixty-five members, of which number

New Hampshire shall have Three.
Massachusetts Eight.
Rhode Island One.
Connecticut Five.
New York Six.
New Jersey Four.
Pennsylvania Eight.
Delaware One.
Maryland Six.
Virginia Three.
North Carolina Five.
South Carolina Five.
Georgia Three.

But as the present situation of the states may probably alter in the number of their inhabitants, the legislature of the United States shall be authorized from time to time to apportion the number of representatives; and in case any of the states shall hereafter be divided or enlarged by addition of territory, or any two or more states united, or any new states created within the limits of the United States the legislature of the United States shall possess authority to regulate the number of representatives, and in each any of the foregoing cases upon the principle of their number of inhabitants.
States (Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, and North Carolina) in favor, four (Georgia, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Virginia) opposed, and Massachusetts split.

That night, July 16—no infected by the slim 5-4-1 vote of the need or the desirability of surrender—representatives of the large States met informally at the Indian Queen Tavern to consider the situation. The next morning, before the Convention proceedings resumed, they caucused formally. Had the large States surrendered too much to the small? Should they continue to attend the Convention? Should they continue to oppose the Great Compromise? After much discussion, they could not agree. This irresolution did not satisfy the diehards among them, but it cleared the way for continuation of the business of writing the new constitution because the large-State delegates no longer presented a united front.

The most controversial issue was now essentially resolved, but much remained to be done. Many details were still vague and undefined. A document incorporating the decisions of the Convention to that point still needed to be written. But the principal obstacle sharply dividing men who agreed that the Articles of Confederation needed a complete overhaul had been overcome. In the lower house of the proposed national legislature, representation would be adjusted in relation to population, as revealed by a decennial census, and three-fifths of the slaves would be counted. In the upper house, each State would enjoy equal representation.

The Great Compromise, by correlating representation with population in the lower house and providing for equality by State in the upper, confirmed the existence of the States and gave Congress both federal and national attributes. The fears of many small-State delegates that the large States would control the Union, if not put totally to rest, were measurably assuaged. On the whole, the compromise was a victory for the small States, though on other matters their delegates tended to follow the Virginia Plan, which provided for a strong central government. Although Madison and other large-State delegates had opposed the compromise right up to the last, they recognized it was the price they had to pay for a consolidated Union. The small States, by yielding on equal representation in the lower house, had abandoned their hopes for a mere league of States like that
provided for by the Articles of Confederation. The large States, by accepting equality of voting power in the Senate, signaled the end of their attempts to dominate the government.

On the other hand, from this point on the small States, recognizing they would have a greater share of power in the central government than their population or wealth warranted, were no less desirous of strengthening the central government than the large ones.

WITH the most severe crisis of the Convention behind them, during the period from July 17 to July 26 the delegates discussed and more easily settled a number of specifics of the proposed constitution. It was agreed that the national legislature would "enjoy the Legislative rights vested in Congress by the Confederation, and moreover to legislate in all cases for the general interests of the Union, and also in those to which the States are separately
incompetent, or in which the harmony of the United States may be interrupted by the exercise of individual legislation." But the proposed capability of the national legislature to negate State laws was dropped. In the upper house, each State was to have two representatives, who would vote as individuals rather than as a unit. The national court system was granted jurisdiction over cases stemming from laws passed by the legislature and over questions related to national peace and harmony.

Many other issues reached the floor, but did not result in changes to the emerging constitution. These included efforts to empower State legislatures to ratify the instrument, to remove the provision for impeachment of the executive, and to strike appointment by the upper house of judges of the "supreme tribunal."

The matters that proved the most difficult to resolve, even tentatively, in this comparatively harmonious phase of the Convention were those dealing with election of the executive, the length of his term, and his eligibility for reelection. Proposals were entertained and then voted down for election by the people at large, electors chosen by the legislatures, the Governors or electors picked by them, the national legislature, and electors chosen by lot from the legislature. Some delegates suggested that the executive should be eligible for reelection. Others questioned the proposed 7-year term of office. After extensive debate, on July 26 the decision was made to retain the original resolution. The national legislature was to elect the executive for a single 7-year non-renewable term.

ON July 26 the Convention adjourned until August 6 to allow a five-member "committee of detail," which had been appointed on July 24, to prepare a draft instrument incorporating the sense of what had been decided upon over many weeks. While some of the delegates went home and others rested and relaxed in or near Philadelphia, the committee (Rutledge of South Carolina, Randolph of Virginia, Wilson of Pennsylvania, Ellsworth of Connecticut, and Gorham of Massachusetts) went about its work. Within a few days, a draft of the constitution was sent to Dunlap & Claypoole, the firm on Market Street that handled printing for the Continental Congress, which was meeting in New York City. The compositor for most of the Convention's work was likely David C.
Claypoole because his partner, John Dunlap, was apparently away most of the time coordinating congressional printing.

About August 1 a seven-page set of proofs was returned to the committee. After its deliberations, a corrected copy bearing Randolph's emendations, a dozen in number, was sent back to the printer, who incorporated them. By August 6 a first draft of the constitution had been printed, numbering probably 60 copies; it was the first printed rendition of the instrument in any form. The seven-page folio draft, which provided ample left-hand margins for notes and comments, consisted of a preamble and 23 articles. Randolph had apparently prepared a rough draft, which Rutledge and Wilson thoroughly reworked.

The committee conscientiously tried to express the will of the Convention, but also made some modifications and changes that provoked considerable debate. In selecting provisions and phrases, the conferees borrowed extensively from a variety of sources. Of course, the approved resolutions that had sprung from the Virginia Plan provided the basic ideas. But State constitutions, particularly that of New York (1777), and the Articles of Confederation were leaned on heavily, as was also to a lesser degree Charles Pinckney's long-ignored plan. Certain state papers of the Confederation and the rejected New Jersey Plan also provided some of the wording and substance.

The committee necessarily filled in many specifics that various resolutions had left vague or unexpressed. For the first time, names, largely derived from the State constitutions, were given to the members and branches of the National Government: President, Congress, House of Representatives, Speaker, Senate, and Supreme Court. The famous opening phrase of the final Constitution's preamble, "We the People," appeared for the first time, as did such others as the "privileges and immunities" of citizens and the Presidential "state of the Union" message.

Instead of the broad general authority voted to the courts and Congress before the recess, significantly the draft enumerated 18 congressional powers and also areas of jurisdiction for the Federal courts. It likewise listed powers for the Chief Executive, though the Convention's resolutions had laid a precedent for that.

The last and most sweeping of the congressional authorities was the right to make all laws "necessary and proper" to carry out the enumerated powers and all others vested in the central
George Washington’s annotated copy of the committee of detail draft of the Constitution. The first printed version, it was distributed to the delegates shortly after the Convention reconvened on August 6. Of the 60 copies apparently printed, at least 15 annotated ones have survived in various repositories.
Government by the Constitution. Essentially all the old powers of the Continental Congress under the Articles of Confederation were retained. To them were added new ones, which the majority of delegates felt were essential to correct the defects in the old frame of Government.

Among the new congressional mandates was the most vital one missing under the old system: authority to impose and collect direct taxes of several kinds. Other new powers conferred were the regulation of domestic and foreign commerce; establishment of nationwide rules for the naturalization of citizens; coining and borrowing of money; organization of a national army and navy; authority to call up the State militias; election of a national treasurer; and the quashing of rebellion in the States, with the permission of the appropriate legislatures. Directly contrary to a resolution of the Convention, however, the committee draft specified that the States would pay the Congressmen.

Particular prerogatives of the House of Representatives and the Senate were specified, the principles of their parliamentary organization were outlined, and the privileges of their Members were listed. Some of these provisions were modeled on similar ones in State constitutions. The Senate would appoint ambassadors and Supreme Court judges, make treaties, and participate in the settlement of interstate disputes. The House alone could impeach errant high Federal officials, including the President, and originate money bills. Each House would enjoy a virtual veto on the other, for bills would need to pass both to become law.

In its attempt to define the areas of national authority more precisely, presumably to allay the fears of the less nationalistic delegates, the committee of detail included express restrictions on certain actions by the Legislature. Three of these, apparently reflecting the sentiments of Chairman John Rutledge of South Carolina, were designed to protect the interests of the Southern States. One prohibited the national Government from passing any "navigation act" or tariff without a two-thirds majority of Members present in both Houses of Congress. Another, without employing the word "slaves," forbade the Legislature from taxing or prohibiting the import of slaves or their migration. The third provided that it could pass no law taxing exports. It would also be unable to approve personal capitation taxes except in proportion to the census. The Government as a whole was barred from
creating titles of nobility and was limited in the definition it could give to treason.

The Legislature would elect the President for a single 7-year term. His powers were somewhat more carefully spelled out than previously, though not significantly augmented. The most important of these was the veto, though this could be overridden by a two-thirds vote of both Houses of Congress. The Chief Executive would exercise general executive powers for the enforcement of all national laws, appoint key officials except for ambassadors and judges, enjoy the right to pardon, and serve as commander in chief. His responsibilities of informing the Legislature about state matters, making recommendations to it, receiving ambassadors, and corresponding with State executives involved him directly in the formulation of legislative programs and foreign relations. The provisions relating to the Presidency were strongly influenced by State constitutions, especially that of New York.

The committee of detail outlined new prohibitions upon the rights of the States that went far toward establishing national dominance. They were not to coin money or grant letters of marque and reprisal. Without the consent of Congress, they could not emit bills of credit, issue paper money, tax imports or exports, or make agreements with other States. Reiterated were the old Articles of Confederation provisions preventing any of them from entering into independent treaties, alliances, or confederations; waging war independently; or granting titles of nobility.

Relations among the States would be governed by principles of equality, including recognition of the “privileges and immunities” of each other’s citizens and “full faith and credit” for official actions. Arrangements were to be made for the extradition of criminals. These measures were virtually identical with similar ones in effect under the Articles, though they had not really ameliorated interstate conflicts. The Federal judiciary now would be in a position to apply these provisions under the new Government.

Another problem the Confederation had not resolved, the admission of new States, was to be handled by admitting them on an equal basis with the original ones, by a two-thirds vote of those present in each House of Congress.

The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, now also more precisely defined, would include cases arising under U.S. laws; those
affecting public officials; maritime and admiralty matters; interstate disputes; and legal contests among citizens of more than one State, between States, and when other countries or aliens were involved. The Court would also try impeachments brought by the House of Representatives.

Although instructed to report property qualifications for Members of Congress, the committee directed Congress to do so itself. A further specification was that qualifications for voting to elect Members of the House of Representatives were to be tied to State law; people who could vote for the more numerous house of the State legislatures were to constitute the electorate for the House of Representatives. In practice, the State regulations on this subject had varied widely and a uniform formula would have not only been difficult to devise, but might also have seemed to intrude too much on State authority. In the vexing matter of the number of States required to approve the Constitution before it became the law of the land, the committee simply left a blank. The Convention would have to decide.

Demonstrating considerable skill and energy, the committee of detail had performed creditably, though the degree of the changes and innovations it had made apparently surprised the delegates. Its services were not completely done and it reported to the Convention from time to time later on, when difficult matters were referred for its consideration.

The Convention reconvened on August 6. Either on that day or the next the delegates received individual printed copies and began to consider the first draft of their handiwork.

FIVE weeks of intensive discussion were required to revise the draft constitution. These weeks were tedious and debilitating for the delegates. The weather, in a day of no air conditioning, was miserable. Many of those in attendance had been away from their families and professional duties since May. All wanted to finish and go home. In fact, as time passed, the pressure of personal business and other factors, including dissatisfaction with the course of the proceedings, lured a few more individuals away from Philadelphia, beyond those who had already departed.

Those who stayed became increasingly anxious to finish their work. In mid-August lengthened sessions were briefly experimented with, but this proved to be unsatisfactory, for they interfered
with the dinner hour. Speeches tended to become more concise and the spirit of compromise intensified. And more and more the strong nationalists—Madison, Wilson, and Gouverneur Morris among the leaders—gained the dominant voice. As the draft constitution was studied article by article and line by line, much debate occurred, mostly on a high level, though some of it was tedious and inconsequential. The process had to be endured, however, and many significant changes emerged from it.

The question of the number of Representatives proved to be a source of difficulty. The committee of detail had specified one in the lower House for each 40,000 inhabitants. Madison, objecting, contended that as population increased that body would grow to an unwieldy size. The States voted unanimously to change the wording of the provision to read “not exceeding the rate of one for every forty thousand.”

Another matter attracting much attention was the citizenship and minimum residency requirements for Senators and Representatives. The committee of detail had proposed 3 years of citizenship for Members of the House and 4 years for the Senate. Fearing new residents might be too much influenced by their foreign background, the delegates increased the figures to 7 and 9 years, respectively.

Countering its earlier instructions to the committee of detail, the Convention refused to prescribe property qualifications of any sort (either land or capital) for Federal officeholders, though most States specified such requirements for both voting and officeholding. Although Charles Pinckney and Gerry argued for such restrictions, the Convention accepted Franklin’s reasoning that they would debase the “spirit of the common people.” Pinckney, however, was responsible for the motion barring religious tests for officeholding; these were also a common feature of State laws.

The committee of detail had revived the question of who should pay Congressmen. By a large majority, its suggestion that the States do so was revoked, and the Convention’s earlier resolution that they be compensated from the national Treasury was reinserted.

Added to the congressional powers granted by the committee draft was the vesting of the Legislature with authority to declare war. Gouverneur Morris argued strenuously against the provision giving the national Government power to “borrow money and
Four of the 55 delegates to the Convention who departed early and did not sign the Constitution. Upper left, James McClurg; upper right, William R. Davie; lower left, John F. Mercer; lower right, John Lansing. The first two men supported ratification, and the latter two opposed it.

emit bills.” He held that the “Monied interest” in the Nation would oppose the Constitution if paper money were not prohibited. Because the Government would enjoy the capability to borrow money and presumably to use public notes, the delegates heeded Morris’ objections and struck out the phrase. A limit on
congressional tariff powers also won approval. It specified that tariffs would need to be uniformly and equally applied throughout the country.

The Great Compromise had included a clause stating that money bills should originate in the House of Representatives and not be subject to Senate amendment. Many delegates had entertained serious reservations about this provision. It had been borrowed from colonial and State procedures, which had not always worked well. The issue came up twice in early August during debates in which many delegates participated, but the Convention, after tentatively resolving it twice again, found it so dangerous that it threatened to overturn the entire Great Compromise. Final consideration of it was postponed until the powers of the Senate might be considered.

Several delegates argued vociferously that the national Government must assume the State, as well as National, or Confederation, war debts, on the grounds that they had all been incurred for the common good during the Revolution. Opponents of this proposal contended it would benefit speculators rather than legitimate debt holders. Some controversy also arose between some of the States that had paid off substantial parts of their war debts and some of those that had not. The question was hotly disputed because it involved Congress taking over the States' power to tax imports, a major source of their income. An assumption of State debts would lessen the reluctance of creditor interests in the States to support the new Constitution. The matter was referred to a special committee, composed of one member from each State.

After that group reported a compromise, which was followed by another frustrating debate, the delegates approved an amended version which merely stated that “all debts contracted and engagements entered into, by or under the authority of Congress shall be as valid against the United States under this constitution as under the confederation.” This ambiguous wording avoided the difficult question of exactly what debts were valid against the Confederation.

A recommendation to give the national Government power over the State militias touched on the vital matter of States rights and on the Continental Army's troubled dealing with the militias during the Revolution. The dispute was so grievous that a
One of the sharpest exchanges of the Convention occurred toward the end of August over slavery and the committee of detail's plan to protect the import slave trade and prohibit Federal taxation of it. This was an explosive issue. Some northern delegates and Mason of Virginia objected to slavery and/or the slave trade on moral grounds; others saw more practical considerations. Luther Martin pointed out that prohibition of an import tax on slaves meant lack of national control over the traffic and provided a possible incentive to the Southern States to augment their representation by adding to their slave populations. The power to tax could, on the other hand, be used to discourage or prevent the import of slaves, and southerners tended to oppose this. Mixed into this debate and into that on the regulation of foreign trade was the matter of divergent economic interests in the States. A related problem involving southern-northern conflict was the specification in the draft constitution that a two-thirds vote would be necessary to pass navigation acts.

After many delegates had expressed their opinions, the unresolved matters of slave import regulation, Federal taxation of it, and the navigation acts were turned over to another special committee, consisting of one member from each State. Complicating solution of this issue still further was the Northwest Ordinance, which the Continental Congress had passed the preceding month. By providing that States formed north of the Ohio would be free of slavery, the ordinance touched on an argument that later would be of great significance, the status of that institution in new Territories and States. Any compromise would presumably need to heed this new legislation.

The committee presented a complicated compromise. Congress could not act to prohibit the import of slaves before 1800 into States that had existed in 1787, but might tax such importation at an average rate compared to that for other imports. The
As the summer dragged on, many delegates questioned whether or not the Convention would ever reach agreement. In this extract from a letter written on August 23, 1787, by William Paterson from his home in New Jersey to fellow-delegate Oliver Ellsworth (Connecticut), the former wonders: “What are the Convention about? When will they rise? Will they agree upon a System energetick and effectual, or will they break up without doing any Thing to the Purpose?”

The portion of the compromise dealing with the trade in slaves underwent modification. Congress was instructed not to forbid the traffic prior to 1808 (again for those States existing in 1787) and a specific limit was set on the taxes that might be imposed on it.
Over the objections of Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, the part of the compromise concerning slavery was accepted. Both sides probably privately considered the result a victory. Antislavery delegates felt they had succeeded in writing into the Constitution a provision that could ultimately end the importation of slaves. Proslavery delegates hoped that agitation against the slave trade might disappear after a moratorium of two decades.

Simply to have made it possible to act against the slave trade at that future time was as substantial a victory as the antislavery men at Philadelphia could win in view of existing political realities. The Southern States would have rejected any major restrictions on slavery, and the Northern would compromise no further, though they soon accepted without protest a provision for the return of fugitive slaves. The stipulation that abolition of the slave trade could be considered after 1808 at least demonstrated that the founders were not all immutably subscribing to the system and that future action against it was not precluded.

Indicative of the gingerly manner in which the topic was treated in the Convention, the words “slave” and “slavery” do not even appear in the final Constitution, where slaves are referred to by such euphemisms as “other persons.” As a matter of fact, the subject is touched on in only a few places. Articles I and II prevent Congress from outlawing the import trade in slaves until 1808. And existence of the institution is acknowledged in the “three-fifths” clause dealing with representation (Article I), as well as in the stipulation for the extradition of an escaped “Person held to Service or Labour” (Article IV).

Had the delegates not handled the issue so carefully and obtained the support of all sections, the Convention would probably have dissolved over it. On the other hand, the compromise brought the moral price of the Constitution to a high level.

The second part of the compromise dropped the two-thirds requirement for adoption of navigation acts by Congress. In some ways, acceptance of this provision represented a greater potential sacrifice for the South than most other compromises of the summer. As a region producing an abundance of staple crops that needed to export surpluses, it was fearful of granting the general Government power to tax imports and exports. Randolph and
Mason of Virginia were worried, prophetically as it turned out, that if northern commercial and manufacturing centers gained in population and power they would enact taxes and other measures destructive of the southern economy.

A number of southern delegates, however, failed to heed their

After considerable debate and acrimony, the Convention delegates compromised on the issue of slavery. Continuation of this moral evil was to lead to national schism and the Civil War.
two colleagues and voted for the compromise. The Southern States were probably conciliatory on this issue because they had earlier won exemption of exports from Federal taxation. Many southerners also believed that the future would bring rapid expansion to the agricultural sections of the country and that the South and West, as economic allies, would be able to prevent the commercial States of the Northeast from dominating the Government. The future would prove them wrong. The Northern States were content with this part of the complex compromise because it would allow them to pass commerce legislation more easily than they had anticipated.

New prohibitions on congressional action suggested and approved by the full Convention while reviewing the draft of the committee of detail included ones against bills of attainder, *ex post facto* laws, and suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* in peacetime. Troubles in trying to agree on the powers of the Senate caused postponement of action on this matter. The delegates did strike out its role in the settlement of interstate disputes, and passed this to the Supreme Court. The authorities of the House of Representatives gave rise to little controversy during this period of the debates.

The veto power of the President was also enhanced. Williamson moved, and the delegates endorsed, a three-fourths vote of each House to override the veto of the Executive. This move was undoubtedly motivated by a desire to increase his independence from the Legislature, which was at this point still slated to elect him.

Late in August the Convention once again debated election of the President. Misunderstanding arose over the method of casting the legislative ballot. The delegates proceeded to approve a joint vote by the two Houses, rather than separate ballots by each of them. The small States protested because they felt this decision would virtually give the power of election to the large States, whose contingents in the lower House were strong.

Unable to resolve this problem readily, the Convention returned to discussion of the President’s powers, largely going along with the original committee of detail’s proposals. Adopted from a supplementary committee report, on August 22, were provisions that the President should be 35 years of age and a resident for 21 years. A suggestion in this same report that the President enjoy
the advice of a privy council of Cabinet members and top legislators died without formal consideration.

Occasioning only brief discussion was jurisdiction of the Federal courts. It was extended far beyond what had been granted by the committee of detail, which had given them power only over cases arising under Federal legislative acts. This was now amended to include all cases arising under the Constitution, which was to be the “supreme law.”

Curiously, the right of the Supreme Court to pass finally on the constitutionality of laws, treaties, and Executive actions was not explicitly stated, though many of the delegates apparently understood that it would exercise such authority. On one matter previously assigned to it, the trying of impeachments, the committee postponed a decision.

Anxious to assert exclusive national authority over what they deemed to be vital matters, the delegates not only approved committee limitations on the States, but also imposed certain additional ones, especially a prohibition on the issuance of paper money.

The admission of new States was also a provocative issue. The committee of detail had proposed that they be admitted as equals with the older ones by a two-thirds vote in each House. Gouverneur Morris, who had previously argued that the preponderance of power must remain with the original seaboard States, renewed his objections. Despite cogent rebuttals from Madison, Mason, and Sherman, he persuaded the Convention to alter the committee’s proposal. The statement “New States may be admitted by the Legislature into the Union” was then unanimously substituted. Morris long remained convinced that it really meant the Eastern States would govern much of the West. So noncommittal was the language, however, that future Congresses were to interpret it to mean that a virtually unlimited number of new States could be brought into the Union as equals of the original ones.

Provisions relating to interstate relations, which the committee of detail had largely adapted from the Articles of Confederation, met approval with minor changes. Included were the extradition of criminals and the return of fugitive slaves, as well as State recognition of each other’s legislative and judicial actions and the “privileges and immunities” of citizens. Also adopted was the
committee of detail proposal that when two-thirds of the State legislatures applied to Congress for an amendment to the Constitution a convention would be called to consider it.

As for the number of States required to ratify the completed Constitution, the committee of detail had left the number blank. Ideas on this issue ranged from proposals that all 13 must express their approval, as the Articles of Confederation required, to suggestions from Madison, Wilson, and Washington that a bare majority, seven, would be sufficient. Nine was finally chosen as the proper number. This action demonstrated a crucial break with the Articles of Confederation. The delicate matter of the role of the Continental Congress in the ratifying process also caused debate. The delegates boldly resolved to submit the Constitution to it with the recommendation that the instrument simply be forwarded to conventions in the States.

By August 31 the delegates had considered practically all the recommendations of the committee of detail word by word. They were fatigued, restless, and wanted to go home, but a number of loose ends remained. The most important of these "postponed matters" were the method of election of the President, the locus of appointive powers and treatymaking, the organ of Government that would try impeachments, and the method of originating money bills.

Because the procedure seemed to have worked so well before, the Convention appointed a committee, on postponed matters. Representing each of the 11 States officially in attendance, it was chaired by Brearly of New Jersey and included Sherman of Connecticut, Dickinson of Delaware, Baldwin of Georgia, Carroll of Maryland, King of Massachusetts, Gilman of New Hampshire, Williamson of North Carolina, Gouverneur Morris of Pennsylvania, Butler of South Carolina, and Madison of Virginia.

The committee, which reported on several days in early September, modified the draft constitution extensively, largely to the satisfaction of the Convention. Details of the qualifications of the President were changed somewhat. His term was reduced from 7 years to 4, and no limit was set on reeligibility. The minimum residence requirement was reduced from 21 to 14 years, but the President was required to be either native born or a U.S. citizen at the time of the adoption of the Constitution. His powers were
augmented considerably. He gained authority to make treaties, which would need to be approved by two-thirds of the Senators; and to appoint ambassadors, judges, and other officials, including members of the Supreme Court. Appointees would be subject to the endorsement of a Senate majority.

The committee also proposed that power to try impeachments of high officials be transferred from the Supreme Court to the Senate and that conviction require a two-thirds majority.

The most difficult "postponed matter" was election of the President. From the beginning of the Convention there had been little dispute about his importance, but agreement could never be reached on how he would be elected. So long as a consensus prevailed that he be chosen by the Legislature, most delegates felt he should serve a rather long term and be ineligible for reelection to prevent undue legislative influence on him. Madison, Wilson, and some other leaders favored, at least in theory, direct or indirect election by the people. But a direct popular vote seemed impractical. There was no uniform national franchise, and the Convention had not even attempted to create one. Many of the delegates and other national leaders shared a conviction that the people at large were incapable of making a wise selection. In addition, no system existed to limit candidates to a reasonable number. Finally, some accommodation to the Federal character of the Union was imperative.

The committee on postponed matters offered an ingenious and complex method of election that met widespread approval. Electors would be selected in each State, according to a method chosen by the legislature. The number of electors would equal the State's total of Senators and Representatives. The electors would ballot for two persons, at least one of whom could not be a resident of their State. The votes would be dispatched to the Senate. The person holding a majority of the votes would become President. But what if no candidate received a majority? The Senate would then choose the President from the five candidates who had won the most votes.

The person holding the second highest number of electoral votes would become Vice President; in case of a tie, the Senate would make a choice. This was a new office that many delegates only grudgingly accepted. Its occupant would preside over the Senate; cast the deciding vote there in case of ties; and occupy the
Presidency in the event the incumbent died, resigned, or was otherwise unable to fill the office.

The committee on postponed matters carefully avoided an electoral scheme that would grant absolute power to the people at large to elect the President. Few delegates would allow that, and those who supported the idea knew that most of the States would not. On the other hand, the committee left the way open to the evolution of a form of popular election by allowing the States to determine the method of choosing electors. The small and large States were both pleased with the formula of adding each State's Representatives and Senators to arrive at its electoral vote.

Objections led to some modification of the committee's proposals. Many of the founders feared for the future. They were reasonably certain Washington would be the first President, but they foresaw that it might be difficult to agree upon his successor and the Senate might thus need to make the choice. This would allow it to exercise undue, perhaps even oligarchic, influence. The committee, trying to anticipate this fear, had already stripped the Senate of much of its treaty-making and appointive powers by shifting basic authority in these areas to the President.

Now, after a vigorous debate, the Senate lost its prerogative of choosing the President in cases where no candidate had a majority. The Convention was in a quandary again because the small States bitterly opposed election by the House. At Sherman's suggestion, a fresh crisis was avoided by obtaining agreement that the House of Representatives would indeed choose the President in the event none of the five leading candidates had won a majority. Each State, however, would have only one vote regardless of its number of Representatives.

The trying issue of the authority and election of the President was at last resolved. The committee on postponed matters had given him larger powers and reduced his dependence on the Legislature. Although rumors outside the statehouse reported the Convention was considering the establishment of a monarchy, no such thing was in the minds of the majority. Instead, it was determined to balance the three branches of Government so that no one would dominate the others. A strong, independent Executive was sought, not a too-powerful Senate. The intent was to achieve a balance between the Executive and Legislature.

One last compromise remained. The matter of originating
money bills had been debated and tentatively resolved several times. The large States, which would enjoy stronger representation in the lower House, were determined that money bills be initiated there without amendment by the upper. The small States hoped that the Senate, where they would be more powerful, would play a role. It was finally agreed that such bills would originate in the House of Representatives, but would be subject to senatorial amendment.

By the close of business on September 8, review of the work of the committee on postponed matters had been essentially finished. It remained to put the emerging constitution into its final form, approve, and sign it. To this end, another committee, of style, or revision, to put the finishing touches on the work of the Convention, was selected. It consisted of five talented and distinguished members: Chairman William Samuel Johnson, Gouverneur Morris, Madison, King, and Hamilton. These men worked from September 8 to 12. Little is known about their procedures or day-to-day workings. The preponderance of evidence, however, suggests that Gouverneur Morris was the actual "penman," or drafter, of the Constitution.

Meantime, the rest of the delegates had made a few last-minute adjustments in their handiwork. Amendments could be initiated by two-thirds of the Congress or by a constitutional convention if two-thirds of the State legislatures so requested. Proposed amendments would have to be approved by three-fourths of the States, acting through their legislatures or conventions. Some delegates were concerned that the amending process might undo the work of the Convention, but the only specific limitation put on the process at this time was a provision to prevent interference with the slavery compromise so painfully agreed to earlier. Sherman later won a proviso to protect equality of State suffrage in the Senate. Randolph sought in vain to authorize a second convention before the new Government went into effect to consider amendments the States might offer during the ratification process.

The Convention adjourned on September 10 to await the report of the committee of style, and met again the next day, but the report was not ready so another adjournment occurred. The following day, the delegates reassembled, and the committee
We, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, to establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the Blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

Sec. 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Sec. 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every forty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to one vote, and the remaining States shall be entitled to a number of votes which shall be proportioned as nearly as may be, according to their respective numbers, but such representation shall never be equal to that of a State.

The times, places and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each house may provide.

Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings; punish its members for disorderly behavior; and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, except such parts as may be secreted in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

The House of Representatives shall receive, at the time of their appointment, the salaries of their respective offices, but no other emoluments.

James Madison's annotated copy of the first page of the committee of style printing of the Constitution. The second printed version, it was received from Dunlap & Claypoole on September 13. At least 13 annotated originals have survived.
submitted its draft, which was read and sent to the printer. All that remained was to compare the work of the committee with the amended draft given to it and make final corrections.

During the printing process, the rest of the 12th was devoted to discussion of final modifications. By the close vote of six States to four, with one divided, it was decided to reduce the congressional margin needed to override the President’s veto from three-fourths to two-thirds.

The absence of a bill of rights came up once again. Mason, who had authored the Virginia Declaration of Rights, pleaded that such a bill should preface the completed Constitution. Gerry of Massachusetts moved that a committee be appointed to prepare one. But Sherman of Connecticut, objecting, contended that the Constitution did not repeal the State bills of rights, which he felt were sufficient guarantees. Mason responded that the laws of the United States under the Constitution were to be supreme and might therefore negate State enactments. Despite this argument, the delegates, as a whole, seemed to fear that, though only a few hours might be required to write such a bill, weeks of debate would be needed to obtain its approval. So, by a vote of 10 States to none, with Massachusetts absent, a bill of rights was rejected.

This proved to be the most serious mistake made during the Convention. When debates over the ratification began, objections were raised everywhere to the absence of a bill of rights, and several States considered making their ratification contingent upon the speedy addition of one. They contented themselves with suggesting amendments, however, and the First Congress moved rapidly to remedy this defect.

From September 13 to 15 the delegates carefully reviewed the finished document and made some changes, many editorial in nature. Some 60 copies, in four pages, had been returned by the printer; it was the second printed version of the Constitution. Ably performing its assignment, the committee of style had reduced 23 articles to seven and smoothed wording here and there, but had made only two substantive modifications.

Fatefully, but unintentionally, the opening phrase of the preamble had been revamped so that it spurred the cause of nationalism. The committee of detail’s version, approved by the Convention earlier, had read “We the People of the States . . .” and then had listed each of the 13 States. The committee of style
Nationalists Elbridge Gerry (left) and George Mason (right) had almost perfect attendance records at the Convention, played influential roles in the proceedings, objected to the lack of a bill of rights in the Constitution, and refused to sign.

had altered it to read as follows: "We the People of the United States . . . ." The phrase "... in order to form a more perfect Union" was also added. The States were not specified.

The new phrase had the effect of making it seem to appear that sovereignty was placed in the people of the United States rather than in the States. But this was not the actual reason for the change. The earlier version had been predicated on the assumption that all the States of the Confederation would need to approve the new Government before it could be established and they were therefore named in the preamble. But, after the Convention's momentous decision to rely on ratification by nine States, it was not known if all the States would ratify. Furthermore, the delegates could hardly speak for the two States not present.

The second alteration made by the committee of style was at the urging of King of Massachusetts. Seeking to guard property rights, it forbade the States from passing laws that might impair the obligation of contracts.

Although the committee made only these two basic changes, the Convention made several dozen, most of them minor clarifications
Secretary Jackson’s official record of the last day’s voting.
or changes of wording. Aside from those, the delegates shifted the power to appoint a national Treasurer from Congress to the President. They also prohibited the Chief Executive from receiving any emolument except his salary from the national Government. As with the earlier provision specifying that the Treasury would pay Congressmen, this one was designed to lessen any dependence national officials might have on the States of their origin. In addition, the amending process was revised to provide that future constitutional conventions might be held should two-thirds of the State legislatures so request.

Other modifications were rejected during the last 3 days. Among these were Franklin’s proposal that the Government should have the express power to build canals; Madison and Charles Pinckney’s suggestion that it be empowered to establish a national university; an effort to reinsert a two-thirds vote requirement for the passage of navigation laws; and Madison’s recommendation that the Government have the power to incorporate businesses for the purpose of supporting internal improvements. An attempt to insert the principle of the freedom of the press was set aside as unnecessary. Randolph repeated his call for a second constitutional convention to consider amendments that might be offered by the States, but he met deaf ears.

Late in the afternoon of Saturday, September 15, the States voted unanimously to accept the Constitution, directed the printer to make the appropriate revisions in the type that had been set on September 13, and ordered the engrossing of the finished product.

Late Saturday evening or Sunday it was undoubtedly Secretary Jackson who obtained the engrossing services of Jacob Shallus, assistant clerk of the Pennsylvania General Assembly, which had been meeting since September 4 in the room above that used by the Convention. Shallus was apparently provided with a corrected copy of the report of the committee of style and a revised text of the last two articles (dealing with ratification) of the report of the committee of detail. These two articles appeared as the fifth, or last, page (“resolution of transmittal” or the “ratification notice”) of the Constitution. Shallus worked hurriedly over the remaining part of the weekend, and apparently received $30 for his effort. Possibly some unidentified person prepared the decorative lettering “We the People” and the numbered “Article” heads.
ON Monday, September 17, the Convention reconvened for the signing. That morning, 41 of the 55 delegates who had participated were present. After someone, probably Secretary Jackson, read the document aloud, Franklin obtained permission to speak. Because of his infirmity, however, Wilson read his speech for him. It sought to conciliate the delegates and unite them all in signing the instrument. Franklin admitted he did not approve of several parts of it, but averred that in the fullness of time he might come to favor them. In any case, no one would be completely satisfied and the document was the best that could be achieved. Furthermore, the public good required its acceptance.

At the end of his speech, Franklin offered a motion, conceived by Gouverneur Morris, that was intended to cajole some

"The Adoption of the Constitution" by J. B. Stearns, one of several artistic versions of the historic event.
dissenting members to sign—on behalf of their States, not as individuals. For this purpose, the resolution suggested the following wording for the closing block of the Constitution: “Done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present the seventeenth day of September . . . .” Before the vote could be taken, Gorham moved that the stipulation providing for representation in the House not to exceed one Representative for each 40,000 inhabitants be changed to one for each 30,000. King and Carroll offered seconds. Washington rose to give his only speech of the Convention, in favor of Gorham’s proposal, which passed unanimously.

Attention was again turned to Franklin’s resolution. But, prior to the vote, one final bit of debate occurred. Randolph and Gerry reiterated their objections to the Constitution and explained they would refuse to sign it, as they and Mason had done in the previous session. Blount said he, too, opposed much of the document, but would underwrite it to demonstrate the unanimity of the States. After various other delegates gave their opinion on the subject, Franklin’s motion passed by a vote of 10 States to none, with South Carolina divided. King moved to destroy the Convention’s papers or to deposit them with its president; the Convention voted to turn them over to Washington for safekeeping until Congress ordered their disposition.

About this time, Shallus, who likely was waiting outside the room, engrossed the closing block, probably before the signing though it is possible he did so afterward. To the left of the block, he also inscribed an errata statement, which included reference to the change from 40,000 to 30,000 inhabitants and three minor changes or interlineations. One of the latter (an interlineated “the”) referred to the wrong lines; and another interlineated “the,” between lines 51 and 52 of the second page, was not incorporated in the errata statement.

Sometime during the afternoon the signing began. All present except Randolph, Mason, and Gerry, or a total of 38 men, affixed their signatures. Accounting for the 39th name, Read signed at the behest of fellow Delaworean Dickinson, who had left the Convention early because of illness. Washington, as the president of the meeting and delegate from Virginia, penned his name first, at the bottom of the fourth page of text. He was followed by the other delegates in the standard congressional voting order, by
George Washington’s diary, September 13-18, 1787, in which he records his reactions during the final days of the Convention.
Tuesday 18.

Finished what private business
I had to do in the City. This forenoon
Took my leave of these families
in which I had been most intimate.

[signature]
State generally from north to south: New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Hamilton from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. The names were arranged in two columns, the right-hand one being filled out first.

The signature of Hamilton, who also wrote the State names to the left of the block of each delegation as it signed, was misleading for it tended to give the impression that 12 instead of 11 States had approved the document. He was the only delegate from New York present, in an unofficial capacity, and he did not represent a quorum of his delegation as Convention procedures required.

Near the end of the signing, Franklin observed to nearby colleagues that he had noticed a sun and its rays were represented on the back of the president’s chair. Throughout the vicissitudes of the Convention, he said he had been unable to tell whether it was a rising or setting sun. But now, with the signing of the Constitution, he declared “I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting Sun.”

The signing completed, about 4 p.m. the Convention adjourned sine die, or indefinitely. The delegates walked over to the City Tavern for a final dinner and farewells. The question of public response to their work now became the leading issue in the Nation.

THE Constitution—which ultimately emerged from the crucible of debate and conflicting interests—was a bundle of compromises and an imperfect instrument. Of the 39 delegates who subscribed to it, few expressed complete satisfaction with their work. And some even doubted it would endure. The public was even less sanguine. The advocates of the instrument labored for nearly a year before enough States ratified it and made it the law of the land. Yet, once the document went into effect, it soon became the pride and bulwark of the Republic.

In most respects, the Constitution sprang from the American colonial, Revolutionary, and Confederation experiences. For example, the idea that a nation was bound by a constitution that limited and defined the powers of government had long been part of the English political consciousness. But, beginning with the colonial charters, Americans preferred written constitutions,
We the People

Article 1

Section 1. All political power is inherent and unalienable in the people. Government is founded on their will alone.

Section 2. The legislative power shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, consisting of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section 3. The Supreme Court shall have the power to interpret the Constitution and, as necessary, to declare acts of Congress or the President unconstitutional.

Section 4. The President shall be the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States.

Section 5. The Congress shall have the power to enforce the provisions of the Constitution through national and international laws.

Section 6. The President shall have the power to veto legislation and to declare war.

Section 7. The Congress shall have the power to declare war and raise armies.

Section 8. The Congress shall have the power to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States.

Section 9. The Congress shall have the power to provide for the common defense and to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.

Section 10. The Congress shall have the power to regulate the sale of public lands and to promote the progress of science and the useful arts.

Section 11. The Congress shall have the power to provide for the collection of taxes and the payment of debts.

Section 12. The Congress shall have the power to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

Section 13. The Congress shall have the power to provide for the organization, arms, equipment, and discipline of the army and navy, and to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces.

Section 14. The Congress shall have the power to provide for the appointment of civil officers, the appointment and removal of military officers, and the appointment and removal of civil officers with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Section 15. The Congress shall have the power to provide for the appointment of civil officers, the appointment and removal of military officers, and the appointment and removal of civil officers with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Section 16. The Congress shall have the power to provide for the appointment of civil officers, the appointment and removal of military officers, and the appointment and removal of civil officers with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Section 17. The Congress shall have the power to provide for the appointment of civil officers, the appointment and removal of military officers, and the appointment and removal of civil officers with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Section 18. The Congress shall have the power to provide for the appointment of civil officers, the appointment and removal of military officers, and the appointment and removal of civil officers with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Section 19. The Congress shall have the power to provide for the appointment of civil officers, the appointment and removal of military officers, and the appointment and removal of civil officers with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Section 20. The Congress shall have the power to provide for the appointment of civil officers, the appointment and removal of military officers, and the appointment and removal of civil officers with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Section 21. The Congress shall have the power to provide for the appointment of civil officers, the appointment and removal of military officers, and the appointment and removal of civil officers with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Section 22. The Congress shall have the power to provide for the appointment of civil officers, the appointment and removal of military officers, and the appointment and removal of civil officers with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Section 23. The Congress shall have the power to provide for the appointment of civil officers, the appointment and removal of military officers, and the appointment and removal of civil officers with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Section 24. The Congress shall have the power to provide for the appointment of civil officers, the appointment and removal of military officers, and the appointment and removal of civil officers with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Section 25. The Congress shall have the power to provide for the appointment of civil officers, the appointment and removal of military officers, and the appointment and removal of civil officers with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Section 26. The Congress shall have the power to provide for the appointment of civil officers, the appointment and removal of military officers, and the appointment and removal of civil officers with the advice and consent of the Senate.
Constitution of the United States (second page).
Constitution of the United States (third page).
Constitution of the United States (fourth, or signature, page).
Constitution of the United States (fifth, and last, page, known as the “Resolution of Transmittal to the Continental Congress”).
which both citizens and officials could refer to for guidance. Liberties were not to be trusted to the benevolence of rulers, and the discretion of magistrates and legislators was to be restricted to fixed principles. Government was regarded as a necessary evil that needed to be circumscribed.

In other words, the basic institutions of constitutionalism were being established long before the War for Independence and the drafting of the first State (1775-80) constitutions, the Articles of Confederation (1778), and Federal (1787) Constitution. These institutions were reflected in the royal charters, concessions by the King and royal proprietors, and legislative acts initiated by the people's representatives. All these recognized the basic importance of personal liberties in written form.

The system of checks and balances, which the framers utilized to prevent the dominance of any one branch of the Government over any other and to maintain stability between the States and the national Government, was traceable to the ideas of the French political theorist Baron Charles D. Montesquieu and to the English conception that a balance of power among the King, the aristocracy, and the House of Commons prevented the undue ascendency of any one group or majority. Also affecting the Constitution were other aspects of English law and thought, especially the ideas of John Locke. Included among those was the belief of apostles of the Enlightenment that natural laws governed man as well as the universe. Various additional European influences and Greek and Roman political concepts also made their mark on the Constitution.

Within that framework, however, the instrument was the product of a body of men who were experienced in self-government and were practical politicians. Confronting a definite and unique situation, for the most part they shunned abstract political speculation, though they drew on the lessons of history and political theory. Principle, expedience, and compromise all played roles, and their interplay was incredibly complex. A new frame of government was created that in its totality embodied much that was unprecedented and that has served as a model for constitutions since established by various other countries.

Considering all the difficulties they encountered in fashioning the Constitution, its makers could not conceivably have covered all basic topics nor treated those they did without ambiguity. In
Many of the ideas expressed in the Constitution are traceable to European thinkers. Two of those who exerted the greatest influence were John Locke (left) and Baron Charles D. Montesquieu (right).

many cases, the ambiguity was deliberate to prevent further disagreement in the Convention.

