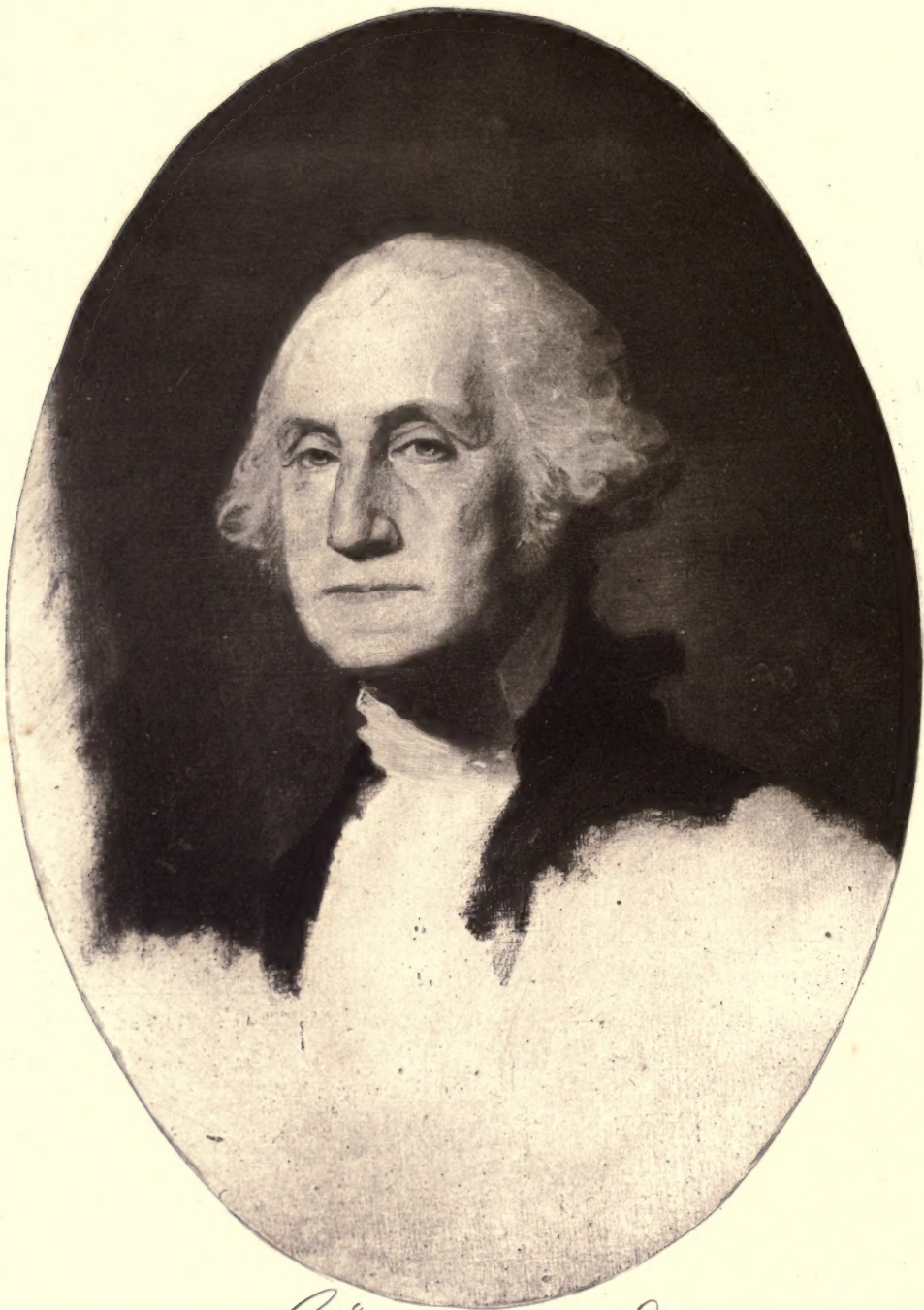


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ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE
FRAMING OF THE CONSTITUTION
OF THE
UNITED STATES.



George Washington

*Untouched Photo-Gravure from the original by Stuart,
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The property of the Boston Athenaeum*

HISTORY OF THE CELEBRATION

OF THE

ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY

OF THE PROMULGATION OF THE

Constitution of the United States.

EDITED BY

HAMPTON L. CARSON,

SECRETARY OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CENTENNIAL COMMISSION.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION
AND BY THE AUTHORITY OF THE COMMISSION, BY

J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY,

PHILADELPHIA.

1889.



P R E F A C E.

THESE memorial volumes have been prepared by direction of the Constitutional Centennial Commission.

The magnificent demonstration at Philadelphia on the 15th, 16th, and 17th of September, 1887, showing alike the popular and the official allegiance, on the part of the States and of the nation, to the great Act of 1787, created a profound impression upon the vast throngs of witnesses. It is not known that upon any other occasion in history a great and contented people have united with their rulers in giving a like expression to their satisfaction with their government. Industry, commerce, labor, learning, literature, religion, statesmanship, the arts of peace and of war, the official and the private world,—all happily participated in this imposing display of affection and reverence for the Charter which gives equal liberty and equal protection to all. The executive, the legislative, and the judiciary of the Union were associated with the like representation of the State governments, in the perfect harmony of a common devotion.

The presence of honored citizens and subjects of foreign lands, both official and private, added to the interest of the ceremonies.

The frequent expressions of delighted surprise and admiration, coming from all classes, justified the belief of the Commis-

sion that the leading features and incidents of the celebration should be collected and preserved in a durable memorial. It was believed that it would be alike interesting to the people of this generation and to their posterity who may hope to celebrate another centennial commemoration in the same historic city.

The executive officers of the Commission have therefore undertaken the task, and now offer to the public the result of their labors. They venture to hope that it will serve to excite the interest of their fellow-citizens in the principles of our government, as well as to perpetuate in the hearts of our countrymen the memory of its noble founders.

As an auxiliary to this object, and as a prelude to their account of the ceremonies which belonged to the celebration, they have prepared a compact history of the progress of the American Colonies towards a general confederation, and of the imperfection of that first act of union, which rendered a more perfect constitution necessary. A history of the formation of our present Constitution follows, carefully derived from the authentic records of the time, and showing the meaning of its framers in respect to various clauses which are still the subjects of debate.

Besides these notes upon the invaluable work of the founders of our government, they have prepared brief sketches of the lives of the men who took part in that memorable convention, that their memories may be preserved with their work.

They acknowledge their obligations to the patriotism and the generosity of the citizens of Philadelphia, by whose aid alone the Commission is enabled to publish these commemorative volumes, and desire particularly to express their grateful appre-

ciation of the invaluable aid of Mr. Frederick D. Stone, the accomplished librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

The portraits of the framers of the Constitution are from original and authentic sources, and in all cases preference has been given to those which have not been repeatedly engraved. Acknowledgment is due to Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, of New York City, for the most generous assistance.

The Constitution is produced from photographs taken directly from the original document in the State Department at Washington.

In illustrating the civic and industrial display a selection has been made from instantaneous photographs of the procession. To supply omissions, occasioned by insufficient light towards the close of the day, individual exhibits have been used as far as practicable.

Each State participating in the military display is represented by one or more regiments, or by grouping individual photographs of soldiers and officers where no other illustrations could be found. Efforts were made to secure an illustration of the representatives of North Carolina, but without success.

Memorial Day is illustrated by a phototype from a painting by Mr. H. R. Poor, of Philadelphia, from a number of photographs taken on the spot.

But few of the commissioners responded to the request for reports of the share taken by their States and Territories, and such as were received could not be printed without constant repetition of matter which appears in the History of the Constitutional Centennial Commission, and the reports of its sub-committees.

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THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON.

ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE
PROMULGATION OF THE CONSTITUTION
OF THE
UNITED STATES.

HISTORY OF THE FORMATION OF THE CONSTITUTION.
BY JOHN A. KASSON.

I. INTRODUCTORY.

THE political debates of the present generation leave a painful impression of the neglect of constitutional study. A failure to apprehend the reasons upon which constitutional provisions were founded has too frequently led astray the public judgment. In this neglect numerous theories of construction have found their source, which in turn have led to additional debate, until the public records of discussion on constitutional questions have become a massive collection, which obscures, far more than it enlightens, the popular mind. In politics, as in religion, the commentaries have superseded the authority, as they have darkened the simplicity, of the original text. It has become a duty of patriotism to awaken the spirit of constitutional inquiry, emancipated from the prejudices of party.

The existing histories of the Constitution, and the legal commentaries upon it, afford ample material for forming a correct judgment. But, unfortunately for the general public, they are too voluminous or too expensive for the attainment of a wide circulation among the people. The Constitutional Centennial Commission, therefore, have thought it wise to add to their work commemorating the great anniversary a condensed history of that instrument, which even the busy American people may find time to read.

We especially appeal to the youth and to the young manhood of the country, now preparing in the schools and universities for the higher duties and functions of citizenship, to abandon the study of the superficial theories of modern party politics for the nobler study and profounder thoughts of our constitutional Fathers,—the creators of our free and powerful government and the founders of a republic which in a single century has advanced to the foremost rank of nations.

The present union of the States, for which the Fathers so long struggled against reciprocal fears and jealousies, and amidst clashing interests, will be perfected in proportion as we agree in our appreciation of the Constitution which created and preserves it.

All vigorous and harmonious national life demands some object of common reverence and devotion. In monarchical countries this object is the Crown, or the person on whose head it rests. In our republic no living President, accepted or rejected as he is by a varying majority and at frequent intervals, can ever become the object of general and concentrated respect and affection. It is the great Charter bequeathed to us by our Fathers, and that alone, which can give to our whole country its central object of obedience and reverence,—an object which shall rise above all the changing purposes and alliances of the passing hour. It stands supreme, above us all, ruling our rulers

and receiving their oath-bound allegiance. It is surrounded by many guards against the assaults of transient human passion and the aggression of man's selfish ambitions. It rises imperially above the Congress, the Courts, and the President. It was living before we came, it will live after we depart. There it stands, and is ordained to remain, immovable, unchangeable, save in accordance with the laws of its own life, grand in its simplicity, majestic in its power. To this only Sovereign of our jurisdiction and Lord Protector of our rights and liberties our allegiance and our devotion are worthily consecrated. May the youth of our time, when they shall be seated in the places of trust and authority, show themselves the enlightened and willing servants of this immortal Sovereign.

II. THE PRELIMINARIES OF THE CONFEDERACY.

THE Act which was signed at Philadelphia on September 17, 1787, was not so much a sudden creation, an inspired fact of that memorable year, as it was a logical growth out of many years of thoughtful and painful experience.

The principles of that nationalized union which the Constitution accomplished had already been stirring in the breasts of the wise and the patriotic for three generations. As far back as 1643, four weak colonies in New England combined in a union for their defence against all common dangers, and provided for its continuance by a common parliament. In 1697, William Penn proposed an annual "congress," consisting of two delegates from each colony. They were to have power to provide ways and means for supporting their union, maintaining their common safety, and regulating their commerce. In 1754, Franklin prepared a plan for the union of the colonies, with a triennial legislature, and a governor-general to be appointed by the English government. Each colony was to retain the control

of its exclusively domestic affairs. A decade later, James Otis, in the Massachusetts Assembly, pronounced for an American congress in such emphatic tones that delegates from nine of the colonies were induced to assemble in New York in 1765, to consider their common interests and to protest against imperial taxation.

The activity of British parliamentary aggression increased. In like proportion the spirit of American union became more active; and in 1774 the delegates from the inhabitants of twelve colonies met, as a Continental Congress, for the protection of their common rights. The conception of a continental, or American, union and legislature was becoming more and more familiar to the people. In 1775, Joseph Hawley proposed an annual parliament with two Houses.

In January, 1776, there appeared a pamphlet from the hand of Thomas Paine, in which he advocated with all the vigor and terseness of his unsurpassed rhetoric a more resolute advance. "Let a continental conference be held," said he, "to frame a *continental charter*, drawing the line of business and jurisdiction between members of Congress and members of Assembly, always remembering that our strength and happiness are continental, not provincial. . . . We have every opportunity and every encouragement to form the noblest, purest CONSTITUTION on the face of the earth." The convention which he proposed for this end was to consist of two members for each corporate colony, chosen by its legislature, like senators in the present Congress; two more to be chosen by the Colonial Congress out of each colonial delegation; and a larger number to be chosen directly by the people, like the present House of Representatives.

Six months later the Colonial Congress, in which now all the thirteen colonies were represented, denounced the dominion of England, and declared their own complete and final independence.

In discussing the nature of our union of States, whether perpetual or dissoluble at the will of its members, the disputants have not attached sufficient significance to this great act of the 4th of July, 1776.

It was not a declaration of independence by each separate colony as a distinct civil corporation. It was a joint and national act, the act of "ONE PEOPLE, to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them." The colonies, separately, did not proclaim their independence nor claim among the powers of the earth a separate and equal station. It was a united national act which dissolved all their provincial obligations. "We, therefore, the representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in general Congress assembled, . . . do, in the name, and by the authority of the good PEOPLE of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare" freedom, independence, and the absolution of allegiance to the British crown, with "power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do." All these rights and powers were declared to be in the "United," not the individual, States.

This conception of their act frequently appears in the debates of the Constitutional Convention and in later debates. In the South Carolina Legislature in 1788, on the question of calling a convention to ratify the new Union, one of their most notable statesmen, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, speaking of the Declaration of Independence, said: "This admirable manifesto sufficiently refutes the doctrine of the individual sovereignty and independence of the several States. . . . The separate independence and individual sovereignty of the several States were never thought of by the enlightened band of patriots who framed this

Declaration. The several States are not even mentioned by name in any part. . . . Let us then consider all attempts to weaken this union, by maintaining that each State is separately and individually independent, as a species of political heresy which can never benefit us, but may bring on us the most serious distresses." An argument and a prophecy in one statement.

The Declaration formed the only constitution or written bond of the independent United States until the last State ratified the Articles of Confederation, March 1, 1781.

But the colonies, now States, did not proceed upon that theory of united rights to its logical result of fortifying the central authorities. Having a history of both separate and joint resistance to a common sovereign in England, they were jealous of any centralized power which was not aimed sharply and directly against the military power from which they sought deliverance. Some of them, being more liable to invasion and plunder than others, were unwilling even to allow central control of the military forces and operations. Communications with many of the colonies were limited and difficult, and personal knowledge of leaders insufficient to secure confidence. Military organization was everywhere local. Local jealousies were easily inflamed, and personal ambitions were abundant. Local appeals to protect home interests only were largely effective in closing the eyes of the people to the greater proposition, that local interests could only be permanently protected by a common devotion to the general and united interests. They could not understand that a central power, located in Philadelphia or Annapolis, could watch equally well the coasts of Rhode Island and of Virginia, or apply equally just regulations of commerce to New York and South Carolina. The obstacles to the creation of an effective legislative and executive power over all the States were enormous, and appeared insurmountable. While

their independence was national, their personal aspirations were still provincial. They could not agree upon the terms of a league or confederation. Congress had proposed Articles of Confederation, vesting very limited, but inherent, powers in Congress, in 1777. But the war was nearly over before their acceptance by all the States.

The primary cause of this delay is to be found in the fact that Congress was not elected by the people. Its members were simple delegates of the provincial authority, and revocable at will, like diplomatic agents. They had no inherent authority. The strongest and ablest men remained largely at home, preferring the dignity of the controlling authority in the State to that of a subordinate agent at Philadelphia.

Washington made urgent appeals on this subject, especially to his friends in Virginia. He wrote to George Mason in 1779: "I cannot refrain lamenting in the most poignant terms the fatal policy, too prevalent in most of the States, of employing their ablest men at home in posts of honor or profit till the great national interest is fixed upon a solid basis. . . . Where are our men of abilities? Why do they not come forth to save our country? Let this voice, my dear sir, call upon you, Jefferson, and others." He had before appealed to Harrison, Wythe, Nicholas, Pendleton, and Nelson "not to be satisfied with places in their own State while the common interests of America were mouldering and sinking into irretrievable ruin, but to attend to the momentous concerns of an empire."

Nothing shows more conclusively than these touching appeals from the great heart of Washington that the separate colonial States did not yet grasp the idea of a great continental nation. The union had become for them an organism designed only to establish the independence of the individual States. Their vision was checked by the boundary-line defined in their colonial charter. They saw not yet the finger of God pointing

to a grand, united people, spanning the continent with a supreme and powerful central government, protecting popular liberty, securing personal rights, and symbolized by a starry flag with which the world should have none to compare, so radiant with hope, so illustrious in peace, and so bright with promise to mankind.

In the mean time Congress remained a mere adviser of the States. It could only recommend measures which the States had the liberty to adopt or reject, in whole or in part. Congress had become a beggar at their doors. Nothing is so difficult to persuade as the surrender of power by its possessors. The States were in fact assuming a sovereign power, and could not be induced to voluntarily transfer it to another authority. The force of adversity, even of necessity, was required to convince them that only by the surrender of a part could they possess the benefits of the whole.

The leaders of the patriotic movement soon became convinced that no combination of a central government could be accomplished through the action or the recommendation of that Amphictyonic Council, styled a Congress. Mr. Edward Rutledge, as early as August, 1776, suggested to Robert R. Livingston the appointment by the States of a new and special Congress for the purpose of organizing a confederation. There does not appear any encouraging echo to this proposition, from any authoritative quarter, until four years later. Meantime Congress struggled along as best it could, directing warlike and diplomatic operations through its committees, and always subject to the changing will of the several States, and to their refusal or neglect of the duties required of them for the general welfare. The difficulties of the situation became more and more apparent as the war dragged its weary course, and complaints against the army, as well as coming from the army, were heard. In 1780 the four New England States gave expression to their impatience

over the intolerable condition of central affairs by meeting in convention at Boston, in the month of August. They demanded a substantial union, with a visible head, and a Congress "competent for the government of all those common and national affairs which do not nor can come within the jurisdiction of the particular States." They invited their own States and New York, with all others disposed to come, to meet in convention at Hartford. The following month Governor Clinton recommended the acceptance of the invitation, saying, "Our embarrassments in the prosecution of the war are chiefly to be attributed to a defect of power in those who ought to exercise a supreme jurisdiction; for while Congress only recommends, and the different States deliberate upon the propriety of the recommendation, we cannot expect a union of force or council." Philip Schuyler, supported by the Senate, responded in words the truth of which has been strongly reinforced at a later period of our history: "We perceive the defects of the present system, and the necessity of a SUPREME AND COERCIVE POWER in the government of these States; and are persuaded that, unless Congress are authorized to direct uncontrolably the operations of war, and enabled to enforce a compliance with their requisitions, the common force can never be properly united." Hamilton demanded more emphatically an immediate convention, with full authority to set up a vigorous confederation. General Greene also expressed the feeling of the army when he wrote to a Congressional delegate, "Call a convention of the States, and establish a Congress upon a constitutional footing."

The Hartford Convention assembled in November, New York only being present with the Eastern States. Their resolutions were not only patriotic, but statesmanlike. After adopting propositions to strengthen the public credit, they agreed upon a communication to be addressed to all the States. Experience had by this time clearly shown that the merely recommendatory powers of Congress were wholly insufficient. They must be

changed to mandatory. "All government supposes the power of coercion," they said; "this power, however, never did exist in the general government of the continent, or has never been exercised. . . . The States, individually considered, while they endeavor to retain too much of their independence, may finally lose the whole. . . . We shall be without a solid hope of peace and freedom unless we are properly cemented among ourselves." An account of all their proceedings was transmitted to Congress, and to General Washington, as well as to all their sister States.

The patriotic earnestness of this convention appears to have at last moved the diverse minds towards greater union and a stronger central power. Their report was read in open Congress in December, and referred to a committee which embraced some of the strongest members. Pennsylvania and New Jersey gave further evidence of a desire to increase the powers of Congress.

Finally, on March 1, 1781, amid expressions of general satisfaction, the last signature was affixed to the Articles of Confederation, in the presence of Congress. In view of their ratification, Mr. Duane, of New York, wrote: "Let us devote this day to joy and congratulation, since by the accomplishment of our federal union we are become A NATION. In a political view it is of more real importance than a victory over all our enemies." The final ratification was formally announced to the several States, and to diplomatic agents abroad for the information of friendly foreign governments.

As we now read these Articles, we are amazed that they should have been the subject of congratulation, as if they were the completion of the work of national organization. Yet it is only by an appreciation of the patriotic gratification then expressed over that narrow grant of national power that we can understand the extent of the reluctance of the States, particu-

larly of the delinquent States, to surrender for the general welfare the least share of their newly-acquired independence. Time, discussion, experience, personal association, all were needed as ripening influences for the real constitution and union which were still in the bud, and still exposed to many dangers of cold and heat. On all affairs of serious import each State would fain reserve a power of veto. Local fear and jealousy lurked in every paragraph of this frail bond. A review of the powers which it refused, or closely limited, will disclose to us the unhappy condition in which it left a struggling but hopeful nation.

III. THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION, 1781.

EACH State retained "every power, jurisdiction, and right not expressly delegated." By this they prohibited all development induced by the logic of events and by the necessities of inevitable growth.

The States agreed to defend each other against any attack made upon them, under whatever pretence.

The free inhabitants of one State were to have equal privileges of movement, trade, etc., in all other States, subject only to the prevailing conditions of local citizens.

Each State was to have one vote, and a number of delegates not less than two nor more than seven, all maintained at the expense of the State sending them, and prohibited from receiving any salary or emolument from the United States, even if administering an office under them. The delegates were to be annually appointed, and revocable at the will of the State. They were to meet in Congress on the first Monday of November of each year.

The sixth article prohibited each State from any alliance, treaty, or confederation with each other, or with a foreign State, without consent of Congress, and from laying any duties incon-

sistent with the treaties then in negotiation with France and Spain. Commercial regulation and imposts and duties remained within the power of each State.

The several States retained the right to issue letters of marque and commissions to vessels of war, after war should have been declared. But the power to make war and peace was vested in Congress.

Taxes for war-charges and for the common expenses were to be laid and levied by the individual States in their respective proportions, without power in Congress to enforce or interfere with their collection.

The United States could make no treaty of commerce which should restrain a State from prohibiting the exportation or importation of any goods or commodities whatever.

The States retained the power to coin money, while granting the same power to Congress; but Congress might regulate the alloy and value. The States retained power also to appoint the regimental officers in the army of the United States.

The plan of the confederation contemplated a government of national affairs by special committees of Congress. It could appoint one of its own members to preside; but so jealous were they of the semblance of a single executive that they limited his service to one year, and made him then ineligible for the two years following, ignoring all the benefits of personal experience in affairs, even in time of war.

Having enumerated the narrow powers which Congress might exercise, they put upon that body the following further limitation:

“The United States in Congress assembled shall never engage in a war; nor grant letters of marque and reprisal in time of peace; nor enter into any treaties or alliances; nor coin money; nor regulate the value thereof; nor ascertain the sums and expenses necessary for the defence and welfare of the United States

or any of them; nor emit bills; nor borrow money on the credit of the United States; nor appropriate money; nor agree upon the number of vessels of war to be built or purchased, or the number of land or sea forces to be raised; nor appoint a commander-in-chief of the army or navy; unless nine States assent to the same." This required a majority of two-thirds for any of these acts.

The consent of nine of the thirteen States was required to vest any power in the General Committee of Thirteen, authorized to sit in the recess of Congress; and even then no power could be delegated to this committee which was enumerated in the Articles as specially requiring the assent of nine States for its valid exercise.