Above all, the framers could not be expected to be visionary enough to foresee and address all major matters that might be of future concern to the United States, especially subsequent political, economic, and social complexities. Many questions were left to be arbitrated and answered over the course of time. For example, the founders did not furnish mechanisms for the acquisition of new territory, establish specific terms for the admission of new States, specify the number of judges who would sit on the Supreme Court, or indicate what major departments should be created. While the framers extended the powers of Congress by specific grants to the maximum degree they felt was safe, by means of the “general welfare” and “elastic” (“necessary and proper”) clauses they made possible augmentation of the enumerated powers of Congress. The broad definition of Presidential responsibilities has also allowed a similar amplification. To provide for reform, omissions, unforeseen factors, and changes, the Founding Fathers offered a system of amendments.

Other revisions or additions have been made by legislation or
custom—in the "Unwritten Constitution." This includes such elements as the power of the Supreme Court to decide on the constitutionality of Federal and State laws, a practice implied in the Constitution but originated by Chief Justice John Marshall; and the establishment of the Presidential Cabinet, a group of advisers made up of the heads of executive departments. The 22d amendment, which prohibits the President from serving more than two terms, is an example of a custom once part of the Unwritten Constitution that has been incorporated into the document.

This elasticity, or capacity for expansion, while making it certain that interpretation of the Constitution would generate disputation over the years, has at the same time allowed it to adjust to changing circumstances and endure throughout the decades.

During that time, the instrument, one of the oldest written charters of government, has won the laudation of the world. British Prime Minister William Gladstone effusively called it the "most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man." William Pitt, the younger, who had occupied the same office, said the document would be the "pattern for all future constitutions and the admiration of all future ages." But signer Robert Morris provided a more realistic appraisal: "While some have boasted [the Constitution] as a work from Heaven, others have given it a less righteous origin. I have many reasons to believe that it is the work of plain, honest men, and such, I think, it will appear."

WORKING late on the night of September 17 and possibly into the morning hours to make the final revisions in the type he had been holding since September 13, the printer had available for Secretary Jackson on the morning of the 18th a large quantity, apparently 500, of official six-page copies of the Constitution. For about a day, this version, which contained one error (1708 instead of 1808 in Article V), was the only printed one.

Secretary Jackson departed on the morning of the 18th for New York, where he arrived the next afternoon. The following day, he transmitted to Secretary Charles Thomson of the Continental Congress the engrossed copy of the Constitution; the accompanying documents, including George Washington's letter of transmit-
We have the heart-felt pleasure
to inform our fellow citizens that
the Federal Convention adjourned
yesterday, having completed
the object of their deliberations.
And we hear that Major W. Jack-
son, the secretary of that honor-
able body, leaves this city for New-
York, this morning, in order to
lay the great result of their proceed-
ings before the United States in
Congress.
A correspondent expresses his concern, that any
premature public announcement of the result
the meeting may be premature, that it
will never be adopted by the legis-
lature, as the same principle would unfor-
tunately to go again the door to the accounts
for debtors, and other necessary accounts
upon the public, which are arrested and excluded from these
laws, by the United States.
A National Print of His Excellency GENERAL
WASHINGTON, done by CHARLES WILSON PEAR
from a portrait which he has painted
from the Sitting of the Convention. the same is shown
the belt that has been executed
by him. This is one of an intended series of prints, to be taken from Mr. Paul's plate of portrait
painting of Washington's portrait, published in the late
publication. Those of His Excellency Luther Franklin and
the Honorable the Marquis de Lafayette, have been recently published.
The price of each plate, for a neat oval frame, (large enough
to accommodate four or five dollars for the portrait, and a dollar
for the frame.) A larger size will be returned to those who request it.
To Charles W. Peale, at the corne of Third and Lombard.


University of Pennsylvania,
August 20, 1837.

The Medical Lectures
will begin on the first Monday of November.

Robert Balf,
HAS this day imported in the
Harmony, Captains White, from London, a
crate of genuine Red Peruvian Bark.
He will receive by the next vessel from London, a
full supply of Irish Drugs, Medicines, and Shop For-
rnitures, to complete his apparatus till next spring.
Sept. 12
01
To be seen near the new Chapel,
A young Kitten,
Of the burnt coat; the head and shoulders like a cat, the
bands part like a rabbit, and has two tails.
Children one penny, almost grown children 2d, gentlemen
and ladies what they please.

For Norfolk,
(Turgis)
The S.S. ELEANOR,
John Bridges, Master.

TOLIA in five days.
For freight or passage apply to the
Captains of vessels.

FIRST NOTICE.
In the Cafe de Joseph Deane,
WHEREIN a commission of bankrupt is
appointed and forth with for Joseph Deane, of the city of Philadelphia, merchant; and he having, declar-
ed a bankrupt, is hereby required to surrender him-
self to the commissioners below named, or the major part of them, on Thursday the 15th
day of September next, on Thursday the 15th
day of October next, or on Tuesday the 15th
day of next month, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon
of each of the said days, at the State-house in the city of Phi-
adelphia, and make a full discovery and declaration of his facts and affairs, and when and where the creditors are to
meet prepared to prove their debts at the present
meeting to call said creditors; and at the last meeting the
creditor is required to attend his examination.
All persons indebted to the said bankrupt, or who
have any of his effects, are not to pay or deliver the
same to whom the commissioners shall appoint, but give notice to the said creditors.
By Order of the Commissioners.
JOHN JENNINGS, Clerk.
Offer to Wathen's, on the 15th of October.

For London,
The Ship HARMONY,
John With, Master.

JOSEPH gentlemen who are ap-
pointed to receive subscriptions for the encour-
agement of American manufacturers, are requested to collect the money from the subscribers, which they may have received into the hands of John Allen, Esquire, treasurer, as soon as possible.
By direction of the Board.
Geo. Fox, Sec'y.
The Fox agent, or passage apply to the Commander on board Mowbray's wharf, or to

Irlin Linnns,
Jeff arrived in the Harmony and Fregia from London, and
for A P. E. by
Rof and Vaughan.

Prichard and Hall,
To be had at Prichard's Book Store, and Circulat-
ing Library, in Market street.
(Nearly bound and indexed—Price 50)

AGLERINE SPY
In Pennsylvania:
Delays the procuring correspondence between Mr. Measor, the
current from the satellite parts, resident in the neighborhood, to the subscribers in America, nect

A Philadelphia newspaper's account of the adjournment of the Convention.
tal; and undoubtedly the official printed copies. That same day, the engrossed or one of the printed copies was read to Congress, but it took no action and set the 26th as the day on which the instrument would be considered.

Meantime, the Constitution had apparently been read to the public for the first time, and the Philadelphia newspapers had been busy. At the September 18 meeting of the Pennsylvania assembly, in the east room on the second floor of Independence Hall, Speaker Thomas Mifflin read it before the legislators and numerous spectators. Although no copies have survived, possibly the *Evening Chronicle* published the document on Tuesday evening, September 18. All other five newspapers in the city definitely did the next day. Only the version in Dunlap & Claypoole's *Pennsylvania Packet* contained a "pure" text, for it included the 1708 error. All the other four renditions corrected this mistake and by error or design made additional changes, including those in abbreviation, spelling, and punctuation.

From these have stemmed a proliferation of printings, both in the United States and abroad, that have continued right up to the present day—in newspapers, magazines, broadsides, pamphlets, handbills, leaflets, almanacs, and books.

IN Article VII and in the fifth-page "resolution of transmittal" to the Continental Congress, the Convention provided a procedure for making the Constitution the law of the land. Each State would call a convention, whose delegates would be elected by the voters. After nine of these groups ratified, the new Government could begin operation.

On September 26, 1787, the Continental Congress, including 10 or 12 men who had been in attendance at Philadelphia, began considering the document. A vociferous minority of Members raised numerous objections during 2 days of debate. They charged that the instrument was too sweeping and clearly exceeded the amendment of the Articles of Confederation that had been authorized; criticized omission of a bill of rights; and attacked various details. It was even proposed that a series of amendments be attached to the Constitution before it was submitted to the States. But on September 28 supporters and critics of adoption compromised on a noncommittal forwarding of the new governmental framework without change to the State legislatures, which
The Pennsylvania Packet, and Daily Advertiser.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1787.

[Price Four-Pence.]

The People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common Defence, promote the General Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to Ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE

Sec. 1. ALL legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Sec. 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous Branch of the State legislature.

No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons.

The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct.

The number of representative shall never exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State may have one representative; and the least number of inhabitants shall be computed for the representation; and the number of Congress shall be one for New-Hampshire, two for every State which shall have both a Senate and House of Representatives; and one for every State which shall have neither; but each State shall have one vote.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the Executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Sec. 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in conformance of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be Vacant at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

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

He shall choose the President pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice-President, or of both of them, or if neither of them be present, they shall choose a President for the time being.

He shall have power to preside at the opening of the Senate, and to preside in all cases of personal suspension, except when they shall be suspended from the discharge of their duties by the Senate.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States; but the party so removed shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

Sec. 4. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oaths or affirmations. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted unless a majority shall agree to theconviction, and shall also agree to the sentence of death, unless such sentence shall have been previously directed by the Senate.

Judgment impeachments shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States; but the party so removed shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

Sec. 5. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members; and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from time to time, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner and under such penalties as each house may provide.

Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of either house, be entered on the journal.

Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, except in case of emergency.

Sec. 6. The House of Representatives shall determine the number of representatives, and the basis of representation, according to the most recent enumeration, or according to the census of the year 1800, whenever the right of voting shall exist for any number of persons, in each State, which shall be less than that of a fullHOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, for the term of two years, be entitled to vote at each election, in which any such term shall be less than that of a full HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, for the term of two years, be entitled to vote at each election.

No State shall receive less revenue than the amount of its representation in the House of Representatives; but the Congress may make no law taking away the property of the States, or impairing the obligation of engagements previously entered into by them.

Sec. 7. All law taking revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives, but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.
were to set up the conventions. The copies sent to the States were apparently from a new printing that John Dunlap had subcontracted to John McLean (M'Lean), a New York City newspaper publisher.

DURING the yearlong political struggle that ensued in the States prior to the establishment of the new Government, two distinct factions emerged. The advocates of the Constitution adopted the name "Federalists" and cleverly pinned on their opponents the label "Antifederalists," which had formerly described those who had fought against formation of the Confederation. Realizing that the "Anti" prefix placed them in the role of obstructionists and that they had no positive plan of their own to offer, the Antifederalists not only used the name reluctantly but also often tried to reject it and to transfer it to the Federalists, whom they claimed better deserved it.

With good reason. The so-called Antifederalists were not really opposed to a federation; and many of them, especially those who advocated immediate amendment of the Constitution, believed they were the true defenders of the federal system. Most of them favored preservation of the Confederation. One of their strongest objections to the Constitution was that, in their minds, it established a national rather than a federal Government. For these reasons, they made a vain attempt to claim the Federalist name, which they sometimes even employed in the titles of their tracts or in the pseudonyms they frequently attached to them.

Thus, the two terms are grossly misleading. The Federalists might more aptly have been called "Centralists" or "Nationalists" and the Antifederalists "Federalists" or "States righters." Furthermore, despite the bitterness of the ratification battles, the two designations imply a greater degree of basic antithesis than actually existed. Both sides sought an effective national Government and safeguards against tyranny, but they differed on the efficacy of specific constitutional provisions in achieving those goals. Use of the two labels is also unfortunate in that it falsely indicates a compartmentalization that was lacking. Within each of the two camps, a wide range and strong shades of opinions were manifested and some people switched allegiance.

The composition of the two groups differed in practically every State. A host of geographical, economic, social, and political
factors determined alinement. Although clear-cut divisions were blurred, the Federalists loosely encompassed those whose livelihoods were significantly linked to commerce, such as merchants, shippers, urban artisans, and farmers and planters residing near water transport, as well as members of the professions and creditors. All these groups were mainly concerned about the economic benefits and property safeguards against State actions a stronger central Government would provide. Many of the leaders enjoyed national political experience and had served as officers during the War for Independence. Usually more worldly than their Antifederalist counterparts, many had been educated abroad and were more experienced in foreign affairs.

The Antifederalists tended to be more locally oriented. They included residents of isolated villages and towns, small farmers, frontiersmen, and debtors. These classes usually preferred maximum individual and local autonomy rather than the expansion of governmental power.

Exceptions to these generalizations, however, were numerous. All rich merchants and planters did not necessarily favor the Constitution, nor poor farmers and mechanics oppose it. Nor was the eastern seaboard totally Federalist and the West completely Antifederalist. Sometimes a healthy minority of divergent opinion existed among similar groups within a particular section of a State or region. Several Antifederalists were well-to-do creditors, and some Federalists were heavily in debt. Back-country farmers in Georgia, concerned about the Indian and Spanish threats, backed a powerful central Government. Local circumstances also contributed to the Antifederalist stance of a number of large estate owners in the Hudson River area of New York State.

The Antifederalists were as a whole probably more democratic than the Federalists, but many of the leaders were members of the aristocracy and maintained reservations about democracy; ordinarily only the poorer and less sophisticated Antifederalists espoused it. But neither side used the word "democracy" very often. When the Federalists did so it was usually with scorn; and, when the Antifederalists did so, it was more likely with favor.

The Antifederalists were saddled with numerous disadvantages. They were not only less well organized and united than the opposition, but they were also on the defensive because they were objecting to a bold and comprehensive new plan of government.
Many of them believed some changes in the Articles of Confederation were needed, especially in the field of commerce, but they could not effectively object to all those recommended in the Constitution.

The Antifederalists also had fewer leaders of national stature. They included only six men who had attended the Constitutional Convention: Luther Martin, John F. Mercer, Robert Yates, John Lansing, Jr., George Mason, and Elbridge Gerry. Only the latter two had stayed for its duration though they, too, had not signed the Constitution. Other members of the group were Richard Henry Lee and Benjamin Harrison of Virginia and Samuel Chase of Maryland, all signers of the Declaration of Independence; Gov. George Clinton of New York; and Patrick Henry and James Monroe of Virginia. Like Henry, Lee had been elected to but did not attend the Convention. He chose not to do so because he felt it would be improper for Members of the Continental Congress to take part. He was the author of a powerful statement of the Antifederalist case, *Letters From the Federal Farmer to the Republican*.

On the other hand, in the front rank of the Federalists were practically all the delegates to the Convention, including every one of the signers of the Constitution, among them such preeminent men as Washington, Franklin, Madison, and Hamilton; Randolph, who switched over from the Antifederalist side; signer of the Declaration Benjamin Rush; and diplomat John Jay, Jr.

The cohesive Federalists evolved a concrete program, conducted a vigorous and well-tuned campaign, and benefited from strong newspaper support. Skillfully presenting their case, they wisely chose to emphasize issues on which national consensus could easily be obtained and ignored those that would align section against section, rich against poor, or debtors against creditors. They also worked more quickly than their opponents and organized more effectively. They were more deft in parliamentary maneuvering at the ratifying conventions. The many compromises they had made in the creation of the Constitution made it more defensible and also more acceptable to various groups that might otherwise have opposed it.

But the Federalists, too, faced several problems. They needed to convince the country that a totally new frame of Government was
Title page of the original edition (1787) of Richard Henry Lee’s Letters from the Federal Farmer to the Republican, a leading Antifederalist tract.
needed. And many of those they were trying to convince were not sufficiently aware of the Nation's domestic and international problems and thus did not understand the need for and value of the remedies recommended. A large part of the populace, especially because of the recent clash with Britain, was opposed to any more change, to a strong central Government, and to the imposition of too many controls on State and local governments. Then, too, these governments resented any augmentation of national power at their expense.

The Federalists also faced a significant handicap in that they needed to win the ratification contests in at least nine of the States, and particularly in the large and strategic States of Virginia and New York, as well as Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. The Antifederalists, on the other hand, could thwart the whole effort by winning any five States, and probably could accomplish the same if they won in either New York or Virginia.

The arguments of the Federalists and Antifederalists—voiced and written in speeches, letters to newspaper editors and others, tracts, pamphlets, and at the State conventions—ranged from the theoretical to the practical and from the low-keyed to the highly emotional. Regional, sectional, and individual differences were demonstrated.

The Antifederalists tended to defend the Articles of Confederation, though they felt they needed to be modified, or advocated a weak central government that would allow maximum participation of the people and insured State sovereignty. Most Antifederalists insisted that conditions were not as desperate as the Federalists painted and questioned the need for a drastically new Government. They felt the Constitution was too extreme a remedy for the problems of the Confederation. Thus, if they could not stop ratification of the document entirely, they committed themselves to its immediate revision by a second convention or by amendment.

Other fears were stressed: that many of the framers had ulterior motives, a charge that seemed plausible because of the secrecy of the Convention and the rush to ratify the Constitution; that the proposed new government, especially with its strong Executive and powerful Senate, would be more tyrannical than that of the British had been and would result in a monarchy or aristocratic rule; that, lacking a bill of rights, as the Constitution did, it would
destroy personal liberties; that the checks and balances written into the document were insufficient to protect the rights of State and local governments; that power was being transferred from the many to the few to inhibit or prevent future political change and reform; and that the large States would overpower the small ones.

Patrick Henry, who had declined to serve in the Convention because he “smelt a rat,” began his objections with the first three words of the Constitution. Who, he wondered, were the delegates to say “We the People”? They should have said “We the States.” Otherwise, the Government would no longer be a compact among equal States but a “consolidated, national government of the people of all the states.”

Another charge was that the Convention had ignored or exceeded its instructions from Congress to amend the Articles of Confederation, had abandoned their federal basis, and violated procedures for their amendment with the nine-State ratification requirement. The Federalists were also accused of having ties with foreigners and with being sympathetic to a monarchy.

The Antifederalists rarely mentioned national security or foreign affairs. Even when they did, they did not deny Federalist arguments but contended that the good that might be gained in these fields by the Constitution would be offset by the disadvantages of such great central power and that amendments to the Articles of Confederation could bring about the necessary improvements. There would be enough time to provide an adequate defense once war broke out, and direct federal taxation could be resorted to if the old requisitioning system on the States failed to work.

Another point made by some Antifederalists was that a single government would be unable to rule a country as large and complex as the United States, which was far larger than any earlier federation, without becoming tyrannical. Regional confederations were considered to be more effective.

Some aversion to the Constitution was sectional in nature. For example, the Southern States feared the commerce clause would allow the Northeastern States, which owned and built most of the ships, to control their trade. The maritime States might obtain a monopoly by securing the passage of navigation laws restricting commerce to American ships or of tariffs unfavorable to the South. It was felt, too, that the Senate might use its treaty power
to surrender free navigation of the Mississippi, which was critically important to the region, as well as to the West.

The Federalists, who asserted that the Convention had followed the spirit of its congressional instructions, stressed the deficiencies in the Articles of Confederation. Viewing the Constitution as a workable compromise of divergent opinions and granting that it was not perfect, its advocates held that it was nevertheless vastly superior to the Articles and that subsequent amendments could purge its imperfections. Constitutional supporters, warning that delays in ratification would result in disastrous disunion and that a second convention would likely destroy the agreements already achieved, fought for quick and unconditional ratification.

Denying that the government they proposed would sweep aside States rights, the Federalists pointed out that all powers not specifically granted to it, like the protection of individual rights, were by implication State prerogatives; and that under any system of government large States could usually overpower small ones but that they would be less likely to do so within the framework of a friendly and voluntary union.

As a counter to Antifederalist charges that a federation would not work in such a huge country, the Federalists argued that the larger a federation was the less chance there would be that any of its members could dominate the others. Furthermore, the system devised at Philadelphia, they stated, was a balanced and federal structure in which no one institution or individual could gain undue dominance. It was, therefore, a judicious application of the principles of republicanism.

The Federalists wisely concentrated their fire on three practical issues with broad appeal. The first was national security, which most people agreed was weak under the Articles. Under that instrument, advocates of the Constitution said that, though the Continental Congress could declare war, it could not procure enough money and men to wage it. Direct taxation was required in wartime to obtain sufficient revenue. The standing Army and Navy the Constitution authorized could protect the country from invasion, enhance its prestige, discourage foreign intervention, and perhaps offer an opportunity to drive the British out of the posts in the Great Lakes area as well as to thwart Spanish designs in the Southwest. Some Federalists related the foreign-debt problem to national security. They held that the debt was a
potential source of conflict and might result in attacks on U.S. commerce unless Congress was assured steady revenue, as it would be under the Constitution.

The second issue stressed by the Federalists was the bad economic situation, including the decline in shipbuilding and trade. They said this condition resulted primarily from the incapability of Congress to conclude favorable commercial treaties with other countries or to execute those it had negotiated. As a result, it was difficult to retaliate against foreign-trade restrictions, especially those of the British, or to arrange for American instead of British ships to carry goods.

The Federalists related both the national security and commerce issues to congressional ineffectiveness in meeting its treaty commitments. Unless Congress could help British merchants collect the prewar debts owed to them by Americans, the British could use that excuse to continue occupying the Great Lakes posts. And Britain would likely not agree to a commercial treaty until Congress had the power to speak for all the States.

Thirdly, the Federalists appealed to national pride. Referring to the insults inflicted on U.S. diplomats and appealing to the prevalent Anglophobia, they contended that the increased military power and governmental strength the Constitution afforded would enhance national prestige and elevate the United States in the eyes of other nations. If the document were not adopted, dissolution of the Union was likely and the States as independent entities would possess little power.

But perhaps the most simple and direct pleading of the Federalist cause was the letter Washington sent along with the Constitution when he submitted it to the Continental Congress. Its purpose, he wrote, was the “consolidation of our Union, in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our national existence.”

Arguments were important, but the actual process of ratification involved practical politics.

SOME of the State battles were fierce. Reason sometimes yielded to passion and both sides on occasion resorted to mudslinging and rough-and-tumble tactics. Yet, for the most part, the conventions were democratically conducted.

Giving the Federalists an initial momentum, in December 1787
Delaware, whose ratification notice is reproduced above, was the first State to approve the Constitution, on December 7, 1787.

and January 1788 the conventions of five States promptly ratified the Constitution. In all these cases, opposition was either lacking or ratification action was quick enough to forestall it. The votes in Delaware (December 7), New Jersey (December 18), and Georgia (January 2) were unanimous. Before opposition could be organized, two-thirds of the Pennsylvania convention (December 12) balled for ratification. The Constitution passed in Connecticut (January 9) by a 3 to 1 margin. Except for Pennsylvania, where the vote may not have accurately indicated the opinion of the electorate because of the haste with which the convention was held, Federalist strength was overpowering in these States.

Between February 6 and June 21, 1788, four more conventions ratified the new instrument of Government. The first major test came in Massachusetts. Although he was not a member of the convention, Elbridge Gerry, who had attended the Constitutional Convention for its duration but had refused to sign the document, led the Antifederalists. Federalist leaders included signers of the Constitution Rufus King and Nathaniel Gorham, as well as Caleb Strong. On February 6, after the popular John Hancock and Samuel Adams, both underwriters of the Declaration of Independ-
ence, converted to the Federalist cause, the convention narrowly (187-168) approved ratification, but recommended nine amendments.

All the subsequent States except Maryland were also to propose amendments, many including recommendations for adoption of a bill of rights and a second convention. Exercise of the amendment technique, which obviously required compromise on the part of the Federalists, came at a time when in many places their opponents were suggesting the calling of another convention to consider amendments. Such action would probably have been chaotic, especially if certain States specified the adoption of particular amendments as a condition of ratification. Thus, for the Federalists, the Massachusetts action in merely proposing amendments provided a desirable precedent.

The New Hampshire convention convened in February 1788 but adjourned until June to allow time for further debate in the delegates’ home districts. The tempo of ratification revived,
however, when Maryland (April 28) and South Carolina (May 23) accepted the Constitution by substantial margins.

But people knew the real trials would come in the large States of Virginia and New York. Without their approval, the success of the new Government would be jeopardized. Serious clashes occurred in both places and the votes were close. When the Virginia convention began on June 2, the pro-Federalist delegates believed that their State, the largest and most populous, would fittingly be the ninth to ratify and thus make possible inauguration of the new Government.

Among those arguing the Antifederalist side were George Mason, Patrick Henry, and James Monroe. Their opponents included James Madison, John Marshall, George Wythe, and Edmund Pendleton, as well as Edmund J. Randolph after Madison won him over. One factor that apparently swung over some enemies of the Constitution was the belief that, if it were approved, Washington would likely be the first President. The vote in its favor, on June 26, was close, 89 to 79. But, meantime, 5 days earlier, New Hampshire, where the Federalists won another narrow victory, had become the ninth State to approve the Constitution. This was not known in Virginia until after the final vote there.

Another crucial race took place in New York, where the convention had been meeting since June 17. Hamilton was the chief strategist of the Federalists. Although he felt the Constitution granted insufficient power to the central Government, he was convinced it was the best that could be obtained politically at that time, did not publicly acknowledge the extent of his reservations, and worked diligently and cleverly for adoption.

Hamilton conceived the idea of *The Federalist Papers*. A series of 85 essays first published by the newspapers in 1787–88 and almost immediately reissued in book form, the papers presented one of the most effective statements of the Federalist position and carried considerable weight in the New York battle, as well as in Virginia. Although the essays were issued under a pseudonym, the actual authors were Hamilton, who probably wrote 51; Madison, 26; John Jay, 5; and jointly by Madison and Hamilton, 3.

Gov. George Clinton, who strongly urged a second federal convention, headed the New York Antifederalists. Other leaders were Robert Yates and John Lansing, Jr., who had left the
SUPPLEMENT TO THE
Independent Journal,
New-York, July 2, 1788.

In our Independent Journal of this Morning, we announced the Ratification of the New Constitution by the Convention of Virginia:

For the gratification of our Readers, we publish the following particular, received by this day’s post:—

Ratification of the New Constitution, by the Convention of Virginia, on Wednesday last, by a Majority of 10:---88 for it, 78 against it.

We the delegates of the people of Virginia, duly elected, in pursuance of a recommendation of the General Assembly, and now met in Convention, having fully and fairly investigated and discussed the proceedings of the Federal Convention, and being prepared as well as the most mature deliberation will enable us to decide therein, Do, in the name and on behalf of the people of Virginia, declare and make known, that the powers granted under the Constitution, being derived from the people of the United States, may be reduced by them whenever the same shall be perverted to their injury or oppression, and that every power not granted there by, belongs with them, and at their will. That therefore no right, of any denomination, can be cancelled, abridged, restrained or modified by the Congress, by the Senate, or House of Representatives, acting in any capacity, by the President, or any department or officer of the United States, except in those instances where power is given by the Constitution for those purposes: That among other essential rights, the liberty of conscience, and of the press, cannot be cancelled, abridged, restrained or modified by any authority of the United States.

With these impressions, with a solemn appeal to the searcher of hearts for the purity of our intentions, and under the conviction, that whatsoever imperfections may exist in the Constitution, ought rather to be examined in the mode prescribed therein, than to bring the country into danger by a delay, with a hope of obtaining amendments previous to the ratification:

We the said delegates, in the name and on behalf of the people of Virginia, do by these presents, assent to and ratify the Constitution, recommended on the 17th day of September, 1787, by the Federal Convention, for the government of the United States; hereby announcing to all those whom it may concern, that the said Constitution is binding upon the said people, according to an authentic copy hereunto annexed, in the words following:—

[Here follow a copy of the Constitution]

A letter from Richmond advises, "that a motion for previous amendments was rejected by a majority of 997; but that some days would be passed in considering subsequent amendments, and then, it appeared, from the temper of the Convention, would be recommended."

NEW-YORK Printed by J. and A. McLEAN, Franklin’s Head, No. 24. Harper’s Square.
Constitutional Convention early, at least partially because of objections to its nationalistic tenor.

Hamilton was forced to wage an uphill fight, characterized by threats and bargains. At the beginning of the convention, the

Order of Procession,

In honor of the establishment of the Constitution of the United States.

To parade precisely at Eight o’Clock in the Morning, of FRIDAY, the 4th of JULY, 1788, proceeding along Third Street to Callowhill Street, thence to Fourth Street, then down Fourth Street to Market Street, thence to the Grounds in Front of City Hall.

2. Coachmen.
3. Cabinet and Chair-makers.
4. Carpenters.
5. Coach-makers.
7. Rug-makers.
8. Watch-makers.
10. Tailors.
11. Furniture-makers, including Piano and Chair-makers.
13. Painters.
14. Landscapers.
15. Wool-carders and Weavers.
16. Ironmongers.
17. Wood-chips.
18. Camera-owners.
19. Plumbers.

Philadelphia, Printed by HALL and SELLERS.
Antifederalists were clearly in the majority, though New York City had sent a Federalist delegation. Hamilton, arguing that conditional ratification would endanger the State by keeping it out of the Union, fought a delaying action and managed to postpone a final vote until the anticipated news arrived that Virginia and New Hampshire had ratified. The balance of power then swung to the Federalists. On July 26, 1788, by a bare margin of 30–27 New York became the 11th State to ratify. But it appended the record number of 32 suggested amendments and sent along various other resolutions, including a vigorous recommendation for a second convention.

Two States that had printed large amounts of paper money and had been active in debtor relief, North Carolina and Rhode Island, did not ratify until after the new Government was set up. On August 2, 1788, the former, unaware of the New York decision, overwhelmingly voted to defer action on the Constitution until a second federal convention considered a declaration of rights and other amendments. Influenced by the First Congress' proposal of

The last of 11 allegories in the Massachusetts Centinel, August 2, 1788, that traced the status of ratification.
Americans early revered the Constitution, as evidenced by this magazine sketch in 1788. Cupid presents a copy of the document to Concord, as she approaches the 13-pillared Temple of Liberty, Justice, and Peace. Clio, the Muse of history, kneeling alongside Concord, records the message Cupid is delivering.
the Bill of Rights and other factors, on November 21, 1789, a second North Carolina convention ratified the Constitution.

Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, which had been the lone absentee at the Philadelphia Convention, stayed out of the Union until 1790. During that period, the legislature seven times defeated resolutions calling for a convention. Under threats of economic coercion by the Federal Government and the secession of Providence and other towns, on May 29, 1790, the State narrowly ratified. It was the last of the Thirteen Original States to do so.

For all the passions generated by the ratification battles, most of the Antifederalists gracefully accepted defeat—though their efforts soon won the Bill of Rights. With that exception, they would give the Constitution an opportunity to stand or fall on its own merits. With amendments, it has stood until this day.

NEW HAMPSHIRE’S ratification in June 1788 had fulfilled the nine-State requirement to establish the Government. But, for various reasons, the Continental Congress did not take steps to do so until July 28, or 2 days after New York adopted the instrument. At that time, Congress, meeting in New York City, set dates for the selection and meeting of electors. In September it named New York City as the temporary Capital.

Not restricted by specific constitutional requirements, the State legislatures chose the dates for the election of their Representatives and Senators and made arrangements for selecting electors. In accordance with the timetable fixed by the Continental Congress, on February 4, 1789, the Presidential electors cast their ballots. The formal counting of the electoral votes was delayed pending the opening of the First Congress, which was scheduled to meet on March 4. But it was not until April 6 that Congress reached a quorum and began sitting at City (later Federal) Hall in New York City, where the Continental Congress had been meeting. That same day, the electoral votes were counted before a joint congressional session. George Washington was unanimously elected as President, and John Adams as Vice President. At Federal Hall on April 30 Washington was inaugurated. The new Government, the creation of the Constitution, was underway.

SINCE 1787 the Constitution has been considerably modified to perfect, amplify, and keep it abreast of changing times. The main
mechanisms have been amendments and judicial interpretation. The amending process is outlined in Article V of the Constitution. Amendments may be proposed to the States either by Congress, based on a two-thirds vote in both Houses; or by a convention called by Congress at the request of the legislatures of two-thirds of the States. Ratification requires the approval of three-fourths of the States, either by their legislatures or special conventions as Congress may direct. No national constitutional convention has ever been called, and the only amendment ratified by special State convention was the 21st.

The number of amendments to date totals 26, the first 10 of which (Bill of Rights) were enacted shortly after ratification of the original document. When this volume went to press, another had
been passed by Congress and was being actively considered by the States. Those that have been accepted have survived a grueling process. Thousands of proposals for amendments of all sorts—praiseworthy and frivolous, realistic and impractical, even including suggestions for a virtually new Constitution—have been recommended over the years by Congressmen, political scientists, and others. But these have either failed to win the favor of Congress or the States.

Of the successful amendments, some, reflecting changing
national aspirations and mores as well as fundamental social transformations, have produced governmental reforms and social changes. Others have refined the constitutional structure for such purposes as democratizing the political system, improving its functioning, or relieving associated abuses. The first 10 amendments came into being because of fear of national governmental tyranny.

Except for the Bill of Rights, until the last half-century amendments have been relatively rare. For 122 years after 1791, when the Bill of Rights was adopted, only five (two in the early years of the Republic and three in the aftermath of the Civil War) were enacted—or an average of one about every 25 years. Since 1913, on the other hand, the Nation has approved 11, or one every 5½ years or so. The increased frequency in recent times is doubtless to a considerable extent attributable to the rapidity of social and economic change.

From the beginning regarded as virtually a part of the original Constitution, the Bill of Rights was mainly designed to prevent the Federal Government from infringing on the basic rights of citizens and the States. Essentially a reassertion of the traditional rights of Englishmen as modified and strengthened by the American experience, these measures had already been delineated in various forms—in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787; the declarations, or bills, of rights that had been adopted by most States, either separately or as part of their constitutions; the Declaration of Independence (1776); the Declaration of Rights that the First Continental Congress had issued in 1774; and early colonial manifestoes.

During the Constitutional Convention and the ratification struggle in the States, many objections had been made to the exclusion from the Constitution of similar guarantees. When ratifying, many States expressed reservations and suggested numerous amendments, especially a bill of rights. North Carolina, decrying the absence of a declaration of rights in the Constitution, even refused to ratify in 1788 and did not do so until the following year, after the new Government had been established and by which time such provisions had been proposed for addition to the instrument.

Washington called attention to the lack of a bill of rights in his Inaugural Address, and the First Congress moved quickly to
correct this fault. Madison, in a prodigious effort, synthesized most of the amendments the States had recommended into nine propositions. The House committee, on which he sat, expanded these to 17. The Senate, with House concurrence, later reduced the number to 12. Meantime, the decision had been made to append all amendments to the Constitution rather than to insert them in the text at appropriate spots, as Madison had originally desired.

By December 1791 the States had ratified the last 10 of the 12 amendments, which the Congress had submitted to them in September 1789. The first of the two that were not sanctioned proposed a future change in the numerical constituency of Representatives and in their number; the second would have deferred any changes in congressional salaries that might be made until the term of the succeeding Congress.

The first amendment, covering the free expression of opinion, prohibits congressional interference with the freedom of religion, speech, press, assembly, and petition. Amendments two through four guarantee the rights of citizens to bear arms for lawful purposes, disallow the quartering of troops in private homes without the consent of the owner, and bar unreasonable searches and seizures by the Government.

Amendments five, six, and eight essentially provide protection against arbitrary arrest, trial, and punishment, principally in Federal criminal cases though over the course of time the judiciary has held that many of the provisions also apply in State cases. Mainly to prevent harassment of the citizenry by governmental officials, these measures establish the right of civilian defendants to grand jury indictments for major crimes; prohibit "double jeopardy," or duplicate trial, for the same offense, as well as self-incrimination; deny deprivation of "life, liberty, or property without due process of law"; insure the right of the accused to have legal counsel, be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, subpoena witnesses on his own behalf, confront the witnesses against him, and to receive an expeditious and public jury trial; and ban excessive bails and fines, as well as "cruel and unusual punishments." The fifth amendment also prohibits the Government seizure of private property under the doctrine of eminent domain without proper compensation.

The seventh amendment guarantees the right of a jury trial in virtually all civil cases.
Amendment nine states that the rights enumerated in the Constitution are not to be "construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people." The 10th amendment, somewhat different from the other nine because of its allusion to the States, reserves to them and the people all "powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States."

Contrary to a popular misconception, the main body of the Constitution also contains various safeguards similar to those in the Bill of Rights that protect citizens and the States against unreasonable actions. Article I prohibits the Government from suspending the writ of habeas corpus, which would otherwise allow arbitrary arrest; and both the national Government and the States from enacting bills of attainder (legislative punishment of crimes) and ex post facto laws (retroactively making acts criminal). Article III requires a jury trial for Federal crimes, and limits the definition of treason and penalties for the offense.

Article IV guarantees that the acts, records, and judicial proceedings of one State are valid in all the others; grants to citizens of every State the privileges and immunities of the others as defined by law; warrants the representative government and territorial integrity of the States; and promises them the protection of the national Government against foreign invasion and domestic insurrection. Article VI excludes religious tests for officeholding.

Nevertheless, it is the Bill of Rights that has become the main bulwark of the civil liberties of the American people. These measures, which make the Constitution a defender of liberty as well as an instrument of governmental power, represented another swing of the pendulum. The Articles of Confederation had created a weak league of semi-independent States. As a result, citizens looked primarily to the States for protection of their basic rights, which were defined in constitutions or separate declarations. Then, the Constitution provided a strong central Government. This was counterbalanced by the Bill of Rights, which allowed continuance of such a Government with full regard for the rights of the people.

In recent decades, the Bill of Rights has acquired increased significance to all citizens because the Supreme Court has ruled that many portions of it are applicable to the States as well as to the Federal Government.
The 11th amendment, which was passed by Congress in 1794 and ratified the next year, was engendered by State objections to the power of the Federal judiciary and represents the only occasion to date whereby an amendment has limited its authority. Curtailing Federal power in actions brought against individual States, the measure denies the Federal courts jurisdiction over private suits brought against one State by citizens of another or of a foreign country.

The 12th amendment, which won the approbation of Congress
in 1803 and State approval the following year, is a constitutional accommodation to the formation of political parties. Many of the Founding Fathers, who had themselves not been immune to divisiveness, had feared their growth, which they believed would stimulate factional strife. But parties soon proved to be necessary vehicles for the Nation’s political life.

As they grew, the method of electing the President and Vice President as originally set forth at Philadelphia became cumbersome and controversial, if not practically unworkable. The election of 1796 produced a President and Vice President of different parties. In 1800 a tied electoral vote occurred between members of the same party, and the House of Representatives was forced to choose a President. These two experiences created the necessary sentiment to modify the electoral process. The principal provision of the 12th amendment required future electors to cast separate ballots for the two executives.

For more than six decades after the ratification of the 12th, no further amendments were enacted. Then the Civil War crisis created three, the so-called “national supremacy” amendments, which congressional Radical Reconstructionists proposed. The 13th, sent out to the States in 1864 and ratified in 1865, was the first attempt to use the amending process to institute national social reform. It followed upon Lincoln’s limited and preliminary action in the Emancipation Proclamation (1863) to free the slaves. Although the amendment declared slavery and involuntary servitude (except as punishment for crimes) to be unconstitutional, it did not provide blacks with civil-rights guarantees equal to those of whites.

During the Reconstruction Period, therefore, two more additions to the Constitution became the law of the land. Their main objectives were to insure the rights of black men to full citizenship. Ultimately, however, because of their broad phraseology, the two amendments have come to have significant repercussions for all citizens. The 14th, proposed in 1866 and ratified 2 years later, decrees that all persons born or naturalized in the United States are citizens of the Nation and of the State in which they live. The legislation also forbids the States from making any laws that abridge the “privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States,” deprive them of “life, liberty, or property, without due process of law,” or deny them the “equal protection of the laws.”
The amendment also expanded representation in the House of Representatives from that contained in the original Constitution (the free, essentially white, population plus three-fifths of all slaves) to include all persons except untaxed Indians. Another provision stated that the representation of States arbitrarily denying the vote to adult men would be reduced. The measure also barred from Federal officeholding those Confederates who had held Federal or State offices before the Civil War, except when Congress chose to waive this disqualification; and ruled invalid all debts contracted to aid the Confederacy as well as claims for compensation covering the loss or emancipation of slaves.

The most important goal for which the amendment was added to the Constitution, the legal equality of blacks, was not fully realized until the 24th outlawed the poll tax in 1964. The attempt to limit the political participation of ex-Confederate leaders failed. In recent years, however, the Supreme Court has often used the amendment to achieve fuller State conformance with the Bill of Rights. Furthermore, judicial interpretations have broadened the meaning of such key phrases as “privileges or immunities,” “due process,” and “equal protection of the laws.” Congress has also passed new enforcement legislation.

Despite the legislative efforts of the Radical Republicans, black men continued to be denied equal voting rights. In 1869, therefore, Congress passed and the next year the States ratified the 15th amendment. Attempting to protect the rights of ex-slaves it explicitly stated: “The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.”

Not until 1913 was the Constitution again changed. Prior to that time, Congress had only enjoyed the power to levy direct taxes in proportion to the populations of the States. During the late 19th century, the need for a Federal income tax began to become apparent to many people in the country, but the Supreme Court on various occasions declared such a tax to be unconstitutional. By 1909 support for it was strong enough to warrant passage of the 16th amendment. Many Congressmen who voted affirmatively felt the States would never approve the action. Yet, 4 years later, they ratified it. The income tax quickly became a principal source of Federal revenue and facilitated governmental expansion.

Later in 1913 the States approved another amendment, which
Women's suffrage parades, such as this one in Washington, helped pave the way for the 19th amendment (1919).

Congress had sanctioned the previous year. The 17th authorized the direct election of Senators by the voters rather than by State legislatures, as specified in the Constitution. The original method had long been a target of reformers. Numerous times between 1893 and 1911 the House of Representatives proposed amendments calling for popular selection of Senators. The Senate, however, apparently concerned among other things about the tenure of its Members and resenting the invasion of their prerogatives by the lower House, refused to give its stamp of approval to the legislation. But, by the latter year, pressure for change had
become intense, particularly because the popular image of the Senate had become that of a millionaires' club divorced from the interests of the people. That same year, an Illinois election scandal helped turn the tide. Also, many States had by that time adopted senatorial preference primaries as an expression of popular sentiment to the legislators.

The highly controversial "prohibition" amendment, the 18th, cleared Congress in 1917 and was ratified 2 years hence. It

Public concern over the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, whose funeral cortege is shown leaving the Capitol, and the extended sicknesses of Presidents Woodrow Wilson and Dwight D. Eisenhower influenced passage of the 25th amendment (1967).
prohibited the "manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes" and their importation into or exportation from the United States. This legislation was the result of nearly a century of temperance efforts to eliminate or limit use of alcoholic beverages. But unsuccessful enforcement and opposition by large elements of the public, particularly in urban areas, soon doomed the "noble experiment." In the only instance when an amendment has been repealed by another, the 21st, which was both proposed and ratified in 1933, voided the 18th. It returned control of alcohol consumption to States and local jurisdictions, which could choose to remain "dry" if they so preferred.

The persistence of reformers likewise produced the 19th amendment, passed in 1919 and ratified the next year. Equal voting rights in Federal and State elections were granted to women. Especially after the Civil War, they had begun to improve their legal status, and some States in the West had granted them the right to vote. During the early years of the 20th century, more States extended the privilege. These and other factors, coupled with the efforts of suffragists, facilitated adoption of the amendment. It marked a major step toward fuller political equality for women.

Congress gave its imprimatur to the so-called "lame duck" amendment, the 20th, in 1932 and it became effective the next year. Designed mainly to hasten and smooth the post-election succession of the President and Congress, it specified that the terms of the President and Vice President would begin on January 20 following the fall elections instead of on March 4 and required Congress to convene on January 3, when the terms of all newly elected Congressmen were also to begin. Correcting another defect in the Constitution was the stipulation that the Vice President-elect would succeed to the highest office in the land in the event the President-elect died before his inauguration or no President-elect had qualified.

Proposed to the States by Congress in 1947, the 22d amendment was ratified in 1951. Aimed in large part at preventing the repetition of the unprecedented four terms to which Franklin D. Roosevelt had been elected as President, it limited the service of Chief Executives to a maximum of the traditional two full terms. Vice Presidents succeeding to the office were to be restricted to one term if the unexpired portion of that to which they succeeded was
The 25th amendment to the Constitution, which was added to the Constitution when the incumbent, Harry S Truman, who was serving when this amendment was added to the Constitution, was exempted from it, though he did not choose to run for a second full term.

District of Columbia residents won the right to vote for Presidential electors in the 23rd amendment, which gained
congressional approval in 1960 and was ratified the following year. It was part of the endeavor to obtain for D.C. residents political rights equal to those of citizens of the States. Although this step fell short of the "home rule" sought for the District, it was a major step toward more extensive political participation by its citizens.

The 100th anniversary of the Constitution occasioned celebrations across the land and such special tributes as a "Centennial March."
The civil-rights struggle of black people in the 1950's and early 1960's resulted in the 24th amendment, which was proposed in 1962 and ratified 2 years later. It outlawed poll taxes as a prerequisite for voting in Federal elections. This device had long been used in some places to limit political participation, especially by blacks.

The long illnesses of Presidents Woodrow Wilson and Dwight D. Eisenhower and the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, coupled with the enormous contemporary importance of the Presidency, gave rise to the 25th amendment. It was passed by Congress in 1965 and ratified in 1967. Steps to be followed in the event of Presidential disability were outlined, and a method was established for expeditiously filling vacancies in the office of Vice President. When there is no Vice President, the President will nominate a replacement, who needs only approval by a congressional majority. In the event of Presidential disability, the Vice President will temporarily hold the office of Acting President.

The 26th amendment, proposed and ratified in 1971, provided another extension of the franchise. In recognition of the increasing contributions of youth to American society, the minimum voting age in all elections was lowered to at least 18 years. Although a few States, in accordance with their discretionary rights at the time, had earlier reduced the voting age from 21, this constitutional addition made the national franchise uniform in terms of minimum age.

When this volume went to press, another amendment, which would ban discrimination based on sex (the "equal rights" amendment), had been proposed to the States, in 1972, but all the required 38 States had not yet ratified it.

DESPITE its numerous advantages, the amendment process has proven to be less than perfect as a vehicle of change. Although the rigorous procedure required to enact amendments has prevented hasty and ill-advised action, it has on occasion delayed the inauguration of badly needed reforms. The brief and sometimes imprecise wording of the amendments, as well as of the Constitution itself, has necessitated prolonged and complex interpretation by the Supreme Court. The public and various governmental organs have on occasion failed to heed or fully execute our highest national law.
"We the People," theme painting and official poster of the Constitution Sesquicentennial Celebration, as rendered by Howard Chandler Christy.
Whatever the flaws in our constitutional system, it enunciates our democratic principles and provides a superlative formula and instrument of Government, which has established its primacy among the efforts of men to govern themselves. Yet the true guardian of our sacred charter of liberties is the vigilance of the people.
Part Two

Signers of the Constitution:
Biographical Sketches
LIKE THE 55 delegates who attended the Constitutional Convention, the 39 signers as a whole were a distinguished body of men who represented an excellent cross section of 18th-century American leadership. Almost all of them were well-educated men of means who were dominant in their communities and States, and many were also prominent in national affairs. Virtually every one had taken part in the Revolution; at least 23 had served in the Continental forces, most of them in positions of command.

The practical political experience of the group was extensive. At the time of the Convention, more than four-fifths, or 33 individuals, were or had been Members of the Continental Congress. Mifflin and Gorham had served as President of the body. The only ones who lacked congressional experience were: Bassett, Blair, Brearly, Broom, Paterson, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney. Six men (Clymer, Franklin, Robert Morris, Read, Sherman, and Wilson) had signed the Declaration of Independence. Five (Carroll, Dickinson, the two Morrices, and Sherman) had affixed their signatures to the Articles of Confederation. But only two, Sherman and Robert Morris, underwrote all three of the Nation's basic documents. Practically all the 39 individuals
enjoyed experience in colonial and State government, Dickinson, Franklin, Langdon, Livingston, Read, and Rutledge as Governors, or State executives, and the majority had held county and local offices.

Among the signers, the range of occupations was wide, and many men simultaneously pursued more than one. Twenty-two were lawyers or had benefited from legal training, though not all of them relied on the profession for a livelihood. In this category were Baldwin, Bassett, Bedford, Blair, Brearly, Dayton, Dickinson, Few, Hamilton, Ingersoll, Johnson, King, Livingston, Madison, Gouverneur Morris, Paterson, the two Pinckneys, Read, Rutledge, Sherman, and Wilson. Some had become judges.

At the time of the Convention, 11 individuals were businessmen, merchants, or shippers: Blount, Broom, Clymer, Dayton, Fitzsimons, Gilman, Gorham, Langdon, Robert Morris, Sherman, and Wilson. Six were major land speculators: Blount, Dayton, Fitzsimons, Gorham, Robert Morris, and Wilson. Eleven speculated in securities on a large scale: Bedford, Blair, Clymer, Dayton, Fitzsimons, Franklin, King, Langdon, Robert Morris, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and Sherman. Eleven owned or managed slave-operated plantations or large farms: Bassett, Blair, Blount, Butler, Carroll, Jenifer, the two Pinckneys, Rutledge, Spaight, and Washington. Madison also owned slaves. Broom and Few were small farmers.

Nine of the men received a substantial part of their income from public office: Baldwin, Bedford, Blair, Brearly, Gilman, Jenifer, Livingston, Madison, and Rutledge. Three had retired from active economic endeavors: Franklin, McHenry, and Mifflin. Franklin and Williamson were scientists, among their array of other activities. McHenry and Williamson were physicians, and Johnson was an educator-university president. Baldwin had been a minister, and Williamson, Madison, and possibly others had studied in this field but had never been ordained.

A few of the signers were rich. Washington and Robert Morris ranked among the Nation's wealthiest men. Carroll, Jenifer, and Mifflin were also extremely well-to-do. The financial resources of the majority of the rest ranged from good to excellent. Among those with the most straitened circumstances were Baldwin, Few, Brearly, Broom, Madison, Paterson, and Sherman, though they all managed to live comfortably.
A considerable number of the men were born into leading families: Blair, Butler, Carroll, Ingersoll, Jenifer, Johnson, Livingston, Mifflin, Gouverneur Morris, both Pinckneys, Rutledge, and Washington. Others were self-made men who had risen from humble beginnings: Few, Franklin, Gorham, Hamilton, and Sherman.

Most of the group were natives of the 13 Colonies. Only seven were born elsewhere: four (Butler, Fitzsimons, McHenry, and Paterson) in Ireland, one (Robert Morris) in England, one (Wilson) in Scotland, and one (Hamilton) in the West Indies. But, if most of the signers were native-born, many of them had moved from one State to another. Reflecting the mobility that has always characterized American life, 13 individuals had already lived or worked in more than one State or colony. They were: Baldwin, Bassett, Bedford, Dickinson, Few, Franklin, Ingersoll, Livingston, the two Morrises, Read, Sherman, and Williamson. Others had studied or traveled abroad.

The educational background of the Founding Fathers was diverse. Some, Franklin for example, were largely self-taught and had received scant formal training. Others had obtained instruction from private tutors or at academies. About half of the individuals had attended or graduated from college, in the present United States or abroad. Some men held advanced and honorary degrees. All in all, the signers were a well-educated group.

Most of them were in the prime of their lives during the Convention, and as a whole they were relatively youthful. The average age was about 45 years. The youngest, Dayton, at 26, was one of three men in their twenties, the others being Spaight and Charles Pinckney. Eleven were in the thirties, 13 in the forties, and 8 in the fifties. Jenifer, Livingston, and Sherman were in the sixties, and Franklin was in his eighties.

For their era, the signers of the Constitution, like those of the Declaration of Independence, were remarkably long-lived. The average age at death was almost 67. Johnson reached 92 years; and Few, Franklin, Madison, and Williamson lived into their eighties. Passing away in their eighth decade were 10 or 11 (because Fitzsimons was either 69 or 70 at the time of his death); and in the sixties, 13 or 14. Seven lived into the fifties, and three into the forties—two of the latter (Hamilton and Spaight) dying as the result of duels. The first to succumb, in 1790, was Franklin; the last, Madison, in 1836.
Most of the individuals married and fathered children. Sherman sired the largest family, numbering 15 by two wives. At least seven (Bassett, Brearly, Johnson, Paterson, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Sherman, and Wilson) married more than once. Three (Baldwin, Gilman, and Jenifer) were lifetime bachelors. In terms of religious affiliation, the men mirrored the overwhelmingly Protestant character of American religious life at the time and were members of various denominations. Only two, Carroll and Fitzsimons, were Roman Catholics.

The later careers of the signers reflected their abilities as well as the vagaries of fate. Most were successful, though five of the men (Fitzsimons, Gorham, Mifflin, Robert Morris, and Wilson) suffered serious financial reverses that left them in or near bankruptcy. Two, Blount and Dayton, were involved in possibly treasonable activities. Yet, as they had done before the Convention, most of the group continued to render outstanding public service, particularly to the new Government they had helped to create.

Washington and Madison became Presidents of the United
States, and King and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney were nominated as candidates for the office. Hamilton, McHenry, and Madison attained Cabinet posts. Sixteen men became U.S. Senators: Baldwin, Bassett, Blount, Butler, Dayton, Few, Gilman, Johnson, King, Langdon, the two Morrises, Paterson, Charles Pinckney, Read, and Sherman. Eleven served in the House of Representatives: Baldwin, Carroll, Clymer, Dayton, Fitzsimons, Gilman, Madison, Charles Pinckney, Sherman, Spaight, and Williamson. Of these, Dayton served as Speaker. Four men (Bassett, Bedford, Brearly, and Few) served as Federal judges, and four more (Blair, Paterson, Rutledge, and Wilson) as Associate Justices of the Supreme Court; Rutledge also held the position of Chief Justice. Four others, King, the two Pinckneys, and Gouverneur Morris, undertook important diplomatic missions for the Nation.

Many other persons held important State positions, including a large number as Governors (Blount, Franklin, Langdon, Livingston, Mifflin, Paterson, Charles Pinckney, and Spaight) and legislators. And most of the signers contributed in many ways to the cultural life of their cities, communities, and States. Not surprisingly, many of their sons and other descendants were to occupy high positions in U.S. political and intellectual life.

The following biographical sketches are arranged alphabetically by last name. Readers interested in signers for a certain State should consult the Index under the appropriate State.
Abraham Baldwin

GEORGIA

Rising from a humble background, Baldwin achieved success as minister, educator, lawyer, and politician. He was a Connecticut Yankee transplanted to Georgia who served his adopted State in many capacities. He helped found the college that was the forerunner of the University of Georgia and sat in the U.S. House of Representatives and the Senate for almost two decades. During the Convention, he supported the small States on the crucial vote in the representation clash and sat on the committee on postponed matters.

Baldwin was born at Guilford, Conn., in 1754, the second son of a blacksmith who sired 12 children by two wives. Besides Abraham, several of the family attained distinction. His sister Ruth married the poet and diplomat Joel Barlow, and his half-brother Henry attained the position of Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. Their ambitious father went heavily into debt to educate his children.

After attending a local village school, Abraham matriculated at Yale, in nearby New Haven. He graduated in 1772. Three years later, he became a minister and tutor at the college. He held that position until 1779, when he served as a chaplain in the Continental Army. Two years later, he declined an offer from his alma mater of a professorship of divinity. Instead of resuming his ministerial or educational duties after the war, he turned to the study of law and in 1783 gained admittance to the bar at Fairfield, Conn.

Within a year, Baldwin moved to Georgia, won legislative approval to practice his profession, and obtained a grant of land in Wilkes County. In 1785 he sat in the assembly and the Continental Congress. Two years hence, his father died and Baldwin undertook to pay off his debts and educate, out of his own pocket, his half-brothers and half-sisters.
That same year, Baldwin attended the Constitutional Convention, from which he was absent for a few weeks. Although usually inconspicuous, he sat on the committee on postponed matters and helped resolve the large-small State representation crisis. At first, he favored representation in the Senate based upon property holdings, but possibly because of his close relationship with the Connecticut delegation he later came to fear alienation of the small States and changed his mind to representation by State.

After the Convention, Baldwin returned to the Continental Congress (1787-89). He was then elected to the U.S. Congress, where he served for 18 years (House of Representatives, 1789-99; Senate, 1799-1807). During these years, he came to be a bitter opponent of Hamiltonian policies and, unlike most other native New Englanders, an ally of Madison and Jefferson and the Democratic-Republicans. In the Senate, he presided for a while as President pro tem.

By 1790 Baldwin had taken up residence in Augusta. Beginning in the preceding decade, he had begun efforts to advance the educational system in Georgia. Appointed with six others in 1784 to oversee the founding of a State college, he saw his dream come true in 1798 when Franklin College was founded. Modeled after Yale, it became the nucleus of the University of Georgia.

Baldwin, who never married, died after a short illness during his 53d year in 1807. Still serving in the Senate at the time, he was buried in Washington’s Rock Creek Cemetery.
Richard Bassett

DELAWARE

Bassett was a well-to-do planter and lawyer who also enjoyed careers as soldier, judge, legislator, and Governor. At the Constitutional Convention, he played a silent role and confined himself to casting votes on the issues as they arose.

Bassett (Basset) was born in Cecil County, Md., in April 1745. After his tavern-keeper father deserted his mother, he was reared by a relative, Peter Lawson, from whom he later inherited Bohemia Manor (Md.) estate. He read for the law at Philadelphia and in 1770 received a license to practice in Dover, Del. Prospering as a lawyer-planter, he eventually came to own not only Bohemia Manor, but also homes in Dover and Wilmington.

During the Revolution, Bassett captained a troop of Dover cavalry militia, and served on the Delaware council of safety. Subsequently, he participated in the constitutional convention and sat in both the upper and lower houses of the legislature. In 1786, on behalf of his State, he took part in the Annapolis Convention.

At the U.S. Constitutional Convention the next year, Bassett attended diligently but made no speeches, served on no committees, and cast no critical votes. Like several other delegates of estimable reputation and talent, he allowed others to make the major steps.

Bassett subsequently went on to a bright career in the State and Federal governments. In the Delaware ratifying convention, he joined in the 30-0 vote for the Constitution. Subsequently, in the
years 1789-93, he served as a U.S. Senator. In that capacity, he voted in favor of the power of the President to remove governmental officers and against Hamilton’s plan for the Federal assumption of State debts.

In 1793 Bassett returned to Delaware. From then until 1799 he held the chief justiceship of the court of common pleas. Espousing the Federalist cause in the 1790's, he served as a Presidential elector, on behalf of John Adams, in 1797. Two years later, Bassett was elected as Governor of Delaware and continued in that post until 1801. That year, he became one of President Adams' “midnight” appointments, as a judge of the U.S. Circuit Court. Subsequently, the Jeffersonian Republicans abolished his judgeship, and he spent the rest of his life in retirement.

Twice married, to Ann Ennals and a woman named Bruff, Bassett fathered several children. He was a devout Methodist, held religious meetings at Bohemia Manor, and financially supported the church. He died in 1815 at the age of 70 and is interred at the Wilmington and Brandywine Cemetery, Wilmington, Del.

Gunning Bedford, Jr.
DELAWARE

Lawyer-jurist Bedford, one of the most outspoken delegates at the Convention and a small-State spokesman, was a Philadelphian who moved to Delaware. He bore arms in the War for Independence and served as a Delegate to the Continental Congress, attorney general of Delaware, and Federal judge.
Born in 1747 at Philadelphia, Bedford was reared there. The fifth of seven children, he was descended from a distinguished family that originally settled in Jamestown, Va. Usually he referred to himself as Gunning Bedford, Jr., to avoid confusion with his cousin and contemporary Delaware statesman and soldier, Col. Gunning Bedford.

In 1771 signer Bedford graduated with honors from the College of New Jersey (later Princeton), where he was a roommate of James Madison. Apparently while still in school, Bedford wed Jane B. Parker, who was to bear at least one daughter. After reading law with Joseph Read in Philadelphia, Bedford won admittance to the bar and set up a practice. Subsequently he moved to Dover and then to Wilmington. He apparently served in the Continental Army, possibly as an aide to General Washington.

Following the war, Bedford figured prominently in the politics of his State and Nation. He sat in the legislature, on the State council, and in the Continental Congress (1783-85). In the latter year, he was chosen as a delegate to the Annapolis Convention, but for some reason did not attend. From 1784 to 1789 he was attorney general of Delaware.

Bedford numbered among the more active members of the Constitutional Convention and he missed few sessions. A large and forceful man, he spoke on several occasions and was a member of the committee that drafted the Great Compromise. An ardent small-State advocate, he attacked the pretensions of the large States over the small and warned that the latter might be forced to seek foreign alliances unless their interests were accommodated. He attended the Delaware ratifying convention.

For another 2 years, Bedford continued as Delaware’s attorney general. In 1789 Washington designated him as a Federal District Judge for his State, an office he was to occupy for the rest of his life. His only other ventures into national politics came in 1789 and 1793, as a Federalist Presidential elector. In the main, however, he spent his later years in judicial pursuits, in aiding Wilmington Academy, in fostering abolitionism, and in enjoying his Lombardy Hall farm.

Bedford died at the age of 65 in 1812, and was buried in the First Presbyterian Churchyard in Wilmington. Later, when the cemetery was abandoned, his body was transferred to the Masonic Home, on the Lancaster Turnpike in Christiana Hundred, Del.
John Blair

VIRGINIA

Blair, a firm supporter of independence and the Constitution, was a member of a leading Virginia family who gained more renown as a lawyer-jurist than as a politician. President Washington appointed him as one of the original Justices of the U.S. Supreme Court.

Scion of a prominent Virginia family, Blair was born at Williamsburg in 1732. He was the son of John Blair, a colonial official and nephew of James Blair, founder and first president of the College of William and Mary. Signer Blair graduated from that institution and studied law at London's Middle Temple. Thereafter, he practiced at Williamsburg. In the years 1766-70 he sat in the Virginia House of Burgesses as the representative of William and Mary. From 1770 to 1775 he held the position of clerk of the colony's council.

An active patriot, Blair signed the Virginia Association of June 22, 1770, which pledged to abandon importation of British goods until the Townshend Duties were repealed. He also underwrote the Association of May 27, 1774, calling for a meeting of the Colonies in a Continental Congress and supporting the Bostonians; and took part in the Virginia constitutional convention (1776), at which he sat on the committee that framed a declaration of rights as well as the plan for a new government. He next served on the Privy Council (1776–78). In the latter year, the legislature elected him as a judge of the General Court and he soon took over the chief justiceship. In 1780 he won election to Virginia's high chancery court, where his colleague was George Wythe.

Blair attended the Constitutional Convention religiously, but
never spoke or served on a committee. On the other hand, he usually sided with the position of the Virginia delegation. And, in the Commonwealth ratifying convention, Blair helped win backing for the new framework of Government.

In 1789 Washington named Blair as an Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, where he helped decide many important cases. Resigning that post in 1796, he spent his remaining years in Williamsburg. A widower, his wife (born Jean Balfour) having died in 1792, he lived quietly until he succumbed in 1800. He was 68 years old. His tomb is in the graveyard of Bruton Parish Church.

William Blount
NORTH CAROLINA

Planter and land speculator Blount, who played an insignificant part at the Constitutional Convention, carved out a career in North Carolina and Tennessee as well as in national politics. It was marred, however, when he earned the dubious distinction of being the first man to be expelled from the U.S. Senate.

William Blount was the great-grandson of Thomas Blount, who came from England to Virginia soon after 1660 and settled on a North Carolina plantation. William, the eldest in a large family, was born in 1749 while his mother was visiting his grandfather's Rosefield estate, on the site of present Windsor near Pamlico Sound. The youth apparently received a good education.

Shortly after the War for Independence began, in 1776, Blount enlisted as a paymaster in the North Carolina forces. Two years later, he wed Mary Grainger (Granger); of their six children who
reached adulthood, one son also became prominent in Tennessee politics.

Blount spent most of the remainder of his life in public office. He sat in the lower house of the North Carolina legislature (1780–84), including service as speaker, as well as in the upper (1788–90). In addition, he took part in national politics, serving in the Continental Congress in 1782–83 and 1786–87.

Appointed as a delegate to the Constitutional Convention at the age of 38, Blount was absent for more than a month because he chose to attend the Continental Congress on behalf of his State, said almost nothing in the debates, and signed the Constitution reluctantly—only, he said, to make it "the unanimous act of the States in Convention." Nonetheless, he favored his State's ratification of the completed document.

Blount hoped to be elected to the First U.S. Senate. When he failed to achieve that end, in 1790 he pushed westward beyond the Appalachians, where he held speculative land interests and had represented North Carolina in dealings with the Indians. He settled in what became Tennessee, to which he devoted the rest of his life. He resided first at Rocky Mount, a cabin near present Johnson City, and in 1792 built a mansion in Knoxville.

Meantime, 2 years earlier, Washington had appointed Blount as Governor for the Territory South of the River Ohio (which included Tennessee) and also as Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern Department, in which positions he increased his popularity with the frontiersmen. In 1796 he presided over the constitutional convention that transformed part of the Territory into the State of Tennessee. He was elected as one of its first U.S. Senators (1796–97).

During this period, Blount's affairs took a sharp turn for the worse. In 1797 his speculations in western lands led him into serious financial difficulties. That same year, he also apparently concocted a plan involving use of Indians, frontiersmen, and British naval forces to conquer for Britain the Spanish provinces of Florida and Louisiana. A letter he wrote alluding to the plan fell into the hands of President Adams, who turned it over to the Senate on July 3, 1797. Five days later, that body voted 25 to 1 to expel Blount. The House impeached him, but the Senate dropped the charges in 1799 on the grounds that no further action could be taken beyond his dismissal.
The episode did not hamper Blount's career in Tennessee. In 1798 he was elected to the senate and rose to the speakership. He died 2 years later at Knoxville in his early fifties. He is buried there in the cemetery of the First Presbyterian Church.

David Brearly
NEW JERSEY

Although an advocate of the interests of the small States at the Convention, where he chaired the committee on postponed matters, lawyer-jurist Brearly was a reasonable man who showed a willingness to compromise. He had been a fervent Revolutionary patriot, and during the war served as an officer in the New Jersey militia.

Brearly (Brearley) was descended from a Yorkshire, England, family, one of whose members migrated to New Jersey around 1680. Signer Brearly was born in 1745 at Spring Grove near Trenton, was reared in the area, and attended but did not graduate from the nearby College of New Jersey (later Princeton). He chose law as a career and originally practiced at Allentown, N.J. About 1767 he married Elizabeth Mullen.

Brearly avidly backed the Revolutionary cause. The British apprehended him for high treason, but a group of patriots freed him. In 1776 he took part in the convention that drew up the State constitution. During the War for Independence, he rose from a captain to a colonel in the New Jersey militia.

In 1779 Brearly was elected as chief justice of the New Jersey supreme court, a position he held until 1789. He presided over the
precedent-setting case of *Holmes v. Walton*. His decision, rendered in 1780, represented an early expression of the principle of judicial review. The next year, the College of New Jersey bestowed an honorary M.A. degree on him.

Brearly was 42 years of age when he participated in the Constitutional Convention. Although he did not rank among the leaders, he attended the sessions regularly. A follower of Paterson, who introduced the New Jersey Plan, Brearly opposed proportional representation of the States and favored one vote for each of them in Congress. He also chaired the committee on postponed matters.

Brearly's subsequent career was short, for he had only 3 years to live. He presided at the New Jersey convention that ratified the Constitution in 1788, and served as a Presidential elector in 1789. That same year, President Washington appointed him as a Federal District Judge and he served in that capacity until his death.

When free from his judicial duties, Brearly devoted much energy to lodge and church affairs. He was one of the leading members of the Masonic Order in New Jersey, as well as State vice president of the Society of the Cincinnati, an organization of ex-Revolutionary War officers. In addition, he served as a delegate to the Episcopal General Conference (1786), and helped write the church's prayer book. In 1783, following the death of his first wife, he had married Elizabeth Higbee.

Brearly died in Trenton at the age of 45 in 1790. He was buried there at St. Michael's Episcopal Church.
Jacob Broom

DELAWARE

A well-to-do businessman and civic leader, Broom spent most of his life in the service of his hometown, Wilmington, and he was one of the more obscure signers. His most important political activity was attendance at the Constitutional Convention.

Broom first saw the light of life in 1752 at Wilmington, Del., the eldest son of a blacksmith who prospered in farming. The youth was educated at home and probably at the local Old Academy. Although he followed his father into farming and also studied surveying, he was to make his career primarily in mercantile pursuits, including shipping and the import trade, and in real estate. In 1773 he married Rachel Pierce, who bore eight children.

Broom was not a distinguished patriot. His only recorded service was the preparation of maps for George Washington prior to the Battle of Brandywine, Pa. In 1776, at 24 years of age, Broom became assistant burgess of Wilmington. Over the next several decades, he held that office six times and that of chief burgess four times, as well as those of borough assessor, president of the city “street regulators,” and justice of the peace for New Castle County.

Broom sat in the State legislature in the years 1784–86 and 1788, during which time he was chosen as a delegate to the Annapolis Convention, but he did not attend. At the Constitutional Convention, he never missed a session and spoke on several occasions, but his role was only a minor one.

After the Convention, Broom returned to Wilmington, where in 1795 he erected a home near the Brandywine River on the outskirts of the city. He was its first postmaster (1790–92) and continued to hold various local offices and to participate in a variety of economic endeavors. For many years, he chaired the board of directors of Wilmington’s Delaware Bank. He also operated a cotton mill, as well as a machine shop that produced and repaired mill machinery. He was involved, too, in an unsuccessful scheme to mine bog iron ore. A further interest was internal improvements: toll roads, canals, and bridges.

Broom also found time for philanthropic and religious activities.
He served on the board of trustees of the College of Wilmington and as a lay leader at Old Swedes Church. He died at the age of 58 in 1810 while in Philadelphia on business and was buried there at Christ Church Burial Ground.

Pierce Butler
SOUTH CAROLINA

One of the four signers born in Ireland, Butler was a British military officer turned South Carolina planter. He played a substantial role at the Constitutional Convention and afterward gained distinction in the U.S. Senate.

One of the most aristocratic delegates at the Convention, Butler was born in 1744 in County Carlow, Ireland. His father was Sir Richard Butler, Member of Parliament and a baronet.

Like so many younger sons of the British aristocracy who could not inherit their fathers' estates because of primogeniture, Butler pursued a military career. He became a major in His Majesty's 29th Regiment and during the colonial unrest was posted to Boston in 1768 to quell disturbances there. In 1771 he married Mary Middleton, daughter of a wealthy South Carolinian, and before long resigned his commission to take up a planter's life in the Charleston area. The couple was to have at least one daughter.

When the Revolution broke out, Butler took up the Whig cause. He was elected to the assembly in 1778, and the next year served as adjutant general in the South Carolina militia. While in the legislature through most of the 1780's, for some reason he took over leadership of the democratic upcountry faction in the State and refused to support his own planter group. The War for
Independence cost him much of his property, and his finances were so precarious for a time that he was forced to travel to Amsterdam to seek a personal loan. In 1786 the assembly appointed him to a commission charged with settling a State boundary dispute.

The next year, Butler won election to both the Continental Congress (1787-88) and the Constitutional Convention. In the latter assembly, he was an outspoken nationalist who attended practically every session, and was a key spokesman for the Madison-Wilson caucus. Butler also supported the interests of southern slaveholders. He served on the committee on postponed matters.

On Butler's return to South Carolina he defended the Constitution, but did not participate in the ratifying convention. Service in the U.S. Senate (1789-96) followed. Although nominally a Federalist, he often crossed party lines. He supported Hamilton's fiscal program, but opposed Jay's Treaty and Federalist judiciary and tariff measures.

Out of the Senate and back in South Carolina from 1797 to 1802, Butler was considered for but did not attain the governorship. He sat briefly in the Senate again in 1803-4 to fill out an unexpired term, and once again demonstrated party independence. But, for the most part, his later career was spent as a wealthy planter. In his last years, he moved to Philadelphia, apparently to be near a daughter who had married a local physician.

Butler died there in 1822 at the age of 77 and was buried in the yard of Christ Church.
Daniel Carroll
MARYLAND

Carroll, a distinguished Maryland planter-aristocrat, was one of two Roman Catholic signers of the Constitution. He served on the Convention's committee on postponed matters and took a moderate nationalist stance. His public career included service in the Continental Congress, the Maryland senate, and the U.S. House of Representatives. He was also one of the first commissioners of the District of Columbia.

Daniel Carroll was a member of one collateral branch of a prominent Maryland family of Irish descent. The other was led by Charles Carroll of Carrollton, signer of the Declaration of Independence. Daniel's older brother was John Carroll, the first Roman Catholic bishop in the United States.

Daniel was born in 1730 at Upper Marlboro, Md. Befitting the son of a wealthy Roman Catholic family, he studied for 6 years (1742–48) under Jesuits at St. Omer's in Flanders. Then, after a tour of Europe, he sailed home and soon married Eleanor Carroll, apparently a first cousin of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. Not much is known about the next two decades of his life except that he only reluctantly backed the War for Independence and remained out of the public eye. No doubt he lived the life of a gentleman planter.

In 1781 Carroll entered the political arena. Elected to the Continental Congress that year (1781–84), he carried to Philadelphia the news that Maryland was at last ready to accede to the Articles of Confederation, to which he soon penned his name. During the decade, he also began a tour in the Maryland senate that was to span his lifetime and helped George Washington promote the Patowmack Company, a scheme to canalize the Potomac River so as to provide a transportation link between the East and the trans-Appalachian West.
Carroll did not arrive at the Constitutional Convention until July 9, but thereafter he attended quite regularly. He spoke about 20 times during the debates, and served on the committee on postponed matters. Returning to Maryland after the Convention, he campaigned for ratification of the Constitution, but was not a delegate to the State convention.

In 1789 Carroll won a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives, where he voted for locating the National Capitol on the banks of the Potomac and for Hamilton’s program for the Federal assumption of State debts. In 1791 George Washington named his friend Carroll as one of three commissioners to survey and define the District of Columbia, where Carroll owned much land. Ill health caused him to resign this post 4 years later, and the next year at the age of 65 he died at his home near Rock Creek in the present village of Forest Glen, Md. He was buried there in St. John’s Catholic Cemetery.

George Clymer

PENNSYLVANIA

Clymer, a leading Philadelphia merchant, rendered long years of service to his city, State, and Nation. He signed the Declaration of Independence as well as the Constitution, and applied his commercial acumen to the financial problems of the Colonies and the Confederation.

Clymer was orphaned in 1740, only a year after his birth in Philadelphia. A wealthy uncle reared and informally educated him and advanced him from clerk to full-fledged partner in his mercantile firm, which on his death he bequeathed to his ward. Later, Clymer merged operations with the Merediths, prominent businessmen, and cemented the relationship by marrying his senior partner’s daughter, Elizabeth, in 1765.
Motivated at last partly by the impact of British economic restrictions on his business, Clymer early adopted the Revolutionary cause and was one of the first to recommend independence. He attended patriotic meetings, served on the Pennsylvania council of safety, and in 1773 headed a committee that forced the resignation of Philadelphia tea consignees appointed by Britain under the Tea Act. Inevitably, in light of his economic background, he channeled his energies into financial matters. In 1775–76 he acted as one of the first two Continental treasurers, even personally underwriting the war by exchanging all his own specie for Continental currency.

In the Continental Congress (1776–77 and 1780–82) the quiet and unassuming Clymer rarely spoke in debate but made his mark in committee efforts, especially those pertaining to commerce, finance, and military affairs. During and between his two tours, he also served on a series of commissions that conducted important field investigations. In December 1776, when Congress fled from Philadelphia to Baltimore, he and George Walton and Robert Morris remained behind to carry on congressional business. Within a year, after their victory at the Battle of Brandywine, Pa. (September 11, 1777), British troops advancing on Philadelphia detoured for the purpose of vandalizing Clymer's home in Chester County about 25 miles outside the city, while his wife and children hid nearby in the woods.

After a brief retirement following his last tour in the Continental Congress, Clymer was reelected in the years 1784–88 to the Pennsylvania legislature, where he had also served part time in 1780–82 while still in Congress. As a State legislator, he advocated a bicameral legislature and reform of the penal code and opposed capital punishment. At the Constitutional Convention, where he rarely missed a meeting, he spoke seldom but effectively and played a modest role in shaping the final document.

The next phase of Clymer's career consisted of service as a U.S. Representative in the First Congress (1789–91), followed by appointment as collector of excise taxes on alcoholic beverages in Pennsylvania (1791–94). In 1795–96 he sat on a Presidential commission that negotiated a treaty with the Cherokee and Creek Indians in Georgia.

During his retirement, Clymer advanced various community projects, including the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture and the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, and
served as the first president of the Philadelphia Bank. At the age of 73, in 1813, he died at Summerseat, an estate a few miles outside Philadelphia at Morrisville that he had purchased and moved to in 1806. His grave is in the Friends Meeting House Cemetery at Trenton, N.J.

Jonathan Dayton
NEW JERSEY

Dayton, youngest of the signers at 26 years of age, lived a busy and adventurous life. A lawyer, land speculator, and Revolutionary soldier, his ambition was unbounded. He held a variety of political offices, including seats in the U.S. House and Senate. He also supported Aaron Burr’s ill-fated and murky scheme of 1806 to carve out some sort of empire in the Southwest.

Dayton was born at Elizabethtown (present Elizabeth), N.J., in 1760. His father was a storekeeper who was also active in local and State politics. The youth obtained a good education, graduating from the College of New Jersey (later Princeton) in 1776. He immediately entered the Continental Army and saw extensive action. Achieving the rank of captain by the age of 19 and serving under his father, Gen. Elias Dayton, and the Marquis de Lafayette, he was a prisoner of the British for a time, and participated in the Battle of Yorktown, Va.

After the war, Dayton returned home, studied law, and established a practice. During the 1780’s, he divided his time between land speculation, legal practice, and politics. He sat in the assembly in 1786–87. In the latter year, he was chosen as a delegate to the Constitutional Convention after the leaders of his political faction, his father and his patron, Abraham Clark, declined to attend. Dayton did not arrive at Philadelphia until June 21, but thereafter faithfully took part in the proceedings. He
spoke with moderate frequency during the debates and, though objecting to some provisions of the Constitution, signed it.

After sitting in the Continental Congress in 1788, Dayton became a foremost Federalist legislator in the new Government. Although elected as a Representative, he did not serve in the First Congress in 1789, preferring instead to become a member of the New Jersey council and speaker of the State assembly. In 1791, however, he entered the U.S. House of Representatives (1791–99), becoming Speaker in the Fourth and Fifth Congresses. During this period, he backed Hamilton’s fiscal program, suppression of the Whisky Rebellion, Jay’s Treaty, and a host of other Federalist measures.

On the personal side, in 1795 Dayton purchased Boxwood Hall as his home in Elizabethtown and resided there until his death. He was elevated to the U.S. Senate (1799–1805). He supported the Louisiana Purchase (1803) and, in conformance with his Federalist views, opposed the repeal of the Judiciary Act of 1801.

In 1806 illness prevented Dayton from accompanying Aaron Burr’s abortive expedition to the Southwest, where the latter apparently intended to conquer Spanish lands and create an empire. Subsequently indicted for treason, Dayton was not prosecuted, but could not salvage his national political career. He remained popular in New Jersey, however, continuing to hold local offices and sitting in the assembly (1814–15).

In 1824 the 63-year-old Dayton hosted Lafayette during his triumphal tour of the United States, and his death at Elizabeth later that year may have been hastened by the exertion and excitement. He was laid to rest at St. John’s Episcopal Church in his hometown. Because he owned 250,000 acres of Ohio land between the Big and Little Miami Rivers in the vicinity of the site of Dayton, the city was named after him—his major monument. He had married Susan Williamson, but the date of their wedding is unknown. They had two daughters.
John Dickinson

DELAWARE

An outstanding conservative patriot and sage, the aristocratic Dickinson was respected by friend and enemy alike for the brilliance of his mind and the depth of his philosophy. And he made major contributions to Delaware, Pennsylvania, and the Nation. The only “signer” who did not actually pen his name to the Constitution, because illness caused his early departure from the Convention, he authorized a fellow delegate to do so on his behalf. Nevertheless, he served on the committee on postponed matters and helped arrange the Great Compromise.

Dickinson, “Penman of the Revolution,” was born in 1732 at Crosiadore estate, near the village of Trappe in Talbot County, Md. He was the second son of prosperous farmer Samuel and Mary (Cadwalader) Dickinson, his second wife. In 1740 the family moved to Kent County near Dover, Del., where private tutors educated the youth. In 1750 he began to study law with John Moland in Philadelphia. In 1753 Dickinson went to England to continue his studies at London’s Middle Temple. Four years later, he headed back to Philadelphia and became a prominent lawyer there. In 1770 he married Mary Norris, daughter of a wealthy merchant. The couple was to have at least one daughter.

By that time, Dickinson’s superior education and talents had propelled him into politics. In 1760 he had served in the assembly of the Three Lower Counties (Delaware), where he held the speakership. Combining his Pennsylvania and Delaware careers in 1762, he won a seat as a Philadelphia member in the Pennsylvania assembly and sat there again in 1764. He became the leader of the conservative side in the colony’s political battles. His defense of the Proprietary Governor against the faction led by Benjamin Franklin hurt his popularity, but earned him respect for his integrity. Nevertheless, as an immediate consequence, he lost his legislative seat in 1764.
Meantime, the struggle between the Colonies and the mother country had waxed strong and Dickinson had emerged in the forefront of Revolutionary thinkers. In the debates over the Stamp Act (1765), he played a key part. That year, he authored *The Late Regulations Respecting the British Colonies ... Considered*, an influential pamphlet that urged Americans to seek repeal of the act by pressuring British merchants. Accordingly, the Pennsylvania legislature appointed him as a delegate to the Stamp Act Congress, whose resolutions he drafted.

In 1767-68 Dickinson wrote a series of newspaper articles in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* that came to be known collectively as *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania* .... They attacked British policy and, though recognizing the feasibility of reconciliation, suggested that force might be the ultimate solution. So popular were the *Letters* in the Colonies that Dickinson received an honorary LL.D. from the College of New Jersey (later Princeton) and public thanks from a meeting in Boston. In 1768, responding to the Townshend Duties, he championed rigorous colonial resistance in the form of nonimportation and nonexportation agreements.

In 1771, back in the Pennsylvania legislature, Dickinson drafted a petition to the King that was unanimously approved. Because of his continued opposition to the use of force, however, by 1774 he had lost much of his popularity. Particularly resenting the tactics of New England leaders, that year he refused to support aid requested by Boston in the wake of the Intolerable Acts, though he sympathized with the city's plight. Reluctantly, Dickinson was drawn into the Revolutionary fray. In 1774 he chaired the Philadelphia committee of correspondence and briefly sat in the First Continental Congress, representing Pennsylvania.

Throughout 1775, though supporting the Whig cause, Dickinson continued to work for peace. He drew up petitions asking the King for redress of grievances. At the same time, he chaired a Philadelphia committee of safety and defense and held a colonelcy in the first battalion recruited in Philadelphia to defend the city.

After Lexington and Concord, Dickinson continued to hope for a peaceful solution. In the Second Continental Congress (1775-76), still a representative of Pennsylvania, he drew up the *Declaration of the Causes of Taking Up Arms*. In the Pennsylvania assembly, he drafted an authorization to send Delegates to Congress in 1776.
It directed them to seek redress of grievances, but ordered them to oppose separation of the Colonies from Britain.

By that time, Dickinson's moderate position had left him in the minority. In Congress he voted against the Declaration of Independence (1776) and refused to sign it. Nevertheless, he then became one of only two congressional Members (with Thomas McKean) at the time who entered the military, but when he was not reelected he resigned his brigadier general's commission and withdrew to his estate in Delaware. Later in 1776, though reelected to Congress by his new constituency, he declined to serve, and also resigned from the Pennsylvania assembly. He may have taken part in the Battle of Brandywine, Pa. (September 11, 1777), as a private but otherwise saw no further military action.

Dickinson came out of retirement to take a seat in the Continental Congress (1779-80), where he signed the Articles of Confederation; earlier he had headed the committee that had drafted them. In 1781 he became president of Delaware's Supreme Executive Council. Shortly thereafter, he moved back to Philadelphia. There, he became president of Pennsylvania (1782-85). In 1786, representing Delaware, he attended and chaired the Annapolis Convention.

The next year, Delaware sent Dickinson to the Constitutional Convention. He missed a number of sessions and left early because of illness, but he made worthwhile contributions, including service on the committee on postponed matters. Although he resented the forcefulness of Madison and the other nationalists, he helped engineer the Great Compromise and wrote public letters supporting constitutional ratification. Because of his premature exit from the Convention, he did not actually sign the Constitution, but authorized his friend and fellow-delegate George Read to do so for him.

Dickinson lived for two decades more, but held no public offices. Instead, he devoted himself to writing on politics, and in 1801 published two volumes of his collected works. He died at Wilmington in 1808 at the age of 75 and was entombed in the Friends Burial Ground.
William Few
GEORGIA

Few, one of the lesser lights in the Convention, was a self-made man. He began life as the son of a poor farmer and ended it as a renowned and wealthy politician, philanthropist, lawyer-jurist, and bank president. He served in the U.S. Senate during the years 1789 to 1793. Like several other signers, he took part in the affairs of more than one State, Georgia and New York.

Few was born in 1748. His father's family had emigrated from England to Pennsylvania in the 1680's, but the father had subsequently moved to Maryland, where he married and settled on a farm near Baltimore. William was born there. He encountered much hardship and received minimal schooling. When he was 10 years of age, his father, seeking better opportunity, moved his brood to North Carolina.

In 1771 William, his father, and a brother associated themselves with the "Regulators," a group of frontiersmen who opposed the Royal Governor. As a result, the brother was hanged, the Few family farm was destroyed, and the father was forced to move once again, this time to Georgia. William remained behind, helping to settle his father's affairs, until 1776 when he joined his family near Wrightsboro, Ga. About this time, he won admittance to the bar, based on earlier informal study, and set up practice in Augusta.

When the War for Independence began, William enthusiastically aligned himself with the Whig cause. Although largely self-educated, he soon proved his capacity for leadership and won a lieutenant-colonelcy in the dragoons. In addition, he entered politics. He was elected to the Georgia provincial congress of 1776, and during the war twice served in the assembly, in 1777 and
1779. During the same period, he also sat on the State Executive Council, besides holding the positions of surveyor-general and Indian commissioner. He also served in the Continental Congress (1780–88), during which time he was reelected to the Georgia assembly (1783).

Four years later, Few was appointed as one of six State delegates to the Constitutional Convention, two of whom never attended and two others of whom did not stay for the duration. Few himself missed large segments of the proceedings, being absent during all of July and part of August because of congressional service, and never made a speech. Nonetheless, he contributed nationalist votes at critical times. Furthermore, as a Delegate to the last sessions of the Continental Congress, he helped steer the Constitution past its first obstacle, approval by Congress. And he attended the State ratifying convention.