The Articles further declared that "the Union shall be perpetual;" and styled the compact, "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union." No amendment could be made except by agreement of Congress, with the ratification of every State. Each State bound itself to abide by the decisions of the Congress in all matters submitted to their jurisdiction by the Articles of Confederation.

This "firm league of friendship" between the States was reported from a committee on July 12, 1776, and was under debate from time to time for two years. At the date of July 9, 1778, only ten States had ratified it. And when Maryland completed the ratification, in March, 1781, these Articles represented the entire progress of the country towards a solid union during the five years of experience of war and weakness and inefficiency of the government. Justice demands of history some explanation of this unsatisfactory result, which shall be consistent with the undoubted patriotism and the unquestioned intellectual ability of the statesmen of that time.

The colonies were originally established under the control of different political and religious ideas, and their immigration

was from variant nationalities. The New England colonies were of more uniform composition than any other group. Protestant individuality and sturdy personal independence were there most emphasized. Commerce became their controlling interest. The town-meeting, the common school, the church-meeting, and the militia formed the foundation of their social organization. The elements in New York were largely of Dutch origin, not given to enthusiasm, not sympathetic, but tenacious of opinion and of property interests. There were found large agricultural estates and seigniorial rights which divided the control with commercial interests. English hereditary characteristics both here and in New Jersey mingled with and modified those of continental origin. In Pennsylvania the elements of population were composite. The English religious opinions and sentiments introduced by Penn influenced a more lethargic population from continental Europe, and disposed their minds to the arts of peace and the love of concord. Her moral position was that of a mediator. The controlling elements in Virginia were of good English origin, exercising a positive dominion over that portion of the white population which represented an inferior immigration of questionable antecedents. Like the trained leaders of New England, the educated leaders in Virginia and in South Carolina were men of clear perceptions, decided opinions, and strongly attached to political theories. The Southern States were generally controlled in their material interests by the demands of agriculture. While slavery existed in small degree in the Northern States, it was a powerful interest only in the South. The dominant religious sentiment also varied in the various States. In some the church and schools were supported by State taxation, in others not. To these various and often conflicting elements must be added the pro-slavery and anti-slavery dissension already existing, and not limited by geographical divisions.

Besides these considerations, there existed that natural distrust

of strangers, and especially of their influence in any degree over domestic affairs of the different colonies, which can only be obviated by frequent association and intimate acquaintance. The close association of the officers of the army during the war of independence, their participation in common perils and struggles and for a common object, had with them effected to a large extent the removal of this distrust. The movement for a closer union of the States found among them its most ardent supporters and constant advocates. Their descendants, in the Society of the Cincinnati, commemorate still the patriotic efforts of their ancestors to accomplish the great constitutional union.

The opposition, both inert and active, to a genuine and vigorous national authority, appeared most uniformly in the local legislatures, and among men who were not personally engaged in the war. They transferred their opposition towards alien English control to alien American control; for they still regarded the other colonies, in some proportion to the distance of their territory, as aliens and strangers to their respective commonwealths. Their confederation itself, therefore, was little more than a treaty between forced allies, who were jealous of each other, and would each retain a veto upon the acts of all, except in those few points where the immediate danger from Europe controlled their fears of domestic rivalry.

Nor was human nature a century ago free from those imperfections which to-day mark the characteristics of our public life. Personal envies and jealousies and competitions were too rife for the best expedition of public affairs. Personal criticisms were violent and often reckless. In a time of war, when all the instruction of history enforces the necessity of a concentration of power in a vigorous, decisive, central authority, thirteen authoritative heads were interposed, which, in turn, were subject to thirteen other widely separated heads. No presiding officer could remain in his place more than one year in three, lest one man

or one State should offer talents and furnish experience which might lead to an excessive influence for himself or his State. From the perusal of the records of that epoch we rise with amazement at the unshaken patience, moderation, and firmness of Washington, who persistently sought the establishment of confidence and concord, and kept himself unsullied and faithful amidst the virulence, jealousies, and passions of the time.

IV. PRELIMINARIES OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION.

THE abler men among the patriots then in military and civil life were not deceived by any fond hopes flowing from the adoption of this instrument. They clearly foresaw the difficulties and embarrassments still interposed against the successful administration of government, alike in war and peace. Hardly had the announcement of the ratification of the Confederation reached the various State capitals before the letters and pamphlets of the time disclosed its defects and insufficiency. Again was heard a call for a constitutional convention. Within a few months from the approval of the Confederacy by Maryland the dissatisfaction found wide and emphatic expression. Washington, whose efforts to secure the organization of a vigorous union and government were as constant as his devotion to his weighty military duties, showed a painful consciousness that the Confederate constitution was wholly inadequate to the demands of the time. He regarded it as chiefly important in completing the formal alliance of the States. "If the powers granted to the head of the States," he said, "are inadequate, the defects should be considered and remedied. Danger may spring from delay. The present temper of the States is friendly to the establishment of a lasting union; the moment should be improved; if suffered to pass away it may never return; and, after gloriously and successfully contending against the usurpations of Britain, we may fall a prey to our own

follies and disputes. . . . A nominal head, which at present is but another name for Congress, will no longer do. That honorable body . . . must dictate, and not merely recommend. . . . Without a controlling power in Congress it will be impossible to carry on the war." Hoping that public affairs would now put on a different aspect, he added, "but not unless Congress is vested with, or will assume, greater powers than they exert at present, and will dispense them freely, upon general principles, to the ministers of State." He addressed himself in this sense, and with urgency, to leaders in different States.

In the mean time Congress itself had appointed a second and able committee to examine the Articles, "to prepare an exposition of the Confederation," a plan for its complete execution, and supplemental articles. This committee reported a series of subjects upon which laws should be framed for the execution of the Articles, but declined to make an "exposition" of the Articles for the significant reason, among others, that "the omission to enumerate any Congressional powers would become an argument against their existence, and it will be early enough to insist upon them when they shall be exercised and disputed." So early did questions of constitutional construction arise; and so promptly was the necessity for "supplemental articles" made apparent. They proposed seven distinct recommendations for increasing the powers of Congress. All this was made known to the States, but apparently without producing a movement for their adoption.

Such incomplete measures encountered a double opposition. The States were in large part unwilling to have any force applied to their delinquency, and equally unwilling to diminish their reserved powers. The friends and advocates of a strong national government, on the other hand, were indifferent to these half-measures, knowing how far they failed of affording relief to the country. Of the latter class Hamilton expressed the sentiments

when he published these words: "There is hardly a man who will not acknowledge the Confederation unequal to a vigorous prosecution of the war, or to the preservation of the Union in peace. The Federal government, too weak at first, will continually grow weaker. . . . We ought without delay to enlarge the powers of Congress. Every plan of which this is not the foundation will be illusory."

During the years 1781-82 the condition of the finances was constantly growing worse, paper money had become almost worthless, the army wanted pay, requisitions were disobeyed, and anxiety and distress were general. Congress organized with more or less success some departments of administration; but these found themselves seriously ineffective for want of powers and want of revenue. France agreed to make another small loan, with assurance that nothing more must be expected from her, and accompanied by reproaches upon the unwillingness of the States to exert themselves.

At this time of general conflict of material interests, of social elements, of political aims, and of personal ambitions, Schuyler and Hamilton urged, and both branches of the legislature of New York adopted, resolutions (July, 1782) unanimously recommending Congress to propose "and each State to adopt the measure of assembling a general convention of the States, specially authorized to revise and amend the Confederation, reserving a right to the respective legislatures to ratify their determinations." These resolutions were communicated to Congress, and to the State governments.

Meantime, the proposition to so enlarge the powers of Congress that they might obtain a revenue from duties on imports had been ratified by all the States except Rhode Island. Congress was about to send a committee to obtain the assent of that State when the Virginia Legislature (December, 1782), on the motion of Richard Henry Lee, most unexpectedly retracted

its previous assent, on the ground that it involved a surrender of the State sovereignty.

This refusal on the part of so important a Confederate member as Virginia gave a shock to the Confederacy itself. It seemed not only a refusal of this particular measure for the support of the Union, but its principle tended against all powers in Congress which should operate in any way directly upon the citizens of a State. Yet it proved a step in the march to a more perfect union. Parties in that State divided, one led by the mover of that resolution, and supported by Arthur Lee, Mercer, and Bland; the other, by Madison, with the positive support of Washington. Meanwhile, its immediate effect operated to the serious disadvantage of the country. Hostilities had practically terminated. Adjustment of new commercial relations with Great Britain remained to be effected. Congress had no power to regulate commerce or pass a navigation act. After the peace, the question whether American vessels were national or State was raised in Parliament (May, 1783). Lord Thurlow said: "I have read an account which stated the government in America to be totally unsettled, and that each province seemed intent on establishing a distinct, independent, sovereign State." And Parliament decided to commit all American commercial rights to the arbitrary will of the King in council. Jay wrote that no time should be lost in raising and maintaining a national spirit in America. Gouverneur Morris replied that the British restrictions would do us "more political good than commercial mischief;" true energy in our general government would yet be supplied. Lord North discussed our situation, and predicted utter powerlessness in our Confederacy, each State having reserved to itself every power relative to imports, exports, prohibitions, and duties, and recommended that the States be separately dealt with. They did not fail to discover in this the means of further weakening a power which with perfect union

might become formidable. Slowly these English views reached and affected American opinion. Lafayette also by correspondence urged the consolidation of the Union.

Additional pressure was brought to bear upon public opinion by the discontent and urgent demands of the army for their pay, long time in arrears. Their violent and indignant spirit was only subdued by the discreet action, patriotic words, and personal intervention of Washington, who besought them not to sully their glory by a mutinous act at the close of a glorious career. Upon their disbandment, a few months later, they organized the Society of Cincinnati, with the emphatic pledge of an "unalterable determination to promote and cherish union between the States," and separated without a penny of pay. The influence of the army was reinforced by that of the public creditors, who were wholly unprovided for; not only the creditors at home, but also in France and Holland, all of whom became clamorous for some action looking to the payment of their obligations. Hamilton expressed utter want of confidence in temporary revenue measures which depended on State action.

In April, 1783, and after the announcement of peace, Congress took up the New York resolutions for a general constitutional convention, and referred them to a committee of nine. Washington's earnestness for a more complete union was manifested with the profound sincerity and warmth of an apostle of religion. He addressed communications of great force, both to Congress and to all the governors of States, urging the imperative necessity of prompt and united action to rescue the country from bankruptcy and disorder, and to preserve by their union the inestimable rights secured through the long struggles of the Revolutionary war. "The honor, power, and true interest of this country must be measured by a continental scale. To form a new constitution that will give consistency, stability, and dignity to the Union, and sufficient powers to the great council of the

nation for general purposes, is a duty incumbent on every man who wishes well to his country. . . . If a spirit of discussion or obstinacy and perverseness should in any of the States attempt to frustrate all the happy effects that might be expected to flow from the Union, that State which puts itself in opposition to the aggregate wisdom of the continent will alone be responsible for the consequences. . . . Happiness is ours, if we seize the occasion and make it our own. . . . Whatever measures have a tendency to dissolve the Union, or to violate or to lessen the sovereign authority, ought to be considered as hostile to the liberty and independence of America." These sentiments were supported by an irresistible argument, based on the then existing condition of affairs, and were communicated by the governors to their legislatures in every State. He formulated no plan, but avowed his desire "to see energy given to the Federal Constitution by a convention of the people."

The first effect of this circular letter to the States was that of inducing some of them to reverse their earlier action against the power of Congress to levy the import duties within the States, which had been proposed as the first measure for the restoration of public credit. Virginia, also, after a bitter struggle, passed over to the side of Washington. Its second effect was to check the tide of what Hamilton styled "the epidemic phrenzy" of absolute, separate sovereignty of each individual State. But Congress continued irresponsive to the efforts of its ablest men in favor of a better union; and in September its committee recommended a postponement of action on the New York resolutions.

The British order prohibiting American ships from carrying produce to British colonies did more than all previous arguments to arouse the States to the necessity of enlarging Congressional power, in order by general legislation to resent and resist such foreign assaults on American interests. In April,

1784, the new Congress agreed to a proposition that this body should be empowered, with the assent of nine States, and for the term of fifteen years, to exercise prohibitory powers over foreign commerce. Jefferson, knowing how much hostile foreign powers depended on the fact that each State was always protesting for its separate sovereignty and independence of central control, in his draft of instructions for our diplomatic agents abroad, spoke of "the United States as one nation upon the principles of the Federal Constitution." Rhode Island, which had before objected to the use even of the words "Federal government," alleging there was no such "government," but only a union, again interposed her voice now. At the vote taken upon this phrase of Jefferson, he was sustained by eight States against two. The fact is worthy of note as one of the signs of an advance in the conception of a national government for the future. Washington had often before, as after this time, made free use of the word nation, as applied to the United States.

Early in 1784, though now a private citizen, Washington addressed to the governor of Virginia an earnest appeal for a stronger bond of union. The clearness of his views appears from the following extract: "An extension of Federal powers would make us one of the most wealthy, happy, respectable, and powerful nations that ever inhabited the terrestrial globe. Without these, we shall soon be everything which is directly the reverse. I predict the worst consequences from a half-starved, limping government, always moving upon crutches and tottering at every step." The new Legislature of Virginia was better disposed to strengthen the Union. Even Patrick Henry showed a yielding spirit, and Jefferson's favorable influence was pronounced.

In the Congressional session of this year four States were absent, three, becoming dissatisfied, withdrew, and the powerless remainder finding themselves deserted went home in utter feeble-

ness. The next (Fifth) Congress, which should have assembled in November, was long without a quorum. The French *chargé d'affaires* reported to his government that in America there was "no general government, neither Congress nor President, nor head of any one administrative department." It seemed a near approximation to anarchy in Federal affairs.

In the following winter Noah Webster published a proposed "new system of government which should act, not on the States, but directly on individuals, and vest in Congress full power to carry its laws into effect."

The year 1785 brought to view two influences bearing upon the constitutional union, and moving in opposite directions. The Congress had chosen for its President this year Richard Henry Lee, a bitter opponent of inherent Congressional powers; and the New York Legislature appointed its delegates so that a majority of them joined Lee in his opposition, thus changing the position of that influential State. On the other hand, the excessive flooding of American markets with English goods, the British obstructions to the ship-building and the carrying trades, and restrictions upon their home markets against the products of American fishery, had combined to produce ruin to our manufactures, disaster to producing interests, and the exhaustion of the metallic currency of the country. The industrial Americans were in a state bordering on despair, and found it vain to look for relief to a Congress without power to provide a remedy. When single States sought relief by protective duties, this only served as a premium to another State to concentrate in its own ports a free foreign trade, thus made yet more valuable to itself. Duties against imports from other States necessarily followed. At this juncture Congress transferred its seat to New York.

Its assemblage there was welcomed by the industrial interests of that city with an address, in which they showed their disagreement with the recent choice of delegates by their legislature;

saying, "We hope our representatives will coincide with the other States in augmenting your power to every exigency of the Union." The Chamber of Commerce also begged them to counteract the injurious restrictions of foreign nations. Popular movements in the same direction appeared in Philadelphia and Boston. Pennsylvania and New York both increased their duties, in unequal degree, the one on numerous foreign goods, the other on such goods as were imported in British bottoms. The Legislature of Massachusetts pledged itself to use its most earnest endeavor to put the Federal government "on a firm basis, and to perfect the Union;" and formally admitted that the Articles of Confederation were inadequate to the purposes to be effected. They ordered their resolutions to be communicated to Congress, and to the executive of each State. They also, as well as New Hampshire and Rhode Island, passed retaliatory acts against Great Britain, to continue "until a well-guarded power to regulate trade shall be intrusted to Congress." Like Pennsylvania, Massachusetts established highly protective duties.

In addition to the embarrassments of commerce resulting from this discordant action of the States in respect to duties on imports, and from the absence of a central power to combat the injuries to trade flowing from the action of foreign governments, great confusion was created by the numerous and variable standards of value and the unsteady financial laws of the several States. In some the creditors were obliged to accept real and personal estate at an appraised value in satisfaction of their judgments. In others depreciated paper was legal tender in payment for purchases, on a fixed scale of depreciation. In others it must be received at its par value. Numerous stay-laws were enacted. Even in Massachusetts the courts were interrupted by riotous force. Legislation on the relation between debtor and creditor was constantly changing. There was no security for one side or the other. The rate of ex-

change in interstate transactions was alarmingly variable. One of the States authorized the court and jury to decide questions of debt to the best of their knowledge, agreeably to equity and good conscience. In the pressure of the times some States appeared to abandon hope of a metallic currency, and took refuge in new emissions of paper money. A British agent writes to his government: "It is with pleasure that I can inform your lordship what silver and gold is to be had in this country goes in his Majesty's packet-boats to England." Georgia redeemed its paper with specie certificates at the rate of one thousand for one, while Delaware adopted the rate of one to seventy-five. Virginia, overwhelmed with depreciated paper, stopped its issue after 1781, and undertook to redeem it in loan certificates at the rate of one thousand for one. Judgments could be satisfied by the tender of hemp, tobacco, flour, at a rate fixed by the county courts, and even taxes were paid in tobacco.

Under these conditions contracts wholly lost the protection of the laws under which they were made. The debtors were far more numerous than creditors, and practically controlled legislation by demands which rested on the emergency alone, ungoverned by principle. Good men everywhere were struggling against the general demoralization, and openly protesting against it. It led them strongly towards the plan of a new constitution for the Confederacy, which should destroy this power in the States by conferring on Congress exclusive authority to regulate the legal-tender money of the country, and to prohibit the States from impairing the obligation of contracts.

During this year (1785) the common efforts of Maryland and Virginia to unite the waters of the Potomac and Ohio for the improvement of commerce, and the especial desire of Maryland for a canal connecting the Delaware and Chesapeake Bays, for which the co-operation of Pennsylvania and Delaware was need-

ful, induced Maryland to make a further proposition. If even these two limited lines of internal communication could not proceed without a common understanding of several States, how could all the commercial relations of the future go on if liable to the conflicting legislation of independent States? The Legislature of Maryland in this connection addressed a communication to that of Virginia, proposing that commissioners from all the States should be invited to meet and regulate the restrictions on commerce for the whole. Madison quickly saw the opportunity to inaugurate the long-desired movement for a more perfect Union, and, holding himself in the background, persuaded a State-sovereignty member to offer the resolution which he prepared, for the appointment of commissioners by Virginia, to meet commissioners from all the States, to examine and report on the requisite increase of the powers of Congress over trade, their action being subject to the ratification of every State. It was quietly called up at a later period, and passed (January, 1786); and Madison was placed at the head of the commission. Annapolis was proposed as the place, and September as the time, for the assembling of the commissioners. No New England State appeared, and no Southern State south of Virginia, while even Maryland was absent from her own capital. The five States present were represented by men from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Virginia, who believed in more far-reaching provisions than those suggested by the original resolution. Their sessions were soon closed, with a recommendation to their States to obtain a meeting of all the States at Philadelphia in the following May, to consider the situation of the country, and to devise the measures necessary to make the Constitution adequate to the exigencies of the Union.

Before the meeting at Annapolis, new efforts were made in Congress to enlarge its powers. Charles Pinckney reported from a committee seven amendments to the Articles of Confederation,

giving Congress power to regulate foreign and domestic trade, and to collect duties, which, however, must be paid over to the State in which collected; to punish treason, and crimes committed on the high seas; to establish an appellate court of seven judges with jurisdiction of certain Federal questions; to establish a new system of revenue, eleven States consenting; and regulating the payment of quotas by States. After long and sometimes violent discussion, these propositions were abandoned to that great file of ever-accumulating unfinished business. The country ceased to expect relief from its Congress. New Jersey was gained to the plan of a convention for enlarging the powers of the general government. The taxation on her imported goods, introduced through the port of New York, and the practical assessment of her own citizens for the sole benefit of the New York State Treasury, opened her eyes to the necessity of a reform in the Union.

The general situation of the country in the summer of 1786 was deplorable. From a careful official report made to the Count de Vergennes in September of that year, it appears that the condition especially of New England was sufficient to impart a sentiment of despair. The common masses of the people, driven by distress, demanded the emission of paper money for their relief. Massachusetts had seen its prodigious evils in other States and refused it. These people then took arms and dispersed the courts, demanded their abolition, and that of the State Senate, and cried out for a new emission of paper, and other wild objects from which they imagined relief would come. In New Hampshire three hundred mutineers assembled to break up a court of justice, and intimidated their legislature. Many of the people of Connecticut made efforts for the abolishment of debts and the dissolution of the courts. Hundreds of farms were there offered for sale for the payment of taxes; and specie was so scarce that they hardly brought one-tenth of their value. A British agent

reported upon the like facts, and added: "Indeed, dissatisfaction and uneasiness prevail more or less throughout this country; the greater part of the people poor, and many in desperate circumstances, do not, it seems, want any government at all, but had rather have all power and property reduced to a level." The five State delegations at Annapolis, aware of this public condition, and knowing that additional commercial authority in Congress was totally inadequate as a remedy, wisely resolved to rely only on a convention with general powers to revise the entire Constitution of the Union. Guarded as was their language, it revealed to the intelligence of the country the imperative nature of radical relief. A Virginia member of Congress wrote from New York in October to Washington: "We are all in dire apprehension that a beginning of anarchy with all its calamities has approached, and have no means to stop the dreadful work." He added the suggestion that Washington's unbounded influence, if brought to bear, might quell the seditious spirit. Washington in his reply used the words, "Influence is no government."

Moved by the steady force of her great unionists, and by the increasing disorders of the several States, Virginia took at last, in December, 1786, a firm and loyal decision. Her Assembly, with unexpected unanimity, adopted the recommendation of the Annapolis Convention, and appointed the great names of Washington, Madison, Mason, and Randolph to represent her views in the Philadelphia Convention. Wisely remembering that State legislatures had exercised the right of agreeing to national measures and then revoking that agreement at will, that part of the Annapolis report which suggested that the act of the coming convention should be effective when "confirmed by the *legislatures* of every State" was modified in the Virginia resolution by requiring confirmation by the States. By this method timid legislatures could transfer the decision to the people in special convention, as in fact the unionists desired. This act of Virginia

was transmitted by Governor Randolph to Congress and to the governors of all the States. New Jersey was the first of the States to accept the proposition. Pennsylvania, most constantly loyal to the Union, quickly adopted it, followed by North Carolina and Delaware. Rufus King, who had long used his great influence in Massachusetts against the increase of central power, wrote Governor Gerry that he was inclined favorably to this project, though he thought it illegal in form of inception. "Events are hurrying us to a crisis," he said. "Prudent and sagacious men should be ready to seize the most favorable circumstances to establish a more perfect and vigorous government." New York, still obstinate under Governor Clinton, ignored the Annapolis invitation, and desired Congress to call a general convention. When the New York delegates moved it under their instructions, without mentioning time or place, it met with entire failure. King, of Massachusetts, then saw his opportunity to reconcile his past with his present views, and perhaps to bring New York into the movement. He accordingly offered (February, 1787) a plain resolution, by which Congress advised a convention to be held at the time and place which the action of Virginia had already fixed, but without naming the act of that State. It was at once accepted by Congress, and satisfied the theorists of that school with the method of initiating the convention. States could now appoint members either to the convention called at the suggestion of the Annapolis meeting and upon the invitation of Virginia, or pursuant to the recommendation of Congress; and in either case they would find themselves in one common convention. It was doubtless a wise and useful measure, in view of the rivalries of men and of the jealousies of State precedence.

Massachusetts, troubled with a recent insurrection, accepted in February. New York a few days later concurred, and appointed Yates and Lansing, who represented more especially the

ideas of State sovereignty, and Hamilton, who was a strong unionist, to be her delegates to the convention. South Carolina and Georgia appointed their delegates in April. Connecticut sent a strong delegation in May, and Maryland soon followed. New Hampshire delayed till June. Rhode Island alone maintained her isolation to the end as a non-union State, by a legislative majority of twenty-two votes against the convention.

Pending these proceedings for a convention, and late in February, Madison wrote to Governor Randolph: "Our situation is becoming every day more and more critical. No money comes into the Federal treasury; no respect is paid to the Federal authority; and people of reflection unanimously agree that the existing Confederacy is tottering to its foundation." He added that men in the East were suspected of leaning towards monarchy; others were predicting the partition of the States into two or more confederacies. He believed that unless a radical amendment of the present system was effected the partition would take place. In April he again wrote that "unless the Union was efficiently organized on republican principles the partition of the empire into rival and hostile confederacies will ensue."

By the foregoing tedious and often unavailing steps did the people of the United States advance towards a more perfect government. The causes of this slow approximation to a result so necessary to their security from foreign foes, and so indispensable to the establishment of equal and common privileges among the citizens of different States, are not obscure. The vast extent of their territory, the communication limited by sail on the water lines, and by poor wagon-roads and bridle-paths on land, were great hinderances to a friendly and intimate knowledge of their mutual interests. The different controlling industries in various States created apprehensions of adverse legislation by a body in which these various interests should be unequally represented.

Some States were more deeply in debt than others, and in deeper poverty. These feared the power and influence of the more wealthy and prosperous States. In some of them the spirit of repudiation was rife and bold; and these desired to retain the position of aliens towards any power which might be animated by a strong sense of justice. Their ideas of a home government could not be expanded to embrace a continent, or even its Atlantic region. Slavery, increased by annual importations of human beings as property, had obtained a solid territorial domination in one section, and but a small and unsteady foothold in another. There was as yet no brotherhood among the States, except in small groups. The limited number of delegates to Congress, many of them frequent absentees, and who represented the legislatures, not the people, were insufficient instruments for propagating ideas of union among a widely scattered popular constituency. There were fewer numbers in the Congress than in most of the State legislatures. The latter were lords, the former servants. Congressional opinion was in perpetual chains, and had the timidity which attaches to subserviency. Too much courage of conscience involved the sacrifice of position. Constant rotation in office diminished or destroyed the growth and usefulness of experience. The enlarged views acquired from the height of central government were ever nullified by the narrower aspirations of local sovereignty. Authority, whether executive, legislative, or judicial, if intrusted to persons not appointed by the State legislature itself, and irresponsible to the State, seemed to the people an abandonment of personal rights, and a return to foreign jurisdiction. All citizens of the United States were animated by the identical love of personal liberty and of free institutions which characterized each; yet each remained blind to the truth that there was greater security in the combined force of all than could be found in single independence and sovereignty. For war they admitted the need of union. In peace only the

stress of commercial conflict between the States and with foreign countries could induce them to strengthen the bonds of a general government.

While these were the prevailing sentiments, among leaders there was abundant diversity in theories of government for the Union. Systems, plans, projects, had been discussed for many years, and so often defeated or ignored that it hardly seemed within human power to revive an old or propose a new one with any reasonable probability of its general adoption. The predisposition of each State was to reject the plan of every other State. The rivalries of persons and of communities reinforced this prejudice, and covered any new scheme with clouds of doubt. It was not, therefore, to be regretted that some men of strong intellect who might have been delegates to this convention, but who were enemies to a consolidation of the Union, preferred to remain at home, and permitted their places to be filled by friends of the national movement. It was of supreme importance that the scheme of reform to be devised should have the general sanction of the initiatory body before demanding that of the States. This could better be accomplished by unionists of different shades of opinion than by the doubtful co-operation of persistent separatists.

It would hardly be possible to find a more melancholy picture for the contemplation of patriots than that presented by the States of the Union at the time of their appointment of delegates to Philadelphia. The public debt was in no part paid, and no provision whatever was made for its payment. The Confederacy was without revenue of its own, and without resources. Whatever gold or silver existed in the country was sent beyond seas to pay for imported goods. None of the States fully responded to Confederate requisitions; some partially complied, and New Jersey expressly refused to comply. The navigation laws of New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Maryland treated the other States as aliens, as if they were European

countries. South Carolina, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New York were taxing the trade of other States passing through their ports, and developed angry sentiments in their nearest neighbors. Connecticut taxed imports even from Massachusetts. The treaties made by the Confederation were violated in the States with impunity. Compacts were made between States in violation of the articles of the Confederacy, even by such States as New Jersey and Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland. The demoralization had gone so far that Virginia not only refused to apply for the sanction of its compact with Maryland by Congress, but even voted against advising Congress of its existence. The legislatures and the people showed equal disregard of public and private obligations. Respect for the Confederacy had ceased at home, and it was the object of contempt abroad. Thoughtful men doubted of the capacity of the people for self-government, and began to whisper of monarchy as a cure of public disorders.

Surrounded by doubts, but inspired by hope, and powerfully urged by the dangers and distresses of the country, the delegates to this Convention made their journey by slow stages from their respective States to the city of Philadelphia, now to become once more the centre of a nation's hopes.

V. THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

THE Convention was summoned for the 14th of May, 1787. The necessary quorum of seven States did not appear until the 25th of May, when the majority of the New Jersey delegates presented their credentials. Three days later Massachusetts and Maryland increased the number to nine. The representation of Connecticut and Georgia added two more States on the 30th and 31st of May. That of New Hampshire did not arrive until the 23d of July, after the majority of the New York delegates had

withdrawn; so that only eleven States were voted at any one time, out of the twelve represented. Rhode Island alone refused to be represented, having rejected the proposition by a legislative majority of twenty-two votes. A number of her leading citizens, however, forwarded a letter of sympathy to the Convention.

Of the characters composing this Convention, the French minister wrote to his government: "If all the delegates chosen to this Convention at Philadelphia are present, Europe will never have seen an assembly more respectable for talents, for knowledge, for the disinterestedness and patriotism of those who compose it. General Washington, Dr. Franklin, and a great number of other distinguished personages, though less known in Europe, have been called thither."

It was certainly most fortunate for the country, for the prestige of the Convention, and for the solidity of its work, that Virginia set the example of intrusting her commission to her greatest names. Where Washington led the way, followed by Madison, Governor Randolph, George Mason, and Chancellor Wythe, no other State would be willing to refuse a contribution of its most reputable, noblest characters. Pennsylvania responded with Franklin's vast experience and wisdom gathered on two continents, with Robert Morris and Gouverneur Morris, and was further strengthened by the great ability of Wilson. South Carolina sent John Rutledge, with the two Pinckneys. New Jersey offered her chancellor, Livingston, with Chief-Justice Brearley, William Paterson, and Dayton. New York reluctantly commissioned her chief unionist, Alexander Hamilton, a born statesman, who combined indomitable force of character with a genius for the organization of States. Delaware gave her patriotic Read and her venerable Dickinson as aids in the great work. Connecticut, so rich in contributions of soldiers to the Revolutionary struggle, ranked herself in the forefront of the

Convention when Sherman and Ellsworth and Johnson appeared there. The voice of Massachusetts found eloquent expression in Rufus King, and her opinions gathered strength from the high reputation of Governor Gerry and the wisdom of Gorham. If ever a government could be formed fresh from the brain of man, instinct with a vigorous life, and admirable in form as that fabled goddess who sprang full-armed from the brow of Jove, it might surely be expected from the midst of this assembly of the wisest and purest and most patriotic characters to which the old European or the young American continent had ever given birth. If the effort should fail now and here, the boldest of our national patriots were prepared to await in silence and unhappy resignation the alternative fates of anarchy or despotism.

The completed roll of delegates who were actually present in the Convention at some time during its deliberations shows the following names :

From New Hampshire (2)—John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.

From Massachusetts (4)—Elbridge Gerry, Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King, Caleb Strong.

From Connecticut (3)—William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman, Oliver Ellsworth.

From New York (3)—Robert Yates, Alexander Hamilton, John Lansing.

From New Jersey (5)—William Livingston, David Brearley, William Churchill Houston, William Paterson, Jonathan Dayton.

From Pennsylvania (8)—Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris.

From Delaware (5)—George Read, Gunning Bedford, Jr., John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jacob Broom.

From Maryland (5)—James McHenry, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Daniel Carroll, John Francis Mercer, Luther Martin.

From Virginia (7)—George Washington, Edmund Randolph, John Blair, James Madison, Jr., George Mason, George Wythe, James McClurg.

From North Carolina (5)—Alexander Martin, William Richardson Davie, William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamson.

From South Carolina (4)—John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler.

From Georgia (4)—William Few, Abraham Baldwin, William Pierce, William Houstoun.

Of these, eight members had signed the Declaration of Independence. The whole number of appointments made was sixty-five, of whom only fifty-five attended the Convention; and of them only thirty-nine affixed their names to the Constitution at the end of their deliberations, three expressly refusing, and others absent.

Hamilton was born in Nevis, one of the Leeward Islands; Wilson in Scotland; Robert Morris and Davie in England. Paterson, Fitzsimons, McHenry, and Butler were of Irish birth. The other delegates were native Americans. Some of them had been educated in England, but most of them in the country of their birth, which they had rescued from foreign domination, to which they had given the principles of liberty, and which they now desired to endow with the rights of a republic and with the organization of a united, free, and stable government.

The Convention at the outset provided for secret sessions. The conflict of opinion throughout the country was so great that they feared to exasperate existing divisions, and to provoke hostilities while their plan was in construction, if each day's immature proceedings and discussions were given to the public. They also believed that a more sincere and frank expression of personal opinions could be obtained from the delegates, and compro-

mises of jarring judgments could be better secured, if they were exempt from the exterior influence of bitter prejudices. They decided, therefore, that no communication of their resolutions should be made until the whole completed work could be laid before the country, and that no individual votes should be recorded, this record being made by States.

The dilatory arrival of the majority of the delegations gave opportunity for private and personal comparison of views between the few delegates who were earliest in Philadelphia. The members from Virginia met in frequent consultation, and brought themselves into harmonious relations upon a rough draft of constitutional principles which Madison had prepared. This document, modified by their consultations, was afterwards authoritatively presented to the Convention as the plan of Virginia. The moral force of the then leading State of the Confederacy was thus, from the beginning, thrown into the wavering balance in favor of a wholly new Constitution, and against any partial amendment of the existing Articles of Confederation. Her very able delegation succeeded, though afterwards much divided upon details, in keeping the action of the Convention upon the original basis proposed by them. The discussion upon their resolutions began in committee of the whole house, Mr. Gorham, of Massachusetts, in the chair, on the 30th of May; and they were finally reported, as amended, on the 19th day of June, and were before the Convention, as from time to time modified, until the germ was developed and ripened into the American Constitution on September 17, 1787.

There were some individual schemes of greater or less scope offered by Charles Pinckney and by Hamilton, but they never diverted the general course and lines of debate. That of Charles Pinckney is the most notable, by reason of the form in which it has been published, and which bears so striking a resemblance to the Constitution as adopted. But his original plan submitted was

not preserved, and that now attributed to him lacks authenticity. It bears internal evidence of later composition, and is in conflict, in some of its provisions, with his recorded speeches and letters. On the high authority of Mr. Madison and of the historian Bancroft it must be rejected. Neither the scheme of Mr. Pinckney nor that of Mr. Hamilton is important in this recital, because neither of them ever became the base of the Convention's deliberations; and the opinions of both these distinguished delegates appear in the course of the debates upon the three plans offered in the name of the respective States of Virginia, Connecticut, and New Jersey.

New Jersey, pressed between her two large and powerful neighbors to whom she was liable to pay commercial tribute, desired to amend the Confederate articles, chiefly that duties might be made to bear equally on all the States, preserving her State sovereignty and equality in voting power. These points granted, she would concede further amendments.

Connecticut, also, desired to adhere to the Confederate system. With a delegation unsurpassed in experience, learning, and ability, she appears to have suggested, about the time the Virginia plan was reported, a scheme of amendment of the Confederation, consisting of several sections, the product of her experience under the infirm government then existing.

Parts of both the Virginia and Connecticut propositions were accepted and parts refused, as will appear by the following analysis of their principal clauses and the ultimate disposition made of them.

In the scheme of Virginia, which fortunately had precedence in time and in the outlined completeness of its form, were found the principles of a new and thoroughly constitutional government for the whole people, combined for general purposes into one nation. This qualification of "national" occurred in it nineteen times as it went into committee and twenty-five times as

it was reported from the committee, and left no doubt that it was intended to substitute a new government for the whole country, to which the States should be auxiliary for only their internal economy respectively. Every attribute of sovereignty looking to their relations beyond their own respective geographical boundaries was transferred to the general or "national" government. The latter was to be independent of the individual States and in no way responsible to them. Its reliance was directly on the people, from whom it was to choose its own legislative, executive, and judicial agents, who should be responsible to itself alone.

OF THE LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

Suffrage in the "national legislature" ought to be proportioned to quotas of contribution or the number of free inhabitants (refused). It should consist of two branches, the members of the first to be elected by the people of the several States and to receive a compensation, and not to hold any other office under the United States at the same time (accepted); to be ineligible to immediate re-election, and to be subject to recall (refused). Members of the second House to be chosen by the members of the first House from among persons to be nominated by the State legislatures respectively (refused), and to be ineligible to immediate re-election (refused). The "national legislature," in addition to the legislative rights already vested in the Confederate Congress, ought "to have the right to legislate in all cases to which the separate States are incompetent, or in which the harmony of the United States might be interrupted by the exercise of individual legislation" (limited to the scope of granted powers, and so adopted); the right to negative all laws passed by the several States contravening the articles of union (refused); the right to call forth the force of the Union against any member of the Union failing in its duty under

those articles (refused); each House to have the right of originating all acts ("bills for raising revenue" limited to the first branch, and so adopted).

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

The national executive ought to enjoy the executive rights already vested in the Confederate Congress, and have a general authority to execute the national laws (accepted, saving confirmation of certain acts by the Senate). This executive to be chosen by the national legislature (refused); and to be ineligible for a second term (refused); and, together with a portion of the national judiciary, to form a council of revision (refused), "with authority to examine every act of the national legislature before it shall operate" (accepted in the veto power, with reserved legislative right of two-thirds).

JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

"A national judiciary ought to be established," consisting of one supreme court and inferior tribunals (adopted); to be chosen by the national legislature (refused); to hold their office during good behavior (adopted); with jurisdiction over felonies on the high seas, and captures, between foreigners and citizens, between citizens of different States, over questions of the collection of the national revenue (adopted); over impeachment of national officers (refused); and questions which may involve national peace and harmony (refused in those terms).

MISCELLANEOUS POWERS.

Provision ought to be made for admitting new States out of Union territory (accepted); republican government ought to be guaranteed to each State (accepted), and also its territory (refused). All engagements of the existing Congress to be observed (accepted). Provision to be made for amendment of

these articles, to which the assent of the national legislature ought not to be required (accepted). The legislative, executive, and judicial powers of the several States to be bound by oath to support the articles (accepted). The acceptance of these new articles by the States to be decided by vote of conventions expressly called therefor (accepted).

The scheme offered by the State of Connecticut differed from the preceding in important particulars. Like the other, it gave to Congress jurisdiction over foreign and interstate commerce, with a revenue from the customs and the post-office (enlarged and accepted); and power to make laws in all cases which concerned their common interests, but not to touch the State authorities in affairs concerning only the local welfare (accepted in principle). But the laws of the United States covering the common interests of the States were to be enforced by the judicial and other authorities of the States themselves (refused). For certain specific purposes the United States were to establish a supreme and other necessary tribunals (enlarged and accepted). No State could make a currency of bills of credit (accepted), nor make laws violating contracts where foreigners or citizens of other States were interested (accepted with enlargement). The Union treasury was to be supplied by the States in the proportion which their respective numbers of free inhabitants—excluding untaxed Indians, and adding three-fifths of all other persons—bore to the whole (refused). Some provision might be made for calling on the people by the United States for the enforcement of their laws; and in case of the failure of any State to pay in its quota the United States could levy and collect the same directly from the people of the delinquent State (abandoned). Criminal trials must be by jury, and in the State where the offence was committed (accepted).

The New Jersey system was intended to unite all the opponents of a new and national government, and was purely federal.

It contained some important and useful amendments of the existing Confederation. It retained, however, the Congress of a single body, and provided for the election by it of a plural executive, which was little better than a committee of Congress, because the latter could at any time revoke its powers on demand of the States. The only direct revenue it granted to the United States was to be derived from duties, stamps, and the post-office. For the rest it maintained the old system of requisitions, and gave primary jurisdiction of most federal questions to the courts of the State, with appeal to the Federal Supreme Court. Many of its provisions were concurrent with those already approved in committee. But being based on the Confederation, the decision upon it was adverse,—seven States to three, with Maryland divided.

The most strongly-marked line of division in the Convention was upon the question whether the new government should be federal or national; that is, whether it should rest upon the States as independent political powers, or upon the people of all the States as the ultimate source of all political authority. If the former idea prevailed, the new government would still be a mere league, and might be dissolved by its members, like any other league between States. If the national ideas were dominant, then the new government would hold its powers direct from the people of the entire country which should adhere to the new Constitution. In this case each separate State, while exercising its retained domestic authority undisturbed, would be merged in the nation in respect to all matters within the national jurisdiction. As to these its sovereignty and its independence would be lost. The power of a State in these relations became only the power of an individual,—that of being counted. No power of reserved and final judgment could then be claimed for a State without at the same time destroying the national government; that is to say, such a judgment could only be made effective by rebellion and

force outside of the Constitution. It was also distinctly designed that the people—not the States as legislative corporations—should establish the validity of the Constitution. Hence it was insisted, and finally resolved in the new Constitution, that the people should adopt it by special conventions called for the purpose of considering it. Thus they resorted to a power behind the State legislatures, behind even their constitutions, for the sanction of the new instrument, and as the original source of the new national rights. For this purpose the States were employed only as necessary geographical circumscriptions for obtaining the vote which bound the State corporation to the Union, as counties and towns are employed for the returns of the popular suffrages in State elections and on questions of annexation of territory. That popular affirmation then becomes a finality.

This is the logical thread which will safely conduct us through the mazes of our constitutional history, and through the long debates of its formative period, and even of the later period of the construction given to that instrument by the great tribunal which it established. In the beginning it was the "United States of America" who appealed "to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of their intentions," and "in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies" declared freedom and independence. It was only the "United States" which then claimed the right to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, and do all other acts belonging of right to independent States. Nowhere are these acts and powers said to belong to each of them. But this declaration established no rights; it only expressed theories and aspirations. Conflict in financial and military interests between the States very soon threw them back upon their individuality acquired under colonial charters. Their melancholy experience of disunited action during the war next inclined them to the formation of some sort of new common bond and common authority. Then they adopted the "Articles of Con-

federation and Perpetual Union," which they styled "a firm league of friendship with each other," and in which "each State" now appears, retaining "its sovereignty, freedom, and independence," and only delegating certain functions of state to the "United States in Congress assembled." Further to express its character as a league, a compact, and not a nation, each State expressly reserved its right to an equal vote, and to recall its delegates at any time and send others at will, only limiting the number of delegates to seven as the maximum and two as the minimum from each State. They had no revenue except what each State should give. Nor could the assembly so constituted act by a majority of members, or even of States. In all the more important matters the consent of nine States was required. Any alteration in the articles required the approval of every individual State. Thus State rights were not only observed, but strongly established by this first compact or treaty. This was a government resting upon and deriving its powers solely from the States as corporate bodies.

We have already traversed the time, strewn with disasters and marked by disorders increasing as time elapsed, during which the American States and people became wholly alienated from this empty form of government, which had indeed brought on them bitter reproaches at home and disdain abroad. We are prepared to witness the reappearance of the national conception of government, returning in flood-tide to the minds of the patriotic builders of government. The leap from the confederate league to the constitutional union, long as it was, becomes only the dictate of experience. The corporate States no more appear as fountains of national authority, revocable at will. This act, like that of the Declaration of Independence, is in the name of the people. "We, the people of the United States, . . . ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America." We observe that the Confederation was "between

the States,"—"the said States hereby severally enter into a firm league." The greater sovereignty of the people was ignored. Now, however, this ultimate popular sovereignty is in the forefront, and, by "ordaining the Constitution for the United States," imposes its will on the separate States as represented by legislatures and overrides State constitutions and State laws. It thus asserts its overruling authority in the opening clause of the Constitution; it requires all State officers to take oath to support it; and confirms it by the people's ratification as required by its final clause. The alpha and the omega recognize only the people, and not the corporate States, as ordainers of the new Constitution. The words "league" and "compact" disappear, and the principles they represent are annihilated by the people's sovereign will.

The motives for this radical and mighty change in the form of government can be traced in the record of past events. It becomes very apparent as we pursue the course of the debates in the Convention, where its importance was so fully recognized, that the decisions of that body on the issues between the partisans of the national and of the confederate plans caused the withdrawal of some State-sovereignty members and the abstention of some hesitating unionists.

Governor Randolph, in his opening speech recommending the national plan of Virginia, said, "We ought to be one nation." A resolution prepared by Gouverneur Morris was early accepted by six States against one, "that a national government ought to be established consisting of a supreme legislative, executive, and judiciary." And it was avowed that this supremacy meant that in collisions of authority between Union and State the former must prevail. Morris enforced his proposition, saying, "In all communities there must be one supreme power, and one only. A confederacy is a mere compact, resting on the good faith of the parties. A national, supreme government must have a com-

plete and compulsive operation." Mason, of Virginia, struck the vital chord of our system when he said, "In the nature of things punishment cannot be executed on the States collectively; therefore such a government is necessary as can operate directly on individuals.' Lansing, of New York, who afterwards seceded, moved to give States an equality of power even in the first branch of the national legislature, and said thereupon, "The sense of the Convention on this point will determine the question of a federal or national government." His motion was defeated, obtaining but four votes out of eleven, establishing it as the people's government in distinction from that of the States.

VI. THE DEBATE ON THE LEGISLATIVE ORGANIZATION.

THERE was a general conviction that the legislature for the Union should be composed of two branches. Pennsylvania appeared to have doubts, and her delegation alone interrupted at the time the unanimity of voices on this vote; but later they also gave their adhesion.

When the next question came, how these two branches should be chosen, the debate became interesting and much more obstinate. Were the States to retain their equality of suffrage as in the Confederacy? Should all the States have votes proportioned to their population? Should this proportion prevail in both branches of the new legislature? Should the members of both Houses be appointed by the legislatures of States or by the people? Great diversity of opinion appeared on all these points, and particularly between the representatives of large and of small States.

Hamilton demanded that suffrage in the national legislature should be proportioned to the number of free inhabitants. Madison, inclined to feel his way more cautiously, offered a resolution which simply declared against equality of suffrage as provided by

the Articles of Confederation, and for an equitable ratio of representation instead. He argued that, while "equality of suffrage may be reasonable in a federal union of sovereign States, it can find no place in a national government." This question was vital to the delegation from Delaware, who came specifically instructed to insist on the equality of State suffrage. The larger States felt sharply the injustice which existed for them in any government where a small population, small revenues, and small industrial interests should exert an equal influence over legislation with those of vastly greater extent. The small States, on the other hand, feared to be reduced to a nullity, with all their separate interests, if they did not obtain for the future the same equality which had existed in the past. The debate then took a wider range, and brought into collision the nationalists and the federalists on the question whether the members of the proposed Congress of two branches should be elected by the people, or appointed by the legislatures of the respective States.