Few became one of his State’s first U.S. Senators (1789–93). When his term ended, he headed back home and served again in the assembly. In 1796 he received an appointment as a Federal judge for the Georgia circuit. At 52 years of age in 1799, for some reason he resigned his judgeship and moved to New York City.

Few’s career continued to blossom. He served 4 years in the legislature (1802–5) and then as inspector of prisons (1802–10), alderman (1813–14), and U.S. commissioner of loans (1804). From 1804 to 1814 he held a directorship at the Manhattan Bank, and later the presidency of City Bank. A devout Methodist, he also donated generously to philanthropic causes.

When Few died in 1828 at the age of 80 in Fishkill-on-the-Hudson (present Beacon), he was survived by his wife (born Catherine Nicholson) and three daughters. Originally buried in the yard of the local Reformed Dutch Church, his body was later reinterred at St. Paul’s Church, Augusta, Ga.
Thomas Fitzsimons

PENNSYLVANIA

Fitzsimons, one of several foreign-born signers and one of two Roman Catholics, was a fervent Revolutionary and later a zealous supporter of the Federalist Party. His career also embraced business, where he achieved his greatest success and eminence.

Fitzsimons (FitzSimons; Fitzsimmons) was born in Ireland in 1741. Coming to America about 1760, he pursued a mercantile career in Philadelphia. The next year, he married Catherine Meade, the daughter of a prominent local merchant, Robert Meade, and not long afterward went into business with one of his brothers-in-law. The firm of George Meade and Company soon became one of the leading commercial houses in the city and specialized in the West India trade.

When the Revolution erupted, Fitzsimons enthusiastically endorsed the Whig position. During the war, he commanded a company of militia (1776–77). He also sat on the Philadelphia committee of correspondence, council of safety, and Navy Board. His firm provided supplies and “fire” ships to the military forces and, toward the end of the war, donated £5,000 to the Continental Army.

In 1782–83 Fitzsimons entered politics as a Delegate to the Continental Congress. In the latter year, he became a member of the Pennsylvania council of censors, and served as a legislator in 1786–89. His attendance at the Constitutional Convention was regular, but he did not make any outstanding contributions to the proceedings. He was, however, a strong nationalist.

After the Convention, Fitzsimons continued to demonstrate his
nationalistic proclivities as a three-term U.S. Representative (1789–95). He allied himself closely with the program of Hamilton and the emerging Federalist Party. Once again demonstrating his commercial orientation, he advocated a protective tariff and retirement of the national debt.

Fitzsimons spent most of the remainder of his life in private business, though he retained an interest in public affairs. His views remained essentially Federalist. During the maritime difficulties in the late 1790’s, he urged retaliation against British and French interference with American shipping. In the first decade of the 19th century, he vigorously opposed Jefferson’s Embargo of 1807–9. In 1810, again clashing with the Jeffersonians, he championed the recharter of the First United States Bank.

But Fitzsimons’ prominence stemmed from his business leadership. In 1781 he had been one of the founders of the Bank of North America. He also helped organize and held a directorship in the Insurance Company of North America, and several times acted as president of the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce. His financial affairs, like those somewhat earlier of his associate and fellow-signer Robert Morris, took a disastrous turn in 1805. He later regained some of his affluence, but his reputation suffered.

Despite these troubles, Fitzsimons never ceased his philanthropy. He was an outstanding supporter of Philadelphia’s St. Augustine’s Roman Catholic Church. He also strived to improve public education in the Commonwealth and served as trustee of the University of Pennsylvania.

Fitzsimons died at Philadelphia in 1811 after seven decades of life. His tomb is there in the graveyard at St. Mary’s Roman Catholic Church, which is in present Independence National Historical Park.
Benjamin Franklin

PENNSYLVANIA

Franklin, elder statesman of the Revolution and oldest signer of both the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, sat on the committee that drafted the Declaration, attended the Constitutional Convention, and distinguished himself as a diplomat. But he was a self-made man and self-educated intellectual colossus whose interests far transcended politics. He won international renown as a printer-publisher, author, philosopher, scientist, inventor, and philanthropist. On both sides of the Atlantic, he mingled with the social elite, whom he impressed with his sagacity, wit, and zest for life.

Franklin was born in 1706 at Boston. He was the tenth son of a soap- and candle-maker. He received some formal education, but was principally self-taught. After serving an apprenticeship to his father between the ages of 10 and 12, he went to work for his half-brother James, a printer. In 1721 the latter founded the New England Courant, the fourth newspaper in the Colonies. Benjamin secretly contributed to it 14 essays, his first published writings.

In 1723, because of dissension with his half-brother, Franklin moved to Philadelphia, where he obtained employment as a printer. He spent only a year there, and then sailed to London for 2 more years. Back in Philadelphia, he rose rapidly in the printing industry. He published The Pennsylvania Gazette (1730–48), which had been founded by another man in 1728, but his most successful literary venture was the annual Poor Richard’s Almanac (1733–58). It won a popularity in the Colonies second only to the Bible, and its fame eventually spread to Europe.

Meantime, in 1730 Franklin had taken a common-law wife, Deborah Read, who was to bear him a son and daughter, as was also apparently another nameless woman out of wedlock. By 1748 he had achieved financial independence and gained recognition for his philanthropy and the stimulus he provided to such civic
causes as libraries, educational institutions, and hospitals. Energetic and tireless, he also found time to pursue his interest in science, as well as enter politics.

Franklin served as clerk (1736-51) and member (1751-64) of the colonial legislature, and as deputy postmaster of Philadelphia (1737-53) and deputy postmaster general of the Colonies (1753-74). In addition, he represented Pennsylvania at the Albany Congress (1754), called to unite the Colonies during the French and Indian War. The congress adopted his "Plan of Union," but the colonial assemblies rejected it because it encroached on their powers.

During the years 1757-62 and 1764-75, Franklin resided in England, originally in the capacity of agent for Pennsylvania and later for Georgia, New Jersey, and Massachusetts. During the latter period, which coincided with the growth of colonial unrest, he underwent a political metamorphosis. Until then a contented Englishman in outlook, primarily concerned with Pennsylvania provincial politics, he distrusted popular movements and saw little purpose to be served in carrying principle to extremes. Until the issue of parliamentary taxation undermined the old alliances, he led the Quaker party attack on the Anglican proprietary party and its Presbyterian frontier allies. His purpose throughout the years at London in fact had been displacement of the Penn family administration by royal authority—the conversion of the province from a proprietary to a royal colony.

It was during the Stamp Act crisis that Franklin evolved from leader of a shattered provincial party's faction to celebrated spokesman at London for American rights. Although as agent for Pennsylvania he opposed by every conceivable means the enactment of the bill in 1765, he did not at first realize the depth of colonial hostility. He regarded passage as unavoidable and preferred to submit to it while actually working for its repeal.

Franklin's nomination of a friend and political ally as stamp distributor for Pennsylvania, coupled with his apparent acceptance of the legislation, armed his proprietary opponents with explosive issues. Their energetic exploitation of them endangered his reputation at home until reliable information was published demonstrating his unabated opposition to the act. For a time, mob resentment threatened his family and new home in Philadelphia until his tradesmen supporters rallied. Subsequently, Franklin's
The residence at 141 High (present Market) Street between Third and Fourth Streets, Philadelphia, where Benjamin Franklin lived in the period 1751 - 55 and possibly in 1755 - 61. He placed the lightning rod on the roof.

defense of the American position in the House of Commons during the debates over the Stamp Act's repeal restored his prestige at home.

Franklin returned to Philadelphia in May 1775, and immediately became a distinguished Member of the Continental Congress. Thirteen months later, he served on the committee that drafted the Declaration of Independence. He subsequently contributed to the Government in other important ways, including service as postmaster general, and took over the duties of president of the Pennsylvania constitutional convention.

But, within less than a year and a half after his return, the aged statesman set sail once again for Europe, beginning a career as diplomat that would occupy him for most of the rest of his life. In 1776-79, as one of three commissioners, he directed the negotiations that led to treaties of commerce and alliance with France, where the people adulated him, but he and the other commissioners squabbled constantly. While he was sole commissioner to France (1779-85), he and John Jay and John Adams negotiated the Treaty of Paris (1783), which ended the War for Independence.

Back in the United States, in 1785-87 Franklin became president of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania. At the Constitutional Convention, though he did not approve of many aspects of the finished document and was hampered by his
PHILADELPHIA, 22 April.

The following was the order of Procession yesterday at the funeral of our late learned and illustrious citizen, Dr. FRANKLIN.

All the Clergy of the city, before the corpse.

THE CORPSE,

Carried by Citizens.

The Pall supported by The President of the State, the Chief Justice—the President of the Bank, Samuel Powell, William Bingham, and David Rittenhouse, Esquires,

Mourners,

Consisting of the family of the deceased—with a number of particular friends,

The Secretary and Members of the Supreme Executive Council.

The Speaker and Members of the General Assembly.

Judges of the Supreme Court,

And other Officers of Government.

The Gentlemen of the Bar.

The Mayor and Corporation of the city of Philadelphia.

The Printers of the city, with their Journeymen and Apprentices.

The Philosophical Society.

The College of Physicians.

The Cincinnati.

The College of Philadelphia.

Sundry other Societies—together with a numerous and respectable body of Citizens.

The concourse of spectators was greater than ever was known on a like occasion. It is computed that not less than 20,000 persons attended and witnessed the funeral. The order and silence which prevailed, during the Procession, deeply evinced the heartfelt sense, entertained by all classes of citizens, of the unparalleled virtues, talents, and services of the deceased.

All of Philadelphia, as well as the Nation, mourned the passing of Franklin. This is the “order of procession” for his funeral.
age and ill-health, he missed few if any sessions, lent his prestige, soothed passions, and compromised disputes.

In his twilight years, working on his *Autobiography*, Franklin could look back on a fruitful life as the toast of two continents. Energetic nearly to the last, in 1787 he was elected as first president of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery—a cause to which he had committed himself as early as the 1730's. His final public act was signing a memorial to Congress recommending dissolution of the slavery system. Shortly thereafter, in 1790 at the age of 84, Franklin passed away in Philadelphia and was laid to rest in Christ Church Burial Ground.

Nicholas Gilman
NEW HAMPSHIRE

Gilman's career ranged from clerking in a store to long tours of duty in the U.S House of Representatives and Senate. Although never in the front rank of politics, he associated with some of the leading Americans of his time. He was one of the three bachelor signers.

Member of a distinguished New Hampshire family and second son in a family of eight, Nicholas Gilman was born at Exeter in 1755. He received his education in local schools and worked at his father's general store. When the War for Independence began, he enlisted in the New Hampshire element of the Continental Army, soon won a captaincy, and served throughout the war.

Gilman returned home, again helped his father in the store, and immersed himself in politics. In the period 1786–88 he sat in the Continental Congress, though his attendance record was poor. In
1787 he represented New Hampshire at the Constitutional Convention. He did not arrive at Philadelphia until July 21, by which time much major business had already transpired. Never much of a debater, he made no speeches and played only a minor part in the deliberations. He did, however, serve on the committee on postponed matters. He was also active in obtaining New Hampshire's acceptance of the Constitution and in shepherding it through the Continental Congress.

Gilman later became a prominent Federalist politician. He served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1789 until 1797; and in 1793 and 1797 was a Presidential elector. He also sat in the New Hampshire legislature in the years 1795, 1802, and 1804, and in 1805–8 and 1811–14 held the office of State treasurer.

Meantime, Gilman's political philosophy had begun to drift toward the Democratic-Republicans. In 1802, when he was defeated for the U.S. Senate, President Jefferson appointed him as a bankruptcy commissioner, and 2 years later as a Democratic-Republican he won election to the U.S. Senate. He was still sitting there when he passed away at Philadelphia, while on his way home from the Nation's Capital, in 1814 at the age of 58. He is interred at the Winter Street Cemetery at Exeter.

Nathaniel Gorham

MASSACHUSETTS

Despite his humble beginnings, this signer became President of the Continental Congress and one of the most successful businessmen and landowners in Massachusetts. At the Convention, he chaired the committee of the whole, served on the committee of detail, and made numerous other contributions. His fall was equally spectacular, and he died in bankruptcy.
Gorham, an eldest child, was born in 1738 at Charlestown, Mass., into an old Bay Colony family of modest means. His father operated a packet boat. The youth's education was minimal. When he was about 15 years of age, he was apprenticed to a New London, Conn., merchant. Quitting in 1759, he headed back to his hometown and established a business, which quickly succeeded. In 1763 he wed Rebecca Call, who was to bear nine children.

Gorham began his political career as a public notary, but soon won election to the colonial legislature (1771–75). During the Revolution, he unswervingly backed the Whigs. He was a delegate to the provincial congress (1774–75), member of the Commonwealth's Board of War (1778–81), delegate to the constitutional convention (1779–80), and representative in both the upper (1780) and lower (1781–87) houses of the legislature, including the speakership of the latter in 1781, 1782, and 1785. In the latter year, though he apparently lacked formal legal training, he began a judicial career as judge of the Middlesex County court of common pleas (1785–96). During this same period, in 1788–89 he sat on the Governor's Council.

During the war, British troops had ravaged much of Gorham's property, though by privateering and speculation he managed to recoup most of his fortune. Despite these pressing business concerns and his State political and judicial activities, he also managed to serve the Nation. He was a Member of the Continental Congress (1782–83 and 1785–87), from June 1786 until January 1787 holding the office of President.

The next year, at age 49, Gorham attended the Constitutional Convention. A moderate nationalist, he played an influential part in the sessions, all of which he attended. He spoke often, acted as chairman of the committee of the whole, and sat on the committee of detail. As a delegate to the Massachusetts ratifying convention, he stood behind the Constitution.

Some unhappy years followed. Gorham did not serve in the new Government he had helped to create. In 1788 he and Oliver Phelps of Windsor, Conn., and possibly others, contracted to purchase from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts 6 million acres of unimproved land in western New York. The price was $1 million in devalued Massachusetts scrip. Gorham and Phelps quickly succeeded in clearing Indian title to 2,600,000 acres in the eastern section of the grant and sold much of it to settlers. Problems soon
arose, however. Massachusetts scrip rose dramatically in value, enormously swelling the purchase price of the vast tract. By 1790 the two men were unable to meet their payments. The result was a financial crisis that led to Gorham's insolvency—and a fall from the heights of Boston society and political esteem.

Gorham died in 1796 at the age of 58 and is buried at the Phipps Street Cemetery in Charlestown, Mass.

Alexander Hamilton
NEW YORK

Hamilton, a brilliant and pragmatic politician-lawyer who soared to fame and power from modest origins, was one of the giants of the early period of U.S. history. An ardent nationalist, he was instrumental in the convening of the Constitutional Convention and spearheaded ratification in New York—though he did not play a key role at the Convention. Later, he served as the first Secretary of the Treasury, laid the foundations for national economic growth, and helped found the Federalist Party. His life ended tragically in a duel with Aaron Burr.

Hamilton was born about 1755, apparently on the island of Nevis, in the Leeward group, British West Indies. He was the illegitimate son of a common-law marriage between a poor itinerant Scotch merchant of aristocratic descent and an English-French Huguenot mother who was a planter's daughter. In 1765, after the father had moved his family elsewhere in the Leewards to St. Croix in the Danish (now United States) Virgin Islands, he deserted his wife and two sons.

The mother, who opened a small store to make ends meet, and a Presbyterian clergyman provided Alexander with a basic education, and somehow he learned to speak fluent French. When he was 12 to 14 years old, about the time of his mother's death, he became an apprentice clerk at Christiansted in a mercantile

[Image of Alexander Hamilton]
establishment, whose proprietor became one of his benefactors. Recognizing his ambition and superior intelligence, they raised a fund for his education.

In 1772, bearing letters of introduction, Hamilton traveled to New York City. Patrons he met there arranged for him to attend Barber's Academy at Elizabethtown (present Elizabeth), N.J. During this time, he met and stayed for a while at the home of William Livingston, who would one day be a fellow signer of the Constitution. Late the next year, 1773, Hamilton entered King's College (later Columbia College and University) in New York City, but the Revolution interrupted his studies.

Although not yet 20 years of age, in 1774-75 Hamilton wrote several widely read pro-Whig pamphlets. Right after the war broke out, he accepted an artillery captaincy and fought in the principal campaigns of 1776-77. In the latter year, winning the rank of lieutenant colonel, he joined the staff of General Washington as secretary and aide-de-camp and soon became his close confidant as well.

In 1780 Hamilton wed New Yorker Elizabeth Schuyler, whose family was rich and politically powerful; they were to have eight children. In 1781, after some disagreements with Washington, he took a command position under Lafayette in the Yorktown, Va., campaign (1781). He resigned his commission that November.

Hamilton then read law at Albany and quickly entered practice, but public service soon attracted him. He was elected to the Continental Congress in 1782-83. In the latter year, he established a law office in New York City. Because of his interest in strengthening the central Government, he represented his State at the Annapolis Convention in 1786, where he urged the calling of the Constitutional Convention.

In 1787 Hamilton served in the legislature, which appointed him as a delegate to the Convention. He played a surprisingly small part in the debates, apparently because he was frequently absent on legal business, his extreme nationalism put him at odds with most of the delegates, and he was frustrated by the conservative views of his two fellow-New York delegates. He did, however, sit on the committee of style, and was the only one of the three delegates from his State who signed the finished document. Hamilton's part in New York's ratification the next year was substantial, though he felt the Constitution was deficient in many
respects. Against determined opposition, he waged a strenuous and successful campaign, including collaboration with John Jay and James Madison in writing *The Federalist Papers*. In 1787–88 Hamilton was again elected to the Continental Congress.

When the new Government got underway in 1789, Hamilton won the position of Secretary of the Treasury. He began at once to place the Nation's disorganized finances on a sound footing. In a series of reports (1790–91), he presented a program not only to stabilize national finances, but also to shape the future of the country as a powerful, industrial Nation. He proposed establishment of a national bank, funding of the national debt, assumption of State war debts, and the encouragement of manufacturing.

Hamilton's policies soon brought him into conflict with Jefferson and Madison. Their disputes with him over his pro-business economic program, sympathies for Great Britain, disdain for the common man, and opposition to the principles and excesses of the French Revolution contributed to the formation of the first U.S. party system. It pitted Hamilton and the Federalists against Jefferson and Madison and the Democratic-Republicans.

During most of the Washington administration, Hamilton's views usually prevailed with the President, especially after 1793 when Jefferson left the Government. In 1795 Hamilton's low salary as a Cabinet officer forced him to resign from the Treasury Department and resume his law practice in New York City. Except for a stint as inspector-general of the Army (1798–1800) during the undeclared war with France, he never again held public office.

While gaining stature in the law, Hamilton continued to exert a powerful impact on New York and national politics. Always an opponent of fellow-Federalist John Adams, he sought to prevent his election to the Presidency in 1796. When that failed, he continued to use his influence secretly within Adams' Cabinet. The bitterness between the two men became public knowledge in 1800 when Hamilton denounced Adams in a letter that was published through the efforts of the Democratic-Republicans.

In 1802 Hamilton and his family moved into The Grange, a palatial country home he had built in a rural part of Manhattan not far north of New York City. But the expenses involved and heavy losses in land speculation seriously strained his finances.
Meanwhile, when Jefferson and Aaron Burr tied in Presidential electoral votes in 1800, Hamilton threw valuable support to Jefferson. In 1804, when Burr sought the governorship of New York, Hamilton again managed to defeat him. That same year, Burr, taking offense at remarks he believed to have originated with Hamilton, challenged him to a duel, which took place at present Weehawken, N.J., on July 11. Mortally wounded, Hamilton died the next day. He was in his late forties at death. He was buried at Trinity Churchyard in New York City.

**Jared Ingersoll**

**PENNSYLVANIA**

Although Ingersoll was the son of a well-known Loyalist during the Revolution, he rendered meritorious service to Pennsylvania and the United States. Yet he made his greatest mark as a lawyer in Philadelphia, a city that boasted the Nation's most respected bar.

The son of Jared Ingersoll, Sr., a British colonial official and later prominent Loyalist, Ingersoll was born at New Haven, Conn., in 1749. He received an excellent education and graduated from Yale in 1766. He then oversaw the financial affairs of his father, who had relocated from New Haven to Philadelphia. Later, the youth joined him, took up the study of law, and won admittance to the Pennsylvania bar.

In the midst of the Revolutionary fervor, which neither father nor son shared, in 1773, on the advice of the elder Ingersoll, Jared, Jr., sailed to London and studied law at the Middle Temple.
Completing his work in 1776, he made a 2-year tour of the Continent, during which time for some reason he shed his Loyalist sympathies.

Returning to Philadelphia and entering the legal profession, Ingersoll attended to the clients of one of the city’s leading lawyers and a family friend, Joseph Reed, who was then occupied with the affairs of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania. In 1781 Ingersoll married Elizabeth Pettit (Petit). The year before, he had entered politics by winning election to the Continental Congress (1780–81).

Although Ingersoll missed no sessions at the Constitutional Convention, had long favored revision of the Articles of Confederation, and as a lawyer was used to debate, he seldom spoke during the proceedings.

Subsequently, Ingersoll held a variety of public positions: member of the Philadelphia common council (1789); attorney general of Pennsylvania (1790–99 and 1811–17); Philadelphia city solicitor (1798–1801); U.S. District Attorney for Pennsylvania (1800–01); and presiding judge of the Philadelphia District Court (1821–22). Meantime, in 1812, he had been the Federalist Vice-Presidential candidate, but failed to win election.

While pursuing his public activities, Ingersoll attained distinction in his legal practice. For many years, he handled the affairs of Stephen Girard, one of the Nation’s leading businessmen. In 1791 Ingersoll began to practice before the U.S. Supreme Court and took part in some memorable cases. Although in both *Chisholm v. Georgia* (1792) and *Hylton v. United States* (1796) he represented the losing side, his arguments helped to clarify difficult constitutional issues. He also represented fellow-signer William Blount, a Senator, when he was threatened with impeachment in the late 1790’s.

Ingersoll’s long career ended in 1822, when he died less than a week after his 73d birthday. Survived by three children, he was buried in the cemetery of Philadelphia’s First Presbyterian Church.
Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer
MARYLAND

Jenifer was a wealthy, aristocratic bachelor who expended long years of effort on behalf of Maryland, colony and State, where he was a popular figure in political circles. Although he attended the Mount Vernon Conference, he made little impact at the Constitutional Convention.

Of Swedish and English descent, Jenifer was born in 1723 at Coates Retirement (now Ellerslie) estate, near Port Tobacco in Charles County, Md. Little is known about his childhood or education, but as an adult he came into possession of a large estate near Annapolis, called Stepney, where he lived most of his life. He never married. The web of his far-reaching friendships included such illustrious personages as George Washington.

As a young man, Jenifer served as agent and receiver-general for the last two Proprietors of Maryland. He also filled the post of justice of the peace in Charles County and later for the western circuit of Maryland. In 1760 he sat on a boundary commission that settled disputes between Pennsylvania and Delaware. Six years later, he became a member of the provincial court, and from 1773 to 1776 sat on the Maryland Royal Governor's council.

Despite his association with conservative proprietary politics, Jenifer supported the Revolutionary movement, albeit at first reluctantly. In 1775–77 he served as president of the Maryland council of safety; then as president of the first State senate (1777–80); sat in the Continental Congress (1778–82); and held the position of State revenue and financial manager (1782–85).

A conservative nationalist, Jenifer favored a strong and permanent union of the States and a Congress with taxation power. In 1785 he represented Maryland at the Mount Vernon
Conference. Although he was one of 29 delegates who attended nearly every session of the Constitutional Convention, he did not speak often but backed Madison and the nationalist element.

Jenifer lived only 3 more years and never again held public office. He died at the age of 66 or 67 at Annapolis in 1790. The exact location of his grave, apparently at present Ellerslie estate, is unknown.

William Samuel Johnson
CONNECTICUT

Scholar, lawyer-jurist, and politician, Johnson was one of the best educated of the signers. The intimate of famous men on both sides of the Atlantic, he found his loyalties torn by the War for Independence. This did not prevent him, however, from serving Connecticut, Columbia College, and the Nation. He chaired the Convention's committee of style and backed the Great Compromise.

The son of Samuel Johnson, the first president of King's College (later Columbia College and University), William was born at Stratford, Conn., in 1727. His father, who was a well-known Anglican clergyman-philosopher, prepared him for college and he graduated from Yale in 1744. About 3 years later, he won a master of arts degree from the same institution and an honorary masters from Harvard.

Resisting his father's wish that he become a minister, Johnson embraced law instead—largely by educating himself and without benefit of formal training. After admittance to the bar, he launched a practice in Stratford, representing clients from nearby New York State as well as Connecticut, and before long established business connections with various mercantile houses in New York City. In 1749, adding to his already substantial
wealth, he married Anne Beach, daughter of a local businessman. The couple was to have five daughters and six sons, but many of them died at an early age.

Johnson did not shirk the civic responsibilities of one of his station. In the 1750's he began his public career as a Connecticut militia officer. In 1761 and 1765 he served in the lower house of the colonial assembly. In 1766 he was elected to the upper house (1766 and 1771-75).

At the time of the Revolution, conflicting loyalties disturbed Johnson. Although he attended the Stamp Act Congress (1765), moderately opposed the Townshend Duties of 1767, and believed that most British policy was unwise, he retained strong transatlantic ties and found it difficult to choose sides. Many of his friends resided in Britain; in 1765 and 1766 Oxford University conferred honorary masters and doctors degrees upon him; he had a strong association with the Anglican Church; he acted as Connecticut's agent in Britain during the years 1767-71; and he was friendly with men such as Jared Ingersoll, Sr., who were affiliated with the British administration.

Johnson finally decided to work for peace between Britain and the Colonies and to oppose the extremist Whig faction. On this basis, he refused to participate in the First Continental Congress, to which he was elected in 1774, following service as a judge of the Connecticut colonial supreme court (1772-74). When hostilities broke out, he confined his activities to peacemaking efforts. In April 1775 Connecticut sent him and another emissary to speak to British Gen. Thomas Gage about ending the bloodshed. But the time was not ripe for negotiations and they failed. As radical patriot elements gained the ascendancy in Connecticut, Johnson fell out of favor with the government and no longer was called on to serve it. Although he was arrested in 1779 on charges of communicating with the enemy, he cleared himself and was released.

Once the passions of war had ebbed, Johnson resumed his political career. In the Continental Congress (1785-87), he was one of the most influential and popular Delegates. Playing a major role in the Constitutional Convention, he missed no sessions after arriving on June 2; espoused the Connecticut Compromise; and chaired the committee of style, which shaped the final document. He also worked for ratification in Connecticut.

Johnson took part in the new Government as a U.S. Senator, in
which position he contributed to passage of the Judiciary Act of 1789. In 1791, the year after the Government moved from New York to Philadelphia, he resigned mainly because he preferred to devote all his energies to the presidency of Columbia College (1787–1800), in New York City. During these years, he established the school on a firm basis and recruited a fine faculty.

Johnson retired from the college in 1800, a few years after his wife died, and the same year wed Mary Brewster Beach, a relative of his first bride. They resided at his birthplace, Stratford. He died there in 1819 at the age of 92 and was buried at Old Episcopal Cemetery.

Rufus King

MASSACHUSETTS

Although one of the youngest delegates at the Convention, King was one of the most influential and spoke eloquently for the nationalist cause. He also sat on two major committees. Beyond that, he made other vital contributions to the Nation, as well as to Massachusetts and New York. Not only was he one of the country’s ablest diplomats, but he was also a U.S. Senator for a long period. Although he twice won the Federalist nomination for Vice President and once for President, he failed to win the offices.

King was born at Scarboro (Scarborough), Mass. (present Maine), in 1755. He was the eldest son of a prosperous farmer-merchant. At age 12, after receiving an elementary education at local schools, he matriculated at Dummer Academy in South Byfield, Mass., and in 1777 graduated from Harvard. He served briefly as a general’s aide during the War for Independence.

Choosing a legal career, he read for the law at Newburyport, Mass., and entered practice there in 1780.

King’s knowledge, bearing, and oratorical gifts soon launched him on a political career. From 1783 to 1785, he was a member of
the Massachusetts legislature, after which that body sent him to the Continental Congress (1784-86). There, he gained a reputation as a brilliant speaker and an early opponent of slavery. Toward the end of his tour, in 1786, he married Mary Alsop, daughter of a rich New York City merchant. He performed his final duties for Massachusetts by representing her at the Constitutional Convention and by serving in the Commonwealth ratifying convention.

At age 32, King was not only one of the most youthful of the delegates at Philadelphia, but was also one of the most important. He numbered among the most capable orators. Furthermore, he attended every session. Although he came to the Convention unconvinced that major changes should be made in the Articles of Confederation, during the debates his views underwent a startling transformation. With Madison, he became a leading figure in the nationalist caucus. He served with distinction on the committee on postponed matters and the committee of style. He also took notes on the proceedings, which have been valuable to historians.

About 1788 King abandoned his law practice, moved from the Bay State to Gotham, and entered the New York political forum. He was elected to the legislature (1789-90), and in the former year was picked as one of the State's first U.S. Senators. As political divisions grew in the new Government, King's sympathies came to be ardently Federalist. In Congress, he supported Hamilton's fiscal program and stood among the leading proponents of the unpopular Jay's Treaty (1794).

Meantime, in 1791, King had become one of the directors of the First Bank of the United States. Reelected as a U.S. Senator in 1795, he served only a year before he was appointed as Minister to Great Britain (1796-1803).

King's years in this post were difficult ones in Anglo-American relations. The wars of the French Revolution trapped U.S. commerce between the French and the British. The latter in particular violated American rights on the high seas, especially by the impressment of sailors. Although King was unable to bring about a change in this policy, he smoothed relations between the two nations in various ways.

In 1803 King sailed back to the United States and to a career in politics. In 1804 and 1808 fellow-signer Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and he were the Federalist candidates for President and Vice President, respectively, but were decisively defeated. Otherwise, King largely contented himself with agricultural pursuits at
King Manor, a Long Island estate he had purchased in 1805. During the War of 1812, he was again elected to the U.S. Senate (1813–25) and ranked as a leading critic of the war. Only after the British attacked Washington in 1814 did he come to believe that the United States was fighting a defensive action and lent his support to the war effort.

In 1816 the Federalists chose King as their candidate for the Presidency, but James Monroe handily beat him. Still in the Senate, that same year King led the opposition to the establishment of the Second Bank of the United States. Four years later, believing that the issue of slavery could not be compromised but must be settled once and for all by the immediate establishment of a system of compensated emancipation and colonization, he denounced the Missouri Compromise.

In 1825, suffering from ill health, King retired from the Senate. President John Quincy Adams, however, persuaded him to accept another assignment as Minister to Great Britain. He arrived in England that same year, but soon fell ill and was forced to return home the following year. Within a year, at the age of 72, in 1827, he died. Surviving him were several offspring, some of whom also gained distinction. He was laid to rest near King Manor in the cemetery of Grace Episcopal Church, Jamaica, Long Island, N.Y.

John Langdon
NEW HAMPSHIRE

Langdon, who stood out at the Convention despite his late arrival, was a politician and businessman who had enthusiastically backed the patriot cause during the War for Independence. He also enjoyed long and fruitful careers in New Hampshire and national politics.
Langdon was born in 1741 at or near Portsmouth, N.H. His father, whose family had emigrated to America before 1660, was a prosperous farmer who sired a large family. The youth's education was intermittent. He attended a local grammar school, worked as an apprentice clerk, and spent some time at sea. Eventually he went into the mercantile business for himself and prospered.

Langdon, a vigorous supporter of the Revolution, sat on the New Hampshire committee of correspondence and a nonimportation committee. He also attended various patriot assemblies. In 1774 he participated in the seizure and confiscation of British munitions from the Portsmouth fort.

The next year, Langdon served as speaker of the New Hampshire assembly and also sat in the Continental Congress (1775-76). During the latter year, he accepted a colonelcy in the militia of his State and became its agent for British prizes on behalf of the Continental Congress, a post he held throughout the war. In addition, he built privateers for operations against the British—a lucrative occupation.

Langdon also actively took part in the land war. In 1777 he organized and paid for Gen. John Stark's expedition from New Hampshire against British Gen. John Burgoyne and was present in command of a militia unit at Saratoga, N.Y., when the latter surrendered. Langdon later led a detachment of troops during the Rhode Island campaign, but found his major outlet in politics. He was speaker of the New Hampshire legislature from 1777 to 1781. In 1777, meantime, he had married Elizabeth Sherburne, who was to give birth to one daughter.

In 1783 Langdon was elected to the Continental Congress; the next year, to the State senate; and the following year, as president, or chief executive, of New Hampshire. In 1784 he built a home at Portsmouth. In 1786-87 he was back again as speaker of the legislature, and during the latter year for the third time in the Continental Congress.

Langdon was forced to pay his own expenses and those of Nicholas Gilman to the Constitutional Convention because New Hampshire was unable or unwilling to pay them. The pair did not arrive at Philadelphia until late July, by which time much business had already been consummated. Thereafter, Langdon made a significant mark. He spoke more than 20 times during the debates and was a member of the committee that struck a compromise on the issue of slavery. For the most part, his
sympathies lay on the side of strengthening the national Government. In 1788, once again as State president (1788-89), he took part in the ratifying convention.

From 1789 to 1801 Langdon sat in the U.S. Senate, including service as the first President pro tem for several sessions. During these years, his political affiliations changed. As a supporter of a strong central Government, he had been a member of the Federalist Party, but by the time of Jay’s Treaty (1794) he was opposing its policies. By 1801 he was firmly backing the Democratic-Republicans.

That year, Langdon declined Jefferson’s offer of the secretaryship of the Navy. Between then and 1812, he kept active in New Hampshire politics. He sat again in the legislature (1801-5), twice holding the position of speaker. After several unsuccessful attempts, in 1805 he was elected as Governor and continued in that post until 1811 except for a year’s hiatus in 1809. Meantime, in 1805, Dartmouth College had awarded him an honorary doctor of laws degree.

In 1812 Langdon refused the Democratic-Republican Vice-Presidential nomination on the grounds of age and health. He enjoyed retirement for another 7 years before he died at the age of 78. His grave is at Old North Cemetery in Portsmouth.


We are authorized to inform our readers that the probability of the honorable delegates from this state not attending the convention at Philadelphia, causes great uneasiness in the minds of the true whigs of New Hampshire, and will occasion a considerable inspection into the state of our finances.

Near one quarter part of the towns in this state have resolved not to send any representatives to the ensuing General Court. A correspondent supposes this circumstance will greatly accelerate public business.

BOSTON, May 19.

The legislature of Connecticut having last week appointed its deputies, twelve states will be represented in the grand federal Convention, now sitting in Philadelphia. — Rhode Island is the delinquent state — but, observes a correspondent, this is a circumstance far more joyous than grievous; for her

Because New Hampshire did not provide funds, its two delegates, John Langdon and Nicholas Gilman, did not arrive at the Convention until July 23, 1787, and had to pay their own way. Rhode Island was the only State not represented, as this extract from a Philadelphia newspaper also indicates.
William Livingston
NEW JERSEY

Livingston, who chaired the Convention committee that reached a compromise on slavery, was a member of one of the most politically and economically powerful families in the Colonies, but he spearheaded popular rather than conservative causes and was a fervent Revolutionary. Excelling in politics as well as the law, though a gentleman farmer at heart, he served in the Continental Congress and as the first Governor of his State. His elder brother, Philip, signed the Declaration of Independence.

Livingston was born in 1723 at Albany, N.Y. His maternal grandmother reared him until he was 14, and he then spent a year with a missionary among the Mohawk Indians. He attended Yale and graduated in 1741.

Rejecting his family's hope that he would enter the fur trade at Albany or mercantile pursuits in New York City, young Livingston chose to pursue a career in law at the latter place. Before he completed his legal studies, in 1745 he married Susanna French, daughter of a well-to-do New Jersey landowner. She was to bear 13 children.

Three years later, Livingston was admitted to the bar and quickly gained a reputation as the supporter of popular causes against the more conservative factions in the city. Associated with the Calvinists in religion, he opposed the dominant Anglican leaders in the colony and wielded a sharply satirical pen in verses and broadsides. Attacking the Anglican attempt to charter and control King's College (later Columbia College and University) and the dominant De Lancey party for its Anglican sympathies, by 1758 Livingston had risen to the leadership of his faction. For a decade, it controlled the colonial assembly and fought against Parliamentary interference in the colony's affairs. During this time, in 1759-61, Livingston sat in the assembly.

In 1769 Livingston's supporters, riven by the growing debate as
to how to respond to British taxation of the Colonies, lost control of the assembly. Not long thereafter, Livingston, who had also grown tired of legal practice, moved to the Elizabethtown (present Elizabeth), N.J., area, where he had purchased land in 1760. There, in 1772–73, he built an estate, Liberty Hall; continued to write verse; and planned to live the life of a gentleman farmer.

The Revolutionary upsurge, however, brought Livingston out of retirement. He soon became a member of the Essex County, N.J., committee of correspondence; in 1774 a Representative in the First Continental Congress; and in 1775–76 a Delegate to the Second Continental Congress. In June 1776 he left Congress to command the New Jersey militia as a brigadier general and held this post until he was elected later in the year as the first Governor of the State.

Livingston held the position throughout and beyond the war—in fact, for 14 consecutive years until his death in 1790. During his administration, the government was organized, the war won, and New Jersey launched on her path as a sovereign State. Although the pressure of affairs often prevented it, he enjoyed his estate whenever possible, conducted agricultural experiments, and became a member of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture. He was also active in the antislavery movement.

In 1787 Livingston was selected as a delegate to the Constitutional Convention, though his gubernatorial duties prevented him from attending every session. He did not arrive until June 5 and missed several weeks in July, but he performed vital committee work, particularly as chairman of the one that reached a compromise on the issue of slavery. He also supported the New Jersey Plan. In addition, he spurred New Jersey’s rapid ratification of the Constitution (1787). The next year, Yale awarded him an honorary doctor of laws degree.

Livingston died at Liberty Hall in his 67th year in 1790. He was originally buried at the local Presbyterian Churchyard, but a year later his remains were moved to a vault his son owned at Trinity Churchyard in Manhattan; and in 1844 were again relocated, to Brooklyn’s Greenwood Cemetery.
A soldier, physician, and politician who was one of several foreign-born signers of the Constitution, McHenry served as a surgeon and as an aide to Washington and Lafayette during the War for Independence; sat in the Maryland legislature and the Continental Congress; and held the position of Secretary of War in the Washington and John Adams administrations. Baltimore's Fort McHenry was named after him.

McHenry was born at Ballymena, County Antrim, Ireland, in 1753. He enjoyed a classical education at Dublin, and in 1771 emigrated to Philadelphia. The following year, the rest of his family came to the Colonies, and his brother and father established an import business at Baltimore. During that year, James continued schooling at Newark Academy in Delaware and then studied medicine for 2 years under the well-known Dr. Benjamin Rush in Philadelphia.

During the War for Independence, McHenry served as a military surgeon. Late in 1776, while he was on the staff of the 5th Pennsylvania Battalion, the British captured him at Fort Washington, N.Y. He was paroled early the next year and exchanged in March 1778. Returning immediately to duty, he was assigned to Valley Forge, Pa., and in May became secretary to George Washington. About this time, McHenry apparently quit the practice of medicine to devote himself to politics and administration, and apparently never needed to return to it after the war because of his excellent financial circumstances.

McHenry stayed on Washington's staff until 1780, when he joined that of the Marquis de Lafayette, and he remained in that assignment until he entered the Maryland senate (1781–86).
During part of this period, he served concurrently in the Continental Congress (1783–86). In 1784 he married Margaret Allison Caldwell.

McHenry missed many of the proceedings at the Philadelphia Convention, in part because of the illness of his brother, and played an insubstantial part in the debates when he was present. He did, however, maintain a private journal that has been useful.

Family illness and personal business caused the temporary absence of many Convention delegates. Because of the sickness of his brother, James McHenry left Philadelphia on June 1 (his letter to George Washington is misdated) and did not return until August 4.
to posterity. He campaigned strenuously for the Constitution in Maryland and attended the State ratifying convention.

From 1789 to 1791, McHenry sat in the State assembly and in the years 1791–96 again in the senate. A staunch Federalist, he then accepted Washington’s offer of the post of Secretary of War and held it into the administration of John Adams. McHenry looked to Hamilton rather than to Adams for leadership. As time passed, the latter became increasingly dissatisfied with McHenry’s performance and distrustful of his political motives, and in 1800 forced him to resign. Subsequently, the Democratic-Republicans accused him of maladministration, but a congressional committee vindicated him.

McHenry returned to his estate near Baltimore and to semiretirement. He remained a loyal Federalist and opposed the War of 1812. He also held the office of president of a Bible society. He died in 1816 at the age of 62, survived by two of his three children. His grave is in Baltimore’s Westminster Presbyterian Cemetery.

James Madison

VIRGINIA

A brilliant political philosopher and pragmatic politician who dominated the Constitutional Convention, Madison has deservedly won the epithet “Father of the Constitution.” Other facets of his remarkable career include the founding of the Democratic-Republican Party with his mentor, Jefferson; tours in the Continental Congress and the U.S. House of Representatives; and ascent to the Presidency, during which he led the Nation through the War of 1812 and the ensuing period of nationalistic fervor.

The oldest of 10 children and a scion of the planter aristocracy, Madison was born in 1751 at Port Conway, King George County, Va., while his mother was visiting her parents. With her newborn son, in a few weeks she journeyed back to Montpelier estate, in Orange County, which became his lifelong home. He received his
early education from his mother, from tutors, and at a private school. An excellent scholar though frail and sickly in his youth, in 1771 he graduated from the College of New Jersey (later Princeton), where he demonstrated special interest in government and the law. But, considering the ministry for a career, he stayed on for a year of postgraduate study in theology.

Back at Montpelier, still undecided on a profession, Madison soon embraced the patriot cause, and State and local politics absorbed much of his time. In 1775 he served on the Orange County committee of safety; the next year at the Virginia Convention, which, besides advocating various Revolutionary steps, framed the Virginia constitution; in 1776-77 in the House of Delegates; and in 1778-80 in the Council of State. His ill health precluded any military service.

In 1780 Madison was chosen to represent Virginia in the Continental Congress (1780-83 and 1786-88). Although originally the youngest Delegate, he played a major role in the deliberations of that body. Meantime, in the years 1784-86, he had again sat in the Virginia House of Delegates. He was a guiding force behind the Mount Vernon Conference (1785), attended the Annapolis Convention (1786), and was otherwise highly instrumental in the convening of the Constitutional Convention in 1787. He had also written extensively about deficiencies in the Articles of Confederation.

Madison was clearly the preeminent figure at the Convention. Some of the delegates favored an authoritarian central Government; others, retention of State sovereignty; and most occupied positions in the middle of the two extremes. Madison, who was rarely absent and whose Virginia Plan was in large part the basis of the Constitution, tirelessly advocated a strong Government, though many of his proposals were rejected. Despite his lack of special capability as a speaker, he took the floor more than 150 times, third only after Gouverneur Morris and James Wilson. Madison was also a member of numerous committees, the most important of which were those on postponed matters and style. His journal of the Convention is the best single record of the event. He also played a key part in guiding the Constitution through the Continental Congress.