The advocates of State sovereignty demanded that the State government should furnish the agents necessary to the execution of the affairs of the new Union. They still clung to the theory of a general government whose powers were delegated by the several States, and not derived from the people themselves, who were higher authority than the States. The equally logical nationalists, clinging to their purpose of a government with inherent powers, to be conferred by a charter deriving its validity directly from the people, and not through the State governments, demanded the election of one or both branches by the people. Some extraordinary views were presented by members while advocating their respective theories. "The people should have as little to do as may be about the government; they lack information and are constantly liable to be misled; the election ought to be by the State legislatures," said a voice from Connecticut. Charles Pinckney and John Rutledge also demanded

the elective power for the legislatures of the States, the former regarding the people as incompetent to choose wisely. Said Gerry, of Massachusetts, "The people do not lack virtue, but they are the dupes of pretended patriots."

On the other hand, Wilson, of Pennsylvania, keen in perception, strong in expression, and able in debate, replied, "Without the confidence of the people no government, least of all a republican government, can long subsist. Besides, the weight of the State legislatures ought not to be increased by making them the electors of the national legislature. Vigorous authority should flow immediately from the source of all authority,—the people. Representation ought to be the exact transcript of the whole society." Mason thought the "larger branch should be the grand depository of the democratic principle of the government. Under the existing confederacy Congress represents the States, not the people of the States; their acts operate on the States, not on individuals. In the new plan of government the people will be represented; they ought, therefore, to choose the representatives." Roger Sherman thought the question involved the very existence of State governments. "If it is in view," said he, "to abolish the State governments, the elections ought to be by the people. If they are to be continued, the elections to the national government should be made by them." Alexander Hamilton, opposing his colleague, Lansing, affirmed emphatically, "It is essential to the democratic rights of the community that the first branch be directly elected by the people." Mason added, "It is the only security for the rights of the people." Rutledge claimed that elections by the legislature would be "a refining process." Wilson answered South Carolina with the declaration, "The election of the first branch by the people is not the corner-stone only, but the foundation of the fabric." And this was emphatically true, because the new plan was built upon the people, not on the States.

Most of the large States were earnest in repudiating an equal and in demanding a proportional representation in both Houses, and some of the delegates insisted that both should be elected by the people. The patriotic Dickinson, mindful of his instructions from Delaware, and recognizing as well the necessity of some compromise of opinion between the opposing elements, proposed that one branch should be elected by the people, the other by the legislature, in which Pierce, of Georgia, concurred. It was a sagacious movement towards reconciliation of the States, and was also a step towards the establishment of equal State representation in the second branch of Congress. But Madison strenuously resisted it to the last. He said, "To depart from proportional representation in the Senate is inadmissible, being evidently unjust. The use of the Senate is to consist in its proceeding with more coolness, system, and wisdom than the popular branch. Enlarge their number, and you communicate to them the vices they were meant to correct."

Dickinson still insisted that "the preservation of the States in a certain degree of agency was indispensable. The proposed national system is like the solar system, in which the States are the planets, and they ought to be left to move more freely in their proper orbits."

Wilson, who declared himself for the election of the second branch also by the people in large districts, rejoined, with far-seeing vision, "The States are in no danger of being devoured by the national government: I wish to keep them from devouring the national government. Their existence is made essential by the great extent of our country."

The weight of Gerry and of Sherman was thrown on the side of elections to the second branch by the legislature. Charles Pinckney threw into the debate the fruitless suggestion that the States might be periodically divided into three classes, according to their population, and one, two, or three senators allowed to

them, according to their relative importance. The coming result of the long debate was indicated by the forcible remarks of Mason, of Virginia, that "the State legislatures ought to have some means of defending themselves against encroachments of the national government. What better means can we provide than to make them a constituent part of the national establishment?" The opposition, in order to bring in the smaller States, at last yielded this point of senatorial election by legislatures as preliminary to equality of State representation in the second branch; and the choice of senators, whatever their number, was by general consent conceded to the State legislatures, and the choice of the first branch was given to the people.

There still remained the vital question between large and small States, What should be the ratio of their representation in each of the two Houses? The struggle over this point was so severe and threatening that the venerable Franklin intervened to moderate its ardor, and begged the disputants to remember that their duty was to consult rather than contend. New Jersey delegates were firmly hostile to any plan which should destroy the equality of the States. The great States, with the exception of New York, were equally determined to maintain their right to a representation proportioned to their numerical superiority. The test was first taken on the first House, representing the people in distinction from the States. The Convention, remembering a former conciliatory proposition to supply the common treasury in the proportion of the number of free inhabitants with the addition of three-fifths of other persons, excluding untaxed Indians, turned to this rule of direct taxation for the ratio of their representation in the national House of Representatives. It was only adopted by a majority vote. Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia, in this supported by Connecticut, gave the proposition seven votes, with Maryland divided. New York, overruling Hamilton, placed herself in oppo-

sition by the side of New Jersey and Delaware, New Hampshire and Rhode Island being absent.

Connecticut, having given that very important vote which made up the majority of all the thirteen States for the preceding proposition, naturally considered herself entitled to a potential voice in settling the question of the second House. Roger Sherman said emphatically that each State should have one vote in the Senate. "Everything depends on this: the smaller States will never agree to the plan on any other principle than an equality of suffrage in this branch." But for the time this principle was defeated by a vote of six to five, and the rule of proportional suffrage already applied to the other House was adopted for the Senate by the same vote of six to five, Maryland and Connecticut joining the other three minority States. Only one senator was assured to the small States against several to their more populous competitors. Not long afterwards the necessity for further concessions from the Virginia project became apparent, and Franklin, with Davie of North Carolina, encouraged the demand of the smaller States for equality of representation in the Senate. This equality of the States in that branch seemed to them the only means of saving the Constitution from threatened defeat at its inception.

Before this result was reached the debates indicate an agony of experience in the Convention, tending to breed despair in the hearts of the most faithful patriots. The Virginia plan, modified and improved, had been successfully reported, instead of the New Jersey plan, from the Committee of the Whole on June 19th. The "national" idea having been clearly established by the majority, Ellsworth, of Connecticut, who had himself accepted it, saw the propriety of removing from the text a word which gave needless alarm to New Jersey and Delaware; and he moved the substitution of the description, "the government of the United States," instead of "the national government," in accordance with

the suggestion of Dickinson. As the substance remained, the majority at once concurred in that proposition, and without dissent. But Lansing and Yates, of New York, who had rarely made any contribution towards the harmony of the Convention, and who formed the majority of their State delegation, were resolved against yielding to any concession. Lansing, ignoring the progress already made, moved a return to the federal plan, and supported it by an inharmonious and discouraging speech, assailing the powers of the Convention. Mason responded with indignation against the reopening of a question which should now be considered as definitely settled by the Convention. The motion was of course defeated, and the discussion proceeded upon the manner in which the two Houses should be constituted.

Wilson made an effort to lift the eyes of his associates from the narrow ground of local and transient interests. In view of the vast extent of the territory, the immense population destined to occupy it, and the future influence of its government over the whole globe, he said, "I am lost in the magnitude of the object. We are laying the foundation of a building in which millions are interested, and which is to last for ages. . . . A citizen of America is a citizen of the general government, and a citizen of the particular State in which he may reside. The general government is meant for them in the first capacity; the State government in the second. . . . The general government is not an assemblage of States, but of individuals, for certain political purposes; it is not meant for the States, but for the individuals composing them. The individuals, therefore, not the States, ought to be represented in it." He adhered to the idea of popular representation in the Senate as well as the House, and thought senators might be appointed by electors chosen by the people, or by their legislature. The local views and feeling would "find their way into the general council, through whatever channel they may flow."

Before fixing the number of senators, they discussed their tenure of office, it being admitted that they should retire by classes in such a manner that the body should be more frequently renewed by fractions of its whole number. The terms of four, six, seven, and nine years, and during good behavior, were in turn suggested, the latter, however, failing of support. Gorham, of Massachusetts, and Wilson, of Pennsylvania, proposed the mean of six years, with biennial renewals of one-third, which was carried by the votes of seven States against four.

Again was presented the question of the voting equality of States in the two Houses as the vital point of discussion, which, from the refusal of some of the members to accept any decision as final, had become not only threatening, but exasperating. When Rutledge now brought forward the subject, Martin, of Maryland, who seemed more persistent in presenting his own views than those of his State, directed his assault upon a point which perhaps more than any other had been decisively settled,—that this general government was to operate upon individuals and not through the State governments. He went so far as to predict the defeat of the plan by the influence of Governor Clinton in New York. One heated speech produced others, and the strongest men of the Convention met in the fray. All discordant views, ranging from a continuance of the old federation to a solid government of the Union in which States should stand to the general government in the relation of counties to a State, found urgent and sometimes passionate expression. It was afterwards written of that time by one of the participators in the debate, that the Convention was on the verge of dissolution, scarcely held together by the strength of a hair. It was then that the aged Franklin urged his colleagues to invoke publicly and daily the aid of the Almighty, that they who labored to build the house might not build in vain.

On the following days the debate proceeded with more

moderation. Gorham said, impressively, "A union of the States is necessary to their happiness, and a firm general government is necessary to their union." "The States," said Madison, in reply to the claim that they each became sovereign by the acquisition of their independence of England,—“the States never possessed the essential rights of sovereignty; these were always vested in Congress. Voting as States in Congress is no evidence of sovereignty. The State of Maryland voted by counties: did this make the counties sovereign? The States, at present, are only great corporations, having the power of making by-laws not contradictory to the general Confederation.” Hamilton asked if each citizen of Delaware would have less liberty because each citizen of Pennsylvania had an equal vote with him. He said the contest was for power, not for liberty. It was then settled, for the last time, that in the first branch the voting should be in the ratio of population; and, as to this House, equality of State suffrage was abandoned, though the vote stood six to four, with Maryland divided.

In the same improved temper the Convention continued the debate upon the voting power of States in the Senate. Many of the members recognized in the country a wealthy class and a poor class, a gentry and a commonalty, and remembered that in most if not all of the States at that time there was a property qualification. These claimed, some that the Senate should represent the aristocratic classes, as the other House did the democratic; some that it should be so composed as to represent the interests of property, which would not find a defence in the popular branch. Both had their influence in taking the election of senators from the people and vesting it in the legislatures, and also in restricting the number of that body. Madison maintained there was no danger to individual States, but there was danger between North and South from difference of climate, and especially from the existence of slavery; and was

inclined to provisions which should give the South advantageous powers of defence against the North. Some new propositions, with confusion and excitement, again crept into the discussion before the vote was taken on equal suffrage of the States in the Senate. This vote was now again taken, and resulted in a tie, Georgia being divided in order to save the bad effect upon the Convention of a final defeat of the smaller States.

Charles Cotesworth Pinckney then recurred to the suggestion of Franklin for a compromise, and moved the appointment of a grand committee, with a delegate from each State, to report a measure covering both branches of the legislature. Roger Sherman endorsed it, saying, "Such a committee is necessary to set us right." The committee was appointed, and consisted of Franklin, Gerry, Ellsworth, Yates, Paterson, Bedford, Martin, Mason, Davie, and Baldwin. It signified a compromise, for which, in fact, the Convention was prepared, because they knew that New Hampshire and Rhode Island, if present, would convert the minority into a majority. The discussion had clearly proved that it was not really a question of safety to States or liberty to individuals, but a question of relative power between States in legislation affecting their respective interests. As such it must be in some manner compromised, and the Convention gave three days to the exclusive service of the committee by an adjournment for that period.

Franklin had observed the course of the debate with equal eyes, and no proposition emanating from him could be regarded with suspicion. He was always moderate, always sincere. The committee under his guidance proposed (1) one member in the first House for every forty thousand inhabitants, including all free persons and three-fifths of other persons; (2) each State to have an equal voice in the second branch; (3) the first branch alone to have the power to originate taxes and appropriations.

Immediately on presentation of this report it was assailed by

Wilson and Madison, the champions of proportional representation, by Butler, and by Gouverneur Morris. The latter said, "State attachments and State importance have been the bane of our country. We cannot annihilate the serpents, but we may perhaps take out their teeth. . . . Property, not liberty, is the main object of society. The savage state is more favorable to liberty than the civilized, and was only renounced for the sake of property." Numbers alone, in his opinion, could not furnish a just rule of representation. Rutledge confirmed the statement that "property was certainly the principal object of society." The report was more quietly, but firmly, defended by Ellsworth, Gerry, and Mason. The last said, wearily, "I will bury my bones in this city rather than expose my country to the consequences of a dissolution of the Convention without anything being done." Rufus King said, "Property is the primary object of society, and in fixing a ratio ought not to be excluded from the estimate." Butler pronounced "property the only just measure of representation." Wilson denied that it was the sole or even primary object of government and society. "The improvement of the human mind is the most noble object." And so the question of ratio of representation in the popular branch was, on motion of Gouverneur Morris, again referred, this time to a special committee of five. In addition to the proposer, Gorham and King, both of Massachusetts, with Randolph and Rutledge, were appointed on the committee.

The report of this committee of five was confusing to all sides. It proposed fifty-six members of the first branch, at the first election, and apportioned them among the States in such manner as to give twenty-six to the Southern States and thirty to the Northern. It next provided, in view of progressive changes in wealth and numbers, that the general legislature be authorized to augment the number from time to time, and also to fix the number, in case of the organization of new States, on

the basis of their wealth and number of inhabitants. Here was formally introduced the principle of the representation of wealth. That principle was then adopted, nine States against two, but was not destined to remain. After further reference of the first clause to a grand committee, the Convention accepted their report upon it, which changed the number of the first House from fifty-six to sixty-five, and in a proportion which gave the Southern States thirty and the Northern thirty-five members, and ratified it by a vote of nine States against two.

In respect to future and increased representation from old and new States it was contended, on the one hand, that the Atlantic States should always retain a majority of representatives over the growing West, which might otherwise by its numbers overrule their interests; and, on the other, that the Southern States would yet have "three-fourths of the people of America within their limits;" and some uniform standard of enumeration should be established which would assure to them a right to proportionate representation. All the States, including the Western, must be treated as equals, and no distinctions were admissible, according to Randolph and Madison. Enumeration of population, said others, would be a sufficient indication of relative wealth. The question became commingled with that of slavery and that of direct taxation, and involved, also, that of relative political power in States and between different sections of the Union, and produced a long and sharp debate. In the end they fell back on the taxing rule which had been once adopted, and which based popular representation on the number of free inhabitants, with three-fifths of the slaves; and the Convention added a decennial census to regulate the increase of representation in the future. New States were to be governed by the same standard.

The question of the Senate was at last regulated by an agreement that each State should be represented by two senators,

“who shall vote *per capita*.” Two opposite political objects were secured by this last senatorial adjustment. The States had an equal representation, as the small States demanded; but the individuals voted, as the large States desired, and not the States, thus preserving the national principle. The State legislatures became simply electoral bodies to provide national senators. It passed by nine votes against Maryland alone. Thus terminated a contest which at one time threatened to defeat all the efforts of the Convention for a more perfect Union. The effect of this adjustment was the pacification of the small States, whose delegates largely changed their attitude from hostility to friendship in their relation to the national plan of government. Only once more was their alarm excited. Two days before the Constitution was signed the mode for amending the Constitution in the future was established. It could be amended by a vote of three-fourths of the States. Again the small States murmured, fearing hidden dangers to their one right of equality. Their strongest opponent, Gouverneur Morris, thought their apprehensions should be quieted, and moved the proviso “that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate,” which was at once adopted without debate or opposition.

VII. THE JUDICIARY.

UPON the question of establishing a national judiciary the progress of the Convention was less difficult. The tenure of the judges during good behavior and their security from legislative dictation by making their salaries permanent were agreed to without opposition when first presented in the Virginia plan. Later, in view of changes in money value and in society itself, increase of salary was allowed, but no reduction. The creation of inferior national tribunals was left ultimately to the discretion of Congress, since a part of the Convention were disposed to

make the Supreme Court only a court of appeal from the State tribunals in cases where it should appear that national interests were involved.

The establishment of inferior courts was opposed by Butler and Martin, who believed them unnecessary and calculated to stir up the jealousies of State tribunals, with whose jurisdiction they will interfere. It was advocated by Gorham, Randolph, Gouverneur Morris, and Mason, who were unwilling to trust State courts with the administration of national laws. The general and local policy would often be at variance. Circumstances not now foreseen might render the power absolutely necessary. Sherman was willing to give the power, but hoped for the use of the State tribunals whenever possible. The power to create them was granted to Congress without a formal division.

Touching the jurisdiction of the courts, Mr. Madison proposed that it "extend to all cases arising under the national laws, and to such other questions as may involve the national peace and harmony," and this principle was adopted without opposition. The extent of its jurisdiction was afterwards more carefully defined, yet remained so large as in the sequel to cause some apprehension to the States, which made it later the subject of the eleventh amendment, adopted in 1798. This amendment removed from their possible jurisdiction all suits brought against a State by citizens of any other State or of a foreign country.

James Wilson and Gouverneur Morris advocated the appointment of judges by the executive alone; John Rutledge and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, by the legislature; Madison, Randolph, Sherman, and Martin, by the Senate. Gorham recommended their appointment by the executive, with the advice and consent of the Senate, which had been long the practice in Massachusetts and had worked with satisfaction. Sherman thought the judicial appointments should be diffused among

the States, and the Senate would be more likely to do this than the executive. Mason said if the judges were to try impeachments of the executive they ought not to be selected by him. Gouverneur Morris did not want the Supreme Court to try impeachments. Being at the seat of government they might be drawn into intrigues with the legislature and even be previously consulted in the interest of the prosecution. This provision was then struck out of the scheme.

It was proposed to make the judges removable by the executive on application of the two Houses of Congress; but it had only the support of Connecticut and was rejected. This removal, it was decided, could only be made by regular process of impeachment, as in the case of all civil officers of the government.

As reported by the Committee of Detail the judicial clause did not give jurisdiction of cases "arising under this Constitution," but only to those "arising under the laws of the United States, and treaties," etc. The learned Dr. Johnson moved to insert the former clause. Mr. Madison objected to the enlargement, fearing it gave a general right of expounding the Constitution beyond cases of a judiciary nature. But the Convention accepted it without further dissent, considering that it would in application be limited to cases "of a judiciary nature."

VIII. THE EXECUTIVE.

It will be remembered that the Virginia plan proposed the election of the executive authority, however it might be composed, by the national legislature. When that question came up for debate on June 2, Mr. Wilson offered a resolution for the election of the executive magistracy by electors, who were to be chosen by the qualified voters of districts into which the States should be divided; and all these electors so chosen should

assemble and make the final election, being themselves ineligible to that office. Only Pennsylvania and Maryland supported him; and the eight other States supported Mr. Randolph's proposition for the election by the national legislature, though it was opposed by Mr. Gerry. All were then doubtful whether the executive should be single or plural, being mindful, on the one hand, of the exercise hitherto of executive functions by a plural committee designated by the Congress; and, on the other, of the aspect of monarchy, in many eyes, if a single person should be invested with the authority.

Dr. Franklin wished that the executive should have no compensation, but his expenses should be paid. He feared to combine both ambition and avarice—love of power and love of money—in the same person. He did not act from a desire to save the amount of the salary, but to leave no personal motive in seeking the place except the love of honor and the public service; and he recalled the great example of Washington as commander-in-chief. He was heard with great respect, but without conviction, and with a feeling that his proposal was impractical.

Mr. Dickinson and Mr. Bedford desired the executive to be removable by the national legislature on request of a majority of the State legislatures. Mr. Mason held this to be a "violation of the fundamental principles of good government," in which Mr. Madison and Mr. Wilson concurred. Delaware alone supported it.

Mr. Wilson moved that the executive consist of a single person, and Mr. Charles Pinckney supported him. Great shyness, said Mr. Rutledge, was exhibited by gentlemen in taking position on that question, for the motion was followed by a significant silence. For himself, he preferred one man, because "a single man would feel the greatest responsibility, and administer the public affairs best;" but he would not give to him the powers of

peace and war. Mr. Sherman would leave the number of the executive to the legislature, by whom they ought to be appointed from time to time as they thought best. It was the legislative will that was to be executed, and the executive should be accountable to it alone. Mr. Gerry would annex a council to the executive, and thought a legislative election would cause perpetual intrigue. Mr. Randolph strongly opposed a single executive, which "he regarded as the foetus of a monarchy." Mr. Madison, observing the apprehensions of monarchical authority in the minds of members, wisely suggested that before decision on this point the Convention should define the powers to be intrusted to the executive. So they proceeded to this, and to the other question of method of appointing the executive; and Mr. Wilson still desired in some manner an election by the people, as was the case of governors of the States. Mr. Sherman still insisted that a removal of the executive from dependence on the legislature was "the essence of tyranny." Mr. Gerry suggested his appointment by the executives of the States.

Then they passed to the question of the term of office, for which Mr. Wilson proposed three years, with re-eligibility, supported by Mr. Sherman, who was against rotation "as throwing out of office the men best qualified to execute its duties." Mr. Mason was for seven years and non-re-eligibility, fearing "intrigue with the legislature for reappointment." Mr. Bedford was for three years, and ineligibility after nine years.

Seven years was accepted by New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Virginia, against Connecticut, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, with Massachusetts divided; and the principle of ineligibility a second time was agreed to by seven States against Georgia and Connecticut, with Pennsylvania divided. On the motion of North Carolina, the executive was made removable by impeachment for certain causes.

Debate being resumed on the number of the executive,

Messrs. Rutledge and Charles Pinckney, supported by Butler, were earnest for a single executive, because he would be more impartial, being responsible to the whole. With three, there would be a constant struggle for local advantages. Mr. Butler had seen its evil effects in Holland. But Mr. Randolph was wholly against unity in the executive, which would fail to win that general confidence which three persons from different parts of the country would inspire. It was the semblance of monarchy. Mr. Wilson again advocated the unity with powerful arguments, and denied its alleged unpopularity, affirming that the people were accustomed to it in the head of their State governments. The sturdy Sherman was inclined to agree with him, but wanted to associate a council, to make it more acceptable.

A single executive was finally agreed to by seven States, against New York, Delaware, and Maryland, after much argument and citation from other countries and other times.

The Virginia clause relating to a council of revision was taken up and severely criticised; and the whole question of a revisionary power over legislative enactments—of an absolute and of a qualified veto—was searchingly examined. Convincing objections were offered to the participation of the judiciary in such revision, which was desired by New York, Virginia, and Connecticut. It was claimed that the judiciary should be free to construe the laws, without incurring a bias by intervention in the making of them. Mr. Gerry and Mr. King, instead of a council of revision, would give the executive a negative on all laws, but subject to be overruled by a large majority of the legislative body. Mr. Wilson believed an absolute negative necessary for the self-defence of the executive, without which “the legislature can at any moment sink it into non-existence.” Mr. Hamilton was of the same opinion, and, for evidence that its excessive use need not be feared, remarked that the power had not been used in England since the Revolution. Mr. Sherman could not give

power to one man to override the will of the whole. Mr. Butler also resisted the absolute negative. Mr. Bedford was opposed to every check on the legislature. Mr. Mason appealed to fears of what would practically be an elective monarchy, and thought it would be sufficient if the power was given to "suspend offensive laws till they shall be coolly reviewed, and the objections overruled by a greater majority than that necessary to pass them in the first instance. Dr. Franklin also interposed his voice against the absolute negative, and feared the increase of executive power "till it should end in monarchy," and favored a qualified negative. At the close of the committee's debate on this point all ten States voted against the absolute veto. At last, and after further debate, the Convention accepted Mr. Gerry's motion for an executive veto, with power in two-thirds of the legislature to overrule it, Connecticut and Maryland voting no; and it so passed into the Constitution.

Recurring to the mode of electing the executive, the Convention refused to adopt Mr. Gerry's motion for his election by the State executives, leaving it unsupported by a single State. On the 17th of July, after a long and exciting debate over the constitution of the Senate, the question of the executive was again resumed by the Convention. It was now agreed without dissent that it should consist of a single person. His election by the national legislature was, however, strenuously resisted. Gouverneur Morris argued that in that case "he would be the mere creature of the legislature." His election would be "the work of intrigue, of cabal, and of faction; it will be like the election of a pope by a conclave of cardinals; real merit will rarely be the title to the appointment." The citizens should elect him. Roger Sherman thought "the sense of the nation would better be expressed by the legislature than by the people at large, who would generally vote for some man from their own State." In this view he was supported by Charles Pinckney, by Mr. Mason,

who thought it as wise to "refer a trial of colors to a blind man," as this election to the people; and by Dr. Williamson, of North Carolina. Mr. Wilson supported Mr. Morris; but they were for the time defeated by a vote of nine States against Pennsylvania. Mr. Martin, of Maryland, moved his election by electors appointed by the State legislatures, which proposition then received only two votes. The election by the national legislature was still allowed to stand, and his powers were next considered.

The executive was charged with the execution of "the national laws," and authorized "to appoint to offices in cases not otherwise provided for" without opposition.

On the question of his non-eligibility for a second term of office, as proposed in the Virginia scheme, Gouverneur Morris said "it tended to destroy the great motive to good behavior,—the hope of being rewarded by a reappointment. It was saying to him, 'Make hay while the sun shines.'" This provision was then struck out by a vote of six States against Delaware, Virginia, and North and South Carolina.

On the question of a term of seven years, Mr. Broom, of Delaware, in view of the fact that the executive would now be re-eligible, moved to reduce the term. Dr. McClurg, on the contrary, to rescue him from a constant and servile dependence on the legislature electing him, moved a term "during good behavior." Gouverneur Morris gladly seconded him, saying, "This was the way to get a good government," and Mr. Broom concurred. Roger Sherman opposed it: "If he behaves well, he will be continued; if otherwise, displaced; this was equivalent to a term during good behavior;" and he was supported by Mr. Mason. Mr. Madison said, "Experience has shown a tendency in our government to throw all power into the legislative vortex. The executives of the States are little more than ciphers, the legislatures omnipotent." The executive should not be dependent on the legislature.

Dr. McClurg's motion was lost by the votes of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia (6), against New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia (4). "But the affirmative vote," says Mr. Madison, "was given from motives of expediency rather than conviction, in order to force some mode of rendering him independent of the legislature."

On the 19th of July the question again recurred on the re-eligibility of the chief magistrate, and mingled with it the mode of his election. Gouverneur Morris made a vigorous and impressive argument for greater independence in the executive. Recalling the maxim that republican government is not adapted to a large extent of country, because the executive magistracy cannot reach the extreme parts of it, he said, "Our country is an extensive one. We must then either renounce the blessings of the Union or provide an executive with sufficient vigor to pervade every part of it." "The legislature will continually seek to aggrandize and perpetuate themselves." "The executive magistrate should be the guardian of the people, even of the lower classes, against legislative tyranny,—should be the great protector of the mass of the people." He saw "no alternative for making the executive independent of the legislature but either to give him his office for life or make him eligible by the people." Mr. Randolph was moved to acknowledge that if he was re-eligible by the legislature he would be no check on them: he would court a reappointment. His revisionary power over laws would be of no avail. He would therefore make him ineligible to a second term instead of providing another mode of election.

Mr. King was much struck by Mr. Sherman's observation, that "He who has proved himself most fit for an office ought not to be excluded by the Constitution from holding it;" and he preferred another plan of election. Mr. Paterson agreed

with Mr. King, and proposed an election by electors to be chosen by the States. Mr. Wilson was glad to see the idea of a mediate or immediate popular election gaining ground. Mr. Madison thought there was equal or greater reason "why the executive should be independent of the legislature than why the judiciary should be." Mr. Gerry would have him chosen by electors selected by the State executives. "The people of the States will then choose the first branch, the legislatures of the States the second branch of the national legislature, and the executives of the States the national executive. This would form a strong attachment in the States to the national system."

On the motion to reconsider the question it was carried unanimously. Mr. Ellsworth then moved for electors to be appointed by the State legislatures. The clause providing for electors was carried by Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia (6), against North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia (3), with Massachusetts divided. The clause for their appointment by the State legislatures received eight votes, against Virginia and South Carolina. The effort to make the executive ineligible to a second term now failed, only North Carolina and South Carolina supporting it. All this was followed by a change of front on the question of length of term, which had been fixed at seven years. Connecticut, South Carolina, and Georgia still supported it, and North Carolina and Massachusetts were divided; but the rest were against it. Mr. Ellsworth proposed six years, and was supported by Dr. Williamson. It was adopted by all other States against only Delaware.

It was first proposed by Mr. Gerry to allot from one to three electors to the States, according to their importance. But Dr. Williamson, of North Carolina, thought that in future elections the electors should be according to the number of State repre-

sentatives in the first branch of the national legislature. Mr. Gerry's ratio was adopted, six States to four, only to be afterwards changed. And they proceeded to consider the liability of the executive to impeachment.

It was contended on the one side that he ought to be exempt, because if he did wrong he would have coadjutors who could be punished, and if re-elected it would be proof of his innocence. It would render him dependent on the impeaching authority. On the other side it was claimed nobody could be permitted to be beyond the law and above justice. The principal, as well as coadjutors, should be punished. Dr. Franklin thought the clause was favorable to the executive, because, without it, here as in the Old World, if not legally removable, resort might be had to assassination, which would shut off all opportunity to prove his innocence, which he might do in case of impeachment. Gouverneur Morris thought the causes of impeachment ought to be enumerated and defined. Mr. Madison said the executive might lose his capacity, be guilty of negligence or perfidy, and the community should have a defence against these chances. His "incapacity or corruption might be fatal to the republic." Mr. King feared "an extreme caution in favor of liberty might enervate the government they were forming." "Under no circumstances ought he to be impeachable by the legislature, as this would be destructive of his independence." Gouverneur Morris admitted he ought to be impeachable for treachery, bribery (Charles II. had been bribed by Louis XIV.), corruption, and incapacity. But it should be by a mode not making him dependent on the legislature. And the liability to impeachment was carried in the affirmative by eight States, against Massachusetts and South Carolina.

It was then unanimously agreed that he should have a fixed compensation, to be paid out of the national treasury, New Jersey alone voting against the latter clause; and with unanimity that no elector should be eligible to the chief magistracy, nor be a member

of the national legislature, nor an officer of the national government. It was further agreed the electors should be paid out of the national treasury for their services.

Another effort was made by some of the very ablest men in the Convention to associate with the chief magistrate the judges, as a council for the revision of laws. Mr. Madison renewed the expression of his fears that "the legislature would still be an overmatch" for the two other departments of the government, as there was "a powerful tendency in the legislature to absorb all power into its vortex. This was the real source of danger to the American Constitution." Mr. Gorham, on the contrary, said, "Judges were not presumed to possess any peculiar knowledge of the mere policy of public measures." He thought it only necessary, at most, "to authorize the executive to call on the judges for their opinions." Mr. Gerry and Mr. Strong agreed with him, and Mr. Martin joined in this opposition. After able argument and much contrariety of opinion between States and in their delegations, the motion failed by four States voting no, three aye, two divided, and one absent.

Upon reconsideration of the resolution providing for electors, there was again a protracted debate, which seemed more to disintegrate than consolidate opinions. Dr. Williamson would go back to the first proposition for election by the national legislature, with ineligibility for a second term. "It was pretty certain that we should at some time or other have a king; but he would omit no precaution to postpone the event as long as possible." Mr. Gerry proposed a refining process, that State legislatures should vote for the national executive by ballot, in proportion to the assigned electoral votes; failing of election by a majority, the first branch of Congress to choose two out of the four major candidates voted for; and from these two the Senate to choose one. Mr. Wilson thought to solve their perplexities by electing him for six years, the elective body being (say) fifteen persons

chosen out of the national legislature by lot, and to retire immediately for the election to avoid intrigue, and not to separate without an election: but the best mode was a resort to the people. No progress was made to a concentration of opinion. Mr. Mason laughed at an election of President by "a lottery." These and other propositions were voted down. Mr. Madison observed, "There were objections against every mode that had been, or perhaps could be, proposed," and reviewed the various possible methods of election, with the conclusion that the only safe alternatives were an election by the people, or by electors chosen by the people. Mr. Mason and Mr. Butler admitted the danger of foreign influence, and of cabals, in the case of election by the national legislature, and the latter was against re-eligibility in any case.

Gouverneur Morris, on the contrary, was very positively against rotation in office. "It formed a political school in which we were always governed by the scholars, and not by the masters." Then it was suggested that every voter should vote for plural candidates, not more than one of whom should be a citizen of his own State, in which case the second choice of each might be the best choice of all. Dickinson thought the election by the people was "the best and purest source." Mason thought it best to return to the original plan, and, despairing of more unanimity on any new proposition, the Convention reinstated it, and it went in that form to the Committee on Detail.

This committee reported accordingly that the executive should have the style "The President of the United States," and should be elected by the legislature by ballot. (The title of President was then borne by Franklin as chief magistrate of Pennsylvania.) Attention was called to the necessity of inserting the word "joint" before ballot, or the two Houses might negative each other's choice; and it was inserted. The motion to take the vote by States was defeated; the motion requiring a majority

of personal votes was adopted, ten States to one. Then the old question of Presidential electors was again raised and argued, and only failed by an equality of votes, four to four, two divided, and one absent. The question was subsequently referred to a committee of eleven, who reported a plan which tended to concentrate opinions. It fixed his term at four years, with re-eligibility, and provided for electors to be selected in each State as its legislature should direct, and equal in number to its total representation in the two Houses of Congress. They were to vote in their respective States, and not in a general college, as at one time proposed.

Thus they were removed from foreign influence, from the danger of cabals and intrigues; and this mode left the President independent of the legislature, while the term was so short as to prevent usurpation of power for personal objects, and went far to obviate objections before made to his re-election. There were still criticisms, but this method finally prevailed and was inscribed in the Constitution. Upon no other subject did the opinion of the Convention so often sway to and fro as upon this. But the experience of a century has, in the main, justified the system, saving, perhaps, the duration of the term fixed at four instead of six years.

On the point of re-eligibility there has never been any answer to the old question, Why should not the people be allowed to re-elect a good officer satisfactory to them in the administration of his office? And the term of four years was fixed because of this re-eligibility. On the other hand, there has never been a satisfactory answer to the other old question, How can the selfish desire for a re-election be prevented from influencing the public conduct of an officer if he is re-eligible? And there seems to be no answer which involves less than a change in the nature of man. The fathers limited as far as possible the selfish motive by confining it to actions which would benefit the

majority of men, and which should be favorable to their interests as the great constituency which could give or refuse the re-election. At the same time, his conscience was subjected to his ambition in respect to actions which should excite popular clamor or applause.

IX. SPECIAL PROVISIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION.

UNTIL the Committee of Detail was appointed, the Convention had sought to confine their discussions to the outline of organization and to the broad principles of a government for the Union. The first battle, and that of the highest importance, had been fought for position. The fundamental question had been, Should the government be founded upon the States, or upon the people of the United States? Should it be a compact—a league—between sovereign States, as was the Confederacy, or should it be a single national government, extending behind the chartered States, and reposing upon the American people? It had been decided in favor of the united people; and that they, not the States, should constitute the new government, "to consist of a supreme legislative, executive, and judiciary."

The second vital struggle had been upon the two questions, How shall the local interests of the small States find protection in general legislation against the interests of the great States, represented as the latter would be by an immense numerical majority? How shall the greater wealth and population of the large States be secured against the practical control of the minority, if proportional representation is disallowed? These questions had been settled by giving the small States an equal representation in the second branch, and to the large States their proportional number of the first branch.

It had been further decided that both Houses should have the power to originate legislation. But as the power to tax and to

regulate commerce had been the great argument of the more populous States in favor of proportional representation in both branches, it had been agreed by the smaller States, "That all bills for raising or appropriating money, and for fixing the salaries of the officers of the government, shall originate in the first branch, and shall not be altered or amended by the second branch; and that no money shall be drawn from the public treasury but in pursuance of appropriations to be originated by the first branch."

It had been further agreed, touching the general powers of Congress, that they should have all the legislative rights before vested in the Confederacy, "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."

The legislative acts of the United States, made by virtue and in pursuance of the Articles of Union, and all its treaties, it was declared, "shall be the supreme law of the respective States, as far as those acts or treaties shall relate to the said States, or their citizens or inhabitants;" "anything in the respective laws of the individual States to the contrary notwithstanding."

All these, together with other resolutions adopted, amounting to twenty-three in number, and representing all the solid results of the debates of the Convention since the 25th of May, were, on the 26th day of July, referred to a "committee of detail," which had been selected by ballot, and was composed of Messrs. Rutledge, Randolph, Gorham, Ellsworth, and Wilson, two from the Southern and three from the Northern States, and all of them possessed of notable strength of intellect. The original propositions of Mr. Paterson, and of Mr. Charles Pinckney (of which latter no authentic copy remains) were referred to the same committee.

Their commission imposed on them the most important and laborious duty of translating these principles into detailed measures suitable for a constitution; and the Convention suspended its sessions until August 6th to leave the committee free for that work, which was to develop the vital germ of the republic.

In the report of this committee, made on the 6th of August, the Constitution opened with the recital, "We, the people of the States of New Hampshire," etc., naming each of the thirteen States, "do ordain, declare, and establish the following Constitution for the government of ourselves and our posterity." The Committee of Revision afterwards struck out the names of all the States and established the clause, "We, the people of the United States, do ordain," etc. The name given to the government was "The United States of America." The two legislative branches were now called the House of Representatives and the Senate, and together were styled a "Congress." Each House was to choose its own presiding officer. Power was given to Congress to establish uniform qualifications of its members in regard to property. The representatives and senators were disqualified from holding any office under the United States during the time for which they shall respectively be elected, and senators also for one year afterwards. Their compensation was to be paid by the State in which they were chosen. The first House alone had the power of impeachment; the trial body to be the Supreme Court.

The enumeration of legislative powers was very short, and on some of these limitations were imposed. No navigation act could be passed without the assent of two-thirds of the members present in each house. No tax or duty could be laid on exports nor on the migration or importation of such persons as any State should permit to enter.

To the Senate was given the power to make treaties, and to appoint ambassadors and judges of the Supreme Court.

They were also empowered—through elaborate provisions—to try and decide controversies between States which involved their respective jurisdictions or territory; and, further, to determine conflicting land-grants in certain cases. But this judicial function was later transferred to the Supreme Court.

To the States certain prohibitions were applied, including that against entering into any agreement or compact with another State, or emitting bills of credit, or making anything but specie a legal tender. In case of the admission of new States a vote of two-thirds of the members voting in each House was required. These and other details opened a wide field for debate.

The Convention, upon hearing the report of the committee, adjourned to consider it before engaging in discussion. This draft of the Constitution provided for annual meetings of Congress on the first Monday of December, for which the Connecticut members were strenuous advocates. Mr. King thought it would not be necessary to meet every year. "A great vice in our system was that of legislating too much." Mr. Madison and Mr. Mason opposed fixing the time by the Constitution: it should be regulated by law. On Mr. Randolph's motion the words were then added, "unless a different day shall be appointed by law;" and on Mr. Rutledge's motion the Congress was expressly required to meet once in every year.

A question was raised on the clause which made the electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature also qualified electors of the national House. Gouverneur Morris, Mr. Fitzsimons, and Mr. Mercer were in favor of restraining the suffrage to freeholders. Messrs. Ellsworth, Wilson, Mason, Rutledge, and Franklin were against it. "Give the votes to people who have no property," said Mr. Morris, "and they will sell them to the rich who will be able to buy them." Mr. Madison said, "Viewing the subject on its merits alone, the freeholders of the

country would be the safest depositories of public liberty." Dr. Franklin thought it "of great consequence that we should not depress the virtue and public spirit of our common people" by ignoring their rights of suffrage under the general government. The clause was sustained by seven States against Delaware, with Maryland divided, and Georgia absent.

A representative was required to have been "a citizen in the United States for at least three years before his election." Mr. Mason "did not choose to let foreigners and adventurers make laws for us and govern us." The time was too short to give that local knowledge which a representative should have, and he moved to make it seven years. All the States agreed to this except Connecticut. The prior citizenship for senators had been fixed at four years. A term of fourteen years' prior citizenship was proposed by Gouverneur Morris. Mr. Pinckney said, in view of the treaty-making power, "there is peculiar danger and impropriety in opening the door to those who have foreign attachments. The Athenians made it death for any stranger to intrude his voice into their legislative proceedings." Were it not for the Revolutionary services of some who were alien-born, Mr. Mason would restrict eligibility to the Senate to natives only. Mr. Butler remarked on the danger of introducing "ideas of government so distinct from ours." Mr. Wilson and Dr. Franklin were against illiberality on this question. Gouverneur Morris, with his usual frank audacity, declared, "As to those philosophical gentlemen, those citizens of the world, as they called themselves, he owned he did not wish to see any of them in our public councils. He would not trust them. The men who can shake off their attachments to their own country can never love any other. These attachments are the wholesome prejudices which uphold all governments." At a later discussion, Mr. Mason expressed his fears that immigrants attached to Great Britain might work their way into our councils, and be pernicious in action upon

commercial regulations. "The great houses of British merchants would spare no pains to insinuate the instruments of their views into the government." Various terms were proposed and voted down, until nine years was offered and adopted for the prior citizenship of senators.

Mr. Madison objected to the ratio of one representative for forty thousand inhabitants as, in the future, rendering that House a too numerous body. Mr. Gorham replied, "It is not to be supposed that the government will last so long as to produce this effect. Can it be supposed that this vast country, including the western territory, will, one hundred and fifty years hence, remain one nation?" And no prophetic voice answered him, that one hundred years after that Convention should adjourn the representatives of sixty millions of people, extending from the highest lake in the north to the mouth of the Mississippi, from the ocean on the east to the ocean on the west, from a doubled and redoubled extent of territory, with the terrible curse of slavery abolished from it all, should assemble around the building in which his hopeless inquiry was made, and celebrate in joy, in happiness, in prosperity, and in the hope of future centuries of union, the centennial anniversary of their great act!

Mr. Ellsworth attached his hopes to future alterations which might be made in the Constitution; and on motion of Mr. Madison and Mr. Sherman the ratio was made "not exceeding forty thousand," with the proviso that each State should have at least one representative. On the last day of the Convention General Washington for the first time addressed the Convention on any point of debate. It was to ask their unanimous support of an amendment, offered by Mr. Gorham, to substitute thirty for forty thousand. He requested it in order to conciliate those who feared to intrust the legislative powers to so small a body. The change was unanimously made.

Messrs. Pinckney and Rutledge did not like the clause which

empowered Congress to overrule the States in their regulation of the times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives. Messrs. Gorham, Madison, and Gouverneur Morris sustained it as a necessary power to prevent abuses of their discretion by the States, false returns, defalcations of duty, improper voting districts, etc. Mr. King interjected the remark, "Although the scheme of erecting the general government on the authority of the State legislatures has been fatal to the Federal establishment, it would seem as if many gentlemen still foster the dangerous idea." The Convention on vote retained the power of both original and revisionary control over the States, except as to the place of choosing senators.

The same gentlemen proposed a fixed property qualification for the President, for judges, and for congressmen. Mr. Ellsworth and Dr. Franklin resisted it, both on principle and for expediency; and, on voting, the "no" was so general that the vote by States was not asked for.

The question of national control of the discipline of the State militia was referred to a "grand committee" of one from each State. Mr. Dickinson and others thought "the States never would nor ought to give up all authority over the militia." Mr. Butler and others thought it should be submitted to the authority which was charged with the general defence: the States would never secure uniformity of discipline or effectiveness of organization. Mr. Gerry thought this the last point to be surrendered. "If it be agreed to by the Convention, the plan will have as black a mark as was set on Cain." This question, like many others, was settled on middle ground by giving to the United States the power to organize, arm, and discipline the militia, and to govern them when employed in the national service, leaving to each State the appointment of officers and the training of the force.

Gouverneur Morris also submitted several propositions organizing a Council of State to assist the President, consisting of

the Chief Justice, a Secretary of Domestic Affairs, a Secretary of Commerce and Finance, a Secretary of Foreign Affairs, a Secretary of War, a Secretary of the Marine, and a Secretary of State, and outlining the duties of each. These went to the same committee, and were favorably reported, adding the Speaker of the House to the Council. But it was not approved by the Convention, which preferred individual responsibility, with only the aid of chiefs of executive departments.

Mr. Mason moved to insert a power "to enact sumptuary laws," with a view to the improvement of manners. It was briefly opposed by Ellsworth, Morris, and Gerry, and defeated, eight States to three.

The clause respecting treason was thought by Mr. Madison to be too narrow; that greater discretion should be given to Congress to define it. Gouverneur Morris was for giving to the Union "an exclusive right to declare what should be treason. In case of a contest between the United States and a particular State, the people of the latter must, under the clause as it stood, be traitors to the one or the other authority." Dr. Johnson contended that treason "could not be both against the United States and individual States, being an offence against the sovereignty which can be but one in the same community." The Convention decided without dissent to strike out of the clause what related to the States, leaving the definition to apply to the United States only. Upon reconsideration and further debate, the Convention came back to the same conclusion upon a divided vote, and leaving the point unsettled whether there could be a double treason, or that treason against a State was necessarily treason against the United States, and to be prosecuted as such.

In the article enumerating the powers of Congress, authority was given "to make war." Mr. Pinckney thought its proceedings would be too slow, its numbers too great; and that the Senate alone, being charged with foreign affairs as it was, would be the

better repository of this power. Mr. Butler would vest the power in the executive, who "will not make war but when the nation will support it." Messrs. Madison and Gerry moved to substitute the words "declare war," for "make war," so as to leave the power in the executive to repel attacks; and this was agreed to.

Mr. Madison, ever full of forethought, and anxious that future events should not confront a defective Constitution, presented an enumeration of twenty-one additional powers in Congress, including the following:

"To establish an university."

"To encourage by premiums and provisions the advancement of useful knowledge and discoveries."

"To establish seminaries for the promotion of literature and the arts and sciences," and institutions and rewards for promotion of agriculture, commerce, trades, and manufactures.

"To grant charters of incorporation."

All these were referred to the Committee of Detail, but were not reported.

Afterwards Messrs. Madison, Pinckney, and Wilson brought the question of the power to establish a university before the Convention by a motion to add this to the list of Congressional powers. Gouverneur Morris replied, "It is not necessary. The exclusive power at the seat of government will reach the object." Upon the vote, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the two Carolinas were for giving the express authority, with Connecticut divided. But the other six States were against it.

THE ELEMENT OF SLAVERY.