Playing a lead in the ratification process in Virginia, too, Madison defended the document against such powerful opponents
as Patrick Henry, George Mason, and Richard Henry Lee. In New York, where Madison was serving in the Continental Congress, he collaborated with Alexander Hamilton and John Jay in a series of essays that in 1787–88 appeared in the newspapers and were soon published in book form as *The Federalist* (1788). This set of essays is a classic of political theory and a lucid exposition of the republican principles that dominated the framing of the Constitution.

As a U.S. Representative (1789–97), Madison helped frame and insure passage of the Bill of Rights. He also assisted in organizing the executive department and creating a system of Federal taxation. As leaders of the opposition to Hamilton's policies, he and Jefferson founded the Democratic-Republican Party.

In 1794 Madison married a vivacious widow who was 16 years his junior, Dolley Payne Todd, who had a son; they were to raise no children of their own. Madison spent the period 1797–1801 in semiretirement, but in 1798 he authored the Virginia Resolutions, which attacked the Alien and Sedition Acts. While he served as Secretary of State (1801–9), his wife often served as President Jefferson's hostess.

In 1809 Madison succeeded Jefferson. Like the first three Presidents, Madison was enmeshed in the ramifications of European wars. Diplomacy had failed to prevent the seizure of U.S. ships, goods, and men on the high seas; and a depression wracked the country. Madison continued to apply diplomatic techniques and economic sanctions, eventually effective to some degree against France. But continued British interference with shipping, as well as other grievances, led to the War of 1812.

The war, for which the young Nation was ill prepared, ended in stalemate in December 1814 when the inconclusive Treaty of Ghent, which nearly restored prewar conditions, was signed. But, thanks mainly to Andrew Jackson's spectacular victory at the Battle of New Orleans (Chalmette) in January 1815 most Americans believed they had won. Twice tested, independence had survived, and an ebullient nationalism marked Madison's last years in office, during which period the Democratic-Republicans held virtually uncontested sway.

In retirement after his second term, Madison managed Montpelier, but continued to be active in public affairs. He devoted long hours to editing his journal of the Constitutional Convention,
which the Government was to publish 4 years after his death. He served as cochairman of the Virginia constitutional convention of 1829-30 and as rector of the University of Virginia during the period 1826-36. Writing newspaper articles defending the administration of Monroe, he also acted as his foreign policy adviser. Madison spoke out, too, against the emerging sectional

Madison’s editing of the first page of his original journal of the Convention. The Government published it 4 years after his death.
controversy that threatened the existence of the Union. Although a slaveholder all his life, he was active during his later years in the American Colonization Society, whose mission was the resettlement of slaves in Africa.

Madison died at the age of 85 in 1836, survived by his wife and stepson.

Thomas Mifflin
PENNSYLVANIA

Merchant-politician-soldier Mifflin lived in affluence for most of his years, but died in poverty. He had forsaken his Quaker faith to fight in the War for Independence. Later, he served as President of the Continental Congress and as Governor of Pennsylvania.

A member of the fourth generation of a Pennsylvania Quaker family who had emigrated from England, Mifflin was born at Philadelphia in 1744, the son of a rich merchant and local politician. He studied at a Quaker school and then at the College of Philadelphia (later part of the University of Pennsylvania), from which he won a diploma at the age of 16 and whose interests he was to advance for the rest of his life.

Mifflin then worked for 4 years in a Philadelphia counting-house. In 1764 he visited Europe, and the next year entered the mercantile business in Philadelphia with his brother. In 1767 he wed Sarah Morris. Although he prospered in business, politics enticed him.

In the Pennsylvania legislature (1772–76), Mifflin championed the colonial position against the Crown. In 1774 he attended the Continental Congress (1774–76). Meanwhile, he had helped to raise troops and in May 1775 won appointment as a major in the
Continental Army, which caused him to be expelled from his Quaker faith. In the summer of 1775 he first became an aide-de-camp to Washington and then Quartermaster General of the Continental Army. Late in 1775 he became a colonel and in May 1776 a brigadier general. Preferring action to administration, after a time he began to perform his quartermaster duties perfunctorily. Nevertheless, he participated directly in the war effort. He took part in the Battles of Long Island, N.Y., Trenton, N.J., and Princeton, N.J. Furthermore, through his persuasive oratory, he apparently convinced many men not to leave the military service.

In 1777 Mifflin attained the rank of major general but, restive at criticism of his quartermaster activities, he resigned. About the same time, though he later became a friend of Washington, he became involved in the cabal that advanced Gen. Horatio Gates to replace him in command of the Continental Army. In 1777-78 Mifflin sat on the Congressional Board of War. In the latter year, he briefly reentered the military, but continuing attacks on his earlier conduct of the quartermastership soon led him to resign once more.

Mifflin returned immediately to politics. He sat in the State assembly (1778–79) and again in the Continental Congress (1782–84), from December 1783 to the following June as its President. In 1787 he was chosen to take part in the Constitutional Convention. He attended regularly, but made no speeches and did not play a substantial role.

Mifflin continued in the legislature (1785–88 and 1799–1800); succeeded Franklin as president of the Supreme Executive Council (1788–90); chaired the constitutional convention (1789–90); and held the governorship (1790–99), during which time he affiliated himself with the emerging Democratic-Republican Party.

Although wealthy most of his life, Mifflin was a lavish spender. Pressure from his creditors forced him to leave Philadelphia in 1799, and he died at Lancaster the next year, aged 56. The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania paid his burial expenses at the local Trinity Lutheran Church.
Gouverneur Morris

PENNSYLVANIA

The apparent drafter of the Constitution and one of the leaders at the Convention, Gouverneur Morris was one of the wittiest and most brilliant Americans of his time. While energetically pursuing his legal and business interests, he contributed to the political systems of New York and Pennsylvania, as well as that of the Nation. He sat in the Continental Congress and the U.S. Senate and held the position of Minister to France. Embittering his last years were forced political retirement and the rise of the Democratic-Republican Party to national dominance.

Of French and English descent, Gouverneur was born at Morrisania estate, in Westchester (present Bronx) County, N.Y., in 1752. His family was wealthy and enjoyed a long record of public service. His elder half-brother, Lewis, signed the Declaration of Independence.

Gouverneur was educated by private tutors and at a Huguenot school in New Rochelle. In early life, he lost a leg in a carriage accident. He attended King's College (later Columbia College and University) in New York City, graduating in 1768 at the age of 16. Three years later, after reading law in the city, he gained admission to the bar.

When the Revolution loomed on the horizon, Morris became interested in political affairs. Because of his conservatism, however, he at first feared the movement, which he believed would bring mob rule. Furthermore, some of his family and many of his friends were Loyalists. But, beginning in 1775, for some reason he sided with the Whigs. That same year, representing Westchester County, he took a seat in New York's Revolutionary provincial congress (1775-77). In 1776, when he also served in the militia, along with John Jay and Robert R. Livingston he drafted the first constitution of the State. Subsequently he joined its council of safety (1777).

In 1777-78 Morris sat in the legislature and in 1778-79 in the Continental Congress, where he numbered among the youngest
and most brilliant Members. During this period, he signed the Articles of Confederation and drafted instructions for Benjamin Franklin, in Paris, as well as those that provided a partial basis for the treaty ending the War for Independence. Morris was also a close friend of Washington and one of his strongest congressional supporters.

Defeated in his bid for reelection to Congress in 1779 because of the opposition of Gov. George Clinton's faction, Morris relocated to Philadelphia and resumed the practice of law. This temporarily removed him from the political scene, but in 1781 he resumed his public career when he became the principal assistant to Robert Morris, Superintendent of Finance for the United States, to whom he was unrelated. Gouverneur held this position for 4 years.

Morris emerged as one of the leading figures at the Constitutional Convention. His speeches, more frequent than those by anyone else, numbered 173. Although sometimes presented in a light vein, they were usually substantive. A strong advocate of nationalism and aristocratic rule, he served on many committees, including those on postponed matters and style, and stood in the thick of the decision-making process. Above all, it was apparently he who actually drafted the Constitution.

Morris subsequently left public life for a time to devote his attention to business. Having purchased the family home from his half-brother, Lewis, he moved back to New York, but soon, in 1789, on a venture in association with Robert Morris, traveled to France, where he witnessed the beginnings of the French Revolution.

Morris was to remain in Europe for about a decade. In 1790–91 he undertook a diplomatic mission to London to try to negotiate some of the outstanding problems between the United States and Great Britain. The mission failed, but in 1792 Washington appointed him as Minister to France, to replace Thomas Jefferson. Morris was recalled 2 years later, but did not come home. Instead, he traveled extensively in Europe for more than 4 years, during which time he handled his complicated business affairs and contemplated the complex political situation.

Morris returned to the United States in 1799. The next year, he was elected to finish an unexpired term in the U.S. Senate. An ardent Federalist, he was defeated in his bid for reelection in 1802 and left office the following year.

Morris retired to a glittering life at Morrisania, where he had
Robert Morris

PENNSYLVANIA

Merchant Robert Morris was a man of many distinctions. One of the wealthiest individuals in the Colonies and an economic wizard, he won the accolade "Financier of the Revolution," yet died penniless and forgotten. He and Roger Sherman were the only signers of all three of the Nation's basic documents: the Declaration of Independence, Articles of Confederation, and Constitution. Morris, who turned down appointment as the first Secretary of the Treasury, also served as a Senator in the First Congress.

Morris was born at or near Liverpool, England, in 1734. When he reached 13 years of age, he emigrated to Maryland to join his father, a tobacco exporter at Oxford, Md. After brief schooling at Philadelphia, the youth obtained employment with Thomas and Charles Willing's well-known shipping-banking firm. In 1754 he became a partner, and for almost four decades was one of the company's directors as well as an influential Philadelphia citizen. Wedding Mary White at the age of 35, he fathered five sons and two daughters.

During the Stamp Act turmoil in 1765, Morris had joined other merchants in protest, but not until the outbreak of hostilities a decade hence did he fully commit himself to the Revolution. In
1775 the Continental Congress contracted with his firm to import arms and ammunition; and he was elected to the Pennsylvania council of safety (1775-76), the committee of correspondence, the provincial assembly (1775-76), the legislature (1776-78), and the Continental Congress (1775-78). In the latter body, on July 1, 1776, he voted against independence, which he personally considered premature, but the next day purposely absented himself to facilitate an affirmative ballot by the Pennsylvania delegation.

Morris, a key Congressman, specialized in financial affairs and military procurement. Although he and his firm profited handsomely, had it not been for his assiduous labors the Continental Army would probably have needed to demobilize. He worked closely with General Washington, wheedled money and supplies from the States, borrowed money in the face of overwhelming difficulties, and on occasion even obtained personal loans to further the war cause.

Immediately following his congressional service, Morris sat for two more terms in the Pennsylvania legislature (1778-81). During this time, Thomas Paine and others attacked him for profiteering in Congress, which investigated his accounts and vindicated him. Nevertheless, his reputation suffered.

Morris embarked on the most dramatic phase of his career by accepting the office of Superintendent of Finance (1781-84) under the Articles of Confederation. Congress, recognizing the perilous state of the Nation’s finances and its impotence to provide remedies, granted him dictatorial powers and acquiesced to his condition that he be allowed to continue his private commercial enterprises. He slashed all governmental and military expenditures, personally purchased Army and Navy supplies, tightened accounting procedures, prodded the States to fulfill quotas of money and supplies, and when necessary strained his personal credit by issuing notes over his own signature or borrowing from friends.

To finance Washington’s Yorktown campaign in 1781, in addition to the above techniques, Morris obtained a sizable loan from France. He used part of it, along with some of his own fortune, to organize the Bank of North America, chartered that December. The first Government-incorporated bank in the United States, it aided war financing.
Although Morris was reelected to the Pennsylvania legislature in 1785-86, his private ventures consumed most of his time. In the latter year, he attended the Annapolis Convention, and the following year the Constitutional Convention, where he sympathized with the Federalists but was, for a man of his eminence, strangely silent. Although in attendance at practically every meeting, he spoke only twice in debates and did not serve on any committees. In 1789, declining Washington's offer of appointment as the first Secretary of the Treasury, he took instead a U.S. Senate seat (1789-95).

During the later years of his public life, Morris speculated wildly, often on overextended credit, in lands in the West and at the site of Washington, D.C. To compound his difficulties, in 1794 he began constructing on Philadelphia's Chestnut Street a mansion designed by Maj. Pierre Charles L'Enfant. Not long thereafter, Morris attempted to escape creditors by retreating to The Hills, the country estate along the Schuylkill River on the edge of Philadelphia that he had acquired in 1770.

Arrested at the behest of creditors in 1798 and forced to abandon completion of the mansion, henceforth known in its unfinished state as "Morris' Folly," Morris was thrown into the Philadelphia debtors' prison, where he was nevertheless well treated. By the time he was released in 1801, under a Federal bankruptcy law, however, his property and fortune had vanished, his health deteriorated, and his spirit broken. He lingered on amid poverty and obscurity, living in a simple Philadelphia home on an annuity obtained for his wife by fellow-signer Gouverneur Morris.

Robert died in 1806 in his 73d year and was buried in the yard of Christ Church.
William Paterson
NEW JERSEY

Paterson, one of the authors of the New Jersey, or Paterson, Plan, was one of seven foreign-born signers. Although he made his career primarily as a lawyer-jurist and reached the pinnacle of his success as Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, his political offices included attorney general, legislator, and Governor of New Jersey; and, briefly, U.S. Senator.

William Paterson (Patterson) was born in County Antrim, Ireland, in 1745. When he was almost 2 years of age, his family emigrated to America, disembarking at New Castle, Del. While the father traveled about the country, apparently selling tinware, the family lived in New London, other places in Connecticut, and in Trenton, N.J. In 1750 he settled in Princeton, N.J. There, he became a merchant and manufacturer of tin goods. His prosperity enabled William to attend local private schools and the College of New Jersey (later Princeton). He took a B.A. in 1763 and an M.A. 3 years later.

Meantime, Paterson had studied law in the city of Princeton under Richard Stockton, who later was to sign the Declaration of Independence, and near the end of the decade began practicing at New Bromley, in Hunterdon County. Before long, he moved to South Branch, in Somerset County, and then in 1779 relocated near New Brunswick at Raritan estate.

When the War for Independence broke out, Paterson joined the vanguard of the New Jersey patriots. He served in the provincial congress (1775–76), the constitutional convention (1776), legislative council (1776–77), and council of safety (1777). During the latter year, he also held a militia commission. From 1776 to 1783
he was attorney general of New Jersey, a task that occupied so much of his time that it prevented him from accepting election to the Continental Congress in 1780. Meantime, the year before, he had married Cornelia Bell, by whom he had three children before her death in 1783. Two years later, he took a new bride, Euphemia White, but it is not known whether or not they reared any offspring.

From 1783, when he moved into the city of New Brunswick, until 1787, Paterson devoted his energies to the law and stayed out of the public limelight. Then he was chosen to represent New Jersey at the Constitutional Convention, which he attended only until late July. Until then, he took notes of the proceedings. More importantly, he figured prominently because of his advocacy and co-authorship of the New Jersey, or Paterson, Plan, which asserted the rights of the small States against the large. He apparently returned to the Convention only to sign the final document. After supporting its ratification in New Jersey, he began a career in the new Government.

In 1789 Paterson was elected to the U.S. Senate (1789-90), where he played a pivotal role in drafting the Judiciary Act of 1789. His next position was Governor of his State (1790-93). During this time, he began work on the volume later published as *Laws of the State of New Jersey* (1800) and began to revise the rules and practices of the chancery and common law courts.

During the years 1793-1806, Paterson served as an Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. Riding the grueling circuit to which Federal judges were subjected in those days and sitting with the full Court, he presided over a number of major trials.

In September 1806, his health failing, the 60-year-old Paterson embarked on a journey to Ballston Spa, N.Y., for a cure but died en route at Albany in the home of his daughter, who had married Stephen Van Rensselaer. Paterson was at first laid to rest in the nearby Van Rensselaer manor house family vault, but later his body was apparently moved to the Albany Rural Cemetery, Menands, N.Y.
Charles Pinckney
SOUTH CAROLINA

Only 29 years old in 1787, Pinckney was one of the youngest and most able delegates at Philadelphia. During the course of a long political career, he forswore his aristocratic background and championed Carolina back-country democracy. He governed South Carolina for four terms and also served as U.S. Senator and Representative, as well as Minister to Spain.

Charles Pinckney, the second cousin of fellow-signer Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, was born at Charleston, S.C., in 1757. His father, Col. Charles Pinckney, was a rich lawyer and planter, who on his death in 1782 was to bequeath Snee Farm, a country estate outside the city, to his son Charles. The latter apparently received all his education in the city of his birth, and he started to practice law there in 1779.

About that time, well after the War for Independence had begun, though his father demonstrated ambivalence about the Revolution, young Pinckney enlisted in the militia, became a lieutenant, and served at the siege of Savannah (September–October 1779). When Charleston fell to the British the next year, the youth was captured and remained a prisoner until June 1781.

Meantime, Pinckney had begun a political career, serving in the Continental Congress (1777–78 and 1784–87) and in the State legislature (1779–80, 1786–89, and 1792–96). A nationalist, he worked hard in Congress to insure that the United States would receive navigation rights to the Mississippi and to strengthen congressional power.

Pinckney’s role in the Constitutional Convention is controversial. Although he was the second youngest delegate, he later claimed to have been the most influential one and contended he
had submitted a draft that was the basis of the final Constitution. Most historians have rejected this assertion. They do, however, recognize that he ranked among the leaders. He attended full time, spoke often and effectively, and contributed immensely to the final draft and to the resolution of problems that arose during the debates. He also worked for ratification in South Carolina (1788). That same year, he married Mary Eleanor Laurens, daughter of a wealthy and politically powerful South Carolina merchant; she was to bear at least three children.

Subsequently, Pinckney's career blossomed. From 1789 to 1792 he held the governorship of South Carolina, and in 1790 chaired the State constitutional convention. During this period, he became associated with the Federalist Party, in which he and his cousin Charles Cotesworth Pinckney were leaders. But, with the passage of time, the former's views began to change. In 1795 he attacked the Federalist-backed Jay's Treaty, and increasingly began to cast his lot with Carolina back-country Democratic-Republicans against his own eastern aristocracy. In 1796 he became Governor once again, and 1798 his Democratic-Republican supporters helped him win a seat in the U.S. Senate. There, he bitterly opposed his former party, and in the Presidential election of 1800 served as Thomas Jefferson's campaign manager in South Carolina.

The victorious Jefferson appointed Pinckney as Minister to Spain (1801-5), in which capacity he struggled valiantly but unsuccessfully to win cession of the Floridas to the United States and facilitated Spanish acquiescence in the transfer of Louisiana from France to the United States in 1803.

Upon completion of his diplomatic mission, his ideas moving ever closer to democracy, Pinckney headed back to Charleston and to leadership of the State Democratic-Republican Party. He sat in the legislature in 1805-6 and then was again elected as Governor (1806-8). In this position, he favored legislative reapportionment, giving better representation to back-country districts, and advocated universal white manhood suffrage. He served again in the legislature from 1810 to 1814, and then temporarily withdrew from politics. In 1818 he won election to the U.S. House of Representatives, where he fought against the Missouri Compromise.

In 1821, Pinckney's health beginning to fail, he retired for the
last time from politics. He died in 1824, just 3 days after his 67th birthday. He was laid to rest in Charleston at St. Philip’s Episcopal Churchyard.

Charles Cotesworth Pinckney
SOUTH CAROLINA

Utilizing his exceptional education and continuing the public service of his distinguished parents, planter-lawyer-politician-soldier-philanthropist Pinckney became one of the outstanding men of his time. During the Revolution, he espoused the Whig cause; bore arms during the War for Independence; and ranked among the leaders at the Constitutional Convention. Besides serving in the State legislature, he rendered diplomatic service to the Nation, and was once the Vice-Presidential and twice the Presidential candidate of the Federalists.

The eldest son of a politically prominent planter and a remarkable mother who introduced and promoted indigo culture in South Carolina, Charles Cotesworth was born in 1746 at Charleston. Only 7 years later, he accompanied his father, who had been appointed colonial agent for South Carolina, to England. As a result, the youth enjoyed a European education.

Pinckney received tutoring in London, attended several preparatory schools, and went on to Christ Church College, Oxford, where he heard the lectures of the legal authority Sir William Blackstone and graduated in 1764. Pinckney next pursued legal training at London’s Middle Temple and was accepted for admission into the English bar in 1769. He then spent part of a year touring Europe and studying chemistry, military science, and botany under leading authorities.

Late in 1769, Pinckney sailed home, and the next year entered practice in South Carolina. His political career began in 1769, when he was elected to the provincial assembly. In 1773 he acted
as attorney general for several towns in the colony. By 1775 he had identified with the patriot cause and that year sat in the provincial congress. Then, the next year, he was elected to the local committee of safety and made chairman of a committee that drew up a plan for the interim government of South Carolina.

When hostilities broke out, Pinckney who had been a royal militia officer since 1769, pursued a full-time military calling. When South Carolina organized its forces in 1775, he joined the First South Carolina Regiment as a captain. He soon rose to the rank of colonel and fought in the South in defense of Charleston and in the North at the Battles of Brandywine, Pa., and Germantown, Pa. He commanded a regiment in the campaign against the British in the Floridas in 1778 and at the siege of Savannah. When Charleston fell in 1780, he was taken prisoner and held until 1782. The following year, he was discharged as a brevet brigadier general.

After the war, Pinckney resumed his legal practice and the management of estates in the Charleston area but found time to continue his public service, which during the war had included tours in the lower house of the State legislature (1778 and 1782) and the senate (1779).

Pinckney was one of the leaders at the Constitutional Convention. Present at all the sessions, he strongly advocated a powerful national Government. His proposal that Senators should serve without pay was not adopted, but he exerted influence in such matters as the power of the Senate to ratify treaties and the compromise that was reached concerning abolition of the international slave trade. After the Convention, he defended the Constitution in South Carolina.

Under the new Government, Pinckney became a devoted Federalist. Between 1789 and 1795 he declined Presidential offers to command the U.S. Army and to serve on the Supreme Court and as Secretary of War and Secretary of State. In 1796, however, he accepted the post of Minister to France, but the revolutionary regime there refused to receive him and he was forced to proceed to the Netherlands. The next year, though, he returned to France when he was appointed to a special mission to restore relations with that country. During the ensuing XYZ affair, refusing to pay a bribe suggested by a French agent to facilitate negotiations, he is said to have replied “No! No! Not a sixpence!”
When Pinckney arrived back in the United States in 1798, he found the country preparing for war with France. That year, he was appointed as a major general in command of American forces in the South and served in that capacity until 1800, when the threat of war ended. That year, he represented the Federalists as Vice-Presidential candidate, and in 1804 and 1808 as the Presidential nominee. But he met defeat on all three occasions.

For the rest of his life, Pinckney engaged in legal practice, served at times in the legislature, and engaged in philanthropic activities. He was a charter member of the board of trustees of South Carolina College (later the University of South Carolina), first president of the Charleston Bible Society, and chief executive of the Charleston Library Society. He also gained prominence in the Society of the Cincinnati, an organization of ex-War for Independence officers.

During the later period of his life, Pinckney enjoyed his Belmont estate and Charleston high society. He was twice married; first to Sarah Middleton in 1773, and after her death to Mary Stead in 1786. Survived by three daughters, he died in Charleston in 1825 at the age of 79. He was interred there in the cemetery at St. Michael's Episcopal Church.

George Read
DELAWARE
Conservative lawyer-jurist George Read attained many State offices and signed both the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. At the Convention, he naturally defended the rights of the small States. Later, he served as a Senator in the First Congress, and ended his career as the chief justice of Delaware.
Read's mother was the daughter of a Welsh planter, and his Dublin-born father a landholder of means. Soon after George's birth in 1733 near the village of North East in Cecil County, Md., his family moved to New Castle, Del., where the youth, who was one of six sons, grew up. He attended school at Chester, Pa., and Rev. Francis Alison's academy at New London, Pa., and about the age of 15 began reading with a Philadelphia lawyer.

In 1753 Read was admitted to the bar and began to practice. The next year, he journeyed back to New Castle, hung out his shingle, and before long enlisted a clientele that extended into Maryland. During this period he resided in New Castle, but maintained Stonum, a country retreat near the city. In 1763 he wed Gertrude Ross Till, the widowed sister of George Ross, like Read a future signer of the Declaration of Independence. She bore four sons and a daughter.

While crown attorney general (1763–74) for the Three Lower Counties (present Delaware), Read protested against the Stamp Act. In 1765 he began a career in the colonial legislature that lasted more than a decade. A moderate Whig, he supported nonimportation measures and dignified protests. His attendance at the Continental Congress (1774–77) was irregular. Like his friend John Dickinson, he was willing to protect colonial rights but was wary of extremism. He voted against independence on July 2, 1776, the only signer of the Declaration to do so, apparently either bowing to the strong Tory sentiment in Delaware or believing reconciliation with Britain was still possible.

That same year, Read gave priority to State responsibilities. He presided over the Delaware constitutional convention, in which he chaired the drafting committee, and began a term as speaker of the legislative council, which in effect made him vice president of the State. When the British took Wilmington the next fall, they captured the president, a resident of the city. At first, because Read was away in Congress, Thomas McKean, speaker of the lower house, took over as acting president. But in November, after barely escaping from the British himself while he and his family were en route to Dover from Philadelphia, newly occupied by the redcoats, Read assumed the office and held it until the spring of 1778. Back in the legislative council, in 1779 he drafted the act directing Delaware congressional Delegates to sign the Articles of Confederation.
During 1779, in poor health, Read resigned from the legislative council, refused reelection to Congress, and began a period of inactivity. During the years 1782–88, he again sat on the council and concurrently held the position of judge of the court of appeals in admiralty cases.

Meantime, in 1784, Read had served on a commission that adjusted New York-Massachusetts land claims. In 1786 he attended the Annapolis Convention. The next year, he participated in the Constitutional Convention, where he missed few if any sessions and championed the rights of the small States. Otherwise, he adopted a Hamiltonian stance, favoring a strong executive. He later led the ratification movement in Delaware, the first State to ratify.

In the U.S. Senate (1789–93), Read’s attendance was again spasmodic, but when present he allied with the Federalists. He resigned to accept the post of chief justice of Delaware. He held it until his death at New Castle 5 years later, just 3 days after he celebrated his 65th birthday. His grave is there in the Immanuel Episcopal Churchyard.

John Rutledge
SOUTH CAROLINA

Aristocratic lawyer-jurist Rutledge, a political moderate, headed the committee of detail and stood in the forefront of the delegates at Philadelphia. Other highlights of his public service included legislator and president of his State, Member of the Continental Congress, and short periods on the U.S. Supreme Court bench.

John Rutledge, elder brother of Edward Rutledge, signer of the Declaration of Independence, was born into a large family at or
near Charleston, S.C., in 1739. He received his early education from his father, an Irish immigrant and physician; an Anglican minister; and a tutor. After studying law at London's Middle Temple, in 1760, he was admitted to English practice. But, almost at once, he sailed back to Charleston to begin a fruitful legal career and to amass a fortune in plantations and slaves. Three years later, he married Elizabeth Grimké, who eventually bore him 10 children, and moved into a townhouse, where he resided most of the remainder of his life.

In 1761 Rutledge became politically active. That year, on behalf of Christ Church Parish, he was elected to the provincial assembly and held his seat until the War for Independence. For 10 months in 1764 he temporarily held the post of provincial attorney general. When the troubles with Great Britain intensified about the time of the Stamp Act in 1765, Rutledge, who hoped to insure continued self-government for the Colonies, sought to avoid severance from the British and maintained a restrained stance. He did, however, chair a committee of the Stamp Act Congress that drew up a petition to the House of Lords.

In 1774 Rutledge was sent to the First Continental Congress, where he pursued a moderate course. After spending the next year in the Second Continental Congress, he trekked back to South Carolina and helped reorganize its government. In 1776 he served on the committee of safety and took part in the writing of the State constitution. That year, he also became president of the lower house of the legislature, a post he held until 1778. During this period, the new government met many stern tests.

In 1778 the conservative Rutledge, disapproving of democratic revisions in the State constitution, resigned his position. The next year, however, he was elected as Governor. It was a difficult time. The British were invading South Carolina and the military situation was desperate. Early in 1780, by which time the legislature had adjourned, Charleston was besieged. In May it fell, the American army was captured, and the British confiscated Rutledge's property. He ultimately escaped to North Carolina and set about attempting to rally forces to recover South Carolina. In 1781, aided by Gen. Nathaniel Greene and a new Continental Army force, he reestablished the government. In January 1782 he resigned the governorship and took a seat in the lower house of the legislature. He never recouped the financial losses he suffered during the war.

In 1782-83 Rutledge was a Delegate to the Continental
Congress. He next sat on the State chancery court (1784) and again in the lower house of the legislature (1784-90). One of the most influential delegates at the Constitutional Convention, where he maintained a moderate nationalist stance and chaired the committee of detail, he attended all the sessions; spoke often and effectively; and served on five committees. Like his fellow South Carolina delegates, he vigorously advocated southern interests.

The new Government under the Constitution soon lured Rutledge. He was a Presidential elector in 1789 and Washington then appointed him as Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, but for some reason he apparently served only a short time. In 1791 he became chief justice of the South Carolina supreme court. Four years later, Washington again appointed him to the U.S. Supreme Court, this time as Chief Justice to replace John Jay. But Rutledge's outspoken opposition to Jay's Treaty (1794), and the intermittent mental illness he had suffered from since the death of his wife in 1792, caused the Federalist-dominated Senate to reject his appointment and end his public career. Meantime, however, he had presided over one term of the Court.

Rutledge died in 1800 at the age of 60 and was interred at St. Michael's Episcopal Church in Charleston.

Roger Sherman

CONNECTICUT

By dint of self-education, hard work, and business acumen, Roger Sherman soared above his humble origins to prominence in State and National affairs. He was a member of the committee that drafted the Declaration of Independence, and played a leading role at the Constitutional Convention. He and Robert Morris were the only men to sign the three bulwark documents of the Republic: the Declaration, Articles of Confederation, and Constitution. Twice married, Sherman fathered 15 children.
In 1723, when Sherman was 2 years of age, his family relocated from his Newton, Mass., birthplace to Dorchester (present Stoughton). As a boy, he was spurred by a desire to learn and read widely in his spare time to supplement his minimal education at a common school. But he spent most of his waking hours helping his father with farming chores and learning the cobbler's trade from him. In 1743, or 2 years after his father's death, Sherman joined an elder brother who had settled in New Milford, Conn.

Purchasing a store, becoming a county surveyor, and winning a variety of town offices, Sherman prospered and assumed leadership in the community. In 1749 he married Elizabeth Hartwell, by whom he had seven children. Without benefit of a formal legal education, he was admitted to the bar in 1754 and embarked upon a distinguished judicial and political career. In the period 1755-61, except for a brief interval, he served as a representative in the colonial legislature and held the offices of justice of the peace and county judge. Somehow he also eked out time to publish an essay on monetary theory and a series of almanacs incorporating his own astronomical observations and verse.

In 1761, abandoning his law practice, Sherman moved to New Haven, Conn. There, he managed a store that catered to Yale students and another in nearby Wallingford. He also became a friend and benefactor of Yale College, functioning for many years as its treasurer. In 1763, or 3 years after the death of his first wife, he wed Rebecca Prescott, who bore eight children.

Meanwhile, Sherman's political career had blossomed. He rose from justice of the peace and county judge to an associate judge of the Connecticut Superior Court and to representative in both houses of the colonial assembly. Although opposed to extremism, he early joined the fight against Britain. He supported nonimportation measures and headed the New Haven committee of correspondence.

Sherman was a longtime and influential Member of the Continental Congress (1774–81 and 1783–84). He won membership on the committees that drafted the Declaration of Independence and the Articles of Confederation, as well as those concerned with Indian affairs, national finances, and military matters. To solve economic problems, at both National and State levels, he advocated high taxes rather than excessive borrowing or the issuance of paper currency.
While in Congress, Sherman remained active in State and local politics, continuing to hold the office of judge of the Connecticut Superior Court, as well as membership on the council of safety (1777-79). In 1783 he helped codify Connecticut's statutory laws. The next year, he was elected as mayor of New Haven (1784-86).

Although on the edge of insolvency, mainly because of wartime losses, Sherman could not resist the lure of national service. In 1787 he represented his State at the Constitutional Convention, and attended practically every session. Not only did he sit on the committee on postponed matters, but he also probably helped draft the New Jersey Plan and was a prime mover behind the Connecticut, or Great, Compromise, which broke the deadlock between the large and small States over representation. He was, in addition, instrumental in Connecticut's ratification of the Constitution.

Sherman capped his career by serving as U.S. Representative (1789-91) and Senator (1791-93), in which positions he espoused the Federalist cause. He died at New Haven in 1793 at the age of 72 and is buried in the Grove Street Cemetery.

Richard Dobbs Spaight, Sr.
NORTH CAROLINA

During a short career that ended in a tragic duel, Spaight, an aristocratic planter who was one of the youngest signers, held many major political posts: legislator and Governor of North Carolina, Member of the Continental Congress, and U.S. Representative. He was the first native-born Governor of his State.
Of distinguished English-Irish parentage, Spaight was born at New Bern, N.C., in 1758. When he was orphaned at 8 years of age, his guardians sent him to Ireland, where he obtained an excellent education. He apparently graduated from Scotland's University of Glasgow shortly before he returned to North Carolina in 1778.

At that time, the War for Independence was in full swing, and Spaight's superior attainments soon gained him a commission. He became an aide to the State militia commander, and in 1780 took part in the Battle of Camden, S.C. The year before, he had been elected to the lower house of the legislature.

In 1781 Spaight left the military service to devote full time to his legislative duties. He represented New Bern and Craven County from 1781-83 and from 1785-87, and in 1785 became speaker. Between tours, he also served in the Continental Congress (1783-85).

In 1787, at the age of 29, Spaight joined the North Carolina delegation to the Philadelphia Convention. He was not a leader, but spoke on several occasions and numbered among those who attended every session. After the Convention, he worked in his home State for acceptance of the Constitution.

Spaight met defeat in bids for the governorship in 1787 and the U.S. Senate 2 years later. From then until 1792, illness forced his retirement from public life, during which time he visited the West Indies, but he captured the governorship in the latter year (1792-95). In 1793 he served as Presidential elector. Two years later, he wed Mary Leach, who bore three children.

In 1798 Spaight entered the U.S. House of Representatives as a Democratic-Republican and remained in office until 1801. During this time, he advocated repeal of the Alien and Sedition Acts and voted for Jefferson in the contested election of 1800. The next year, Spaight was voted into the lower house of the North Carolina legislature; the following year, to the upper.

Only 44 years old in 1802, Spaight was struck down in a duel at New Bern with a political rival, Federalist John Stanly. So ended the promising career of one of the State's foremost leaders. He was buried in the family sepulcher at Clermont estate, near New Bern.
George Washington

VIRGINIA

Peerless military leader of the War for Independence, able chairman of the Constitutional Convention, brilliant first President, and wise statesman, Washington more than any other man launched our Republic on its course to greatness. For all these reasons, he clearly deserves the epithet "Father of His Country."

Born into the landed gentry as the eldest of six children from his father's second marriage, George Washington first saw the light of life in 1732 at Wakefield Plantation, Va. Until reaching 16 years of age, he lived there and at other plantations along the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers, including the one that later became known as Mount Vernon. His education was rudimentary, probably being obtained from tutors but possibly also from private schools, and he learned surveying. After he lost his father when he was 11 years old, his half-brother Lawrence, who had served in the Royal Navy, acted as his mentor. As a result, the youth acquired an interest in pursuing a naval career, but his mother discouraged him from doing so.

At the age of 16, in 1748, Washington joined a surveying party sent out to the Shenandoah Valley by Lord Fairfax, a land baron. For the next few years, Washington conducted surveys in Virginia and present West Virginia, and gained a lifetime interest in the West. In 1751-52 he also accompanied Lawrence on a visit he made to Barbados, West Indies, for health reasons just prior to his death.

The next year, Washington began his military career when the Royal Governor appointed him to an adjutantship in the militia, as a major. That same year, as a gubernatorial emissary,
accompanied by a guide, he traveled to Fort Le Boeuf, Pa., in the Ohio River Valley, and delivered to French authorities an ultimatum to cease fortification and settlement in English territory. During the trip, he tried to better British relations with various Indian tribes.

In 1754, winning the rank of lieutenant colonel and then colonel in the militia, Washington led a force that sought to challenge French control of the Ohio River Valley, but met defeat at Fort Necessity, Pa.—an event that helped trigger the French and Indian War (1754–63). Late in 1754, irked by the dilution of his rank because of the pending arrival of British regulars, he resigned his commission. That same year, he leased Mount Vernon, which he was to inherit in 1761.

In 1755 Washington reentered military service with the courtesy title of colonel, as an aide to Gen. Edward Braddock; and barely escaped death when the French defeated the general's forces in the Battle of the Monongahela, Pa. As a reward for his bravery, George rewon his colonelcy and command of the Virginia militia forces, charged with defending the colony's frontier. Because of the shortage of men and equipment, he found the assignment challenging. Late in 1758 or early in 1759, disillusioned over governmental neglect of the militia and irritated at not rising in rank, he resigned and headed back to Mount Vernon.

Washington then wed Martha Dandridge Custis, a wealthy widow and mother of two children. The marriage produced no offspring, but Washington reared those of his wife as his own. During the period 1759–74, he managed his plantations and sat in the Virginia House of Burgesses. He supported the initial protests against British policies; took an active part in the nonimportation movement in Virginia; and, in time, particularly because of his military experience, became a Whig leader.

By the 1770's, relations of the colony with the mother country had become strained. Measured in his behavior but strongly sympathetic to the Whig position and resentful of British restrictions and commercial exploitation, Washington represented Virginia at the First and Second Continental Congresses. In 1775, after the bloodshed at Lexington and Concord, Congress appointed him as commander in chief of the Continental Army. Overcoming severe obstacles, especially in supply, he eventually fashioned a well-trained and disciplined fighting force.
The strategy Washington evolved consisted of continual harassment of British forces while avoiding general actions. Although his troops yielded much ground and lost a number of battles, they persevered—even during the dark winters at Valley Forge, Pa., and Morristown, N.J. Finally, with the aid of the French fleet and army, he won a climactic victory at the Battle of Yorktown, Va., in 1781.

During the next 2 years, while still commanding the agitated Continental Army, which was underpaid and poorly supplied, Washington denounced proposals that the military take over the Government, including one that planned to appoint him as king, but supported Army petitions to the Continental Congress for proper compensation. Once the Treaty of Paris (1783) was signed, he resigned his commission and trekked back once again to Mount Vernon. His wartime financial sacrifices and long absence, as well as generous loans to friends, had severely impaired his extensive fortune, which consisted mainly of his plantations, slaves, and landholdings in the West. At this point, however, he was to have little time to repair his finances, for his retirement was brief.

Dissatisfied with national progress under the Articles of Confederation, Washington advocated a stronger central Government. He hosted the Mount Vernon Conference (1785) at his estate after its initial meetings in Alexandria, though he apparently did not directly participate in the discussions. Despite his sympathy with the goals of the Annapolis Convention (1786), he did not attend. But, the following year, encouraged by many of his friends, he presided over the Constitutional Convention, whose success was immeasurably influenced by his presence and dignity. Following ratification of the new instrument of Government in 1788, the electoral college unanimously chose him as the first President.

The next year, after a triumphal journey from Mount Vernon to New York City, Washington took the oath of office at Federal Hall. During his two precedent-setting terms, he governed with dignity as well as restraint. He also provided the stability and authority the emergent Nation so sorely needed, gave substance to the Constitution, and reconciled competing factions and divergent policies within the Government and his administration. Although not averse to exercising Presidential power, he respected the role of Congress and did not infringe upon its prerogatives. He also tried
to maintain harmony between his Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson and Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton, whose differences typified evolving party divisions, from which Washington kept aloof.

Yet, usually leaning upon Hamilton for advice, Washington supported his plan for the assumption of State debts, concurred in the constitutionality of the bill establishing the Bank of the United States, and favored enactment of tariffs by Congress to provide Federal revenue and protect domestic manufacturers.

Washington took various other steps to strengthen governmental authority, including suppression of the Whisky Rebellion (1794). To unify the country, he toured the Northeast in 1789 and the South in 1791. During his tenure, the Government moved from New York to Philadelphia in 1790, he superintended planning for relocation to the District of Columbia, and he laid the cornerstone of the Capitol (1793).

In foreign affairs, despite opposition from the Senate, Washington exerted dominance. He fostered United States interests on the
North American Continent by treaties with Britain and Spain. Yet, until the Nation was stronger, he insisted on the maintenance of neutrality. For example, when the French Revolution created war between France and Britain, he ignored the remonstrances of pro-French Jefferson and pro-English Hamilton.

Although many people encouraged Washington to seek a third term, he was weary of politics and refused to do so. In his "Farewell Address" (1796), he urged his countrymen to forswear party spirit and sectional differences and to avoid entanglement in the wars and domestic policies of other nations.

Washington enjoyed only a few years of retirement at Mount Vernon. Even then, demonstrating his continued willingness to make sacrifices for his country, in 1798 when the Nation was on the verge of war with France he agreed to command the Army, though his services were not ultimately required. He died at the age of 67 in 1799. In his will, he emancipated his slaves.

Hugh Williamson
NORTH CAROLINA

Few men have enjoyed so varied a career as Hugh Williamson—preacher, physician, essayist, scientist, businessman, and politician. He traveled and studied in Europe, witnessed the Boston Tea Party, participated in the Revolution, served as a U.S. Congressman, and numbered among the leading scientific authors of his day. In addition to all these achievements, he was one of the leading lights at the Constitutional Convention.

The versatile Williamson was born of Scotch-Irish descent at West Nottingham, Pa., in 1735. He was the eldest son in a large family, whose head was a clothier. Hoping he would become a Presbyterian minister, his parents oriented his education toward that calling. After attending preparatory schools at New London
Cross Roads, Del., and Newark, Del., he entered the first class of the College of Philadelphia (later part of the University of Pennsylvania) and took his degree in 1757.

The next 2 years, at Shippensburg, Pa., Williamson spent settling his father's estate. Then training in Connecticut for the ministry, he soon became a licensed Presbyterian preacher but was never ordained. Around this time, he also took a position as professor of mathematics at his alma mater.

In 1764 Williamson abandoned these pursuits and studied medicine at Edinburgh, London, and Utrecht, eventually obtaining a degree from the University of Utrecht. Returning to Philadelphia, he began to practice, but found it to be emotionally exhausting. His pursuit of scientific interests continued, and in 1768 he became a member of the American Philosophical Society. The next year, he served on a commission that observed the transits of Venus and Mercury. In 1771 he wrote *An Essay on Comets*, in which he advanced several original ideas. As a result, the University of Leyden awarded him an LL.D. degree.

In 1773, to raise money for an academy in Newark, Del., Williamson made a trip to the West Indies and then to Europe. Sailing from Boston, he saw the Tea Party and carried news of it to London. When the British Privy Council called on him to testify as to what he had seen, he warned the councilors that the Colonies would rebel if the British did not change their policies. While in England, he struck up a close friendship with fellow-scientist Benjamin Franklin and they cooperated in electrical experiments. Moreover, Williamson furnished to Franklin the letters of the Massachusetts Royal Governor, Thomas Hutchinson, to his Lieutenant Governor that tended to further alienate the mother country and Colonies and created a sensation in America.

In 1775 a pamphlet Williamson had authored while in England, called *The Plea of the Colonies*, was published. It solicited the support of the English Whigs for the American cause. When the United States proclaimed their independence the next year, Williamson was in the Netherlands. He soon sailed back to the United States, settling first in Charleston, S.C., and then in Edenton, N.C. There, he prospered in a mercantile business that traded with the French West Indies and once again took up the practice of medicine.

Williamson applied for a medical post with the patriot forces,
but found all such positions filled. The Governor of North Carolina, however, soon called on his specialized skills, and he became surgeon-general of State troops. After the Battle of Camden, S.C., he frequently crossed British lines to tend to the wounded. He also prevented sickness among the troops by paying close attention to food, clothing, shelter, and hygiene.

After the war, Williamson began his political career. In 1782 he was elected to the lower house of the State legislature and to the Continental Congress. Three years later, he left Congress and returned to his legislative seat. In 1786 he was chosen to represent his State at the Annapolis Convention, but arrived too late to take part. The next year, he again served in Congress (1787–89) and was chosen as a delegate to the Constitutional Convention. Attending faithfully and demonstrating keen debating skill, he served on five committees, notably on the committee on postponed matters, and played a significant part in the proceedings, particularly the major compromise on representation.

After the Convention, Williamson worked for ratification of the Constitution in North Carolina. In 1788 he was chosen to settle outstanding accounts between the State and the Federal Government. The next year, he was elected to the first U.S. House of Representatives, where he served two terms. In 1789 he married Maria Apthorpe, who bore at least two sons.

In 1793 Williamson moved to New York City to facilitate his literary and philanthropic pursuits. Over the years, he published many political, educational, economic, historical, and scientific works, but the latter earned him the most praise. The University of Leyden awarded him an honorary degree. In addition, he was an original trustee of the University of North Carolina, and later held trusteeships at the College of Physicians and Surgeons and the University of the State of New York. He was also a founder of the Literary and Philosophical Society of New York and a prominent member of the New-York Historical Society.

In 1819, at the age of 83, Williamson died in New York City and was buried at Trinity Church.
James Wilson

PENNSYLVANIA

Brilliant and enigmatic James Wilson possessed one of the most complex and ambivalent personalities of the signers. Never able to reconcile his strong personal drive for wealth and power with his political goals nor find a middle road between conservatism and republicanism, he alternately experienced either popularity or public scorn, fame or obscurity, wealth or poverty. He signed both the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. His mastery of the law and political theory enabled him to play a leading role in framing the latter document and to rise from frontier lawyer to Justice of the Supreme Court.

Wilson was born in 1741 or 1742 at Carskerdo, near St. Andrews, Scotland, and educated at the Universities of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Edinburgh. He then emigrated to America, arriving in the midst of the Stamp Act agitations in 1765. Early the next year, he accepted a position as Latin tutor at the College of Philadelphia (later part of the University of Pennsylvania), but almost immediately abandoned it to study law under John Dickinson.

In 1768, the year after his admission to the Philadelphia bar, Wilson set up practice at Reading, Pa. Two years later, he moved westward to the Scotch-Irish settlement of Carlisle, and the following year took a bride, Rachel Bird. He specialized in land law and built up a broad clientele. On borrowed capital, he also began to speculate in land. In some way he managed, too, to lecture on English literature at the College of Philadelphia, which had awarded him an honorary master of arts degree in 1766.

Wilson became involved in Revolutionary politics. In 1774 he took over chairmanship of the Carlisle committee of correspondence, attended the first provincial assembly, and completed preparation of Considerations on the Nature and Extent of the Legislative Authority of the British Parliament. This tract circulated widely in England and America and established him as a Whig leader.
The next year, Wilson was elected to both the provincial assembly and the Continental Congress, where he sat mainly on military and Indian affairs committees. In 1776, reflecting the wishes of his constituents, he joined the moderates in Congress voting for a 3-week delay in considering Richard Henry Lee's resolution for independence of June 7. On the July 1 and 2 ballots on the issue, however, he voted in the affirmative and signed the Declaration of Independence on August 2.

Wilson's strenuous opposition to the republican Pennsylvania constitution of 1776, besides indicating a switch to conservatism on his part, led to his removal from Congress the following year. To avoid the clamor among his frontier constituents, he repaired to Annapolis during the winter of 1777–78, and then took up residence in Philadelphia.

Wilson affirmed his newly assumed political stance by closely identifying with the aristocratic and conservative republican groups, multiplying his business interests, and accelerating his land speculation. He also took a position as Advocate General for France in America (1779–83), dealing with commercial and maritime matters, and legally defended Loyalists and their sympathizers.

In the fall of 1779, during a period of inflation and food shortages, a mob, including many militiamen and led by radical-constitutionalists, set out to attack the republican leadership. Wilson was a prime target. He and some 35 of his colleagues barricaded themselves in his home at Third and Walnut Streets, henceforth known as "Fort Wilson." During a brief skirmish, several people on both sides were killed or wounded. The shock cooled sentiments and pardons were issued all around, though major political battles over the Commonwealth constitution still lay ahead.

During 1781 Congress appointed Wilson as one of the directors of the Bank of North America, newly founded by his close associate and legal client Robert Morris. In 1782–83, by which time the conservatives had regained some of their power, the former was reelected to Congress, as well as in the period 1785–87.

Wilson reached the apex of his career in the Constitutional Convention (1787), where his influence was probably second only to that of Madison. Rarely missing a session, he sat on the committee of detail, and in many other ways applied his excellent
knowledge of political theory to Convention problems. Only Gouverneur Morris delivered more speeches. That same year, overcoming powerful opposition, Wilson led the drive for ratification in Pennsylvania, the second State to endorse the instrument. The new Commonwealth constitution, drafted in 1789-90 along the lines of the U.S. Constitution, was primarily Wilson's work and represented the climax of his 14-year fight against the constitution of 1776.

For his services in the formation of the Federal Government, though Wilson expected to be appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, in 1789 President Washington named him as an Associate Justice. He was chosen that same year as the first law professor at the College of Philadelphia. Two years hence, he began an official digest of the laws of Pennsylvania, a project he never completed, though he carried on for awhile after funds ran out.

Wilson, who wrote only a few opinions, did not achieve the success on the Supreme Court that his capabilities and experience promised. Indeed, during those years he was the object of much criticism and barely escaped impeachment. For one thing, he tried to influence the enactment of legislation in Pennsylvania favorable to land speculators. Between 1792 and 1795 he also made huge but unwise land investments in western New York and Pennsylvania, as well as in Georgia. This did not stop him from conceiving a grandiose but ill-fated scheme, involving vast sums of European capital, for the recruitment of European colonists and their settlement in the West. Meantime, in 1793, a widower with six children, he had remarried, to Hannah Gray; the one son from this union died in infancy.

Four years later, to avoid arrest for debt, the distraught Wilson moved from Philadelphia to Burlington, N.J. The next year, apparently while on Federal Circuit Court business, he arrived at Edenton, N.C., in a state of acute mental stress and was taken into the home of James Iredell, a fellow Supreme Court Justice. He died there within a few months. Although first buried at Hayes Plantation near Edenton, his remains were later reinterred in the yard of Christ Church at Philadelphia.
Part Three

Signers of the Constitution:
Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings
Like all the residences and buildings of early periods of U.S. history, those related to the signers of the Constitution have been ravaged by time. War, urbanization, and fire, among other causes, have destroyed every one of the structures associated with 19 of the 39 men. The deleterious effects of weathering, aging, and neglect have damaged many others. Some have been extensively altered, including major revisions in architectural styles.

In addition to these factors, which of course are detrimental to all historic buildings, two special ones have hampered the marking and preserving of signers' sites. Not until modern times has special reverence been bestowed upon many of these individuals, and those who did not enjoy national reputations other than as signers have received little historical recognition. Fortunately, the recent surge of interest in the formative era of our Nation, particularly that generated by the Bicentennial celebration, has spurred preservation and restoration activity.

Many of the surviving structures are of prime importance. Not only do they recreate the settings in which the signers lived and worked and demonstrate their lifestyles, but they also illuminate many aspects of the creation of the Constitution. The most
notable survivor is Independence Hall (Independence National Historical Park, Pa.), in which it was conceived, debated, approved, and signed. The National Park Service administers the park in cooperation with the city of Philadelphia and various private agencies.

Three other sites are also in the Park System: George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Va.; Hamilton Grange National Memorial, N.Y.; and Federal Hall National Memorial, N.Y. The latter commemorates the building where the Continental Congress issued the call for the Constitutional Convention, reviewed the completed instrument, and forwarded it to the States for ratification. George Washington was also inaugurated there as the first President under the Constitution.

Nearly half the surviving homes of the signers are owned by private individuals. The rest are owned and maintained principally by States, cities, and diverse nongovernmental institutions, such as patriotic-civic and fraternal organizations, memorial associations, local historical societies, and foundations. Most of these individuals and agencies have ably advanced the cause of historic preservation and restoration.

Extant homes or residences with which the signers were significantly associated have not been located for 19 men, though many of the sites of such places have been marked. In this category are Baldwin, Brearly, Butler, Carroll, Few, Fitzsimons, Franklin, Gorham, Ingersoll, Johnson, McHenry, Mifflin, the two Morrises, Paterson, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Sherman, Spaight, and Williamson. Two signers, Bassett and Jenifer, are represented in this volume by structures (Bassett and Peggy Stewart Houses) they owned but in which they probably never resided. Ellerslie plantation was Jenifer’s birthplace, but he may not have lived in the existing house, which belonged to his older brother.

The signers have been honored in many other ways than by the preservation and marking of appropriate residences and buildings. The extent and form of such commemoration differ from signer to signer and from State to State. Monuments and memorials range from simple plaques to the Washington Monument, D.C., in the National Park System. Statues of several men are located in the U.S. Capitol. Not only is Madison, Wis., named after the “Father of the Constitution,” but the principal streets in the older part of the city also bear the surnames of the men who subscribed to it.
Numerous other cities, notably Washington, D.C., Dayton, Ohio, and Paterson, N.J., as well as the State of Washington, and various counties, schools, and natural features throughout the Nation also recognize specific individuals. Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine, Md., also in the Park System, honors a Maryland signer.

DESCRIBED in the following pages are the principal buildings associated with the signers of the Constitution. They are comprised of three categories: National Park Service Areas, National Historic Landmarks, and Other Sites Considered.

The principal aim of the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings is to identify nationally important sites that are not National Park Service Areas, but no survey of historic places would be complete without including them. This is particularly true because many of them were designated as National Historic Landmarks before they became part of the National Park System. Further information about a particular area may be obtained by writing directly to the park superintendent at the address listed immediately following the location.

National Historic Landmarks are those sites judged by the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments to meet the criteria of national significance in commemorating the history of the United States (pp. 327-328). The Secretary of the Interior has declared them to be eligible for designation as National Historic Landmarks. Final designation occurs when the owners apply for such status. They receive certificates and bronze plaques attesting to the distinction.

Other Sites Considered consist of those sites deemed by the Advisory Board to possess noteworthy historical value but not national significance. The list of sites included in this category does not purport to be exhaustive; it is merely a representative sampling, all that is possible because of space limitation.

Many sites in the Other Sites Considered category in all phases of history are listed on the National Register of Historic Places, maintained by the National Park Service's Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation. The register consists not only of sites in the National Park System and National Historic Landmarks but also those of State and local significance, nominated through appropriate channels by various States. It is published biennially
For the convenience of users of this volume, sites and buildings are listed alphabetically by State. The following code indicates site categories:

* Site Categories

🌟 NATIONAL PARK SERVICE AREAS
△ NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS
☒ OTHER SITES CONSIDERED

NOTE: Except where otherwise indicated, all the following sites are open to the public. Before visiting any of them, inquiry should be made to the owners or custodians concerning dates and hours of access and admission costs, usually nominal. Special permission should be obtained to visit privately owned sites.
Bassett (Richard) House, Delaware

Kent County, 438 State Street, Dover.

In 1804, while retired, Richard Bassett acquired this house at a foreclosure sale, and 5 years later purchased an adjoining lot. He owned both until a few months before his death in 1815. There is no conclusive evidence, however, that he ever lived in the residence and he may have rented it out. The wing, however, which an earlier owner had used as a shop, possibly served as his law office. The structure is the only extant one closely associated with Bassett.

The gable-roofed, brick house, which probably dates from the early 18th century, is in good condition. It consists of a two-story, four-bay main section and a step-down, 1\(\frac{1}{2}\)-story, three-bay wing on the north along the same axis. The one-bay, wooden front porch, which is supported by four Doric columns, has a flat roof and dentiled cornice. Vergeboards, along the ends of both roofs, probably date from the Gothic Revival. Shutters are paneled on the first floor and louvered on the second. A rectangular transom tops the paneled front door of the wing. A one-story, screened porch, covered with a shed-type roof, projects from the rear of the wing.

Bassett House.
The first floor of the main section contains a parlor to the south of a central staircase and two smaller rooms to the north. Two additional rooms are in the wing. A private residence, the house is open to the public only during the annual observance of “Dover Days.”

**Broom (Jacob) House, Delaware**

New Castle County, about 1 mile northwest of the Wilmington city limits, just north of New Bridge Road (Del. 141), Montchanin.

This is the only extant structure associated with Jacob Broom. It now comprises the north wing of a mansion also known as Hagley. In the 1790's Broom erected this residence near the west bank of the Brandywine River, not far from the site of his cotton mill, and lived in it until 1802. Broom's four-bay, 2½-story house, of stone-stucco construction, is in good condition. It comprises an easily identifiable section of the mansion, and still embodies the main entrance. Ionic columns support the entablature of the one-bay front porch. On the front of the gable roof are two elliptical
dormers and a glass-paneled lookout. A brick interior chimney rises from the ridge. Quoins mark the corners of the Broom wing, and paneled shutters flank the windows.

During the 19th century, a large wing was attached on the north side and ornate embellishments were superimposed on the dormers of the original section. Subsequently, the addition and the adornments were removed and the present substantial wing, designed to harmonize with the simple earlier structure, was erected on the south.

The house serves as a private residence and is not open to the public.

**Dickinson (John) Mansion, Delaware**

_A Kent County, on Kitts Hummock Road, about 3 blocks southeast of U.S. 113, some 5 miles southeast of Dover._

This early Georgian residence, sometimes called Kingston-upon-Hull, was the home of John Dickinson during his boyhood and most of the period from late 1776, when he moved his family there because the British threatened Philadelphia, until 1782. During these years, he suffered temporary political disfavor because of his opposition to the Declaration of Independence.

The mansion was erected in 1739–40 by his father, Judge Samuel Dickinson, on a 1,300-acre plantation he had purchased. He moved his family there from Crosiadore estate in Maryland when young Dickinson was about 8 years old. He lived in the new home for about a decade, and then at the age of 18 departed to study law at Philadelphia, though in later years he again resided in it.

The original hip-roofed, five-bay structure rose three full stories over a high basement. To conserve heat, the north side had only three windows. Later, two stepped-down wings were erected on the west side. Both featured shed-type dormers and were 1½ stories in height. The first was added in 1752; and the second, a smaller one, fronted by a brick-columned porch, 2 years later.

In 1804–6, following a fire that ravaged the mansion, John Dickinson rebuilt it. He reduced the main house to its present two stories and replaced the hip roof with the existing gable type. Because of the intended use of the building by tenants, the fine
interior woodwork and paneling were replaced with simpler materials.

The mansion, which faces to the south, is in excellent condition. Parts of it are constructed in Flemish, English, and common-bonded brick with black, glazed headers. The east wall has been plastered over, and portions of the walls of the three units have been whitewashed. The unusually tall first-floor windows of the main house reflect the original three-story height. Most of the windows are shuttered and topped by flat arches. The cornice is dentiled.

To the east of the wide center hall is the parlor; to the west, two smaller rooms, each equipped with an angle fireplace. The upstairs room pattern in the main house is basically the same. The larger wing contains a dining room on the first floor and a bedroom above; the smaller, a kitchen under what were once quarters for household slaves. The cellar under the main house and adjacent wing originally consisted of a large storage room, wine cellar, and scullery-kitchen.

In 1952 the State of Delaware, aided by the National Society of Colonial Dames of America, acquired the house and grounds. Before the decade ended, using State funds and private gifts, the
mansion was restored to its 1806 appearance and landscaped. Some of the furnishings were once owned by the Dickinson family. The Delaware State Museum administers the site.

Lombardy Hall, Delaware △

New Castle County, on the east side of U.S. 202 (Concord Pike), just north of Blueball and the junction of Del. 261 (Foulk Road), about 1 mile from the northern edge of Wilmington.

Gunning Bedford, Jr., resided periodically at Lombardy Hall, a 250-acre estate, from 1793 until his death there in 1812. He frequently entertained guests at the plain Georgian residence, and operated a model farm on his holdings.

Lombardy Hall occupies part of what was once known as the Manor of the Rocklands, a 986-acre tract William Penn had granted in 1682 to Valentine Hollingsworth, who renamed it New Wark. In 1726 George Robinson, Hollingsworth's son-in-law, purchased 250 acres of this land and named it Pizgah (Pisgah). In 1785 Bedford acquired the estate from Charles Robinson, a great-grandson of the original grantee; and 8 years later, when he obtained clear title, redesignated it as Lombardy Hall. Upon his death, his widow, Jane, continued to live there until 1817 and rented it out until her death in 1831, after which it stayed in the family's hands for many years.

By 1750 George Robinson had constructed a small farmhouse of gray-black Brandywine gabbro and fieldstone that now constitutes the north section of the present residence. The two-story dwelling contained two rooms on each floor. The main entrance, hall, and stairway were apparently on the south side of the building. Windows were recessed at right angles in the 18-inch thick walls.

Bedford attached a new wing to the south wall of the structure. This created a symmetrical five-bay facade, whose center front entrance faced west. He also rebuilt the attic and roof of the earlier, or Robinson, section to conform with his gable-roofed, 2½-story addition. Although the gabbro of the older structure was skillfully matched in the facade of the Bedford addition, a slim vertical line of mortar on the facade and east wall still outlines the location of the original south wall. The gabbro was extended a
short distance around the corner on the new south wall, and then apparently the building was completed in fieldstone. The windows in the newer portion were set in wide-angled, paneled recesses. The residence, which has a simple Quaker-like dignity, is in fair condition after years of neglect. It is being restored. The immediate grounds, now consisting of little more than an acre, adjoin a shopping center on the south and Lombardy Cemetery, with which Lombardy Hall shares a driveway entrance, on the north.

A rectangular transom accents the paneled front door, and the east wall features a frontispiece entrance. The wood-shingled roof, which replaced one of slate, has an interior chimney near each end. A dentiled cornice runs the length of the building. Shutters flank the windows of the facade and east wall. Two former windows have been walled in. This left the north wall blind, as originally constructed.

A large portico and 1½-story stone wing with separate entrance were added to the house about 1820, but were removed by the end of the century. About 1920 a one-story, flat-roofed, two-stall garage was attached to the south side of the house. It was constructed of stone recovered from a barn and carriage house that had once stood behind the residence. Except for this modern addition, the exterior of the building for the most part remains unaltered.
The long center hall, which extends from the front entrance to the rear door, contains a two-well staircase at the rear. The ballroom lies to the south, and two smaller rooms, to the north. The second floor contains four bedrooms. A bathroom, installed in what was once the west end of the hall, constitutes the only significant interior modification.

The ballroom features an Adam-style mantel, delicately carved and shelved at each end. Corner fireplaces in the pair of bedrooms over the ballroom meet at the south wall, back to back, at the partition. Original chair railings, cornice moldings, stairs, banisters, and much of the paneling remain in good condition.

In 1967 the Granite Masonic Lodge, recognizing Bedford’s service as first Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Delaware, purchased the property. The next year, the group formed the Lombardy Hall Foundation, Inc. It is now, in cooperation with the Delaware Archeological Society and a private architectural firm, restoring the building and grounds to their appearance during Bedford’s residency. When the project is completed, the structure will serve as the lodge’s meeting hall and also as a library and museum. The house is presently open to the public on a restricted basis.

Stonum, Delaware

Sometimes also called Stoneham, this was George Read’s country retreat, though today it is within the city limits of New Castle. The house is the only extant one associated with him. His principal residence, which he built in 1763 and lived in until his death in 1798, was destroyed by fire in 1824. The site is situated on The Strand in New Castle Historic District, about a mile away.

Stonum estate had been granted by William Penn to William Houston, and was subsequently owned by various others before Read purchased it, apparently in the 1750’s. The earliest section of the building, the present rear part occupied by the kitchen, is a flat-roofed, two-story structure with an interior chimney. It dates from about 1730.

When flood damage on his marshy land led Read to sell the property in 1789, the main wing had already been built, but
whether prior to or during his ownership is not certain. This section was attached to the south, or front, of the older building to form an L-shaped residence. Its panoramic view of the Delaware River has long since been obscured by industrial development.

The four-bay main wing is constructed of brick on a stone foundation. One room deep, it stands 2½ stories high over a basement. There are two interior chimneys, at the southeast and northwest corners of the gable roof. Two gabled dormers face to the front. An original wood, dentiled cornice extends the length of the building. Shutters, paneled on the first floor and louvered on the second, flank the tall windows.

All that now remains of the estate is a plot of less than an acre on the outskirts of New Castle. The building is in fair condition, but has been altered considerably. In 1850 a two-story, flat-roofed addition was erected in the northwest corner. This filled in the crook of the ell. To avoid blocking the north window of the main wing, the new section was curved away from that portion of the wall. In the 1920's a large cinderblock porch, stretching the length of the facade, was attached. Most of the brick superstructure has been stuccoed and painted yellow. Sheet metal has replaced the original roofing.

The only interior structural modification of the south wing,
sometime prior to 1943, has been the removal of the east wall of
the entrance hall so that the front door opens directly into the
enlarged southeast corner room. A smaller room is to the west.
Opposite the present front entrance is a 9-foot door, probably the
main entry to the earliest portion of the building. The ground floor
of the old part of the house contains the modernized kitchen and
the narrow axial hall. The latter also gives access to the dining
room, which is on the main floor of the northwest addition.

The stairway, located toward the east wall in the east front
room, has an open stringer, sawed brackets, molded handrail and
balusters, and paneled wainscoting. Other original features of the
main wing are detailed woodwork, corner fireplaces, elegant
mantels, and red-pine flooring.

Stonum, a private residence, is not open to the public.

Octagon House, District of Columbia


Not only is this building, erected by Col. John Tayloe, a superb
example of Federal-style architecture, but President and “Father
of the Constitution” James Madison and his wife also temporarily
resided in it for about a year while the White House was being
rebuilt following its burning by British troops in 1814. In the
second-floor, front study he held Cabinet meetings and signed the
Treaty of Ghent.

Colonel Tayloe, a wealthy and influential planter whose main
residence was at Mount Airy estate in Richmond County, Va., was
apparently persuaded by his friend George Washington to build a
townhouse in the new Capital City instead of in Philadelphia. In
1797 Tayloe purchased a triangular corner lot 2 blocks west of the
newly rising President’s House (White House), and obtained the
architectural services of Dr. William Thornton, original architect
of the Capitol. Work on the Tayloe home, one of the first to be put
up in Washington after it was designated as the Capital, began in
1798 or 1799, and George Washington likely visited the site to
observe construction progress.

When completed in 1800, the year after his death and well before
the White House was finished, the residence was one of the finest
in the Nation. After the Tayloes moved in the next year, it became
a gathering place for early Washington society and the scene of
many brilliant social affairs. Guests over the years included Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Jackson, Decatur, Webster, Clay, Calhoun, the Marquis de Lafayette, and Baron von Steuben.

On August 24-25, 1814, during the War of 1812, the British occupied Washington and set fire to the White House, Capitol, and other buildings. Octagon House was likely spared only because the Tayloes had leased it temporarily to French Minister Louis Serrurier (Serurier), who flew the Tricolor from it. Offered the use of several local homes when they returned to the city, the President and his wife, Dolley, after living briefly at another residence, accepted the invitation of the Tayloes, who stayed at their Virginia plantation, and moved into Octagon House on September 8, 1814.

Presidential life quickly resumed a normal pace, though wartime anxieties cast a pall over social gatherings. The Madisons maintained their living quarters on the second floor, in the southeast suite, which consisted of a small vestibule, a large bedroom with a fireplace, and a smaller dressing room. The President used the adjoining circular tower room as a study and at least some of the time as a meetingplace for his Cabinet. There, on
February 17, 1815, he signed the Treaty of Ghent concluding the war, after the Senate had unanimously ratified it. Later in 1815, for some reason the Madisons relocated to 1901 Pennsylvania Avenue, at the corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and 19th Street, NW., in the “Seven Buildings.” They lived there for the remainder of his Presidential term.

The Tayloes returned to Octagon House. After Colonel Tayloe died in 1828, his wife continued to occupy it until her death in 1855. Thereafter the building was leased for a variety of purposes and fell into disrepair. As early as 1889 the American Institute of Architects expressed interest in acquiring it from the Tayloe family for its national headquarters, and in 1897 agreed to rent it for 5 years and began rehabilitation. The institute took formal possession in 1899, and 3 years later effected the purchase.

The mansion, which has been carefully restored, is in excellent condition. Marking a new zenith in Federal architecture, as characterized by its spare though brilliant geometric forms and in the restrained yet elegant Adam-style decoration, it represents a major departure from the traditional late Georgian and early Federal styles that preceded it. The unusual plan, which combines a circle, a triangle, and two rectangles, ingeniously adapts the structure to the acute angle formed by the intersection of New York Avenue and 18th Street. Despite its name, Octagon House is actually an irregular hexagon broken by a dominant semicircular bay projecting from the front, or southwest, face. There are eight sides only if the front bay is counted as three.

Constructed of red brick laid in Flemish bond on the facade and in English bond on the rear, the building rises three stories over a raised stone basement. The only important structural change ever made was removal, some time before 1830, of the original Adam-style, flat-deck roof and fronting high brick parapet. A low, hipped roof was added, and the present cornice was installed. Four tall interior chimneys now pierce the roof.

The belt course marking the second floor, recessed rectangular panels below the third, and all the window sills are of Aquia sandstone. Small, elliptical, grilled-iron balconies accent the floor-to-ceiling windows of the second floor. Window lintels are rubbed brick jack arches without keystones. Stone steps, flanked by a grilled-iron handrail lead to the one-story, flat-roofed portico, which is supported by two Ionic columns and two pilasters. A leaded, glazed fanlight tops the six-paneled door.
The elaborate interior decoration, in the Adam style, includes molded baseboards and chair railings, plaster cornices and ceiling centerpieces, mahogany doors with brass knobs and locks, wide pine floorboards, several ornate mantels, and period furniture.

In the circular entrance hall, opposite the main doorway is a graceful classical archway, which has engaged, fluted Corinthian columns. Alongside it are two arched alcoves containing cast-iron stoves, which were once used for heating and which resemble classical urns on pedestals. The archway opens into a nearly oval stairhall, in the triangular portion of the house. The stairs have plain balusters and a sweeping, rounded handrail unhindered by any newel posts. The curved landings are lighted by the rear Palladian and semicircular windows. Arched statue niches decorate each side of the first landing. Underneath this level on the main floor is the back entrance. West of the stairway are small, enclosed service stairs.

The two present rectangular reception rooms that angle off from the stairhall on the ground floor, one on each side, were originally the drawing room to the southeast and the dining area to the southwest. Both rooms feature handsome, artificial, cast stone mantels made in 1799 in London by a Madame Coade.

Exhibited in President Madison’s study, the front rotunda on the second floor, is the pivoted, circular table on which he signed the Treaty of Ghent. Displayed thereon is the small, leatherbound trunk in which the document was brought back from Europe. Off

Treaty Room, Octagon House.
the upper stairhall are two exhibition galleries, which were originally partitioned into living quarters, including those used by the Madisons. Offices now occupy the third floor, which once consisted of five bedrooms. The restored kitchen, wine cellar, and other service rooms are in the basement.

The outbuildings once included a kitchen, carriage house, slave quarters, stable, and smokehouse; only the latter remains. Behind it and the restored garden is the new semicircular headquarters building of the American Institute of Architects, which was completed in 1973.

The White House, District of Columbia  

1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington.

The official residence of our Presidents since 1800 and a national shrine that symbolizes the honor and dignity of the highest office in the land, the White House has been the scene of many historic events and brilliant social affairs. Like the Nation itself, it bears the influences of successive Chief Executives. Although rebuilt and modernized, it retains the simplicity and charm of its original appearance.

 Appropriately enough, one of the early occupants of the White House was "Father of the Constitution" James Madison, the fourth President. He and his wife, Dolley, who had also often served as official hostess for President Thomas Jefferson, introduced some of the elegance and glitter of Old World courts into its social life when he took office in 1809. Because of the burning of the White House by the British late in 1814, however, the Madisons were forced to live out the rest of his second term at other residences in Washington.

President George Washington approved the plans for the White House, drawn by Irish-born James Hoban, winner of the prize competition. Maj. Pierre Charles L'Enfant, the French artist-engineer, located the mansion in his plan of the Federal City, in which it and the Capitol were the first public buildings erected. The cornerstone was laid on October 13, 1792. Workmen used light gray sandstone from the Aquia Creek quarries, in Virginia, for the exterior walls. During the course of construction or soon thereafter, they apparently were painted white. The
building was thus unofficially termed the “White House” from an early date, but for many years it was usually referred to as the “President’s House” or the “President’s Palace.”

In the Palladian style of architecture, the main facade resembles the Duke of Leinster’s mansion in Dublin. Hoban probably derived the details of the other faces and the interior arrangement from various contemporary European mansions. He supervised the original construction, the rebuilding after the burning by British forces in 1814, and the erection of the north and south porticoes some years later. Over the course of time, however, various architects modified Hoban’s original plans, notably Benjamin H. Latrobe during and after the Jefferson administration.

Although the interior had not been completed, President and Mrs. John Adams were the first residents, in November 1800, when the Government moved from Philadelphia to Washington. During Jefferson’s term, the east and west terraces were constructed.
Madison's occupancy was interrupted in August 1814 when, during the War of 1812, the British captured the city and set the torch to the White House, the Capitol, and other Government buildings in retaliation for the destruction by U.S. troops of some public buildings in Canada. Before Mrs. Madison fled to Dumbarton House in Georgetown for temporary refuge, she managed to remove many valuable documents and the Gilbert Stuart portrait of George Washington that now hangs in the East Room. In the spring of 1815 when reconstruction began, only the partially damaged exterior walls and interior brickwork remained. The Madisons lived out his term of office in the Octagon House and "Seven Buildings."

By 1817 rebuilding of the White House was completed and it was ready for occupancy by Madison's successor, James Monroe. In 1824 builders erected the south portico; and, 5 years later, the large north portico over the entrance and driveway. The west wing, including the President's oval office, was added during the first decade of the 20th century. The east wing was built in 1942.

Over the years, the White House has been extensively renovated and modernized on various occasions. The old sandstone walls have been retained, however. The aim has been to preserve the historical atmosphere while providing a more livable home for the President and his family.

On the first floor of the main building are the East Room, Green Room, Blue Room, Red Room, State Dining Room, and Family Dining Room. These richly furnished rooms are open to the public on a special schedule. The ground and second floors are restricted to the use of the Presidential family and guests. On the ground
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floor are the Diplomatic Reception Room, Curator's Office, Vermeil Room, China Room, and Library. The second floor contains the Lincoln Bedroom, Lincoln Sitting Room, Queens' Bedroom (Rose Guest Room), Treaty Room, and Yellow Oval Room. The Empire Guest Room is the most important one on the third floor. Neither of the wings, reserved for the President and his staff, are ordinarily accessible to the public.

The simple dignity of the White House is enhanced by the natural beauty of its informal but carefully landscaped grounds.

**Crosiadore, Maryland ☞**

*Talbot County, along Dickinson Bay, on a county road running west off U.S. 50, about 3 miles southwest of Trappe.*

John Dickinson was born in 1732 at this tidewater homestead along Maryland's Eastern Shore and lived there for about 8 years, until his family moved to what is now known as the Dickinson Mansion, near Dover, Del. His younger brother Philemon, a general during the War for Independence, was also born in the house.

The architectural history of this long, rambling frame structure, part of which apparently dates back to the early 18th century, is obscure. The four-bay, eastern part is a gambrel-roofed structure that is 1½ stories in height. Triangular pediments top the windows. The western section is five bays wide and two bays deep. It rises 2½ stories under a steeply pitched gable roof. A pavilion, on the north, or land, side is fronted by a huge portico, which is two stories in height and whose roof is flat and balustraded. Another pavilion, facing the bay, or to the south, has a two-story, galleried porch, each level of which is supported by four round columns. The dormers are gabled. A wide pediment with a center fanlight tops the porch.

The first floor of the eastern part of the residence contains the kitchen and a spacious and elaborately paneled Georgian drawing room. The hall, west of these two rooms, is divided in two by an arch. The stairway is set against the northern portion of the east wall of the hall.

In the western section of the house, a wide center hall divides the first floor into two large rooms, a sitting room to the west and dining room to the east. Both rooms have fireplaces. The stairway
is against the west wall at the northern end of the hall. Bedrooms occupy the second and third floors.

Crosiadore, which was enlarged and restored in the 1940’s and is in good condition, is a private residence and may not be visited by the public.

**Ellerslie, Maryland**

Charles County, on Howard Drive, which runs south from Md. 6, Port Tobacco.

Ellerslie was the birthplace of Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer in 1723 and his home for the first four decades of his life. In 1720 his father had acquired the plantation, then known as Coates Retirement. In 1934 fire destroyed the house in which the signer was born. The existing residence on the property was built around 1740 by his older brother, Daniel Jenifer, who had inherited the estate in 1728, but Daniel of St. Thomas undoubtedly visited it and may have resided in it.

Daniel apparently constructed a two-bay cottage, which contained four rooms, two on each floor. About five decades later, he attached a two-story, three-bay section to the south of the earlier structure. This created the present rectangular, five-bay facade.

The carefully restored framehouse is in excellent condition. A pair of hipped exterior brick chimneys flank each end of the residence, whose gable roof is covered with metal. Shutters and a one-bay, gable-roofed porch, supported by slender columns, enrich the facade. A small, one-story wing, built on the main axis, adjoins the house on the north. A similar structure once stood at the south end, but it was removed long ago.

On the first floor, the kitchen and dining room are north of the center hall. Two large parlors, connected by double doors, are to the south. Four bedrooms occupy the second floor.

After his death at Annapolis in 1790, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer was buried at Ellerslie. A private residence today, it is not open to the public.

**Maryland State House, Maryland**

Anne Arundel County, State Circle, Annapolis.

This statehouse, whose soaring dome dominates the Annapolis skyline, is the oldest still in continuous use for legislative purposes
and is one of the most historic buildings in the Nation. It has been the scene of many stirring events. Not only was it the Capitol of the United States in 1783–84, but it was also the meetingplace of the Annapolis Convention, the immediate forerunner of the U.S. Constitutional Convention, and since its construction has always served as Maryland’s seat of government.

For 9 months, from November 26, 1783, until the following August 13, this structure was the U.S. Capitol under the Articles of Confederation, following the Continental Congress’ relocation

Maryland State House.
from Princeton, N.J. During its 6-month session, in what is known
today as the Old Senate Chamber, the Congress on December 23,
1783, accepted George Washington's resignation as commander in
chief of the Continental Army; on January 14, 1784, ratified the
Treaty of Paris ending the War for Independence; and on May 7,
1784, approved the appointment of Thomas Jefferson as Minister
Plenipotentiary. After adjournment on June 3, 1784, a "Committee
of the States," which was charged with handling Government
affairs, continued to use the chamber until August 13. In
November Congress reconvened in Trenton, N.J.

But the building was destined to figure prominently once again
in national affairs. Although Maryland did not appoint any
deleagtes to the Annapolis Convention (September 1786), she
made her capitol available for its sessions, which were probably
held in the Old Senate Chamber. Because only 12 representatives
from 5 States had arrived, no action was taken on the proposed
topic, the recommendation to the States and the Continental
Congress of measures to improve domestic and foreign trade.
Instead, the conferees suggested that Congress and the States
sanction another convention to consider means to strengthen the
Articles of Confederation. This proposal was approved; the
Constitutional Convention was the result.

In 1772 Maryland’s last Royal Governor laid the cornerstone of
the statehouse. Because of delays caused by the War for
Independence, the structure was not completed until about 1779,
and the next year the legislature began using it. The architect is
unknown.

The two-story, late Georgian building, constructed of Flemish-
bonded brick in the form of a rectangle, is 11 bays wide and 7
deep. The dominant architectural feature, the 116-foot-high
octagonal dome, replaced the considerably smaller original one
and was apparently erected in the last half of the 1780’s.
Constructed of wood and held together by wooden pegs, it features
a balustraded steeple and a two-story cupola and has arched, oval,
and rectangular windows.

A three-bay central pavilion, which projects slightly, is topped
by a triangular pediment with an oval window. Spanning the
length of the pavilion is a one-story, Corinthian tetrastyle portico,
whose small pediment is in the central bay. Built mainly of wood,
the portico is probably a later addition. An elliptical arch, between
the central pair of Corinthian wall pilasters, frames the paneled double door and fanlight of the main entrance, which is flanked by semicircular arched windows. All other windows, whose sills are stone, are rectangular. The flat and round arches over the openings are of rubbed brick. A belt course marks the second floor. Dentiled, wood cornices decorate the roofline, portico, and both pediments. Two large interior chimneys are located near the front wall on each side of the pavilion; a small chimney, on the rear, northeastern, side of the roof.

The arcaded main hall, under the dome and a second-story balcony, features Corinthian columns and delicate Adam-style plaster ornamentation. The room of main interest on the first floor is the Old Senate Chamber. It has been restored to its appearance on December 23, 1783, the day Washington relinquished his command. A bronze plaque marks the spot where he probably stood. Above the chamber entrance is a curved, balustraded spectators' gallery, which is supported by fluted Ionic columns.

The point of focus in the room is the semi-elliptical dais, or speaker's platform. Its rear niche is framed by a pedimented frontispiece, which has fluted, engaged Ionic columns. They are of wood, but the remainder of the niche and frontispiece are of plaster. The walls, above the wainscot, and the ceiling are plastered. Of particular note are a classically trimmed fireplace and the elaborate plastic cornice. Some of the decor in this chamber and elsewhere in the building is attributed to William Buckland. The windows have deep, paneled reveals, window seats, and inner shutters. Under the balcony, separated by a wood, paneled parapet, are two bilevel rows of seats for observers. The original yellow-pine floor is secured by pegs instead of nails. The chandelier is a reproduction.

Alongside the Old Senate Chamber is the Historical and Flag Room, which contains a special flag display and some exhibits. Opposite the Old Senate Chamber is the Old House of Delegates Chamber, which is primarily significant in Maryland history but is now occupied by the Attorney General's office. The offices of the Governor are on the second floor. Throughout the building are many excellent paintings and portraits.

The statehouse includes an annex, which is slightly larger than the original building. Constructed in 1902-5, it replaced two earlier ones (1858 and 1886) and contains the modern legislative
chambers and various State offices. Guided tours of the building, which is in Colonial Annapolis Historic District, are provided.

Peggy Stewart House, Maryland
Anne Arundel County, 207 Hanover Street, Annapolis.

This residence is also known as the Rutland-Jenifer-Stone House, the Rutland-Peggy Stewart House, and the Rutland-Stewart-Stone House. Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer owned it at three different times, but it cannot be determined if he ever lived in it.

Thomas Rutland constructed the building some time between 1761 and 1764. Jenifer first acquired it in January 1772 and 6 months later sold it to Anthony Stewart, an Annapolis merchant. In 1774 Revolutionaries forced Stewart to burn his ship, the Peggy Stewart, when he attempted to land a cargo of tea on which he had paid taxes. Five years later, he fled to England and Mrs. Stewart sold the house back to Jenifer, who then owned it for a 4-year period before selling it in 1783 to Thomas Stone, signer of the Declaration of Independence, who occupied it while in the city. When Stone died 4 years later, Jenifer again purchased the property, which he held until his death in 1790.

The rectangular Georgian brick house, which is five bays wide and three deep, is in excellent condition, but over the years both the exterior and the interior have been substantially modified. Its 2 1/2 stories rest on an elevated basement. At the time of a major alteration in 1894, the gable roof was replaced by the present hipped roof, which has a cutoff deck and balustrade, and the end chimneys were rebuilt in their present form. Two gabled dormers are located at the front of the roof, and one at each side. Highlighting the ends of the house are central pavilions, which have triangular pediments and round center windows. The chimneys cut through the front corners of the pediments. A wooden box cornice with frieze board below extends around the eaves. A large wing at the rear is a later addition.

The front, or north, facade is comprised of all-header bond and the sides of English bond. Basement and first-story windows are topped by segmental arches; those on the second floor, by flat ones. The sills are of stone. Louvered shutters flank the first- and second-floor windows. The front entrance, sheltered by a small
modern wooden porch with a triangular pediment, has a paneled door that is surmounted by a rectangular, glazed transom.

The interior has been extensively remodeled in recent times. The original portion of the house, excluding the rear addition, has a center-hall floor plan. The stairs are set against the east wall, and a large living room occupies the east side of the house. A parlor and dining room are situated to the west of the hall. Five bedrooms are located upstairs. Only one fireplace, on the second floor, retains its original mantel.

The privately owned residence, part of Colonial Annapolis Historic District, is not open to the public.

Governor John Langdon Mansion, New Hampshire

Rockingham County, 143 Pleasant Street, Portsmouth.

John Langdon built this elaborate and stately Georgian mansion in 1784, while serving as president, or Governor, of New Hampshire, and resided in it until his death in 1819. Guests he entertained there included George Washington, James Monroe, John Hancock, Lafayette, and the exiled Louis Philippe of France.

The edifice, which reflects not only Langdon's wealth but also his affection for French styles, emulates continual European 18th-
century elegance. It is unaltered and in view of the delicacy of many of its details is in remarkably good condition. Two tall interior chimneys rise from the rear of the hipped roof of the 2½-story, five-bay structure. The classical captain’s walk is surrounded by a Chippendale railing. Three dormers, whose pediments are scrolled, project from beneath the walk. Corinthian pilasters, with intricately carved capitals, serve as cornerposts of the house. Wings extending from its rear add to the complexity of the floor plan. Brick guardhouses, formerly estate offices, stand at each side of the mansion.

Four Corinthian columns support the balustraded portico, which shelters the main entrance. A rectangular transom tops the three-light, nine-panel front door. Curving up on either side of the tall center window over the portico is a large surface scroll. Louvered shutters accent the other first- and second-floor windows. Dentiled cornices adorn the roofline, dormers, and portico.

The interior features are equally elegant. Of special interest is the carved paneling, particularly that in the parlor. Arched panels over the windows, with a *fleur-de-lis* carved above each keystone, embellish the dining room.

The Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities owns and administers the mansion, which is surrounded by elaborate gardens and is furnished with period pieces. It is open to the public from June through October.
Ladd-Gilman House (Cincinnati Memorial Hall), New Hampshire

Rockingham County, Governor's Lane and Water Street, Exeter.

This structure, overlooking the Squamscott River, is sometimes also called the Gilman House. It was the birthplace and home of bachelor signer Nicholas Gilman, Jr., for most of his life. His grandfather, Col. Daniel Gilman, purchased it from a relative by marriage, Nathaniel Ladd, in 1747. The signer's parents, Nicholas, Sr., and Ann Taylor Gilman, moved in when they wed 5 years later. Nicholas, Sr., held a colonelcy during the War for Independence and served as New Hampshire's first State treasurer. Another resident, until 1818, was the signer's brother, John Taylor Gilman, who succeeded his father in the latter office and was also a Member of the Continental Congress and Governor of New Hampshire.