It is not within the purpose of these historical notes to review that portion of the debates which relates to questions no longer of practical concern. The institution of slavery in many of the States interposed great obstacles, alike to the agreement of the

Convention upon a Constitution, and to its ratification by the States. It is known to all that it continued to be a source of discord also in the Union until, seventy-five years later, it nearly caused the dissolution of the Union itself which had been created with so much patriotic toil and devotion. Its disappearance from our continent is therefore a new element of happiness for us which was denied to our constitutional fathers; and justifies more faithful hopes of the perpetuity of the Union which they founded.

INCORPORATIONS AND INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

Dr. Franklin, mindful of the need of connecting and improving communications by water routes, moved to add the power "to provide for cutting canals where deemed necessary." Mr. Sherman objected, that the expense would fall on the United States, the benefit accrue to the localities. Then Mr. Madison proposed to enlarge it into a power "to grant charters of incorporation, where the interest of the United States might require, and the legislative provisions of individual States may be incompetent." He desired to facilitate communication between the States. "The political obstacles being removed, a removal of the natural ones as far as possible ought to follow." Mr. Randolph seconded him.

Mr. King thought the power unnecessary. Mr. Wilson thought it "necessary to prevent a State from obstructing the general welfare." Mr. King replied that the States would be divided into parties by the proposition. In Philadelphia and New York they would refer it to the establishment of a bank, about which the two cities were in contention. Elsewhere it would be referred to mercantile monopolies.

Mr. Wilson spoke of the importance of canals to reach the Western settlements. "As to mercantile monopolies, they are already included in the power to regulate trade." On this last point Mr. Mason differed from Mr. Wilson, and was for limiting

the power to the single case of canals. The question was first taken upon the authority for canals; this being refused by all the States except Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Georgia, the whole clause was dropped.

And with this short debate, the entire question of schools and universities, of canals, highways, internal improvements, with countless millions of money involved, and of all chartered corporations, was left to the future interpretation of the other powers granted to Congress. The necessities of the country, developed by its growth and by the discovery of steam-power applied to locomotion, have forced an enlarged construction of the Constitution in the line indicated by the remark of Mr. Wilson, and rejected by Mr. Mason. These two statesmen unwittingly became the founders of two rival schools of Constitutional interpretation, whose disputes have had no end, though that of Mr. Wilson has prevailed in the legislation of Congress.

IMPEACHMENT.

It was first decided by the Convention to give the Supreme Court the trial of all impeachments of public officers. But after giving to the executive the power of appointment of the judges, it was argued that his influence over that court would be too great, and that the chances of intrigue must be avoided; and the trial of impeachments was transferred to the Senate.

Here again it was objected, that as the Vice-President, presiding over the Senate, would succeed upon conviction of the President, he was directly interested in the result. To obviate this serious obstacle it was provided that on such trial he should leave the chair, and the Chief Justice should preside. In order further to remove objection to the trial of the executive by a mere political body, a judicial character was given to them for this emergency, by requiring that in this capacity the senators should be under special oath.

This settlement was made only after many expressions of conflicting opinions, and much uncertain debate, during which the Convention seemed to be feeling its way to a wise conclusion.

NATIONAL CONTROL OVER STATES IN THE ELECTION OF MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.

In framing the details of the Constitution the committee reported this clause: "The times and places and manner of holding the election of members of each House shall be prescribed by the legislature of each State; but their provisions concerning them may at any time be altered by the legislature of the United States."

Upon its consideration in Convention, Messrs. Pinckney and Rutledge moved to strike out the last clause, which gave revisionary control to Congress.

Mr. Gorham said: "It would be as improper to take this power from the national legislature as to restrain the British Parliament from regulating the circumstances of elections, leaving this business to the counties themselves."

Mr. Madison added stronger expressions: "The policy of referring the appointment of the House of Representatives to the people, and not to the legislatures of the States, supposes that the result will be somewhat influenced by the mode. This view of the question seems to decide that the legislatures of the States ought not to have the uncontrolled right of regulating the times, places, and manner of holding elections. These were words of great latitude. It was impossible to foresee all the abuses that might be made of the discretionary power. Whether the electors should vote by ballot, or *viva voce*; should assemble at this place or that place; should be divided into districts, or all meet at one place; should all vote for all the representatives, or all in a district vote for a member allotted to the district; these and many other points would depend on the legislatures, and

might materially affect the appointments. Whenever the legislatures had a favorite measure to carry they would take care so to mould their regulations as to favor the candidates they wished to succeed. . . . It seemed as improper in principle, though it might be less inconvenient in practice, to give the State legislatures this great authority over the election of the representatives of the people in the general legislature as it would be to give the latter a like power over the election of representatives in the State legislature."

Mr. King supported Mr. Madison's views, calling attention again to the fact that they were not building this government on the basis of the State legislatures. He said: "If this power be not given to the national legislature, their right of judging of the returns of their members may be frustrated." To this Gouverneur Morris added that "the States might make false returns, and then make no provisions for new elections." Mr. Sherman did not know that it might be best to retain the clause, though he had confidence in the State legislatures.

The motion to strike out then failed, without a division, and it was not again contested.

In this, as in many other cases, is observed the steady development of the fundamental idea of national independence of all State action. Mr. Madison, above all others, kept it constantly in view. The process was like the steady emergence from the world of chaos of a world of order; of a central sun from a confused assemblage of stars, on which it would shed light, but from which it could receive none. The new central State to be evolved must control the elements and operations necessary to its own existence and efficiency.

COMPENSATION OF MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.

The report of the Committee of Detail provided for the payment of both representatives and senators by the States in which

they were chosen. The original plan of Virginia simply proposed their payment by "liberal stipends," without designating the source of payment. On motion of Mr. Pierce, their wages were made payable out of the national treasury; and on motion of Dr. Franklin the word "liberal" was struck out.

When the debate again occurred on the Virginia resolutions, Mr. Ellsworth moved their payment by the States respectively. He observed that, owing to different styles of living and the different scales of compensation in the various States, what would be deemed only reasonable compensation in one State would be very unpopular in another. Dr. Williamson concurred with him.

Mr. Gorham was opposed to leaving the matter to the State legislatures, "who were always paring down salaries in such a manner as to keep out of office men most capable of executing the functions of them." He would not fix the grade of pay in the Constitution. "Let the national legislature provide for their own wages from time to time, as the State legislatures do." He had not seen and did not apprehend an abuse of this power. Mr. Randolph did not think it honorable in the Convention to sacrifice right to popular prejudice. Payment by the State would create a dependence which would vitiate the whole system. Mr. King was of the same opinion, as was also Mr. Wilson. But Mr. Sherman adhered to payment by the States.

Mr. Hamilton stoutly opposed "making the national council dependent on the legislative rewards of the States. Those who pay are the masters of those who are paid." Payments by the States would be unequal, and there would be greater distance travelled by some than by others. Mr. Madison would not have men coming "from beyond the mountains to the precarious and parsimonious support of their constituents." But he disliked to give the legislature the right to fix their own salaries, as being too much interested.

On Mr. Ellsworth's motion to strike out "national treasury,"

the vote stood ayes four, noes five, with New York and Georgia divided. The question was embarrassed by fears of inserting a fixed sum in the Constitution, on the one hand, and so run the double risk of its invariability in the future, and of its being obnoxious to the States; and, on the other, of giving the members an authority to fix their own pay. The propositions which went to the Committee of Detail, therefore, were to pay representatives out of the public treasury, and that senators should be paid, without indicating by whom; and the report of that committee was that both branches should be paid by the States from which they received their appointments.

Upon recurring to the question on this report, Mr. Ellsworth frankly stated "that in reflecting on this subject he had been satisfied that too much dependence on the States would be produced by this mode of payment," and he moved to strike it out, and to substitute the United States treasury. Mr. Butler thought that senators would be so long out of their States that they would lose sight of their constituents, unless dependent on them for support. "On the other side," Mr. Gerry said, "the State legislatures may turn out the senators by reducing their salaries; such things have been practised."

Mr. Sherman was not afraid that the legislature would make their own wages too high, but too low; so that men ever so fit could not serve unless they were at the same time rich. Mr. Carroll was surprised at the report in favor of such complete dependence of both Houses. "The States can now say, If you do not comply with our wishes we will starve you; if you do we will reward you. The new government in this form was nothing more than a second edition of the Confederate Congress, in two volumes instead of one, and perhaps with very few amendments."

Mr. Dickinson also desired Congress to be "independent of the prejudices, passions, and improper views of the State legis-

latures, but disliked leaving the pay to be regulated by Congress itself. There were also "objections against taking a permanent standard as wheat, which had been suggested on a former occasion. He proposed a revision by legislative act every twelve years, "settling the quantum of their wages." Mr. Martin, always for reserved control by the separate States, thought senators, as State representatives, ought to be paid by the States. Mr. Carroll, his colleague, denied that the senators were designed to be advocates of State interests; on the contrary, they were to represent and manage the affairs of the whole.

The vote was then taken, and all the States except Massachusetts and South Carolina adopted the provision for paying the members of Congress out of the national treasury. An attempt to fix the sum per diem failed, and then the words "to be ascertained by law" were added without a division.

THE RIGHT TO TAX EXPORTS

was warmly advocated on the one side, and as warmly resisted on the other. It was claimed on the one hand that this power might be a useful aid in negotiating commercial treaties, and such a tax, if imposed on certain articles which must be used abroad, would be paid by foreigners; that it might yet be necessary for revenue; that it might be required to encourage the manufacture of raw materials at home; and to prohibit it in all cases would be a dangerous denial of power to Congress in future contingencies. On the other hand, the "staple States" feared that its imposition on their leading articles of export might be accomplished by the votes of Northern States, and that the former might thus be made to pay an undue share of the taxes. The general government might through it oppress particular States. Mr. Madison especially insisted that it was a proper tax, that its use should not be allowed to the separate maritime States as a power to oppress their interior neighbors; and that the national

legislature was the proper depository of this power. He thought it would be wise to employ it especially in taxing exports of articles like tobacco, which had no competition in foreign markets,—for in that case it would really be paid by foreigners. In the end, the fear of such use of the power as would prejudice the interests of particular States prevailed, and the power was prohibited alike to the States, and to the United States.

THE POWER TO REGULATE FOREIGN AND INTERSTATE COMMERCE.

The powers to levy taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, and to regulate commerce, were conferred upon the national government without giving rise to any serious difficulty, because the necessity of it was the strong motive to the new organization of government.

The question of taxation first arose in connection with the ratio of representation; and it was resolved by five votes against three, and one State divided, that until a census was taken, direct taxation should be imposed on the States according to representation in the first branch. When the Committee of Detail made their report on August 6th, the clauses giving Congress the power to tax, and to regulate commerce, appear in the identical language in which they are now found in our Constitution, except that the clause “but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States” was afterwards added.

In the discussion on representation, Mr. King asked, “What is the precise meaning of direct taxation?” No one replied to his inquiry. A proposition to obtain by requisition from each State its quota of direct taxes failed, eight States to one, and Virginia divided.

In passing upon the words “duties” and “imposts,” Mr. Martin asked what was meant by these words? Mr. Wilson replied that “imposts” was appropriated to commerce, while “duties” applied to a variety of objects, as stamp duties, etc.

The only vote against the adoption of that taxing clause was Mr. Gerry's.

On the question of laying embargoes, Mr. Madison moved to prohibit that power to the States. Mr. Sherman thought they might need to exercise it "to prevent suffering and injury to the poor;" and Mr. Mason thought the amendment dangerous. Gouverneur Morris considered the provision unnecessary, "the power of regulating trade between State and State already vested in the general legislature being sufficient." Mr. Madison then moved an absolute prohibition against the laying of duties by States on imports, in order to exclude the possibility of their getting the consent of Congress to an act which would tax the imports of their neighbors passing through their markets. Mr. Mason objected that "particular States might wish to encourage, by import duties, certain manufactures for which they enjoyed natural advantages, as Virginia the manufacture of hemp," etc. Mr. Madison replied that "the encouragement of manufactures in that mode requires duties not only on imports directly from foreign countries, but from other States of the Union, which would revive all the mischiefs experienced from the want of a general government over commerce."

The power to regulate commerce was first given unanimously, and without any objection or query being raised upon its right or expediency. But on the 29th of August, Mr. Charles Pinckney, with special reference to the report of a committee which recommended the rejection of the clause requiring a two-thirds majority to pass a navigation act, moved a proposition that "no act of the legislature for the purpose of regulating the commerce of the United States with foreign powers, or among the several States, shall be passed without the assent of two-thirds of the members of each House." He classified the States according to their conflicting interests, to show the danger to these interests if a mere majority should be empowered to regulate commerce

and navigation. The power was a pure concession, he said, on the part of the Southern States, which did not at present need the protection of the Northern States. Mr. Martin supported him. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney disagreed. Mr. Clymer said "the Northern and Middle States would be ruined if not enabled to defend themselves against foreign regulations." Messrs. Sherman, Spaight, Gouverneur Morris, Rutledge, and others opposed the demand for a two-thirds majority. It was rejected by seven States against Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia; and the clause requiring two-thirds to pass a navigation act was struck out, leaving this on the same plane with other legislation. The debate recognized the importance of a commercial marine, as fostering seamen, and as auxiliary to the navy. Mr. Mason, as late as September 15, made an effort to require a two-thirds majority to pass a navigation act at any time before 1808, apparently associating it with the slave-trade; but only Maryland, Virginia, and Georgia supported the proposal.

This power having ever since remained undisputed, the real significance of the provision has been forgotten. The necessity of its existence in a central authority, which should bind all the States, was then strongly appreciated and universally understood. As colonies, they had always assented to the imposition of duties by Great Britain on foreign goods imported among them so far as was needed to regulate their commercial intercourse with foreign countries. Dr. Franklin, as colonial delegate in England, had expressly answered a parliamentary committee in 1766 that the colonies did not object to the British exercise over them of this power for the purpose of regulating commerce, but denied it and all other taxation when imposed with the object of obtaining a revenue. His answer was, "I never heard any objection to the right of laying duties to regulate commerce; but a right to lay internal taxes was never thought to lie in Parliament." Lord Chatham, a few days afterwards, in a speech upon

the right of taxing America, admitted "there is a plain distinction between taxes levied for the purpose of raising a revenue and duties imposed for the regulation of trade." In 1778 the government introduced a bill in Parliament for the purpose of conciliating the colonies, then in open revolution, in the preamble of which they renounced all taxation of America, "except only such duties as may be expedient to impose for the regulation of commerce."

The experience of mutual injustice among the colonies in their imposition of duties to raise a revenue, and to regulate their rival trade with foreign countries, had led to a widespread regret that there was no common authority to regulate this commerce on terms of equality for all, as had before been done by act of Parliament. Each State was powerless to protect its own industries except by imposition of duties against importations from other States as well as directly from abroad. In August of the year prior to the meeting of this Convention a grand committee of the Federal Congress had reported an article to be added to the Confederate system, which gave to the "United States in Congress assembled the sole and exclusive power of regulating the trade of the States, as well with foreign nations as with each other, and of laying such prohibitions and such imposts and duties upon imports and exports as may be necessary for the purpose;" with a proviso, however, that the amounts so collected by the United States should be paid to the use of the State in which they should be payable; and that citizens should not be required to pay more than foreign subjects.

It thus appears that the statesmen of that period—and some of the members of that committee were now members of this Convention—were thoroughly familiar with the system of regulating trade with foreign countries by the imposition of duties, and even went so far as to authorize "prohibitions" of such trade, or parts of it. In a debate in Convention (August 13) upon an-

other subject, Mr. Madison said: "In many acts, particularly in the regulation of trade, the object would be twofold. The raising of revenue would be one of them. How could it be determined which was the primary or predominant one, or whether it was necessary that revenue should be the sole object, to the exclusion even of other incidental effects? When the contest was first opened with Great Britain their power to regulate trade was admitted, their power to raise revenue rejected." Mr. Mason had expressed his fears of foreign influence in our commercial regulations, that "the great houses of British merchants would insinuate the instruments of their views into our government."

In the debate on the ratification of the national Constitution in the Massachusetts Convention, Mr. Thomas Dawes urged its approval because of the power it gave to the national government over commerce and navigation. He said: "For want of general laws of prohibition through the Union, our coasting trade, our whole commerce, is going to ruin." After reciting the free access to our ports of British bottoms, and their great earnings from American freights, he added: "Our sister States are willing that these benefits should be secured to us by national laws, but we are slaves to Europe. We have no uniformity in duties, imposts, excises, or prohibitions. Congress has no authority to withhold advantages from foreigners in order to obtain reciprocal advantages from them. Our manufacturers have received no encouragement by national duties on foreign manufacture, and they never can by any authority in the Confederation. . . . The citizens of the United States within the last three years have contracted debts with the subjects of Great Britain to the amount of near six millions of dollars. If we wish to encourage our own manufactures, to preserve our own commerce, to raise the value of our own lands, we must give Congress the power in question."

In other States the object of this provision was equally well

understood, as shown by the use made of it in the efforts to defeat the ratification of the Constitution in the States furnishing exports, but having no shipping and no manufactures.

In the light of all these debates we see clearly what was meant by the power "to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States." In pursuance of this authority, after prescribing the oaths of office to be taken, the first act of Congress under this Constitution (chapter ii, Stats. at Large) imposes duties on foreign imports for the "twofold purpose" to which Mr. Madison alluded in the Convention,—“for the support of the government, for the discharge of the debts of the United States, and the encouragement and protection of manufactures,” as recited in its preamble. All the great commercial countries of Europe at that time exercised the same power, and for the same twofold purpose. Wars were undertaken to secure exclusive colonial markets for their wares, and some of these governments have continued that exclusive policy to this day. Without a like power this government would have been defenceless in negotiations of commercial treaties, and would have remained especially the commercial victim of that government from whose dominion it had just escaped.

Mr. Madison introduced the bill for the exercise of this power two days after the organization of the First Congress (April, 1789, and before President Washington was inaugurated), proposing also a discriminating duty on tonnage to protect American shipping. He said in debate that "the interests of States which were ripe for manufactures ought to have attention, as the power of protecting and cherishing them has by the present Constitution been taken from the States, and its exercise thrown into other hands."

BILLS OF CREDIT AND LEGAL TENDER.

The Committee of Detail, under the authority giving to the new legislature all the powers of the Confederate Congress, re-

ported the clause "to borrow money and emit bills on the credit of the United States."

Gouverneur Morris, seconded by Mr. Butler, moved to strike out the authority "to emit bills" of credit, holding it unnecessary if the public credit was good, and useless if it was bad. Mr. Madison inquired if it would not suffice to prohibit their being made a tender. Promissory notes in that shape might in some emergencies be best. Mr. Morris answered that without the clause the promissory notes of a responsible minister would be good. If paper emissions were not prohibited, the money interest would oppose the plan of government. Mr. Mason had a mortal hatred against paper money, but he was unwilling to tie the hands of the government against all emergencies. Mr. Gorham thought the authority was implied in that of borrowing, so far as it was safe and necessary.

Mr. Ellsworth thought it "a favorable moment to shut and bar the door against paper money." The mischiefs of it were fresh in the public mind, and keenly felt. "The power may do harm, never good." Mr. Butler remarked that paper money was not anywhere in Europe a legal tender; to which Mr. Mason replied, neither was the power denied in Europe. Mr. Read observed that the words, if not struck out, "would be as alarming as the mark of the beast in Revelation." Mr. Langdon would rather reject the whole plan than retain the obnoxious words.

They were struck out by vote of all the States (9) except New Jersey and Maryland. Mr. Madison notes that he was satisfied the omission of the clause would not prevent the issue of public notes so far as safe and proper; and "would only cut off the pretext for a *paper currency*, and particularly for making the bills *a tender*, either for public or private debts." (Madison Papers, vol. iii., p. 1346.)

When the question of the powers to be denied to the States was presented, Mr. Wilson and Mr. Sherman moved to insert,

after the prohibition of coining money, the words "nor emit bills of credit, nor make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts." Mr. Gorham hesitated, fearing to arouse the opposition of the States, and willing that the power should remain among those which might be exercised by the States "with the assent of Congress." Mr. Sherman would crush paper money at once. On that part denying to the States the right to emit bills, all the States voted to prohibit it except Virginia, with Maryland divided. Upon the prohibition against making anything but coin a legal tender, the opinion was unanimous.

Thus were the States forever prevented from again incurring for themselves the countless evils which they had already suffered from a forced paper currency. There is little doubt that the Convention also believed the Union to be saved from the same peril, when they struck out from the powers of the new national government that of emitting bills of credit. There is no trace in the recorded debates of the belief of a single member that under the power "to borrow money" the Congress could exercise the power of making their bills a legal tender for private debts. There is rather the contrary indication, that they considered this authority non-existent, unless it should be enumerated among the express powers granted. The authority as assumed in later years appears to have been an unwarranted deduction from the general power to provide for carrying into effect other powers which were granted. The Convention, while prohibiting the power to the States, supposed it sufficient to simply withhold the authority from the Congress of the United States.

TREATIES AND THEIR FORCE.

In distributing the powers to the various branches of the government, the Committee of Detail assigned to the Senate the power to make treaties, with the correlative power to appoint ambassadors. Mr. Hamilton's plan had proposed to invest this

body with the power to declare war, while he associated it with the President in advising and consenting to treaties. But neither this nor any other plan, except that of Virginia, was made the basis of action, although traces of their provisions are seen in the motions made for amendment of the plan always under debate. It is doubtless true that some of the propositions made by Mr. Charles Pinckney and Mr. Hamilton, as well as of those in the New Jersey and Connecticut schemes, found adoption in the various amendments made to the original plan.

But this provision, giving the Senate the sole power over treaties, appears to have been accepted in the first instance by common consent. On August 15, Mr. Mason, while opposing another power of the Senate, observed they "could already sell the whole country by means of treaties." Mr. Mercer in reply said, "The Senate ought not to have the power of treaties. This power belonged to the executive department;" and added that treaties would not be final, so as to alter the laws of the land, till ratified by legislative authority, as was the case in Great Britain. Mr. Mason rejoined, that he "did not say a treaty would repeal a law, but that the Senate might by means of treaties alienate territory, etc., without legislative sanction, an example was found in the British cession of West India Islands by treaty alone. If Spain should take possession of Georgia, the Senate might by treaty dismember the Union.

Upon the direct consideration of this article, Mr. Madison observed that, as the Senate represented the States, and for other reasons as well, "it was proper that the President should be an agent in treaties." Gouverneur Morris doubted about referring to the Senate the making of treaties in any degree; but for the present would only move as an amendment, "but no treaty shall be binding on the United States which is not ratified by law." Mr. Madison spoke of the inconvenience of requiring a legal ratification of treaties of alliance in case of war, and in

many other cases. Mr. Gorham called attention to "many other disadvantages if treaties of peace and all negotiations are to be previously ratified; and if not previously, the ministers would be at a loss how to proceed. American ministers must go abroad not instructed by the same authority which is to ratify their proceedings." Mr. Morris answered that the result would be that foreign governments must send their ministers here (for an alliance), which he desired. Mr. Wilson was inclined for the amendment. Without it "the Senate could by treaty require all the rice of South Carolina to be sent to one particular port." Mr. Dickinson concurred.

Dr. Johnson thought it a solecism "that the acts of a minister with plenipotentiary powers from one body should depend for ratification upon another body. The British king had full authority to make treaties and ratify them; and if Parliament refused to provide for carrying them into effect it was a violation of the treaty." Mr. Randolph thought best to postpone its further consideration, in view of the objections to the clause; but on this motion the vote was equally divided.