In 1721 Nathaniel Ladd, whose forebears were among the earliest families to settle in Exeter, built the original 2 1/2-story, five-bay, square brick house. The central entrance opened into a narrow hallway, which bisected the main floor into two pairs of rooms and contained a steep, enclosed stairway.

In 1752 Nicholas Gilman, Sr., substantially enlarged and altered the house. He apparently removed the north wall and the partitions separating the north pair of rooms, and attached two additional bays, fronted by a small, enclosed portico. The brick exterior of the original portion was also clapboarded to match the addition.

Both the interior and exterior are well preserved, and changes from their late 18th-century appearance are minimal. The windows, topped by cornices on the first floor, are unevenly spaced and larger toward the north end of the building. This results in an asymmetrical facade. Three gabled dormers and two large interior chimneys protrude from the front of the roof, which is gabled on the south end and hipped on the north. A transom and pilasters, surmounted by a triangular pediment, accent the original paneled front door, situated to the south. The north entrance, to the newer part of the residence, also features a paneled door, which is flanked by pilasters and leads to a small, enclosed porch, which has a gable roof. A basement extends under at least the north part of the house. A large piazza is at the rear of the same end. The 1 1/2-story caretaker's wing, a modern addition, which has two front
dormers, is set back against the west, or rear, portion of the south end of the residence on the same axis.

The north entrance opens into a square hall, which contains a three-run stairway set against a large chimney. One large room is to the north, and a small one is west of the chimney, which provides a fireplace for both rooms in the addition. The southeast corner room, in the older part of the house, was used by Col. Nicholas Gilman, Sr., as his treasury office and contains a chest in which he probably stored State valuables. The original kitchen is to the west. A long parlor, once two rooms, occupies the entire north side of the older part of the structure.

The impressive interior features many spacious rooms, deep window seats, fluted pilasters, paneled wainscoting, and huge fireplaces. One of the six rooms on the second floor was apparently once utilized by jailkeeper Simeon Ladd as a cell. An iron ring in the baseboard was likely used to chain prisoners. A copy of the committee of detail draft of the Constitution, annotated by signer Nicholas Gilman, Jr., hangs in one of the stairway halls. Among the portraits on display are one of George Washington, attributed to Gilbert Stuart, and one of Gilman.

The Society of the Cincinnati in New Hampshire, of which Nicholas Gilman, Jr., was one of the first members, has owned and maintained the house since 1902. The society, which has restored the building, uses it as a meetingplace and museum, and opens it to the public on a restricted basis.

Ladd-Gilman House.
Jonathan Dayton resided in this home, also known as the Elias Boudinot House, from about 1795 until his death in 1824, shortly after Lafayette visited him there. Dayton had purchased the property from Boudinot, a U.S. Representative and former President of the Continental Congress, who had acquired it from Samuel Woodruff in 1772. During Boudinot’s occupancy, in 1789, he and other members of a special committee appointed by the First Congress to escort George Washington to New York City for his inauguration received him at Boxwood Hall. Much earlier, Boudinot had frequently entertained Alexander Hamilton, while he was a young student.

Boxwood Hall was erected in the mid-18th century. In 1870 it was extensively modified. The original lateral wings were demolished, the gable roof removed, two additional stories added under the new mansard roof, and a rear service wing attached. During restoration in 1942-43, the 19th-century additions were eliminated, and the gable roof and window sashes were reconstructed. The two-story, five-bay structure has two inside exterior chimneys. Shingles cover the brick-filled frame walls. A rectangular transom surmounts the front door, and paneled shutters adorn the windows.

The main house, including the frame, interior paneling, and
floors, remains largely original. A central hall divides each level into two pairs of rooms. The first floor contains the drawing room and library to the east, and the sitting and dining rooms to the west. Fireplace walls, except in one upstairs bedroom, are paneled. Pilasters and ornate mantels adorn the fireplaces. Elaborate cornices and dadoes enrich the first-floor rooms.

The Boxwood Hall Memorial Association, formed in the late 1930's when the residence was threatened with demolition, raised funds by popular subscription, purchased the property in 1940, and the following year deeded it to the State of New Jersey. The State, which has restored the residence, maintains it as a historic house museum.

**Liberty Hall, New Jersey**

*Union County, Morris (N.J. 82) and North (N.J. 439) Avenues, Union.*

In 1772 William Livingston, who had retired from politics in New York, built and occupied this country mansion on an estate he had acquired in 1760. During the first year of his occupancy, Alexander Hamilton resided with him while attending nearby Barber’s Academy. The outbreak of the Revolution dashed Livingston’s hopes of becoming a gentleman farmer and propelled him into a new and even more illustrious career in New Jersey and national politics.

During the war, while Livingston was absent serving as a general in the New Jersey militia and as Governor, he was forced to leave his wife and children alone for long periods at the estate, which was often threatened by British troops. In happier days, guests included George and Martha Washington, Lewis Morris, Lafayette, and Elias Boudinot. At Liberty Hall, one of Livingston’s daughters married John Jay, who went on to a remarkable career.

Soon after Livingston’s death there in 1790, Susan Livingston Kean, his niece, purchased the estate, which has remained in the family since that time. In 1800, about 5 years after the death of her husband, who had been a Member of the Continental Congress, Mrs. Kean married Count Julian Ursin Niemcewicz, and renamed the residence Ursino in his honor. Since that time, however, the earlier name has been reapplied. The Kean family has continued to be prominent in State and National affairs.
Liberty Hall.

The structure, in three sections, was built of frame over an elevated stone basement. The original two-story central portion, which had a modified gambrel roof and two interior chimneys, was flanked by one-story wings, built on the main axis, with polyangular ends, hipped roofs, and end chimneys. Exterior walls were flushboarded. Quoins marked the corners of the central section, and flat, key-blocked cornices topped the first-story windows.

In 1789 a second story was added to the west wing. In 1870 a third story was superimposed on the west wing and central section, and the second and third stories on the east wing. The rooms and tower at the northwest corner and the rooms at the northeast corner were also constructed at that time, as well as a gabled roof with bracketed eaves over the entire building.

Except for the additional levels, the south, or front, elevation retains its original appearance. Open-string steps, whose balusters are plain, lead to the pedimented front porch. A fanlight surmounts the paneled door. Shutters are paneled on the first floor and louvered on the second. Third-story windows lack any such adornment. The cornice of the porch, as well as its triangular pediment, are dentiled.

The floor plan and interior trim of the 18th-century portion of the
mansion remain essentially intact within the larger present structure. The elaborate mantels date from the 19th century. While a number of rooms and their furnishings have been restored to their original condition, others have been added to meet the changing needs of different generations of the Kean family, and modifications have been made to add modern heating and plumbing systems.

Liberty Hall still contains furniture, manuscripts, books, pictures, and portraits that belonged to Livingston and other early owners. Several outbuildings, including an icehouse and a smokehouse, have been preserved. A private residence, still part of a large estate, the building is not accessible to the public.

Federal Hall National Memorial, New York

New York County, at the corner of Wall and Nassau Streets, just off Broadway, in lower Manhattan; address: c/o National Park Service, New York Group, 26 Wall Street, New York City 10005.

This memorial commemorates two earlier buildings on this site that were the scene of momentous events vital to American freedom and the formation of the Union. City Hall, the first structure, was a Capitol of the United States under the Articles of Confederation; enlarged and renamed Federal Hall, it was the first Capitol under the Constitution. The present edifice, erected in the period 1835-42, was designated as Federal Hall National Memorial in the 20th century.

In City Hall the Continental Congress issued the call for the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia; received, debated, and transmitted the Constitution to the States for ratification; and prepared for the transfer of power to the new Government. On the balcony of Federal Hall, George Washington took the oath of office as our first President. In its chambers, the First Congress created the original governmental departments as well as the Federal judiciary system, and drafted and submitted the Bill of Rights to the States for approval.

City Hall, begun about 1699 to replace an earlier structure on another site, the Dutch Stadt Huys, was completed and occupied in 1703 or 1704 and remodeled in 1763. In time, the building also accommodated the colonial and State governments.
In 1734 newspaper publisher John Peter Zenger, charged with publishing "seditious libels," was imprisoned by the colonial Governor in the garret of City Hall. The following year, he was tried in the hall. His attorney, Andrew Hamilton, won his acquittal, an important precedent for freedom of speech and the press. In October 1765 the Stamp Act Congress, consisting of delegates from 9 of the 13 Colonies, convened in the hall. Offering the first united colonial opposition to English policy, it sent an address to the King, petitioned Parliament, and drew up a Declaration of Rights and Grievances.

Federal Hall National Memorial.
During the 1770's Philadelphia displaced New York as the prime meetingplace for intercolonial gatherings and hosted both the First and Second Continental Congresses. During the War for Independence, from 1776 to 1783, British forces and Loyalists controlled New York City. City Hall became a guardhouse and housed a military court.

In late 1784 the Continental Congress, meeting in Trenton, N.J., selected New York City as the seat of Government; and in January began meeting in City Hall, at the invitation of the city government. In February 1787 Congress approved the resolution of the Annapolis Convention that called for the convening of a Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. During the Convention, some delegates journeyed to and from New York to sit in the Congress. During this period, it passed the Northwest Ordinance, which provided for the government of the Territory Northwest of the Ohio River. After the Convention, Congress received and forwarded the Constitution to the States for ratification.

In September 1788 the Continental Congress designated New York City as the U.S. Capital under the Constitution. The city council promptly offered the continued use of City Hall, and hired Maj. Pierre Charles L'Enfant to renovate and enlarge it. The work was largely completed before Congress met the following spring. Filling in the space between the two front wings, which projected from a central block, L'Enfant erected an imposing second-floor balcony in the middle of the new front facade. Large extensions were also made at the rear of the building, and a new roof was built for the entire structure. In the repartitioned interior, spacious chambers were provided for both the House and Senate as well as
an imposing office for the President. Inside and out, the building was ornately decorated to celebrate American freedom and Union.

In the new structure, renamed Federal Hall, the First Congress held its initial sessions early in April 1789, counted the electoral votes, and announced the election of George Washington as President and John Adams as Vice President. On April 30 a congressional committee escorted Washington from his local residence to Federal Hall. There, on the front balcony, overlooking throngs of people at the intersection of Broad and Wall Streets, Robert R. Livingston, Chancellor of the State of New York, administered the Presidential oath. Upon the ceremony's conclusion, as the flag was raised on the cupola of the building, cheers filled the air, church bells rang out, and guns saluted from the harbor. Shortly thereafter, inside the building, from the dais of the Senate Chamber, Washington delivered his inaugural address.

Between July and September, Congress created the Supreme Court and other courts and the Departments of State, War, and Treasury, as well as the office of Attorney General; and adopted and transmitted the Bill of Rights to the States for ratification. One of Congress' last acts in this building, in July 1790, was selection of a 10-mile square tract along the Potomac as the site of a permanent national Capital, to be called the District of Columbia. In August 1790 the Federal Government moved from New York to Philadelphia, which was to serve as the interim Capital.

Federal Hall, ca. 1789.
During the following two decades, Federal Hall was utilized only for State and city offices. In 1796 the legislature relocated to Albany, and in 1811 the city also vacated the deteriorating building. The following year, it was demolished.

Commercial buildings were soon erected on the site. In 1816 or 1817 the Federal Government acquired or leased them for temporary use as a customhouse. The permanent New York City Custom House, built at the site in the period 1835–42, is an outstanding example of Greek Revival architecture. In 1862 it became the United States Sub-Treasury. Later, it housed the Federal Reserve Bank of New York and a number of minor governmental offices. When most of these were relocated, local civic and patriotic organizations conceived the idea of preserving the structure as a memorial to the founding of our Federal form of Government. The building was designated as a national historic site in 1939 and became a national memorial in 1955.

Federal Hall National Memorial is administered by the National Park Service with the cooperation of the Federal Hall Memorial Associates, Inc. Extensive exhibits trace the historical events associated with the site.

**Hamilton Grange National Memorial, New York**

New York County, 287 Convent Avenue, adjacent to St. Luke's Protestant Episcopal Church, New York City; address: c/o National Park Service, New York Group, 26 Wall Street, New York City 10005.

Hamilton Grange, one of the few Federal-period houses still standing in New York City, is the only home Alexander Hamilton ever owned and the only extant structure significantly associated with him. Still standing, however, is The Pastures, the Albany residence of his father-in-law, Gen. Philip J. Schuyler, where he was married and frequently visited.

In 1795 Hamilton resigned as Secretary of the Treasury and returned to New York City to practice law, though he continued to participate in national affairs. At first he lived downtown. In 1800, planning to build a country residence, he purchased a 16-acre tract on the pleasant wooded hills known as Harlem Heights, about 9 miles from the city. The site offered a fine view of the Hudson and Harlem Rivers. Later, he purchased the adjoining 16 acres.
In 1801–2 Hamilton constructed a house on this property. It was designed by the distinguished architect John McComb. Hamilton closely followed the course of construction. He named the estate “The Grange” after that of his paternal grandfather, Alexander Hamilton, in Ayrshire, Scotland. The two-story residence was constructed of wood, but the walls and partitions were filled with brick. A balustraded central portico, supported by Doric columns, adorned the front entrance. The roof was balustraded and apparently covered with copper. The two rear interior chimneys were functional, but the front two were false to achieve symmetry. Topping the front door, which was flanked by rectangular windows, was a transom. The shutters were louvered.

On one side of the short, rectangular entrance hall was an enclosed stair hall, which gave access to the upper story and to the kitchen and other service rooms in the basement. On the other side of the hall was Hamilton’s small study. To the rear of the hall, beyond an arch, twin doors angled into two large octagonal rooms, the drawing and dining rooms, which spanned the width of the house. They were interconnected by wide doors, which when opened created a single large chamber for festive occasions. French windows opened from each of the two rooms onto a side balustraded and railed piazza, graced by Doric columns. The rear doors of the two octagonal chambers opened obliquely onto a rectangular central hall, which provided access to two small
rooms, as well as to the rear entrance and a small porch. The stairway leading to the second floor opened into a full-length central hall, which provided access to the bedrooms. All the rooms except the single front one on each floor featured fireplaces; the mantelpieces were of fine marble.

Hamilton lavishly furnished the residence and envisioned the creation of extensive gardens, but these were never fully completed. He did plant a group of 13 gum trees, a gift from George Washington to commemorate the Thirteen Original States.

About the time Hamilton and his family moved into the house in December 1802, a series of tragedies befell him. One of his sons had died in a duel at Weehawken, N.J., in November 1801. His wife's mother died in March 1803. Because of unwise investments, he encountered increasing financial difficulties. And in July 1804 he dueled with Aaron Burr, on the same ground where his son had fallen, and he died the next day. The night before the duel, in his study he had written a farewell letter to his wife.

Mrs. Hamilton moved to downtown New York City after her husband's death, though she may sometimes have occupied The Grange. She apparently rented it out from time to time until she sold it in 1833 or 1834. After that time, the deteriorating residence had a series of owners until 1889, when construction of a new street further endangered it.

That year, St. Luke's Episcopal Church acquired the house and moved it to its present site about 2 blocks to the southeast of its original location. The church used it temporarily as a chapel and later as a parish house. Certain alterations were made, though the basic structure remained unchanged.

In 1924, concerned about the preservation of The Grange, two financiers, George F. Baker, Sr., and J. P. Morgan, purchased it, conveyed it to the American Scenic and Historical Preservation Society, and set up a trust fund to maintain it as a memorial to Hamilton. The public was admitted in 1933. In 1962 the society donated the house to the Federal Government. That same year, Congress created Hamilton Grange National Memorial.

Urban development has obscured Hamilton Grange. Taller and more modern buildings surround it. Despite modifications, the core of the structure is intact, though it needs extensive renovation. Its simple but dignified design is still apparent. The original wood siding, hand-hewn attic beams, handsplit lath, ornamental
plaster moldings, and all but two of the marble mantelpieces are still in place.

When the house was moved to its present location, the porches and piazzas were removed and it was set sideways on a new basement. Then or at a later time the roof balustrade was removed, and other alterations were made. Both the former front (which now faces St. Luke's Church) and rear entrances were walled up. A new main entrance was cut in what formerly had been the side wall of the front stair hall, and the original main door was inserted there. Another front door was also cut into one of the original rear rooms and the present porch added. The stairs were removed to clear a hallway in front of the new main entrance, and a new set of stairs installed in what formerly had been the front entrance hall. Over the years, new partitions have somewhat changed the arrangement of the original rear rooms on both floors. The basement presently provides caretaker's quarters.

The National Park Service plans to restore The Grange, refurnish it with Hamilton furniture, and obtain more memorabilia. It is now furnished with period pieces and is used for interpretive programs and community projects.

King Manor, New York

Queens County, in King Park, which is bounded by Jamaica Avenue, 150th and 153d Streets, and 89th Avenue, Jamaica, New York City.
Rufus King lived in this mansion from 1806 intermittently until his death in 1827. It then became the residence of his son, John Alsop King, a New York legislator and Governor as well as a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives.

In 1805, following his return from diplomatic service in Europe, the elder King purchased for a country retreat a 90-acre farmstead from the estate of the son-in-law of Rev. Thomas Colgan, who had served as a minister at the adjacent Grace Episcopal Church. The tract then extended eastward to the church and northward to present Grand Central Parkway.

The next year, King apparently utilized three existing buildings to construct a 17-room mansion, which featured English and Dutch Colonial elements and some Federal details. First, he enlarged a 2 1/2-story house with gambrel roof that Colgan had begun for a parsonage about 1750 by extending it eastward to create the present main house. From elsewhere on the premises, it appears that he moved two- and one-story buildings, apparently dating from the first half of the century, and added them in that sequence to the rear northeastern corner of the addition to form an ell, used for servants' quarters. Demonstrating his horticultural interests, he revamped the grounds in English style. Subsequently, in 1888-89, the King family sold much of the surrounding property.

Today the estate is hemmed in by extensive urbanization. The frame mansion, however, is in good condition and remains relatively unaltered. The generous horizontal proportions of the newer section of the main house give the manor its asymmetrical facade. Fluted Doric columns support the portico over the main entrance, a central Dutch door topped by a transom and flanked by sidelights. Over the portico, whose cornice is dentiled, sits a Palladian window with segmental arch. Two interior chimneys rise from the roof. Later exterior modifications include several skylights, window shutters, and shingle siding over the original frame. The two additions that make up the ell each have end chimneys and gable roofs. The two-story unit adjacent to the main house is fronted by a columned porch.

The parlor and family room are to the west of the wide foyer. The latter room probably most closely approximates its general appearance during Rufus King's residency. A spacious, oval-ended dining room occupies the southeastern, or front, corner of the first floor. Behind it, or to the north, separated by a side
hallway, a large serving pantry connects with the kitchen, in the ell. The second floor contains bedrooms, children's rooms, and a sitting room. The furnishings are a mixture of Colonial, Empire, and Victorian.

The village of Jamaica acquired the estate in 1897, a year after the death of King's granddaughter, Cornelia King. Later, when New York City annexed the village, it gained jurisdiction over the manor, which is part of 11 1/2-acre King Park. An office of the city's Departments of Parks is located in the ell. The King Manor Association of Long Island, Inc., preserves and cares for the interior of the main house, part of which is open to the public on a restricted basis. Rufus King is buried in the graveyard of nearby Grace Episcopal Church.

Iredell (James) House, North Carolina

Chowan County. 107 E. Church Street. Edenton.

Early in 1798, in a state of extreme mental anguish apparently brought on mainly by mounting debts, James Wilson, probably while visiting North Carolina on Federal circuit court matters, took refuge in this house. It was the home of his friend and fellow U.S. Supreme Court Justice James Iredell, who had been instrumental in the North Carolina ratification of the Constitution. Within a few months, Wilson died there.

The little-altered Iredell House, which is in excellent condition, is a large L-shaped structure. It is constructed of frame and is two stories in height. The roof is gabled. Two-story verandas span the front, or south, and rear elevations of the long arm of the ell. Transoms flank the central entrances on both levels, and louvered shutters flank the windows.

The building was erected in three stages. The earliest, the present short, or east, arm of the ell, was built in 1759 by John Wilkins. In 1776 Joseph Whedbee enlarged the structure by adding to its west side the two easternmost bays of the present five-bay long arm. In 1810 Iredell's widow extended the arm by three bays to its present size and added the verandas.

The original section of the house contains a living room and one other room on the first floor and two bedrooms on the second. The first floor of the 1776 portion consists of the dining room; the second floor, a large bedroom. These two sections are furnished as a historic house museum. The remaining part of the long arm,
dating from 1810, serves as the caretaker's quarters. The State owns and administers the residence.

**Rosefield, North Carolina**

*Bertie County, 212 Gray Street, Windsor.*

In 1749 William Blount was born at Rosefield, the home of his maternal grandparents, John Gray and his wife, and he later made occasional visits there. It is the only extant structure associated with Blount in North Carolina.

In 1729 Gray acquired about 1,000 acres on the site of Windsor, and built the west part of the front section of the existing house. In the late 18th century, it was extended eastward to its present five-bay width. About 1860 a two-story, frame wing was added to the rear northwest corner to create the present ell shape. A one-story addition on the east of this wing was apparently erected at a later date.

The frame dwelling is in good condition. It stands two stories high over a full basement. A brick exterior hipped chimney rises at either end of the gabled roof. A three-bay porch shelters the central main entrance, which is framed by a rectangular transom and sidelights. Louvered shutters flank the windows.

On the first floor, a parlor and bedroom are west of the central hall, and a living room and a second bedroom to the east. The original wide-board floors are visible in the hall and two bedrooms, but have been covered by modern flooring in the parlor and living room. The rooms all have plaster walls and wood chair rails. Three chambers and a linen room occupy the second floor, and the original kitchen, dining room, and pantry are in the basement.

A private residence, still in the possession of Gray descendants, Rosefield is not shown publicly.

**Independence National Historical Park, Pennsylvania**

*Philadelphia County, in downtown Philadelphia, visitor center at the corner of Third and Chestnut Streets; address: 313 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19106.*

This park, a complex of historic structures in the old part of Philadelphia, is not only preeminent among the sites associated
with the signers of the Constitution, but also notably commemorates other major aspects of the Nation's founding and initial growth. These include meetings of the First and Second Continental Congresses; adoption and signing of the Declaration of Independence, which marked the creation of the United States; and the labors of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, which perpetuated it. As historian Carl Van Doren has said: "On account of the Declaration of Independence, [Independence Hall] is a shrine honored wherever the rights of man are honored. On account of the Constitution, it is a shrine cherished wherever the principles of self-government on a federal scale are cherished."

Independence Hall, the nucleus of the park, was originally the State House for the Province of Pennsylvania. In 1729 the provin-
cial assembly set aside funds for the building, designed by lawyer Andrew Hamilton. Three years later, construction began under the supervision of master carpenter Edmund Wooley. In 1736 the assembly moved into the statehouse, which was not fully completed until 1756.

As American opposition to British colonial policies mounted, Philadelphia became a center of organized protest. To decide on a unified course of action, in 1774 the First Continental Congress met in newly finished Carpenters' Hall, whose erection the Carpenters' Company of Philadelphia had begun 4 years earlier. In 1775 the Second Continental Congress, taking over the east room of the ground floor of the statehouse from the Pennsylvania assembly, moved from protest to resistance. Warfare had already begun in Massachusetts. Congress created an Army and appointed George Washington as commander in chief. Yet the final break with the Crown had not come; not until a year later would independence be declared.

The Declaration of Independence was adopted on July 4, 1776. Four days later, in Independence Square, it was first read publicly, to the citizens of Philadelphia. In a formal ceremony on August 2, about 50 of the 56 signers affixed their signatures to the Declaration; the others apparently did so later.

Long, hard years of war ensued. In the late autumn and winter of 1776-77, the British threatened Philadelphia and Congress temporarily moved to Baltimore. Again in the fall of 1777 it departed from Philadelphia, this time for York, Pa. During the British occupation of Philadelphia that winter and the next spring, the redcoats used Independence Hall as a barracks and as a hospital for American prisoners. In the summer of 1778 the Government returned. On November 3, 1781, Congress officially received news of Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown. Independence practically had been won.

Earlier that same year, the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union had gone into effect. Under the Confederation, Congress stayed in Philadelphia until 1783, and later met in other cities before settling in City Hall at New York City, in early 1785. In 1787, from May 14 until September 17, the Constitutional Convention held its secret sessions in Independence Hall, in the same chamber in which the Declaration had been adopted and signed. The Constitution was subscribed to on September 17 by 39
of the 55 delegates who attended the Convention. The Pennsylvania legislature later ratified the Constitution in the east room of the second floor of Independence Hall, where it had moved to make first-floor space available for the Convention.

About the same time that Philadelphia became the second Capital (1790–1800) under the Constitution, after the Government had moved from New York City and prior to its relocation to Washington, D.C., Independence Hall acquired three new neighbors in Independence Square: City Hall (1791), on the east; County Court House (1789), on the west; and American Philosophical Society Hall, on the southeast. Beginning in 1790, Congress met in the County Court House (subsequently known as Congress Hall), the Senate in a small chamber on the second floor and the House of Representatives in a larger one on the first. The following year, after sitting for a few days in Independence Hall, the U.S. Supreme Court moved to City Hall. In 1793 George Washing-
ton was inaugurated for his second term as President in the Senate chamber of Congress Hall, and 4 years later President Adams took his oath of office in the House chamber.

In 1799 the State government vacated Independence Hall and moved to Lancaster. The next year, the Federal Government relocated to Washington, D.C. The city of Philadelphia then used City Hall and Congress Hall, and various tenants occupied Independence Hall until the city acquired it in 1818. For example, during the period 1802–27 artist Charles Willson Peale operated a museum there. He and his son Rembrandt painted many of the signers of the Constitution and the Declaration as well as the heroes of the War for Independence. These portraits form the core of the park’s present collection, which is exhibited in the Second Bank of the United States Building.

Stately and symmetrical Independence Hall, a 2 1/2-story red brick structure that has been carefully restored, is the most beautiful 18th-century public building of Georgian style surviving

Many of the delegates to the Constitutional Convention undoubtedly took advantage of this invitation from the Library Company of Philadelphia to use its facilities.

At a meeting of the directors of the Library Company of Philadelphia on Thursday the 5th July 1787

Resolved that the librarian furnish the gentlemen who compose the convention now sitting with such books as they may desire during their continuance at Philadelphia, taking receipts for the same.

By order of the directors,

[Signature]
in the United States. The tall belltower, which had deteriorated and been replaced in 1781 by a low pyramidal roof and spire and then been reconstructed along the original lines in 1828 by architect William Strickland, dominates the south facade. Smaller two-story, hip-roofed, brick wings, erected in 1736 and 1739 and restored in 1897-98, one of which serves as a park information center, are connected to the main building by arcades.

The interior focus of interest in Independence Hall is the Assembly Room, the eastern one on the first floor. Probably no other room in the United States has been the scene of such political courage and wisdom. In this chamber, the Continental Congress and the Constitutional Convention formulated and signed the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. The room is about 40 feet square and 20 feet high. Twin segmental-arched fireplaces along the east wall flank the speaker's dais. Massive fluted pilasters raised on pedestals adorn the paneled east wall. The other three walls are plastered. A heavy Roman Doric entablature borders the plastered ceiling. The room and the furniture arrangement at the time of the Continental Congress have been duplicated. The only original furnishings are the "Rising Sun" chair and the silver inkstand with quill box and shaker used by the signers of the Declaration and the Constitution.

The other large room on the ground floor, where the U.S. Supreme Court held sessions for a few days in 1791 and again in August 1796, housed the supreme court of Pennsylvania and later other State and local courts. The paneled walls are decorated with massive fluted pilasters of the Roman Doric order. The central hall between this room and the Assembly Room is richly adorned with a Roman Doric order of columns and entablature, fully membered. On the second floor are the Long Room, Governor's Council Chamber, and Committee Room. These are furnished to represent the activities of the Pennsylvania legislature and government prior to 1775.

The Liberty Bell, a worldwide emblem of freedom is displayed in a special pavilion on Independence Mall across Chestnut Street from Independence Hall. The source of the 2,080-pound bell's name is the "Proclaim Liberty" inscription, engraved on it to commemorate the 50th anniversary of William Penn's Charter of Privileges (1701). In 1750 the Pennsylvania assembly authorized erection of the Independence Hall belltower, and the next year
ordered a bell from England. After it arrived in 1752, it was cracked during testing and was twice recast by local workmen. As the official statehouse bell, it was rung on important public occasions. In 1777, before the British occupied Philadelphia, the Government moved it temporarily to Allentown, Pa. Traditionally the bell cracked once again, in 1835, while tolling the death of Chief Justice John Marshall.

The exterior appearances of City Hall and Congress Hall have changed little since the 1790’s, when many of the signers of the Declaration and Constitution served in the Government. The interior of Congress Hall has been restored and refurnished as the meetingplace of Congress in the 1790’s. Exhibits in City Hall describe the activities of the U.S. Supreme Court during the same period of time, and portray Philadelphia life during the late 18th century. Carpenters’ Hall, a block east of Independence Square, is still owned and operated by the Carpenters’ Company of Philadelphia. The hall memorializes the First Continental Congress and possesses architectural significance.

The American Philosophical Society, founded in 1743 by Benjamin Franklin and the oldest learned society in the United States, still maintains its headquarters in Philosophical Hall. Its distinguished membership once included 15 of the signers of the Declaration and 18 signers of the Constitution. The society’s collections also contain furniture and documents associated with many of these individuals.

In the years 1789–91, the Library Company of Philadelphia (organized in 1731), one of the first public libraries in the United States, erected Library Hall, across from Independence Square on the corner of Library and Fifth Streets. Some of the signers of the Constitution numbered among the members, including company founder Franklin. Library Hall, reconstructed in 1957–58 by the American Philosophical Society, now serves as its library. The Library Company is quartered elsewhere in the city.

In connection with the U.S. Bicentennial commemoration, the National Park Service has rebuilt the Jacob Graff, Jr., House and City Tavern. The 3½-story, brick Graff House, 2 blocks from Independence Hall on the southwest corner of Seventh and Market Streets, was in 1791 the residence of signer of the Constitution James Wilson. Earlier, in 1776, Jefferson roomed there when he drafted the Declaration of Independence. The first floor contains
Restored Assembly Room, where the Constitution and the Declaration of
Independence were debated, adopted, and signed.

displays; the parlor and bedroom that Jefferson lived in on the second floor have been restored and are furnished with period pieces. City Tavern, at the northwest corner of Walnut and Second Streets, where many members of the Constitutional Convention and Continental Congress and Government officials stayed while in Philadelphia, is furnished and operated as an 18th-century tavern.

At Franklin Court, in the block south of Market Street between Third and Fourth Streets, an underground museum contains exhibits on Benjamin Franklin’s life. A steel-framed structure outlines the site of his home (1766-90), whose foundations are visible. The exteriors of five other houses having associations with Franklin, three of which he built and rented out, have also been reconstructed.

The Deshler-Morris House, at 5442 Germantown Avenue in Germantown, part of the park though located 7 miles away, was for short periods in 1793 and 1794, during yellow fever epidemics, the residence of President Washington.

In addition to the preceding buildings, a few sites of structures
no longer extant that were associated with the signers of the Constitution have also been identified. These include those of two adjoining homes (1785-90 and 1790-95) of Robert Morris, on the southeast corner of Market and Sixth Streets, in the first of which Washington stayed with Morris during the Constitutional Convention (1787) and which the latter made available as the temporary Presidential mansion (1790-1800) for Washington and John Adams; and the James Wilson home ("Fort Wilson") (1778-90), on the southwest corner of Walnut and Third Streets.

The graves and tombs of five signers of the Constitution are located in the park. The bodies of Broom and Franklin are in Christ Church Burial Ground, at the southeast corner of Fifth and Arch Streets; and those of Butler, Robert Morris, and Wilson in the yard of Christ Church, on Second Street between Church and Filbert Streets. Fitzsimons was interred in the graveyard of St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church, just outside the park on Fourth Street between Locust and Spruce Streets. Ingersoll was also buried near but beyond the park boundaries, in the cemetery of the First Presbyterian Church, at Fourth and Pine.

Buildings and sites in the park that are mainly of interest in other themes of history than that treated in this volume include: the First Bank of the United States; Second Bank of the United States (Old Custom House); New Hall (Marine Corps Museum); Pemberton House (Army-Navy Museum); Philadelphia (Mer-

The signers of the Declaration and the Constitution used this silver inkstand with quill box and shaker.
chants') Exchange; Bishop White House; Todd House; Mikveh Israel Cemetery National Historic Site; and Gloria Dei (Old Swede's) Church National Historic Site.

The structures and properties in 22-acre Independence National Historical Park, most of which are open to the public, include those owned by the city of Philadelphia, but administered by the National Park Service. These consist of Independence Hall, Congress Hall, City Hall, and Independence Square. In recent years, to enhance the setting of the area, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania has created Independence Mall in the 3 blocks directly north of Independence Hall; the National Park Service administers it.

Federally owned buildings include the First and Second Banks of the United States; the Deshler-Morris House, operated by the Germantown Historical Society; Todd House; Bishop White House; New Hall; Pemberton House; and the Philadelphia Exchange. Among those privately owned buildings whose owners have cooperative agreements with the National Park Service are Carpenters' Hall and Christ Church, both National Historic Landmarks, and Gloria Dei (Old Swede's) Church and Mikveh Israel Cemetery National Historic Sites. The American Philosophical Society holds title to Philosophical Hall, another Landmark and the only privately owned building on the square, but also operates Library Hall, on Federal land.

In 1948, upon recommendation of the Philadelphia National Shrines Park Commission, Congress created Independence National Historical Park. This act specified the Federal Government's role in the commemoration of existing historic sites and buildings and in the acquisition and management of others. The entire undertaking is guided by an advisory commission of distinguished citizens. Many individuals and private and civic organizations have participated in the preservation and beautification efforts.

Summerseat, Pennsylvania

Bucks County, on Clymer Street in the block bounded by Morris and Hillcrest Avenues, Morrisville.

Summerseat (Somerseat), sometimes called Summerseat School, was erected in the 1770's by Thomas Barclay, a Philadelphia merchant. In 1806 signer of the Declaration and the Constitution
Summerseat.

George Clymer acquired the Georgian residence and occupied it until his death there 7 years later.

The five-bay brick-and-stone structure, which was restored in 1931 and renovated 4 years later, is in good condition. It stands two stories high over an elevated basement. A pair of interior brick chimneys rise near each end of the slate-covered gable roof. The main, or east, facade is of brick; the end walls, probably also of brick, are covered with cement; the rear elevation is of fieldstone. A rectangular transom and triangular pediment surmount the paneled front door. Flat arches, of gauged brick, accent the first- and second-floor windows of the main facade; segmental arches, also of gauged brick, top the windows of the rear elevation and of all those in the basement. All first- and second-floor windows have solid shutters.

Central halls divide the four rooms on both floors into pairs. Each room is equipped with a fireplace. The stairs, set against the south wall of the rear portion of the hall, are lighted by a large window overlooking the landing. The walls, floors, and some of the woodwork appear to be original.

The Morrisville School District owns the building, and uses it for educational purposes. It is open to the public on a restricted basis.

Colonel (Charles) Pinckney House, South Carolina
Charleston County. 7 Orange Street, Charleston.

In 1770, when signer Charles Pinckney was 13 years of age, his father, Col. Charles Pinckney, acquired this townhouse. The youth resided in it with his family until 1778.
Alexander Petrie, who purchased the lot in 1747, apparently built the residence at an unknown date prior to 1770. In excellent condition, the large, frame, rectangular structure has a dormered hip roof, and is $2\frac{1}{2}$ stories in height over an elevated basement. A three-bay central pavilion, surmounted by a pediment containing a circular window, dominates the five-bay facade. A small, pedimented portico shelters the front entrance, which is framed by sidelights and a rectangular transom. A wrought-iron railing lines the front of the portico and the stairs, on the side. A dentiled cornice adorns the roofline of the house, as well as the portico and both pediments. Louvered shutters flank the windows.

A central hall, in two sections, divides the first-floor rooms into pairs, two front parlors to the east, or front, and a dining room and bedroom to the rear. The stairway is in the rear of the hall. The mantels, floors, and large double sliding doors in the parlors apparently date from the early 19th century. The mantels and trim in the other rooms appear to be original.

A private residence, the building is not open to the public.

**Governor John Rutledge House, South Carolina**

*Charleston County, 116 Broad Street, Charleston.*

John Rutledge built this house in 1763 and resided in it from the time of his marriage until his death in 1800. These years spanned his public career.

Originally the large, brick residence rose two stories over an elevated basement. Thomas M. Gadsden added the third floor in 1853. The five-bay house is in excellent condition. Elaborate inside end chimneys stand at each side of the slate-covered roof. A three-bay pediment at the rooftop and an elaborate two-story cast- and wrought-iron porch embellish the front, or south, elevation. The corners of the house are marked by quoins, and the windows are topped by triangular pediments on the first floor, broken pediments on the second, and segmentally arched-hood molding on the third. Pilasters, a triangular pediment, and a transom accent the central front entrance. A dentiled cornice spans the roofline and the pediment.

A central hall, which contains the stairs near the rear, extends through the house and divides the first-floor rooms into pairs. On
the second floor, a bedroom is on either side of the short central hall, which is at the rear. The entire front half of that level is occupied by two large rooms, once a drawing room and a library, that could be combined to form a large ballroom. The third floor contains four chambers.

The parquet flooring of the first and second stories is original. The eight marble mantels on these floors probably date from the mid-19th century. Partitions and false ceilings have been installed, but no significant structural alterations have been made. Law offices occupy the building, which is not open to the public. Next door is the residence of Edward Rutledge, John’s brother, who was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. That house, too, is a National Historic Landmark.
Snee Farm, South Carolina

Charleston County, on Long Point Road (County Road 97), about one mile west of Ocean Highway (U.S. 17-701), some 4\(\frac{1}{4}\) miles northeast of Mount Pleasant.

Charles Pinckney inherited this farm after the death of his father, Col. Charles Pinckney, in 1782, and held title to it until he succumbed in 1824. The younger Pinckney entertained President George Washington there during his tour of the South in 1791.

The square clapboarded structure, built by Colonel Pinckney in 1754, is still largely original. It was restored in 1936, and is in excellent condition. Five bays wide, it rests on brick piles, and is 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) stories in height. Two large, corbeled brick chimneys rise from the rear, or north, slope of the gable roof. On its front are three gabled dormers. A short flight of open-string masonry stairs lead up to the open front porch, which spans the front elevation and whose shed roof is supported by six evenly spaced, square columns. A four-light, rectangular transom tops the front door, and louvered shutters accent the first-floor windows. The flanking, symmetrical one-story frame wings at the rear corners of the main house were added in 1936.

The center hall, divided by an arch into two sections, contains the stairway, which is set against the north portion of the east wall of the hall. The hall walls have vertical paneling and a dado. A large gunroom and a smaller bedroom occupy the east side of
the first floor; a spacious parlor and a dining room, which contains a shell cabinet, the west. The rooms have wide-boarded floors, and, except for the bedroom, each features a wooden dado. Originally, the second floor contained four bedrooms and a center hall; one bedroom has since been subdivided to create two baths.

Snee Farm, a private residence, is not open to visitors.

**Blount Mansion, Tennessee △**

*Knox County, 200 W. Hill Avenue, Knoxville.*

In 1792 William Blount, Governor of Southwest Territory (now Tennessee), built this house, which sits on a slope overlooking the Tennessee River. The capitol of the Territory, the residence became known as the “Governor’s Mansion.” Blount had moved to Knoxville early that year, after staying temporarily with William Cobb at Rocky Mount, along the Watauga River, and his family soon joined him. They lived in a nearby log cabin until their home was completed. At the time, it was an imposing structure, the first two-story framehouse in the Territory and one of the first on the trans-Allegheny frontier.

Blount occupied the residence from its completion late in 1792 until his death there in 1800, though in 1797 because of financial difficulties he transferred title to his half-brother Willie. William conducted the business of the Territory, including preparations for statehood, from his office, a separate building on the grounds. Elegant parties were held in the house, which remained the social and political center of the area after statehood was attained in 1796. Among those Blount entertained were Andrew Jackson; John Sevier, Tennessee’s first Governor; the French botanist André Michaux; Louis Philippe, later King of France; and various Indian chiefs.

Blount had chosen the site for his domicile in 1791, not long after he established the capital at White’s Fort and named it Knoxville after his friend and superior in the conduct of Indian affairs, Henry Knox, Secretary of War in Washington’s Cabinet. Construction was a remarkable feat in view of the difficulty in transporting materials to such a remote wilderness. Finished woodwork, flooring, pine paneling, and exterior weatherboarding were shipped by way of the French Broad and Tennessee Rivers.
Window panes were carried from Virginia by packtrain. Other materials were produced locally; the bricks used in the foundation and chimneys were made at a nearby creek and fired on the site, and heavy timbers were probably sawed at a mill along the creek.

The main residence and the outbuildings, including the Governor’s office and the kitchen, at the rear of the mansion on its east and west sides, respectively, have been restored and are in excellent condition. The early detached kitchen had been dismantled and rebuilt along the rear of the house. The addition was removed and many of the same materials were used in reconstructing the kitchen on its original foundation.

The gable-roofed residence consists of a two-story, central section, flanked by step-down, one-story wings. The central portion and the west wing were built first; Blount later added the east wing over a daylight basement, to provide more space for his growing family and visitors. Exterior brick chimneys mark the
ends of each section. Rectangular transoms top the paneled front door and the separate east-wing entrance. The windows have louvered shutters.

The formal parlor occupies the east wing. The basement below, which may be reached via a narrow stairway from a trap door in a hall between the parlor and dining room and also by a separate outside entrance, was probably Blount's private office and is now a gift shop. Other rooms include the Pine Room, paneled in the North Carolina pine imported by Blount; and the Green Room, which served as a family room and was used for social functions. The interior features period furnishings and portraits of Blount and other leaders of his day.

In 1925 the Bonny Kate Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution and the East Tennessee Historical Society, aided by the city, State, and private individuals, saved the building from destruction. The Blount Mansion Association, which has owned the residence since 1930, has completed its restoration and now administers it as a historic house museum. The Knoxville Garden Club planted and maintains an 18th-century garden on the grounds. The graves of Blount and his wife are 3 blocks to the north in the graveyard of the First Presbyterian Church.
Rocky Mount, Tennessee

Sullivan County, just off U.S. 11E-19W-411, about 7 miles northeast of Johnson City.

This log house, also known as the Cobb-Massengill Home, derives its name from its location atop a high hill, covered with limestone outcroppings, that overlooks the Watauga River. The residence served as the temporary capitol of the Southwest Territory for about 18 months, beginning in October 1790.

During this period, William Blount, the newly appointed Governor of the Territory and Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern Department who had just arrived from North Carolina, was a guest of Rocky Mount’s owner, William Cobb. In 1791 Blount established Knoxville as the capital at the site of White’s Fort, near the confluence of the Holston and French Broad Rivers, where he had signed the Treaty of the Holston (July 1791) with the Cherokee Indians, and moved there early in 1792.

Cobb, one of the first Watauga settlers, followed his brother-in-law Henry Massengill, Sr., to the area from eastern North Carolina, where he may have known Blount. About 1770 Cobb built Rocky Mount, one of the first frontier houses in the far eastern section of present Tennessee. Two stories in height and distinguished for its period and place, it was constructed of white-oak logs from nearby forests and chinked with clay. Pegs were used to secure the oak shingles and the large rafters. The glass windows, rare on the frontier, were a mark of prestige.