The question was then put on the amendment requiring ratification of treaties by law; and only Pennsylvania voted for it, North Carolina being divided, and eight States voted against it.

After adding "other public ministers" to ambassadors, the whole clause was postponed for further consideration and referred to the committee of five before appointed. Mr. Madison suggested a possible distinction in the mode of ratification between treaties eventual, or of alliance for limited terms, and other treaties; the former to depend alone on the President and Senate.

From another committee, charged with resolutions respecting the executive, on the 4th of September, came a report in which this proposal was made: "The President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall have power to make treaties;"

and in the same manner the appointment of ambassadors and other public ministers was transferred to him. But upon this power to make treaties was put the following limitation: "But no treaty shall be made without the consent of two-thirds of the members present."

Mr. Wilson, seconded by Mr. Fitzsimons, recalling the provision already adopted, that this Constitution, the laws under it, and treaties "shall be the supreme law of the land," moved to add to "the Senate" the words "and House of Representatives," so as to involve the whole law-making power as necessary to validate a treaty. "As treaties," he said, "are to have the operation of laws, they ought to have the sanction of laws also." He thought this outweighed the reasonable objection that secrecy was necessary in the business of making treaties.

Mr. Sherman averred "that the necessity of secrecy in the case of treaties forbade a reference of them to the whole legislature. The only question was, whether the power could be safely trusted to the Senate, and he thought it could be."

Then the vote was taken, and Pennsylvania alone supported Mr. Wilson. The other ten States voted for excluding the House of Representatives from participation in the making or ratification of treaties.

The clause requiring two-thirds of the Senate for ratification was opposed by Mr. Wilson, as enabling a minority to overrule a majority. Mr. King concurred, because here was added the element of consent of the executive power as a security. Mr. Madison thought treaties of peace should be facilitated, and moved that only a majority be required for them; and it was unanimously agreed to. He then went further, to guard against Presidential ambition and love of power in time of war, and proposed that two-thirds of the Senate might make peace without his consent. Mr. Butler concurred. Mr. Gorham thought this unnecessary, because the means for carrying on war were in

legislative hands and might be refused. Gouverneur Morris added that the President, as general guardian of the national interests, was entitled to concur in the making of peace. Mr. Gerry thought there was perhaps more need of caution in treaties of peace than in other treaties, as fisheries and boundaries, etc., would be at stake; and so thought Dr. Williamson. Mr. Madison's motion was defeated by eight States against three.

Afterwards, Messrs. Williamson and Spaight recurred to the subject of the amendment which allowed treaties of peace to be made with consent of a majority of senators, and moved to require two-thirds in case territorial rights were affected. Mr. King would extend it, then, "to all present rights of the United States." The next day Mr. King moved to strike out the exception made of treaties of peace; and Mr. Wilson did not desire two-thirds majority in any case. A reconsideration was agreed to.

Gouverneur Morris recognized the fisheries and the Mississippi as "the two great objects of the Union;" and the legislature would be unwilling to make war on that account, if a majority of the Senate could make peace. Mr. Wilson remarked that if two-thirds was required for peace, a minority might perpetuate war; and the old grounds of debate were again traversed. The exception of treaties of peace was finally stricken out by a vote of all the other States against New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland.

Mr. Wilson and Mr. Dayton then moved to amend, so as to require only a majority of the Senate in all cases of treaties. This failed by nine States against Delaware, with Connecticut divided.

Then Mr. Rutledge and Mr. Gerry moved, in the contrary direction, that for all treaties the consent of two-thirds, not of a quorum, but of all the senators, should be required. This was defeated by eight votes to three. Mr. Sherman next moved for a majority of all the senators in such cases. This was defeated, six States against five. Mr. Madison then sought to require two-

thirds for a quorum. This was defeated by a vote of six to five. Messrs. Williamson and Gerry then moved that no treaty should be concluded without previous notice to all the senators, and giving reasonable time for their attendance. Only Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina supported this.

Then the vote was finally taken on the treaty power as it now stands in the Constitution, and it was accepted by all the States except Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Georgia.

It would appear from the course of the debate, and from the votes, that the mind of the Convention was never wholly clear respecting the case of conflict between legislative acts and treaties. They evidently regarded a treaty, approved by two-thirds of the Senate and the executive, as a supreme law, equal in force to any legislative act, and everywhere obligatory. It is probable that they considered a subsequent act of Congress contravening its provisions, or refusing, or failing to provide means to execute it as a violation of it, to be adjusted as other violations of treaties must be adjusted. Doubtless they considered it unlikely that the executive and Senate who had made the treaty could consent to such a violative act; but the other House might refuse legislation to execute the treaty. Certainly they made no distinction between treaties, whether of peace, of alliance, of commerce, or for any other object of international negotiation. Whatever the treaty, when duly ratified it became the law of the land. There always remained as a security for the treaty-making power the right to make the treaty conditional on the approval of the whole legislative authority. Otherwise, the treaty being unconditional, a failure to execute it involved its breach, and justified a demand by the other contracting nation for redress upon peril of war.

THE LEGISLATIVE RIGHT TO ORIGINATE MONEY BILLS.

In the scheme of government, as originally approved in the committee of the whole, equal power to originate legislation was given to the two Houses of Congress by unanimous consent. While the Virginia resolutions were under consideration on the last day in the committee of the whole, Mr. Gerry moved to insert, "except money bills, which shall originate in the first branch of the national legislature." Mr. Butler saw no reason for it: "We were always following the British constitution, when the reason of it did not apply. There was no analogy between the House of Lords and the body now proposed to be established." Mr. Madison said, "The Senate would be the representation of the people, as well as the first branch." Mr. Sherman observed, "We establish two branches in order to get more wisdom, which is particularly needed in the finance business. The Senate bear their share of the taxes, and are also the representatives of the people." General Pinckney said, "This distinction prevails in South Carolina, and has been a source of pernicious disputes between the two branches." The motion was then defeated by all the States except New York, Delaware, and Virginia, and both Houses retained equal rights in all legislation.

When the long and exasperating debate occurred upon equality of State representation in the two Houses, it was urged on the part of the great States that questions of revenue ought to be determined by a proportional representation. Otherwise, a minority of population, represented by a majority of States, might, contrary to all correct principles, impose burdens on the majority of both wealth and population. This palpable injustice led to an offer on the side of the small States that "all bills for raising or appropriating money, and for fixing the salaries of the officers of the government of the United States, shall originate

in the first branch of the legislature, and shall not be altered or amended by the second branch; and that no money shall be drawn from the public treasury but in pursuance of appropriations to be originated in the first branch." This offer was conditioned upon the acceptance of an equal vote in the Senate. A committee, of which Mr. Gerry was chairman, so reported the plan on July 5.

Mr. Madison regarded this as no valuable concession to the great States. "Experience proved that it had no effect. If some States in the upper branch wished a bill to be originated, they surely might find some member from the same States in the lower branch who would originate it." As for amendments, they "could be handed privately by the Senate to members of the other House. Bills could be negatived, that they might be sent up in the desired shape." Gouverneur Morris and others warmly opposed the plan. Mr. Wilson shrewdly remarked, "If both branches were to say yes or no, it was of little consequence which should say yes or no first, which last." It would be better to reverse the order, for "it was a maxim that the least numerous body was the fittest for deliberation,—the most numerous for decision." The question was taken on this clause; and for it voted Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and North Carolina (5). Against it were Pennsylvania, Virginia, South Carolina (3), with Massachusetts, New York, and Georgia divided. Although only five States out of eleven voted for it, under their rules it stood as affirmed. But it was well understood that it was still an open question.

On the 16th of July, after references of the compromise to special committees and much debate, the question was taken on the compromise as a whole, including the equal vote in the Senate, the proportional vote in the House, and the clause in question; and it was carried by the same five States in the affirmative against the same three States and Georgia in the nega-

tive, with Massachusetts divided and New York absent. In this form it went to the Committee of Detail, but still unsupported by a majority of the States.

Again, upon the report of this committee, it came into debate, and Mr. Pinckney moved to strike out the clause, and was supported by Gouverneur Morris, Mr. Wilson, and Mr. Madison. Mr. Mason, Mr. Butler, and Mr. Ellsworth thought it had better stand as a compromise. Mr. Gorham was in favor of originating the bills in the House, but giving power to the Senate to amend. The clause was struck out by the votes of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia (7), against New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and North Carolina (4), without disturbing the equality of States in the Senate. But Mr. Randolph gave notice of a motion to reconsider, and Mr. Mason, with some others, still regarded it as necessary to adhere to the compromise, although the large States had disclaimed its supposed value and the small States were willing to adhere if the large States desired it.

Upon the reconsideration, Mr. Randolph proposed to limit the exclusive power to "bills for the purpose of revenue," to obviate objection to the words "raising money," which might happen incidentally, not allowing the Senate by amendment to either increase or diminish the same. His motion was in the following words: "Bills for raising money for the purpose of revenue, or for appropriating the same, shall originate in the House of Representatives; and shall not be so amended or altered by the Senate as to increase or diminish the sum to be raised, or change the mode of levying it, or the object of its appropriation."

Mr. Mason renewed his arguments in its favor. Mr. Wilson again opposed it with warmth. He said "it would be a source of perpetual contentions when there was no mediator to decide

them. The President here could not, like the executive in England, interpose by a prorogation or dissolution. This restriction had been found pregnant with altercation in the eight States where the constitutions had established it. The House of Representatives will insert other things in money bills, and, by making them conditions of each other, destroy the deliberate liberty of the Senate." And he recited a remarkable case of this misuse of power by the House of Commons. Gouverneur Morris thought its proposed advantages illusory, because the "Senate could tire out the other House and extort their concurrence in favorite measures as well by their negative or withholding their assent as by adhering to a bill introduced by themselves. In respect to the representatives 'holding the purse-strings,' both Houses must concur in the untying; and of what importance could it be which untied first, which last?" Mr. Madison made a full argument on the same side. Mr. Read would follow the example of many of the States, retaining the exclusive authority in the first House, but giving the Senate liberty to amend. Mr. Carroll said the clause in the Maryland constitution was "a source of continual difficulty and squabble between the two Houses."

At the end of this searching debate (August 13) three votes were taken. First, on the exclusive right in the first House to originate money bills: the ayes were New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Virginia, North Carolina (4); the noes were Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, South Carolina, Georgia (7). Second, on originating by the first House and amending by the Senate: the vote was the same,—noes seven, ayes four. Third, on the question of no appropriations of money except those originating in the first House: Massachusetts alone voted aye (1), the other ten States voting no.

Here, for the first time, appears a very strong conviction of the Convention that a distinction should be made between bills for raising revenue and bills for appropriating money.

Two days later Mr. Strong, of Massachusetts, moved to insert in another place the same clause of Mr. Randolph which had been voted down on the 13th. It was thought best to postpone the question for the time and consider other matters, which was done. Subsequently a committee of eleven was appointed to consider various old and new questions of detail in the Constitution as reported, and on the 5th of September Mr. Brearley reported from this committee, among other clauses, the following: "All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives, and shall be subject to alterations and amendments by the Senate; no money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law."

Again it was postponed on motion of Gouverneur Morris, who said it had been "agreed in the committee on the ground of compromise," and he wished to await the disposition of other clauses. Though opposed, this motion was carried by nine States against two. On the 8th of September the long dispute was ended. After a verbal amendment, which was made unanimously, the clause was adopted as it now appears in the Constitution, except that the Committee on Style, in their revision, transposed the last clause to another place. The final vote shows its acceptance by all the States except Delaware and Maryland. Among the published objections of George Mason, on account of which he refused to sign the Constitution, was this, that "the Senate have the power of altering all money bills and of originating appropriations of money."

It thus appears that by express votes the Convention refused to extend the exclusive power of the House beyond bills for raising revenue, and by express vote decided to leave in the Senate an equal power to originate bills making appropriations of public money, and that only a minority of the Convention attached constitutional importance to the former provision.

ADMISSION OF NEW STATES.

It was among the clauses of the Virginia plan that provision should be made for the admission of new States into the Union, whether with a voluntary junction of government and territory, or otherwise, and without requiring the consent of all the States. This was agreed to in the committee of the whole. It was remembered that there had been discussion of new States to be formed in the west of North Carolina, west of Pennsylvania, in Maine, in Vermont, and in the Western region. In the Convention itself there had been talk (June 18) of a readjustment of territory among the States with a view to equalize them.

When the Committee of Detail made their report, this clause, modified in form, provided for the admission of "new States lawfully constituted or established within the limits of the United States;" but requiring the consent of two-thirds of each House of Congress. If formed within the limits of an existing State, the consent of its legislature was required. They were to come in on equal terms with old States, but might be subjected to conditions concerning the public debt then existing.

Gouverneur Morris objected to this equality, with only the condition respecting the public debt. He did not wish to bind the legislature to admit Western States on such terms. Mr. Madison, Mr. Mason, and Mr. Sherman thought it wise to make them equals and not degrade them. The best policy was to treat them as friends, not enemies. Mr. Morris admitted it was impossible to discourage the growth of the West; but he did not wish to throw the power into their hands. Mr. Langdon and Dr. Williamson would have the legislature free to act according to circumstances. Mr. Morris's motion prevailed, and that part of the clause was struck out.

Mr. Morris then moved to make the article read, "New States

may be admitted by the legislature into the Union ; but no new States shall be erected within the limits of any of the present States, without the consent of the legislature of such State, as well as of the general legislature." The first clause was accepted unanimously ; the latter clause by a vote of six States to five. There arose a debate upon the point of requiring the assent of the old States before a new State, formed out of their distant lands, and with separate interests, could be admitted ; and on the question of admitting Vermont, which had received pledges, independent of the consent of New York. Mr. Dickinson held it improper to require the small States to secure the large ones in their extensive claims of territory. Mr. Carroll wanted to maintain the claim of the United States to the "back-lands." "Were the States to be cut up without their consent?" suggested Mr. Rutledge. Various amendments and provisos were offered to meet objections, and voted on, and the subject was clouded by serious differences of opinion. Mr. Morris proposed a substitute which passed, eight States to three, which met the case of Vermont and other possible cases, by employing the word jurisdiction, instead of territory ; and there was added, also on his motion, a clause giving Congress power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting its territory and property, substantially as now found in Article IV., Section 3, of the Constitution.

Mr. Morris had indulged prejudices and fears respecting "that range of new States which would soon be formed in the West," and wanted "a rule of representation so fixed as to secure to the Atlantic States a prevalence in the national councils." Their interests would be different ; they would know less of the public interest ; and, "in particular, will be little scrupulous of involving the community in wars, the burdens and operations of which would fall chiefly on the maritime States." There ought, therefore, to be provisions "to prevent the maritime

States from being hereafter outvoted by them." Mr. Gorham had expressed similar opinions in favor of "dealing out the right of representation in safe proportions to the Western States."

Mr. Gerry also would turn attention "to the dangers apprehended from the Western States. He would admit them on liberal terms, but not put himself in their hands. They would oppress commerce and drain wealth into the Western country. He would limit the number to be admitted, so that they could never outnumber the Atlantic States. He proposed to limit the number of representatives in the first branch from the new States, so that they should never exceed the number from the old States which should accept the Constitution, and Mr. King seconded him. Mr. Sherman thought "there was no probability that the number of new States would ever exceed that of the existing States. Besides, we are providing for our children and our grandchildren, who would be as likely to be citizens of new Western States as of the old States. On this consideration alone we ought to make no such discrimination as that proposed." Mr. Gerry admitted there was "a rage for emigration from the Eastern States to the Western country, but he did not wish those remaining behind to be at the mercy of the emigrants." His motion was wisely defeated by five votes against four, with Pennsylvania divided.

The power was impliedly left in Congress to impose conditions on the admission of new States not involving their equal representation; but it has never been harshly used, and only applied to the public lands and Union property, for which they, in turn, have been well compensated out of the public land. The injustice now is more often seen in refusal of admission when solicited and merited. They have nullified all the original fears entertained by the Atlantic States and have vastly strengthened the Union.

NATIONAL CONTROL OVER STATES.

In the Virginia plan, as submitted by Governor Randolph, appeared the following provision: that the national legislature ought to be empowered "to negative all laws passed by the several States contravening, in the opinion of the national legislature, the Articles of Union, or any treaty subsisting under the authority of the Union; and to call forth the force of the Union against any member of the Union failing to fulfil its duty under the Articles thereof."

This proposition seemed to be the corollary of the other which immediately preceded it: "that the national legislature ought to be empowered . . . to legislate in all cases to which the separate States are incompetent, or in which the harmony of the United States may be interrupted by the exercise of individual legislation." Neither Mr. Pinckney nor Mr. Rutledge, nor Mr. Randolph himself nor Mr. Madison, liked the vagueness of the term "incompetent." They all wished it might be possible to enumerate the powers. Nevertheless, the phrase was adopted by a vote of all the States except Connecticut, which was divided.

On the right to negative State laws, it passed without even a dissent, upon its first consideration.

Upon the right to use the force of the Union against delinquent States, Mr. Madison doubted its practicability and justice "when applied to people collectively and not individually." He hoped to find a system which would render this resource unnecessary; and moved a postponement, which was agreed to.

The right to negative State laws came up again a few days later, when Mr. Pinckney moved to make the clause read, "That the national legislature shall have authority to negative all laws which they should judge to be improper." He said that "the

States must be kept in due subordination to the nation ; that this universal negative was in fact the corner-stone of an efficient national government." Mr. Madison agreed with him. Mr. Gerry had "no objection to authorize a negative of paper money and similar measures," but did not want the power to go too far. Mr. Sherman wanted the negative to be defined. Mr. Wilson made a cogent argument for the clause, reminding the Convention of the brotherly self-abnegation of States in the beginning of the Revolution, when they would say, "We are now one nation of brethern,—we must bury all local interests and distinctions. The tables at length began to turn, jealousy and ambition to display themselves. Each endeavored to cut a slice from the common loaf, till at length the Confederation became frittered down to the impotent condition in which it now stands. It is the business of this Convention to correct its vices, especially the want of an effectual control in the whole over its parts." Mr. Bedford, Mr. Butler, and Dr. Williamson opposed the motion. It was defeated, seven States to three, and Delaware divided.

It was discussed in Convention July 17, when Gouverneur Morris thought the power would be terrible to the States, and that it would be unnecessary if sufficient powers were conferred on the general government. Mr. Sherman also believed it unnecessary, as the courts in the States would hold invalid any law contravening the authority of the Union. Mr. Martin also opposed it, but Mr. Madison still maintained its necessity for the preservation of harmony in the Union, and was supported by Mr. Pinckney. The clause was then defeated by all the States against only Massachusetts, Virginia, and North Carolina ; and a substitute was unanimously adopted, declaring the laws of the Union made in pursuance of its articles, and the treaties, "to be the supreme law of the respective States," and binding upon their judiciary.

On the 23d of August Mr. Pinckney renewed the effort to

establish a negative on State laws, and was supported by Mr. Broom, of Delaware, Mr. Madison, Mr. Wilson, and Mr. Langdon. It was opposed by Messrs. Sherman, Ellsworth, Mason, Gouverneur Morris, and Rutledge. The latter said, "Will any State ever agree to be bound hand and foot in this manner? If nothing else, this alone would damn, and ought to damn, the Constitution." After an adverse vote, six States against five, Mr. Pinckney withdrew the proposition, and the effort to establish this right in Congress was abandoned. The controlling reasons for this change of opinion appear to have been, first, its offensiveness to the States; second, the difficulty in execution, whether all laws must be sent up for approval or suspended awaiting Federal decision, or other manner of its exercise; third, and chiefly, that it was unnecessary, as the courts were bound to obey the declared and admitted supremacy of national Constitution, laws, and treaties.

The other clause, authorizing force against delinquent States, disappeared under the strong objections to it as practically suggesting internecine war. Having adopted the plan of a government acting directly on the people and ignoring in national affairs the separate State jurisdictions, except as geographical divisions, force was only needed for individuals, and would be thus applied to all the components of a State, whose corporate action could give no rights or justification of wrongs against the supreme authority of the Union. The whole system of quotas and requisitions upon States being abandoned, the necessity to punish State delinquency no longer existed. For the United States, become independent of and supreme over State action for federal purposes, there remained for punishment only the individuals offending. To this end the foregoing provision was moderated into one giving Congress authority "to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions."

Thus was carried out the original and gradually-developed scheme of a supreme government which went, both for its authority and for its effects, behind State constitutions and laws, and in its operations recognized only one people in the whole land subject to its jurisdiction. If a corporate State even organized an insurrection against the United States, the force of the Union was to be applied to all the individuals entering into it, whether State officers and holding State commissions or simple volunteers. All would be equally liable to punishment as offending citizens of the United States violating their supreme allegiance.

THE GUARANTEE OF A REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT TO THE STATES, AND THEIR PROTECTION.

The eleventh resolution of the Virginia scheme contained the proposition that the national government should guarantee to each State its territory and a republican form of government. The guarantee of territory, as already recited, was rejected on account of the uncertainty of its extent and the conflicting claims of States and of the United States. In the discussion upon it, Mr. Read added the reason that the proposal "abetted the idea of distinct States, which would be a perpetual source of discord. The only cure for this evil was in doing away States altogether, and uniting them all in one great society."

The clause was first passed in committee with an amendment so as to guarantee "a republican constitution and its existing laws" to each State. When it came up for discussion Gouverneur Morris assailed the guarantee of laws. He would not have "such laws as exist in Rhode Island guaranteed." It was explained that the object was "merely to secure the States against dangerous commotions, insurrections, and rebellions." Mr. Mason thought that without this right "the general government must remain a passive spectator of its own subversion,"

as rebellions against the United States would originate in the individual States. Mr. Houstoun did not want existing State constitutions guaranteed; some of them, like that of Georgia, were bad.

Mr. Gorham "thought it strange that a rebellion should be known to exist in the empire, and the general government have no power to subdue it. An enterprising citizen might erect the standard of monarchy in a State, gather partisans from all quarters, extend his views from State to State, and threaten to establish a tyranny over the whole, and the general government remain an inactive witness of its own destruction." A war of words might be allowed to go on, but upon appeal to the sword the general government must interpose, however difficult it may be. Mr. Carroll thought such an authority ought to be desired by every State. It was doubtful if the existing Confederacy had such a power. After some further debate, Mr. Wilson moved as a substitute that "a republican form of government shall be guaranteed to each State, and that each State shall be protected against foreign and domestic violence." This was accepted on all sides and adopted unanimously, and in that form it went to the Committee of Detail.

It was reported by them with the last clause amended, so as to confine the absolute guarantee to cases of "foreign invasion," and requiring the application of the State legislature before intervening "against domestic violence."

When this report was taken up the word "foreign" was struck out as superfluous, "invasion" implying it. Mr. Dickinson moved to strike out "on application of its legislature." He thought it essential to the general tranquillity that the United States should in all cases suppress domestic violence; for it might proceed even from the legislature itself, or from disputes between the two branches. Mr. Dayton cited the case of Rhode Island as showing the necessity for giving ample power to the

United States. But on vote this prior application was retained, eight States to three. It was moved to substitute "insurrections" for "domestic violence," but that failed, six votes to five. On motion of Mr. Dickinson, the words "or executive" were inserted after "legislature," so that action might be taken on his application, without waiting for the legislature. This was carried, eight States to two, with Maryland divided. Mr. Martin would confine the application of the executive to the recess of the legislature. But only his own State supported him. As thus amended the guarantee clause was passed by nine States against two. It was afterwards modified by inserting after the word "executive" the parenthetical clause, "when the legislature cannot be convened."