Cobb, who was wealthy by local standards, not only entertained his guests lavishly, but also took an active part in community life. In 1780, during the War for Independence, he aided and outfitted some of the frontiersmen who were en route to Sycamore Shoals to rendezvous for the Battle of Kings Mountain, S.C. Later Andrew Jackson, who was related to Mrs. Cobb, also visited Rocky Mount frequently, staying there for 6 weeks in 1788 while waiting for his license to practice law in Jonesboro, Tenn. Another guest, besides Jackson and Blount, was Daniel Boone. About 1795 the Cobbs moved and the Massengill family acquired Rocky Mount, where they later hosted Andrew Johnson.

The residence has been restored to its original appearance and is in excellent condition. Weatherboarding, which once covered the original logs, has been removed, and the chinking between them has been coated with cement to preserve it. A large, hipped
brick chimney rises from the reconstructed wood-shingled, gabled roof of the main house, and another from that of the one-story ell to the rear. A "dogtrot" between the ell and the front part of the residence provides access to both sections as well as to a covered porch, on the rear under the gable on the inner side of the ell. Single windows are on either side of the paneled front door. Matching white-oak logs from other sites were utilized in rebuilding the separate, one-story kitchen, including the scullery, on its original foundation.

The main building contains nine rooms, including those in the floored attic. The original wood interior paneling has all been restored. The mantels of the large fireplaces are all of native pine. A decorated stringer and a walnut handrail are features of the paneled stairway. The house is furnished in period pieces, some of which belonged to the Cobb family. On the grounds, which are attractively landscaped, is a Colonial-style brick museum that houses exhibits on pioneer life and regional history.

In 1959, stimulated by the Tennessee chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the State purchased the property from the estate of John M. Massengill. Using State funds, the Tennessee Historical Commission and the Rocky Mount Historical Association of the Tri-Cities restored the structure. It is open from April to November.

Blair (John) House, Virginia

Duke of Gloucester Street near Nassau Street, Colonial Williamsburg.

John Blair apparently lived in this residence for the greater part of his life, but little is known about its other history. The older of its two sections dates from the early 18th century. The 1½-story, frame structure had brick exterior end chimneys. A pair of windows flanked the central front entrance. A small shed may have been attached at the rear.

Later, likely in the third quarter of the 18th century, the smaller western portion, including a new staircase, was added on the same axis to create the existing seven-bay facade. A separate front entrance was provided, and the chimney on the west end of the earlier structure was enlarged to form the present interior chimney. The stone steps at both entrances were also installed.

The Colonial residence was restored in 1930, and is in excellent
condition. The five unevenly spaced hipped-roof dormers on the south, or front, side of the gable roof were rebuilt and modeled after an unaltered rear dormer. Shutters, corner boards, and eaves cornice, as well as most of the interior trim, were also replaced. Some of the frame of the house was also renewed, and the west chimney was rebuilt. The louvered double door of the addition is original, and served as a model for the reconstructed door of the earlier section. Both are topped by rectangular transoms. Paneled shutters flank the windows.

Both entrances open to hallways. In the older section, a room is situated on each side of the central hall; the addition consists of a hall and a large room. The second floor contains three bedrooms. Original features include the marble mantel in the large west room, the east stairway, and most of the floors. Although the interior walls were altered and rebuilt in 1923, some original partitions, of poplar filled with 4-inch-thick brick nogging, and some oak clapboards of the west wall of the early structure have been preserved.

Blair House, used as a duplex residence, is not open to visitors.

**George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Virginia**

Westmoreland County, just east of Va. 3, about 38 miles east of Fredericksburg; address: Washington’s Birthplace, Va. 22575.

The memorial mansion at this site along the Potomac symbolizes Wakefield, where Washington was born on February 22, 1732, and
spent the first 3 years of his life. His family then moved farther up the river to the Little Hunting Creek plantation that later came to be known as Mount Vernon.

In 1717 or 1718 Augustine, George's father, bought land fronting on Popes Creek, a mile southeast of his home on Bridges Creek. On this tract, some three-quarters of a mile above the point where the creek empties into the Potomac, probably in the 1722-26 period he built the residence that became known as Wakefield. He and his family soon moved in. His first wife, Jane Butler, died in late 1729. Two years later, he brought his new wife, Mary Ball, to reside there.

George Washington, who was born the next year, as their first child, never owned Wakefield. Upon the death of his father in 1743, it passed to George's older half-brother, Augustine, Jr. At that time, George, aged 11, may have returned for awhile to attend a nearby school. Because he was close to his half-brother, in subsequent years he visited often.

When Augustine, Jr., died in 1762, his son William Augustine was only 5 years old. The latter inherited the plantation in 1774, when his mother passed away. Although he was only 17, that same year he married and assumed responsibility for the estate. After fire accidentally destroyed the home in 1779 or 1780, he moved to another location. The house was never rebuilt.

For many years, the site of Wakefield lay neglected and forgotten. The first person to place a marker there was George Washington Parke Custis, grandson of Martha and erstwhile ward of George Washington. In June 1816 he held a memorial ceremony at the probable house site and placed a freestone slab marker; eventually it disappeared.

In 1856 William Lewis Washington, a family heir, offered to donate a small plot of land at the site of the house and the nearby family burial ground to the State. Two years later, Virginia accepted the donation, planning to mark and preserve the sites, but the political turmoil generated by the approach of the Civil War was likely the reason this was not done.

In 1882 the State donated the property to the Federal Government, which the next year acquired additional acreage. In 1895-96 the Government placed a granite shaft at the site. In 1923 the Wakefield National Memorial Association organized to reconstitute and preserve the plantation as a national shrine. Several
years later, Congress authorized the creation of a house at Wakefield as nearly as possible like the one built by Augustine Washington. By 1931–32 the association, aided by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., had transferred to the Government enough land to bring the holdings to about 394 acres.

Extensive research failed to yield reliable information about the appearance of the birthplace house. Consequently, the memorial house is only a general representation of a Virginia plantation residence of the 18th century. Its design is based on tradition and surviving houses of the period. Archeological excavations by the National Park Service and others, however, have revealed foundation remnants that might well be those of the original structure.

The memorial house was built in 1931–32, at which time workers moved the granite shaft to its present location, near the entrance to the national monument. The Federal Government paid part of the construction and landscaping costs.

The typically Georgian residence, of brick made from clay obtained in an adjoining field, is 1½ stories high. It has pairs of buttressed chimneys at each end and a gabled roof. Four rooms are downstairs and four upstairs. Central hallways divide the chambers on each floor. A tilt-top table in the dining room is the only piece of furniture that may have been in the original resi-
dence. The rest of the furnishings, however, date from the first half of the 18th century.

About 50 feet from the house is a typical Colonial frame kitchen, built on the traditional site. One of its two rooms is furnished to represent a plantation kitchen during the period of Washington’s youth; the other displays artifacts recovered on the grounds.

Plantings near the house may be derived from those that grew on the place when Washington lived there as a boy. The nearby garden features only those flowers, vines, herbs, and berries common to Virginia gardens of his time. South of the garden, a grove of eastern red cedar trees covers Burnt House Point, which juts out into Popes Creek.

About a mile northwest of the memorial mansion, on the banks of Bridges Creek, are the family burial plot and the site of the home that John Washington, George’s great-grandfather, purchased in 1664. The burial plot, surrounded by a brick wall, includes the graves of George Washington’s father, grandfather, great-grandfather, and half-brother Augustine, Jr. George was buried at Mount Vernon.

Additional features of the national monument are a “living farm” and a Morgan horse farm. The former recreates a typical agricultural setting of Washington’s day. The livestock, poultry, and crops are the same types and varieties raised then and are nurtured by colonial methods. The latter farm breeds Morgan horses, a special stock dating back to the late 18th century that the National Park Service uses for ranger patrol.

Montpelier, Virginia  △
Orange County, on Va. 20, about 4 miles west of Orange.

Montpelier, or Montpellier, was James Madison’s residence for nearly all his life. Born at his grandmother’s home in King George County in 1751, he soon traveled with his mother to his father’s farm, a tract in Orange County that had been in the family since 1723 and that became the nucleus of Montpelier. There, he first lived in a modest wooden house, constructed by his grandfather, Ambrose Madison, about two decades earlier and probably located a half mile south of the present mansion. The early, or central, portion of the present Georgian residence was constructed by his
father, also named James, about 1760. When the latter died in 1801, he bequeathed the house and part of the estate to his oldest son, James.

Madison's frequent absences were mainly for education or public service. Upon completion of his second term as President, he and his wife, Dolley, retired to Montpelier. They held court for a succession of visitors, including the Marquis de Lafayette, James Monroe, Thomas Jefferson, and Daniel Webster. After Madison died at Montpelier in 1836, Mrs. Madison returned to Washington, D.C., where she resided until she succumbed 13 years later. They are both buried at Montpelier.

The mansion was originally a brick, rectangular structure, two stories in height over an elevated basement. It consisted of two large rooms and a central hall on each floor. During his first term as President, in 1809-11, Madison retained architects William Thornton and Benjamin H. Latrobe to remodel the house. The former enlarged the main building, and the latter added step-down, one-story wings. The exterior brick walls were also stuccoed. Apparently the huge Doric portico was added at a later time. In 1907 the wings were enlarged to 2½ stories.

Madison, who was interested in horticulture and agriculture, planned the gardens and landscaping of the estate, which had grown to more than 1,000 acres, many of which were under cultivation. Tobacco and corn were the principal crops. During his absences, Madison left an overseer in charge.

The mansion and the beautifully landscaped grounds have been
carefully maintained. Three-bay wings flank the seven-bay central section of the hip-roofed mansion. Four huge Doric columns support the two-story portico, which has a triangular pediment containing a semi-circular window. The double-door front entrance is framed by sidelights and a fanlight. A pair of chimneys stand at either end of the main building, and a chimney at the end of each wing. A dentiled cornice adorns the roofline and the pediment.

Privately owned, the estate, except for the Madison family cemetery, is not accessible to the public.

Mount Vernon, Virginia

Fairfax County, at the southern terminus of the George Washington Memorial Parkway, about 7 miles south of Alexandria.

Overlooking the Potomac River in a setting of serene elegance is George Washington's estate, Mount Vernon. Its sweeping lawns, beautiful gardens, magnificent mansion, and carefully planned outbuildings superbly represent a Virginia plantation home. Many shrines commemorate Washington as President, military leader, and statesman, but Mount Vernon best reveals the planter and country gentleman.

Mount Vernon was Washington's home for several years during his childhood and all his adult life—though he was absent for long periods while serving the Nation. At the estate, he entertained many U.S. and world dignitaries. He also hosted the Mount Vernon Conference (March 1785), after its initial sessions at nearby Alexandria. At this conference, whose goals he sympathized with but in which he took no direct part because he was not a delegate, representatives of Maryland and Virginia reached agreement on solutions to a variety of interstate problems. The success of this meeting led to the Annapolis Convention (September 1786), attended by representatives of five States. It was the immediate forerunner of the Constitutional Convention (May–September 1787).

The history of the estate dates back to the late 17th century. In 1674 John Washington, the great-grandfather of George, and Nicholas Spencer obtained a 5,000-acre grant along the Potomac, and 16 years later their heirs divided it. In 1726 Mildred
Washington (Mrs. Roger Gregory), who had inherited the Washington half, which was then known as the Hunting Creek Plantation, sold it to her brother Augustine, George's father. Augustine probably constructed the first portion of the present mansion over the foundations of a smaller, earlier dwelling that may have been erected by his father, Lawrence Washington, or his grandfather. From about 1735 until 1738, Augustine and his family, including young George, resided there after living at Wakefield, and in the latter year moved to the "Strother estate" (Ferry Farm), along the Rappahannock River opposite Fredericksburg. In 1740 Augustine deeded Mount Vernon to his eldest son, Lawrence, George's half-brother, who settled there at the time of his marriage 3 years later, and renamed the plantation Mount Vernon after Admiral Vernon, under whom he had served in the Caribbean. George spent part of his youth at the estate with Lawrence, who may have modified or rebuilt the house.

In 1754, or 2 years after Lawrence's death, George leased the property, then over 2,600 acres, from Lawrence's widow who had a lifetime right to it; upon her death, in 1761, George inherited it. In 1757-58, in preparation for his marriage the following year to Martha Custis, George thoroughly rebuilt the 1½-story Georgian structure, which then contained four rooms bisected by a central Mount Vernon.
hall on each floor. He enlarged the residence to 2½ stories and remodeled it to a more impressive Palladian form. Because of his long absences on military duty in the French and Indian War until late in 1759, the bulk of the construction was supervised by William Fairfax, a neighbor.

For the next 15 years after his marriage in 1759, Washington lived as a prosperous planter, and made no further changes of consequence in his residence. In 1773 he decided to enlarge it, but he had hardly begun to do so when, in 1774-75, he went to Philadelphia to serve in the First and Second Continental Congresses. In the latter year, he was appointed as commander in chief of the Continental Army.

While Washington was away during the War for Independence, a distant kinsman, Lund Washington, carried out his plans for the estate. Lund enlarged the relatively modest main house from five to nine bays; constructed the piazza; added the detached, flanking wings, which connected to the central mansion by means of curving light arcades; built outbuildings; landscaped the grounds; and extended the gardens.

George found the mansion almost completed in 1781, when he stopped off on his way to and from Yorktown. After resigning his commission 2 years later, he returned to Mount Vernon; and in 1787 concluded the remodeling, when he placed the large octagonal cupola on the center of the roof.

That summer, Washington again traveled to Philadelphia, where he served as president of the Constitutional Convention. Two years later, elected as U.S. President, he departed once more and for the following 8 years was able to return only about twice a year. In 1797 he did so a final time, to retire; he died at Mount Vernon 2 years later. His wife lived there until she passed away in 1802. His nephew, Bushrod Washington, inherited the property, which remained in the family until 1858.

The mansion is an excellent example of Georgian architecture. Most striking is the high-columned, two-story piazza, which extends the full length of the structure and overlooks the Potomac. A triangular pediment tops the west elevation. Both the latter and the river facade have a central entrance and two side entrances. Two large interior chimneys mark the earlier ends of the dor-mered, hip-roofed mansion. A dentiled cornice adorns the roofline and the pediment. The exterior wood siding is beveled, and its
paint contains sand to give the appearance of stone. Windows of both facades are shuttered.

On the first floor are the music room, west parlor, banquet hall, a bedchamber, dining room, and library. The second floor contains the blue bedroom, Lafayette’s bedroom, the yellow bedroom, Nelly Custis’ bedroom, and George Washington’s bedroom. The third floor includes three bedrooms and two storerooms. The kitchen is outside but adjacent to the house.

A courtyard and bowling green, flanked by flower and kitchen gardens, extend from the west, or land, front of the house. To the north of the flower garden is a greenhouse. Various outbuildings, including smokehouse, workshops, and stables, have been restored in detail, as have the gardens and lawn. One modern building, built in 1928 in the same style as the other outbuildings, serves as a museum. The tombs of George and Martha Washington lie to the south of the mansion.

At its peak, during Washington’s lifetime, the plantation contained more than 8,000 acres and was partitioned into five farms. After his death, four of them were divided and subdivided. By 1858 the estate had dwindled to 200 acres.

In 1858 the Mount Vernon Ladies’ Association of the Union, concerned about the condition of the property, acquired title from Washington’s great-grandnephew, John A. Washington, Jr. He had been unable, while operating the farm, to handle the numerous visitors or properly care for the house and grounds. By that time, none of the original furnishings remained. The association restored the buildings and grounds; eventually gained title to an additional 300 acres; and procured period pieces, many of them originals.
Appendix

The Constitution and Its History
Text of the Constitution and Amendments

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

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

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

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

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

Section 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.

No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

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

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

The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted
shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

SECTION. 4. The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of choosing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.

SECTION. 5. Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behaviour, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member.

Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION. 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been encreased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

SECTION. 7. All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to
reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

SECTION. 8. The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow Money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

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

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

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

To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

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

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

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

To provide and maintain a Navy;

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

To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;
To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for
governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the
United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the
Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the
discipline prescribed by Congress;

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

To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into
Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this
Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any
Department or Officer thereof.

SECTION. 9. The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of
the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited
by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight,
but a Tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten
dollars for each Person.

The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended,
unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may
require it.

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

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

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

No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue
to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to,
or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

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

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

SECTION. 10. No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or
Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit
Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in
Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law
impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or
Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for
executing it's inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and
Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of
the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Control of the Congress.

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

ARTICLE II.

SECTION I. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; A quorum for this purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall choose from them by Ballot the Vice President.

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

No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.
In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the Same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:—“I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.”

SECTION. 2. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

SECTION. 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

SECTION. 4. The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.
ARTICLE III.

SECTION. 1. The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behaviour, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services, a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

SECTION. 2. The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority;—to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls;—to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction;—to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party;—to Controversies between two or more States;—between a State and Citizens of another State;—between Citizens of different States,—between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

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

The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

SECTION. 3. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

ARTICLE. IV.

SECTION. 1. Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

SECTION. 2. The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.

A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

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

SECTION. 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or Parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

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

SECTION. 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

ARTICLE. V.

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

ARTICLE. VI.

All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.
ARTICLE. VII.

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

DONE in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independance of the United States of America the Twelfth. In Witness whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names.

AMENDMENT I

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

AMENDMENT II

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

AMENDMENT III

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

AMENDMENT IV

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

AMENDMENT V

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in
cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

AMENDMENT VI

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

AMENDMENT VII

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

AMENDMENT VIII

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

AMENDMENT IX

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

AMENDMENT X

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

AMENDMENT XI

The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.

AMENDMENT XII

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

AMENDMENT XIII

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

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

AMENDMENT XIV

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

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

SECTION 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in
Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office,
civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having
previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the
United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive
or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United
States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or
given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of
two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

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

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

AMENDMENT XV

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

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

AMENDMENT XVI

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

AMENDMENT XVII

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from
each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator
shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications
requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.
When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

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

AMENDMENT XVIII

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

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

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

AMENDMENT XIX

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

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

AMENDMENT XX

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

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

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

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

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

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

AMENDMENT XXI

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

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

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

AMENDMENT XXII

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

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

AMENDMENT XXIII

SECTION 1. The District constituting the seat of Government of the United States shall appoint in such manner as the Congress may direct:
A number of electors of President and Vice President equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives in Congress to which the District would be entitled if it were a State, but in no event more than the least populous State; they shall be in addition to those appointed by the States, but they shall be considered, for the purposes of the election of President and Vice President, to be electors appointed by a State; and they shall meet in the District and perform such duties as provided by the twelfth article of amendment.

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

AMENDMENT XXIV

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

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

AMENDMENT XXV

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

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

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

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

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

AMENDMENT XXVI

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

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

History of the Document
The veneration of the American people for the parchment, or engrossed, copies of the Declaration of Independence (1776), the Constitution (1787), and the Bill of Rights (1789) has been reflected in the painstaking care bestowed on them. After long odysseys, part of which they shared, today they are enshrined in Exhibition Hall of the National Archives Building. The Constitution and Bill of Rights, which were not regularly exhibited to the public until 1924 and 1952 respectively, are in far better physical condition than the Declaration, which has been displayed continuously since 1841 except for one period of three decades.

On September 20, 1787, Maj. William Jackson, secretary of the Constitutional Convention, delivered the engrossed copy of the Constitution to his counterpart in the Continental Congress, Charles Thomson, who already was responsible for safeguarding the Declaration of Independence. He likely stored the two documents first in City Hall, where Congress was meeting, and then between October 1788 and April 1789 at the two-room office on the southeast corner of Broad and Pearl Streets that Secretary for Foreign Affairs John Jay vacated for temporary use by the Continental Congress while City Hall (which became Federal Hall) was being renovated.

Although the new Government was formally launched when George Washington was inaugurated on the balcony of Federal
Hall on April 30, 1789, Confederation officers maintained continuity until the Executive Branch could be organized, and Thomson probably moved into the hall with the new Congress. When he resigned on July 23, at Washington’s request he turned over the Constitution and Declaration to Roger Alden, who had been Deputy Secretary of the Continental Congress.

The legislation creating the Department of State (September 15, 1789) charged it with the protection of important state papers. Accordingly, Acting Secretary John Jay who was in charge until appointee Thomas Jefferson could return from France and take over early in 1790, assumed jurisdiction over the Declaration and Constitution, and within a couple of weeks the newly issued parchment copy of the Bill of Rights. During this period, they were undoubtedly stored in the Department’s temporary offices on lower Broadway.

In late 1790 the Government moved to Philadelphia. Except possibly for brief intervals when they may have been among the state papers evacuated to Trenton, N.J., during yellow-fever epidemics, the three documents remained there for a decade in successive State Department offices on Market Street, the southeast corner of Arch and Sixth Streets, on North Alley, and the northeast corner of Fifth and Chestnut Streets.

In 1800 the documents were shipped by sea to the new Capital, Washington, D.C. They were apparently kept for a couple of months in the Department’s temporary offices in the old, or first, Treasury Building, just east of the White House at 15th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue NW., on the southern end of the site of the present Treasury Building; and then for a time at another temporary location, in one of the “Six Buildings,” between 21st and 22d Streets on Pennsylvania Avenue NW. Likely in 1801 the Department relocated to the War Office Building, just west of the White House at 17th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue NW. The state papers remained there until late in August 1814, during the War of 1812, when British troops invaded the Capital. Shortly before they arrived, at the direction of Secretary of State James Monroe, the papers were packed in linen sacks and transported in carts to an unused gristmill belonging to an Edgar Patterson, on the Virginia side of the Potomac River about 2 miles above Chain Bridge. Before long, because a nearby cannon factory made the site a likely military target, a State Department clerk borrowed wagons
from farmers in the neighborhood and moved the papers to an empty house in Leesburg, Va., about 35 miles away. It was locked and the keys were given to a Reverend Littlejohn.

Within a few weeks, after the British had departed and the threat had subsided, in September 1814 the documents were brought back to Washington and temporarily kept at a private residence on the south side of G Street near 18th Street NW. that the State Department temporarily occupied until the fire-scarred War Office Building was ready for reoccupancy in April 1816.

In September 1819, the Department moved the Declaration, Constitution, and Bill of Rights to its new headquarters at 15th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue NW., on the north end of the site of the present Treasury Building. There they remained together until 1841, when the Declaration was taken away and displayed to the public at the New Patent Office Building.

In 1866 the Constitution and Bill of Rights were moved to premises the Department leased on 14th Street near S Street NW. In July 1875 they made their final move within the Department, to the partially completed State, War, and Navy Building (present Executive Office Building), at 17th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue NW. Two years later, the Declaration, which had just been exhibited in Philadelphia (1876-77) as part of the Centennial celebration of independence, rejoined the Constitution and Bill of Rights in the State, War, and Navy Building, though the Declaration continued to be displayed. By this time, its long exposure to sunlight, the making of various facsimiles, handling, and greater age had faded its ink considerably. In contrast, the Constitution and Bill of Rights, benefiting from their longtime obscurity, were in relatively good condition.

As a matter of fact, during the first century of existence of the parchment copy of the Constitution, it had attracted virtually no public attention. Only in a few instances was it even inspected. For example, in 1823 Secretary of State John Quincy Adams and others examined it during a political dispute concerning its punctuation. A few years later, James Madison, "Father of the Constitution" and its onetime custodian as Secretary of State (1801-9) expressed uncertainty as to its location. In 1846 a publisher used it to prepare a book on the Constitution. When historian J. Franklin Jameson examined the parchment in 1883, he found it folded in a small tin box in the bottom of a closet at the State, War, and Navy Building.
In 1894, noting the deterioration in the Declaration, the State Department sealed it and the Constitution between two glass plates and locked them in a safe or steel case in the basement, apparently along with the Bill of Rights. There they lay, except on rare occasions, unobserved and in darkness for a quarter of a century. In 1921, in response to a Presidential Executive order, which reflected the findings of a special committee, the Department, though it retained control of the Bill of Rights, relinquished the Constitution and Declaration to the Library of Congress,
where they could receive expert care and be safely exhibited to the public.

Herbert Putnam, the Librarian, personally made the transfer in a library mail truck, a Model T Ford. At first, he kept the documents in a safe in his office. In 1924, however, he put them on public display on the second floor of the present main building in a bronze-and-marble shrine. Placed over special moisture-absorbing cellulose paper, they were sealed between double panes of insulated plate glass, from which the air was expelled and just under which gelatin film kept out harmful rays of light.

The Constitution and Declaration remained there until December 26, 1941, just 19 days after Japan attacked Pearl Harbor. Packed in acid-free paper and rock wool in a hermetically sealed bronze container, they left Washington by train in a Pullman compartment under Secret Service guard en route to the United States Bullion Depository, Fort Knox, Ky. They arrived there the following day and were placed in a vault. Taking advantage of the opportunity, specialists cleaned and restored the documents to the maximum degree. On September 29, 1944, with the approval of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, they were returned to the Library of Congress and on October 1 were reexhibited.

In 1951, based on the results of a long study that the National Bureau of Standards had initiated at the request of the Librarian of Congress to determine the best possible protection from the atmosphere, insects, mold, and light, each of the six leaves of the two instruments were sealed in separate cases fitted with glass and special filters that screened out damaging light rays. The helium atmosphere was inert and properly humidified.

In December 1952 the two documents were transported in wooden boxes atop mattresses in an armored troop carrier under military escort to their permanent home, the National Archives Building. It had been completed in 1935 as the repository for official governmental records, which are under the jurisdiction of the National Archives and Records Service of the General Services Administration. A special hall had been designed to safeguard and exhibit the most famous of the Nation's documents. The Bill of Rights had already been shipped to the National Archives Building from the State, War, and Navy Building in 1938; during the interim, it was not permanently displayed.

Still enshrined at the National Archives Building today, along
National Archives Building, where the Constitution reposes today.

with thousands of other priceless national records, are the parchment copies of the Declaration, Constitution, and Bill of Rights. The massive bronze doors at the Constitution Avenue entrance to the building lead to the circular Exhibition Hall. At its rear center stands a marble shrine containing the Declaration; the first and fourth, or signature, pages of the Constitution; and the Bill of Rights. Every Constitution Day (September 17) the first four pages of the Constitution are all displayed together in a portable exhibit case in the center of the rotunda.

At other times, the second and third pages, as well as the rarely displayed fifth and last page of the Constitution (known as the "Resolution of Transmittal to the Continental Congress"), are safeguarded in the vault below. On the fifth page, signed by Washington, he detailed the steps required for adoption of the new plan of Government, including the ratification process.

The Bill of Rights on display, which lists the first 12 proposed constitutional amendments, only, the last 10 of which the States ratified, is the enrolled parchment copy of the congressional resolution of September 25, 1789, engrossed by House Clerk William Lambert. Thirteen other parchment copies, differing only in such details as handwriting, capitalization, and lineation, were
transmitted to the States for ratification; only a few of these have survived.

When not exhibited, the Nation’s most precious documents are secured in a fireproof, shockproof, bombproof vault, which is constructed of steel and reinforced concrete and is located below the shrine under the floor of Exhibition Hall. An electrical mechanism automatically lowers them into the vault and raises them back to their positions in the shrine. Other machinery then closes a massive lid of metal and concrete over the vault. These mechanisms can be activated in the event of danger; and, during a power failure, may be operated manually.

Along both sides of the bulwark charters is a “Formation of the Union” display. It consists of documents illustrating the evolution of the U.S. Government from 1774 until 1791. Included are the Articles of Association (1774), the Articles of Confederation (1778), the Treaty of Paris (1783), and Washington’s inaugural address (1789).

On each wall above the exhibit is a mural. In one, Jefferson and the drafting committee are presenting the Declaration to John Hancock, President of the Continental Congress. In the other, James Madison, accompanied by various members of the Constitutional Convention, is submitting the Constitution to George Washington, the Convention’s presiding officer.

Barry Faulkner’s mural depicting Madison and 23 Convention delegates submitting the Constitution to Washington, president of the Convention.
Suggested Reading


HAMILTON, ALEXANDER, JOHN JAY, and JAMES MADISON. The Federalist [Papers]: A Collection of Essays Written in Favour of the New Constitution, As Agreed Upon by the Federal Convention,
September 17, 1787. [1788]. Available in many complete and abridged editions, including paperback.


UNITED STATES SENATE. *The Constitution of the United States of America: Analysis and Interpretation—Annotations of Cases De-


Criteria for Selection of Historic Sites of National Significance

A. National significance is ascribed to buildings, sites, objects, or districts which possess exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the historical (history and archeology) heritage of our Nation, such as:

1. Structures or sites at which events occurred that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified prominently with, or which outstandingly represent, the broad cultural, political, economic, military, or social history of the Nation, and from which an understanding and appreciation of the larger patterns of our American heritage may be gained.

2. Structures or sites associated importantly with the lives of persons nationally significant in the history of the United States.

3. Structures or sites associated significantly with an important event that outstandingly represents some great idea or ideal of the American people.

4. Structures that embody the distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type specimen, exceptionally valuable for a study of a period, style, or method of construction; or a notable structure representing the work of a master builder, designer, or architect.

5. Objects that figured prominently in nationally significant events; or that were prominently associated with nationally significant persons; or that outstandingly represent some great idea or ideal of the American people; or that embody distinguishing characteristics
of a type specimen, exceptionally valuable for a study of a period, style, or method of construction; or that are notable as representations of the work of master workers or designers.

6. Archeological sites that have produced information of a major scientific importance by revealing new cultures, or by shedding light upon periods of occupation over large areas of the United States. Such sites are those which have produced, or which may reasonably be expected to produce, data affecting theories, concepts, and ideas to a major degree.

7. When preserved or restored as integral parts of the environment, historic buildings not sufficiently significant individually by reason of historical association or architectural merit to warrant recognition may collectively compose a "historic district" that is of historical significance to the Nation in commemorating or illustrating a way of life in its developing culture.

B. To possess national significance, a historic or prehistoric structure, district, site, or object must possess integrity. For a historic or prehistoric site, integrity requires original location and intangible elements of feeling and association. The site of a structure no longer standing may possess national significance if the person or event associated with the structure was of transcendent importance in the Nation's history and the association consequential.

For a historic or prehistoric structure, integrity is a composite quality derived from original workmanship, original location, and intangible elements of feeling and association. A structure no longer on the original site may possess national significance if the person or event associated with it was of transcendent importance in the Nation's history and the association consequential.

For a historic district, integrity is a composite quality derived from original workmanship, original location, and intangible elements of feeling and association inherent in an ensemble of historic buildings having visual architectural unity.

For a historic object, integrity requires basic original workmanship.

C. Structures or sites which are primarily of significance in the field of religion or to religious bodies but are not of national importance in other fields of the history of the United States, such as political, military, or architectural history, will not be eligible for consideration.

D. Birthplaces, graves, burials, and cemeteries, as a general rule, are not eligible for consideration and recognition except in cases of historical figures of transcendent importance. Historic sites associated with the actual careers and contributions of outstanding historical personages usually are more important than their birthplaces and burial places.

E. Structures, sites, and objects achieving historical importance within the past 50 years will not as a general rule be considered unless associated with persons or events of transcendent significance.
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Edwin C. Bearss, *Supervisory Historian, Historic Preservation-East, Denver Service Center.*
Frederick R. Bell, *Picture Librarian, Office of Public Affairs.*
Mary O. Callander, *Secretary, Historic Sites Survey.*
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David K. Hansen, *Curator, Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, Wash.*
Patrick A. Hurley, *Design-Production Specialist, Professional Publications Division.*
Al James, *Unit Manager, Hamilton Grange National Memorial, N.Y.*
Henry A. Judd, *Chief Historical Architect, Park Historic Preservation.*
Herbert E. Kahler, *Chief (retired), Division of History and Archeology.*
Benjamin Levy, *Senior Historian, Historic Sites Survey.*
John Luzader, *Manager, Historic Preservation Team, Denver Service Center.*
John C. Milley, *Supervisory Curator, Department of Museums, Independence National Historical Park, Pa.*
Robert Nash, *Unit Manager, Manhattan Sites, New York Group.*
J. Leonard Norwood, *Associate Director, Administration.*
Mary Carolyn Pitts, *Architectural Historian, Historic Sites Survey.*
Charles W. Porter III, *Chief Historian (retired), Division of History.*
Karen P. Ross, *Professional Assistant, Historic Sites Survey.*
William J. Savannah, *Printing Officer, Division of Organization and Methods.*
Robert M. Utley, Assistant Director, Park Historic Preservation.
Marilyn D. Williams, Clerk-typist, Historic Sites Survey.
Martin I. Yoelson, Supervisory Interpretive Specialist, Independence National Historical Park, Pa.

Other Individuals

William R. Best, Director, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa.
Mary Kathleen Binns, Senior Secretary to Gov. Ray Blanton, Nashville.
Marion Converse Bright, Valdosta, Ga.
Lee H. Burke, Historian, U.S. Department of State.
Jeanne F. Butler, Administrator, American Institute of Architects Foundation; Curator, The Octagon, Washington, D.C.
John E. Byrnes, Assistant to the Executive Director, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
George C. Chalou, Archivist, Center for the Documentary Study of the American Revolution, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
Elizabeth Taylor Childs, Curator of Collections and Head Registrar, Valentine Museum, Richmond.
Gary J. Christopher, Manuscript Assistant, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
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Beth Crabtree, Editorial Assistant, Historical Publications, North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.
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Jeanne E. Donaldson, Registrar, Tennessee State Museum, Nashville.
Grose Evans, Adjunct Associate Professor, George Washington University, Washington, D.C.
Alice F. Fullam, Reference Librarian, Trenton Public Library.
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Donald J. Gonzales, Vice President and Director of Public Affairs, Colonial Williamsburg.
Kenneth E. Harris, Chief, Center for the Documentary Study of the American Revolution, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
Lilla M. Hawes, Director, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah.
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C. Jared Ingersoll, Philadelphia.
Doris Jackson, Director, Public Relations, New York Eye and Ear Infirmary, New York City.
Jack Jackson, Assistant, Art Department, Library of the Boston Athenaeum.
Jane Katz, Assistant Librarian, John Work Garrett Library of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.
Jerry L. Kearns, Head, Reference Section, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.
William H. Leary, Archivist, Audiovisual Archives Division, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
Jacqueline L. Lewis, Secretary to the Assistant Director, Baltimore Museum of Art.
Mary Walton Livingston, Archivist, Records Appraisal Staff, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
William J. MacArthur, Jr., Head, McClung Historical Collection, Knoxville-Knox County Public Library, Knoxville.
Charles S. Marshall, Executive Secretary, Eastern National Park and Monument Association, Philadelphia.
L. Porter Moore, Secretary/Executive Director, American Scenic and Historical Preservation Society, New York City.
Walter J. Mordaunt, Information Officer, New York State Court of Appeals, Albany.
Bridgett Paddock, Assistant Director, Lamont Gallery, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N.H.
Peter J. Parker, Chief of Manuscripts, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
Marilyn K. Parr, Manuscript Reference Librarian, Library of Congress.
Alan F. Perry, Archivist, Center for the Documentary Study of the American Revolution, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
William M. Pillsbury, Curator of Collections, Albany Institute of History and Art.
Virginia Purdy, Chief, Office of Educational Programs, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
Leonard Rapport, Deputy Director, Records Appraisal Staff, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
Katharine M. Ratzenberger, Reference Librarian, National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
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Keith D. Strawn, Curator of the Collections, North Carolina Museum of History, Raleigh.
Ronald Swerczek, Archivist, Diplomatic Branch, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
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Robert S. Williams, Executive Secretary, Sons of the Revolution, Fraunces Tavern Museum, New York City.
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Kathleen Zickler, Photography Department, Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia.
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18 Oil (1845–48) by Edward Hicks. Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Collection, Colonial Williamsburg.
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27 Lee, detail from oil (1784) by Charles Willson Peale, Independence National Historical Park, Pa.; Henry, detail from miniature, watercolor on ivory (undated), by Lawrence Sully, Herbert DuPuy Collection, Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh; Jay, detail from oil (1795–96) by Raphaëlle and Rembrandt Peale, after Charles Willson Peale, Maryland Historical Society; Chase, detail from oil (ca. 1773) by Charles Willson Peale, Independence National Historical Park.
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31 Drawing (ca. 1750) by George Heap, which was engraved and published in London, 1754. Library Company of Philadelphia.
32 Drawing and engraving (ca. 1799) by William Birch & Son. Independence National Historical Park.
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34  Detail from drawing and engraving (ca. 1800) by William Birch & Son. Library of Congress.


40  Miniature, oil on ivory (1793), by an unknown artist. Independence National Historical Park.

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55  *Ellsworth*, pastel (ca. 1796) attributed to James Sharples, Sr., Independence National Historical Park; *Strong*, oil (1813) by Gilbert Stuart, Frederick S. Moseley III, Boston.

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62  National Archives.

67  *McClurg*, detail from oil (ca. 1810) attributed to Cephas Thompson, Julia Wickham Porter and Charles W. Porter III; *Davie*, detail from miniature, oil on ivory, by Eliza L. Mirbel, Independence National Historical Park; *Mercer*, detail from oil (1901) by Albert Rosenthal, after a miniature by Robert Field, Independence National Historical Park; *Lansing*, detail from oil (ca. 1814) by Ezra Ames, New York State Court of Appeals.

70  Historical Society of Pennsylvania.


79  Library of Congress.

81  *Gerry*, oil on panel (early 19th century) by an unknown artist, after John Vanderlyn, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University; *Mason*, oil (1811) by Dominic W. Boudet, after a lost portrait by John Hesselius, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts (on loan to Gunston Hall Plantation).

82  National Archives.

84  Oil (ca. 1856) by Junius Brutus Stearns. Virginia Museum of Fine Arts.

86  Library of Congress.

87  Library of Congress.

89  National Archives.

90  National Archives.
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91 National Archives.
92 National Archives.
93 National Archives.
95 Locke, detail from engraving (undated) by J. Posselwhite, after a portrait by Godfrey Kneller, National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution; Montesquieu, detail from engraving (undated) by H. C. Müller, after a portrait by Deveria, National Portrait Gallery.
99 Library of Congress.
103 Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
107 Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
109 National Archives.
110 Library of Congress.
112 Library of Congress.
113 Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
114 Library of Congress.
115 Library of Congress.
118 Engraving (ca. 1790) by Amos Doolittle, after a drawing by Peter Lacour. I. N. Phelps Stokes Collection, New York Public Library.
122 National Archives.
125 Library of Congress (Harris & Ewing).
126 Library of Congress (Abbie Rowe).
128 National Archives.
129 Library of Congress.
131 National Archives.
140 Detail from ink and gouache drawing (undated) by Emanuel Leutze, after Robert Fulton. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
145 Pastel (ca. 1790) by William Williams. Mrs. Seymour St. John, on loan to Colonial Williamsburg.
146 Oil (prior to 1858) by Washington B. Cooper. Tennessee State Museum Collection; hangs in the Governor's Conference Room, Nashville.
148 Reproduced from a portrait by an unknown artist in Hamilton Schuyler, St. Michael's Church, Trenton (1926). Trentoniana Collection, Trenton Public Library.
Miniature (undated) by an unknown artist. Present existence, ownership, and location cannot be verified, but in 1892 it was owned by Mrs. Sarah Butler Wistar of Philadelphia. National Archives.

Oil (ca. 1758) by John Wollaston. Maryland Historical Society.


Oil (1782) by Charles Willson Peale. Independence National Historical Park.

Oil (undated) by Carl L. Brandt, after John Paradise. New York Eye and Ear Infirmary.

Oil (ca. 1802). Documentary evidence accompanying this portrait indicates it is a likeness of Fitzsimons painted by Gilbert Stuart. Miss Ida Edelson, Philadelphia.


Engraving (undated) by an unknown artist. Independence National Historical Park.

Gazette of the United States (New York City), April 28, 1790. Library of Congress.

Lithograph (1900) by Albert Rosenthal after his oil painting, which was based on a life sketch by Hensel, a miniature attributed to Malbone, and an oil by Henry Williams. Ladd-Gilman House, Exeter, N.H.


Oil (1792) by John Trumbull. National Gallery of Art.

Oil (1820) by Charles Willson Peale. Miss Anna Warren Ingersoll, Philadelphia.


Oil (ca. 1790) attributed to Robert Edge Pine. Columbia University.

Oil (undated) by John Trumbull. Yale University Art Gallery.

Pastel (ca. 1795-1800) attributed to James Sharples, Sr. Independence National Historical Park.


Pastel (ca. 1795-1800) attributed to James Sharples, Sr. Independence National Historical Park.

National Archives.

Detail from oil (1792) by Charles Willson Peale. Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art.

Library of Congress.

Oil (1784) by Charles Willson Peale. Independence National Historical Park.
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195 Engraving (1781) by B. L. Prévost, after Du Simitière. Metropolitan Museum of Art.

197 Oil (ca. 1782) by Charles Willson Peale. Independence National Historical Park.

200 Pastel (1794) by James Sharples, Sr. United States Supreme Court.

202 Oil (ca. 1786) attributed to Gilbert Stuart. American Scenic and Historical Preservation Society.

204 Oil (ca. 1796) by James Earl (Earle). Worcester Art Museum.


208 Oil on wood (1791) by John Trumbull. Yale University Art Gallery.

210 Oil (undated) by Ralph Earl (Earle). Yale University Art Gallery.

212 Pastel (ca. 1798-1800) attributed to James Sharples, Sr. Independence National Historical Park.


217 Lithograph (undated) by P. Haas. Library of Congress.


233 National Park Service (Jack E. Boucher, 1975).

235 National Park Service (Boucher, 1975).


239 National Park Service (Boucher, 1975).

241 National Park Service (Boucher, 1971).

243 National Park Service (Boucher, 1971).

245 National Capital Parks (Abbie Rowe).


249 National Park Service (Boucher, 1975).

253 National Park Service (Boucher, 1964).


256 National Park Service (Post, 1973).

257 National Park Service (Boucher, 1975).

259 National Park Service (Boucher, 1975).

261 National Park Service (Boucher, 1975).

262 From a drawing (undated) apparently executed by David Grimm. National Archives.
263 Engraving (undated) by Hatch & Smillie, after a drawing (undated) by Diederick Knickerbocker, Jr., after an engraving (undated) by Cornelius Tiebout. National Archives.

265 National Park Service (Richard Frear, 1974).

267 National Park Service (Boucher, 1975).

271 National Park Service (Boucher, 1974).


274 National Archives.

277 National Park Service (Boucher, 1974).

278 Independence National Historical Park (Warren A. McCullough, 1968).


282 National Park Service (Contractor Louis Schwartz, 1975).

283 National Park Service (Snell, 1972).

285 National Park Service (Contractor Bill Tracy, 1975).

286 National Park Service (Contractor Tracy, 1975).

289 Colonial Williamsburg.

291 National Park Service (Frear, 1972).

293 National Park Service (Contractor, Alan's Photography Studio, Culpeper, Va., 1975).

295 Mount Vernon Ladies' Association.

320 National Archives (1924).

322 National Park Service (Boucher, 1975).

323 National Archives.
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As the Nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has basic responsibilities for water, fish, wildlife, mineral, land, park, and recreational resources. Indian and Territorial affairs are other major concerns of America's "Department of Natural Resources." The Department works to assure the wisest choice in managing all our resources so each will make its full contribution to a better United States—now and in the future.
George Washington’s inauguration on April 30, 1789, marked the establishment of the new Government under the Constitution.