But, in order to understand the purposes of the Convention in thus limiting the guarantee against domestic violence to cases of a demand for protection made by either the legislature or the governor of a State, attention must be given to the two other powers vested in Congress by the Committee of Detail in the same report: "to subdue a rebellion in any State, on the application of its legislature;" and "to call forth the aid of the militia, in order to execute the laws of the Union, enforce treaties, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions."

Of these two provisions the latter subsequently assumed the form in which the power was given to Congress: "to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions," and was thus unanimously adopted.

When the other power, "to subdue rebellion," was under discussion, Mr. Pinckney and Mr. Morris moved to strike out "on the application of its legislature." Mr. Martin opposed it, saying, "The consent of the State ought to precede the introduction of any extraneous force whatever." It was proposed to extend the application to the governor. Gouverneur Morris said, "The

executive may possibly be at the head of the rebellion. The general government should enforce obedience in all cases where it may be necessary." Mr. Gerry was against "letting loose the myrmidons of the United States on a State, without its own consent." Mr. Langdon believed that the apprehension of the United States force would have a useful effect in preventing insurrections. Gouverneur Morris remarked, "We are acting a very strange part. We first form a strong man to protect us, and at the same time wish to tie his hands behind him. The general legislature may surely be trusted with such a power to preserve the public tranquillity."

It was then agreed that the United States might act without the State legislature when it could not meet, by five States to three, with two divided. On motion it was further amended by defining the "rebellion" to be a rebellion against the State. "There might be a rebellion against the United States," said Mr. Dickinson and Mr. Madison. This provision had no relation to such a case. The whole clause as amended was then rejected, being sustained by four votes against four, and two absent.

Upon recurrence to the question, presented in connection with the clause guaranteeing a republican form of government to each State, the unconditional protection of the United States was guaranteed only against invasion; and conditional protection against "domestic violence," if required by the legislature, or by the governor when the legislature cannot be convened.

It is evident that this last protection was intended exclusively for the cases where the violence was directed against the State action or authority, and by its own citizens; and therefore the necessity for national intervention was to be determined by that State authority which was offended and assailed. If the violence was offered by another State, or a foreign country, it became "invasion," and not "domestic violence;" and then the guarantee

of the protection of the United States became as absolute as was the guarantee of a republican form of government.

For the rest, for the case of illegal or violent offences, insurrections, and invasions, directed against the Union, the United States was its own absolute judge as to the action required, and was empowered to call to its aid the militia of all the States. Power to this end was inherent, also, under the general powers to provide for the common defence, and to pass all necessary laws to give effect to the Constitution, which with its laws covered all the territory of the Union. The national life and authority given by the Constitution could be defended by all the three departments which it established for that express purpose,—the legislative, the executive, and the judicial; and the means were left to its own discretion. The fourth section of Article IV. was designed to enforce and regulate its duty towards a State of the Union only, and for the benefit of the State exclusively.

MODE OF RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

When the subject of providing State conventions for the ratification of the new Constitution was before the Convention, as found in the Virginia plan, Mr. Sherman thought popular ratification unnecessary, and that ratification by Congress and the State legislatures would be sufficient.

Mr. Madison, on the contrary, held it essential. He added, with singular foresight, "As far as the Articles of Union were to be considered as a treaty only of a particular sort among the governments of independent States, the doctrine might be set up that a breach of any one article by any of the parties absolved the other parties from the whole obligation." He therefore wanted the ratification "by the supreme authority of the people themselves."

Mr. Gerry seemed afraid of this mode for the Eastern States, as the people in that quarter had "the wildest ideas of govern-

ment in the world. They were for abolishing the Senate in Massachusetts and giving all the other powers of government to the other branch of the legislature." Mr. King thought the legislatures likely to be hostile to the new system, as they would lose power by its adoption. Mr. Wilson, with characteristic clearness of perception, desired that provision should be made for giving effect to the ratification of less than the whole number of States, so that the government could be established by the States desiring it, leaving the door open to the others to enter. This was remembered in the end, though received in silence at the time, except that Mr. Pinckney hoped that, if not unanimous, nine States might undertake the new system. Upon taking the vote in committee on this question, ratification by the people was sustained by the votes of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia (6), against New York, Connecticut, New Jersey (3), with Maryland and Delaware divided.

In the great debate which followed the introduction of the New Jersey plan, Mr. Madison's prime objection to it was that "its ratification was not to be by the people at large. It could not, therefore, render the acts of Congress, in pursuance of their powers, paramount to the acts of the States." It is worthy of note that the tenacity of the adherence of the framers of the Constitution to this point of ratification by the people arose from their determination to take from the corporate States all power, or pretence of power, to nullify or control national legislation by any act of their own legislatures. They had witnessed this nullification in the ruin of the Confederacy. Constitutional history can be correctly read only in the light of this fixed resolution of the majority of the Convention. Rufus King, in a critical debate upon the last hope of compromise, said he "considered the proposed government as substantially and formally a general and national government over the people of America. There will

never be a case in which it will act as a federal government,—on the States, and not on the individual citizens.”

When the provision came up in Convention on the report of the committee of the whole, Mr. Ellsworth, seconded by Mr. Paterson, moved its ratification by the State legislatures. Mr. Mason opposed them, asserting that legislatures were not sovereign, they were creatures of the constitution of the State; and no such power, in some States certainly, was conferred by their constitutions. “Whither, then, must we resort? To the people, with whom all power remains that has not been given up in the constitutions derived from them. It was of great moment that this doctrine should be cherished, as the basis of free government.” If referred to the legislatures, “succeeding legislatures, having equal authority, could undo the acts of their predecessors.” Mr. Randolph, Mr. Gorham, Dr. Williamson, Mr. King, Mr. Madison, and Gouverneur Morris opposed the motion of Mr. Ellsworth. Mr. Madison especially made the point that the difference “between a system founded on the legislatures only and one founded on the people was the true difference between a league or treaty and a constitution.” He added that judges might decide for the validity of a law, though unwise and perfidious, which violated a treaty; but a law violating a constitution established by the people themselves would be considered by the judges as null and void. By the law of nations a breach of one article of a treaty releases the other party from all his engagements. Under a constitution, “the nature of the pact has always been understood to exclude such an interpretation.” The vote was then taken, and the proposed ratification by the legislatures was rejected by New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia (7), against Connecticut, Delaware, and Maryland (3).

Gouverneur Morris then moved there should be one general convention for its consideration, amendment, and establishment;

but he found no support in this. And on the question of agreeing to the clause as found in the text, it was carried by all the States against Delaware only. This debate and decision occurred on the 23d of July.

On the 31st of August, Gouverneur Morris was induced to move that the choice of mode of ratification be left to the States. After a debate, in which his opponents insisted upon this resort to the people, "to first principles," as getting over all difficulties, the motion was defeated by six States against Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware.

The number of States required to ratify it in order to give it force and effect between them was then considered, and it was resolved to take the same number nine, to which they were already accustomed under the Confederacy, as giving final validity to their acts. Maryland alone supported the motion to make the number thirteen; Messrs. Madison, Wilson, and Clymer desired valid ratification by any seven or more States, which should embrace a majority of the people, and of representatives in the first branch of Congress. Mr. Sherman proposed ten States, but this was supported only by four votes. The number nine was accepted by eight votes to three; and the article was then agreed to by all the States except Maryland, whose delegates were embarrassed by a clause in their State constitution.

After long, fundamental, and exhaustive debates, it had been repeatedly decided that this should not be a treaty, a league, or a confederacy between States; and as often decided that it should be a constitution of the people, organizing them into one common and general government for general affairs, wholly independent of and superior to State governments. Mr. Wilson as early as June 20 had declared his opinion that, "in spite of every precaution, the general government would be in perpetual danger of encroachments from the State governments." Mr. Madison had followed him with the double statement that "there was less

danger of encroachment from the general government than from the State governments; and, further, that the mischief from encroachments would be less fatal if made by the former than if made by the latter. All the examples of other confederacies prove the greater tendencies in such systems to anarchy than to tyranny; to disobedience of the members than usurpations of the federal head. Our own experience had fully illustrated this tendency." "The people would not be less free as members of one great republic than as members of thirteen small ones. A citizen of Delaware was not more free than a citizen of Virginia; nor would either be more free than a citizen of America. Supposing, therefore, a tendency in the general government to absorb the State governments, no fatal consequence could result."

With great difficulty the members of the Convention emerged from their narrower views, as citizens of a colonial circumscription, into the greater light and liberty of citizens of a great republic, destined to such historic grandeur that none in presence of it should longer boast of his local attachments, but should rather announce, with Roman pride, that he was an AMERICAN CITIZEN.

OATHS BY STATE OFFICERS TO SUPPORT THE CONSTITUTION.

One important provision of the plan introduced by Mr. Randolph was that which "Resolved, that the legislative, executive, and judiciary powers within the several States ought to be bound by oath to support the Articles of Union." It provoked objections upon its first consideration, and was postponed. Upon its recurrence, Mr. Sherman declared against it, as "an intrusion into the State jurisdiction." Mr. Gerry suggested there was as much reason for requiring an oath of fidelity to the States from national officers as *vice versa*. Luther Martin moved to strike it out. Evidently there still lingered the idea that they were only creating a subordinate—at most another equal—State, and not a superior.

Mr. Randolph sustained it, as necessary to prevent competition between the national and State constitutions and laws. "The national authority needs every support we can give it. Unless the State executive and judiciary be brought under some tie to the national system, they will always lean too much to the State systems whenever a contest arises between the two."

Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland (4) voted to strike it out; all the other States (7) sustained the provision. Upon the question of adopting the resolution itself, New York joined the four States in the minority, the vote in its favor standing six to five; and it was favorably reported to the Convention. When it was again reached, Mr. Gerry's opinion was changed. He thought at least "one good effect would be produced by it. Hitherto, the officers of the two governments had considered them as distinct from, and not as parts of, the general system; and had, in all cases of interference, given a preference to the State governments. The proposed oath will cure that error." Progress had been made in the conception of a national government. The resolution was adopted without further dissent.

When the clause was reported from the Committee of Detail, on Mr. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney's motion this addition was made: "but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the authority of the United States;" and "affirmation" was permitted, as an alternative for the oath.

After the report by the Committee of Revision, the clause was adopted in the following form: "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." As if to add to its significance and force, it immediately follows the clause declaring the United States Constitution, laws, and treaties "the supreme law of the land." By this association of all State and national officers in one universal obligation, the entire political organism of every State was brought into submission to the national Constitution and government. It was the sanction of an indissoluble allegiance of the States to the nation, throughout the whole extent of legitimate national jurisdiction.

THE SIGNATURE AND PUBLICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

On Saturday, September 15, several last attempts were made to amend the final draft, as reported by the Committee of Revision, in respect to several points which had been before seriously debated. It was especially desired to amend the fifth article, relating to future amendments of the Constitution. Among others, it was proposed to add a proviso, "that no State shall, without its consent, be affected in its internal police, or deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate." This was rejected by all the States except Connecticut, New Jersey, and Delaware. Then the amendment was offered omitting the "internal police" clause, which confined it to the preservation of equal suffrage in the Senate; and this proviso was adopted.

After the adoption of the fifth article, the question was put by the President, Shall the Constitution as amended be adopted? It was a solemn moment; and there were not a few hesitating minds. All the States present, eleven in number, answered in the affirmative. It was then ordered that the Constitution should be engrossed, and the Convention adjourned until Monday.

The intervening Sunday was a day of anxious thought and consultation. It was deemed of great importance that all the delegates present should sign the great act, that it might go to

the country with the aspect of unanimity. It was thought best that Dr. Franklin, the venerable and wise moderator of opinions, should make this conciliatory effort.

On the morning of Monday, the 17th of September, he rose, and, because of his infirmity, asked Mr. Wilson to read the observations he wished to offer. After a temperate and patriotic appeal for unanimity, he proposed a form which simply certified to the fact of record, that it was "done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present."

As a further proffer of conciliation, and to remove one objection entertained by several delegates, Mr. Gorham moved to increase the possible number of representatives in the first branch of Congress to one for thirty thousand, instead of the ratio of forty thousand inhabitants, and was supported by Mr. King and Mr. Carroll. But, most powerful influence of all, General Washington, before putting the question, and with a modest apology for offering any remarks, expressed the satisfaction he would experience if it should be adopted. His voice had often been heard in private conversation with members upon the great topics discussed, but never before from the tribune, and now its potency was felt by all. The amendment was accepted unanimously.

The Constitution was then enrolled, in order to be signed. The certificate preceding the signature was adopted by ten States, against South Carolina divided, two delegates of the latter State being inclined to a form which more strongly expressed their consent to the Constitution. Mr. Hamilton, strongly opposed to the instrument as not giving enough power to the national government, but signing it individually as a delegate from New York, was anxious that every member should sign. "Is it possible," said he, "to deliberate between anarchy and convulsion on one side, and the chance of good to be expected from the plan on the other?" But no appeal could convert the opposing sentiments

of Randolph, Gerry, and Mason. These three only, of all who were present, refused to put their names to that consecrated roll, which was destined to a glorious immortality of remembrance among their countrymen, and to be the eternal signal of an epoch in the civilization of mankind. Happy were they who sacrificed local prejudice and jealous fears to the welfare of the greatest number; for they secured to themselves a fame for which kings might well exchange their crowns,—a fame which shall endure till the monuments of history perish from the earth.

In submitting the result of their labors to the Congress of the Confederation, to be by them communicated to the several States, the Convention accompanied it with a letter, which briefly recounted the difficulties to be overcome, and their hopes of the approval of their action. They said:

“It is obviously impracticable, in the Federal government of these States, to secure all rights of independent sovereignty to each, and yet provide for the interest and safety of all. Individuals entering into society must give up a share of liberty to preserve the rest. . . . In all our deliberations on this subject we kept steadily in our view that which appeared to us the greatest interest of every true American,—the consolidation of the Union,—in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our national existence.”

This letter was approved by the Convention, signed by Washington, and with the Constitution transmitted to the Confederate Congress, then in session at New York.

On the 20th of September these communications were received by that body, and for the first time published to the country. The Constitution was assailed at once on many sides, and for the very reasons which had been so fully canvassed and overcome in the Convention. From the Congressional delegates of Virginia and from New York came the bitterest hostility. But Madison soon appeared in his seat, and the friends of the Con-

stitution joined the battle with courage and organization. On the 28th of September they succeeded in carrying a resolution transmitting the documents to the legislatures of the several States, in order to be submitted to conventions in the manner resolved by the national Convention. The great contest was then transferred to the separate States, where its fate during several anxious months was suspended in a doubtful balance.

X.—THE ACTION OF THE STATES IN RATIFICATION.

THE question came first before each legislature whether they would even call a convention. Second, should it be promptly called or deferred to await the action of other States?

Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, and his confederates in different States were indefatigable in disseminating hostile views and their plans for the defeat of the Constitution throughout the Confederacy. Against them, most fortunately for the country and the Union, were arrayed its equally indefatigable friends. Hamilton, Madison, and Jay contributed those remarkable and historical commentaries on the proposed Constitution known as "The Federalist," and now preserved as part of the history of the nation. The entire press of the country was engaged on the two sides. The courage and violence of assault on one side were met and resisted by an equal bravery and resolution in defence. Above all leaders on either side rose the great and revered figure of Washington, who, from his retreat at Mount Vernon, expressed his patriotic hopes and wishes in numerous communications, which reached and influenced the controlling characters in many States. The cry of the nationalists was, "Union or dissolution,—the Constitution or anarchy." The discussion went on in every corner of the various States, in private conversation as well as in public assemblies. The inimical effort was made in several of the States to declare the ratification con-

ditional upon amendments to be adopted; but Madison gave the opinion that such action could not be construed as a ratification. It must be unconditional or the State could not be included in the Union. The influence of Monroe—fortunately, a much weaker character than Madison—was cast against the Constitution. Jefferson, from beyond the seas, proposed a cunning measure of opposition that came near proving fatal to a complete union. He recommended the adoption of the Constitution by nine States in order to bring it into existence, the others standing out until proposed amendments should be adopted. This evil counsel produced bad fruits, but they fortunately failed to ripen into the threatened results.

Delaware, least of the sisterhood, was first to decide. With joy and with unanimity her voice was given for ratification on December 7, 1787.

Pennsylvania was but little later. Her convention was earlier in session, but, thwarted by a resolute minority, the debate was prolonged and her action delayed. On the 11th of December, Wilson, still the strong champion of the new Union, declared, "This system is not a compact; I cannot discern the least trace of a compact; the introduction to the work is not an unmeaning flourish. The system itself tells you what it is,—an ordinance, an establishment of the people." By a vote of forty-six to twenty-three Pennsylvania ratified the Constitution on the 12th of December, 1787.

New Jersey next, and only later by a day, gave her ratification to the Constitution "and every part thereof," with unanimity of voices, on December 13, 1787.

Georgia began the new year with her unanimous assent, given on the 2d of January, 1788.

Next came Connecticut, whose statesmen had done so much to build the new edifice, and whose judge, the learned Johnson, had presided over its final grace of form. By a vote of one

hundred and twenty-eight to forty this State gave her adherence to the new plan of government on January 9, 1788.

Friends and enemies alike now fixed their eyes on Massachusetts, the State next to Virginia the most important of those whose action was awaited. Her delegate, Elbridge Gerry, had refused to sign, and had made public his reasons therefor. He was defeated for the State convention by his townsmen. But elsewhere strong opponents of the new government were elected, and a count showed its friends to be in a minority. By wisdom in action, by reason in debate, and chiefly by personal influence and solicitation, enough votes were won over in the end to secure an approval of the Constitution by a vote of one hundred and eighty-seven to one hundred and sixty-eight. Massachusetts, after a hard, long, and doubtful struggle, thus brightened the hopes of patriotic Virginians on February 6, 1788.

Maryland lay too near Virginia to escape the infection of the hostility developed in that State by Richard Henry Lee, Patrick Henry, and other dissidents. But on the great question her people were sound in most of the counties. The number elected of enemies of the new Union was not large, but their opposition was very bitter. Her convention gave its approval, by a vote of sixty-three to eleven, on the 26th of April, 1788.

In South Carolina the seeds of Virginia discontent, and of a possible Southern confederacy, had been widely sown. The fruit was a persistent opposition offered by several leaders of public opinion. After ten days of contest for defeat or postponement of the ratification, the friends of the Constitution carried the day, by a vote of one hundred and forty-nine to seventy-three, on the 23d of May, 1788.

One State more, and the new government could be inaugurated! New Hampshire had modestly awaited the action of larger States. Now the ambition of her unionists was to signalize their State by completing the sanction of the Constitution.

This was done while the debate was still prolonged in the Virginia Convention; and New Hampshire became the ninth State, by a vote of fifty-seven to forty-six, on June 21, 1788.

In Virginia there was a contest of the greatest obstinacy, with few, if any neutrals. Henry, Grayson, and Mason led the hostile forces. Madison, Pendleton, Marshall, and Randolph (now reconciled) confronted them at every point in defence of the Constitution. Patrick Henry sounded the trumpet of State sovereignty with the cry, "The Constitution is the severance of the Confederacy. Its language, 'we, the people,' is the institution of one great consolidated national government of the people of all the States, instead of a government by compact with the States for its agents." Pendleton rallied the unionists to the cry, "Who but the people can delegate powers, or have a right to form government? There is no quarrel between government and liberty: the former is the shield and protector of the latter. The question must be between this government and the Confederation, which is no government at all. This is to be a government of laws, and not of men." From the second day of June the war was waged at Richmond with alternate hopes and fears. Finally, having by her delay yielded to New Hampshire the honor of that conclusive sanction which the ninth State could give to the new Union which she herself initiated, Virginia, by a vote of eighty-nine to seventy-nine, ratified it, being the tenth State, on June 25, 1788.

The friends of the Constitution awaited the action of the remaining States with less anxiety, now that the three outstanding States were wholly separated from each other, and would be powerless against the Union, whether single or confederated. The convention of New York met while that of Virginia was still in the throes of the great debate. There had been a certain concert of action, through Richard Henry Lee and Governor Clinton, of the enemies of the Union in the two States. Clinton

organized and led them in the convention, and was chosen its president, and had the aid of the two seceders, Yates and Lansing. The friends of the Constitution had the benefit of the great ability of Hamilton, Jay, and Chancellor Livingston. On the eighth day of their session the news arrived that New Hampshire had given the requisite vitality to the Constitution. Nine days later came the report that Virginia had joined the Union. The courage of the anti-unionists, who formed the majority, was broken. They sought a dignified retreat, as in Virginia and Massachusetts, through propositions of future amendment. One of them even proposed to ratify, reserving the right to secede if the amendments should fail. Against this Hamilton spoke with such force that the mover himself abandoned it. But Lansing in substance renewed it. Then Hamilton read the opinion of Madison, just received, that such a condition would vitiate the ratification, affirming that "the Constitution requires an adoption *in toto*, and *forever*," thus early crushing the theory of secession. Then the conditional propositions came to an end, and a legal form of ratification was agreed to (there being some absentees), by a vote of thirty to twenty-seven, on July 26, 1788.

There remained North Carolina, which had in August, 1778, refused to ratify prior to amendment. She gave up her opposition to the Constitution only after the organization of the new government, dating its ratification from the 21st of November, 1789. Rhode Island lingered without until May 29, 1790.

At last the sun was risen in the heavens, the clouds were dissipated, and all the planets were moving in their respective orbits, their centrifugal impulses balanced by the attractive bonds of the powerful central luminary, which shed upon them light and warmth and force.

XI.—SEQUEL OF AMENDMENTS.

TIME was required for both States and people to adjust their opinions and their affairs to the new institutions of government. The majority in some of the conventions had not been fully convinced either as to the extent of the powers surrendered by the States and acquired by Congress and the Judiciary or of the security of each State and its citizens in the exercise of rights not conceded to the Union. Sources of revenue hitherto enjoyed by the States were to be given up, and new sources must be found. What new laws would be passed by this new legislature in which the citizens of each State had so small a share of authority? How should they grow to recognize other States as their sisters and their citizens as brothers? How soon would selfishness give way to equality and fraternity? Would the habit of affection for one's own State ever permit the growth of a superior affection for the union of all the States? Which of the two forces, centrifugal or centripetal, was destined to predominate in the future? The azure sky of patriotic hope was not without its auguries of fear.

The action of the conventions of such important States as Massachusetts, Virginia, and New York in recommending certain amendments to the new Constitution, which had also the concurrence of other States, rendered their early consideration desirable in the interest of harmony and contentment among the people, now directly charged with the national government.

The first national Congress, therefore, proposed to the several States twelve amendments to the Constitution, covering the points appearing to be most reasonably insisted upon by the States. The first of these proposed to control in a different manner the number of representatives in the first branch of Congress. The second proposed that no law varying the compensation of senators and representatives should have effect

until after a succeeding election. Neither of these was ratified by a sufficient number of States to give it validity.

The remaining amendments, being now the first ten articles of amendment appended to the Constitution, and held to be limitations upon possible claims of power by the national government, were ratified by ten States. No returns were made by the States of Massachusetts, Connecticut, or Georgia of their action on them.

The eleventh article of amendment was proposed at the first session of the Third Congress (1793), in order to surely exempt States from liability to suits in the United States courts brought by citizens of any other State, or by foreigners. The returns of State action upon this subject were so dilatory that Congress passed a resolution in March, 1797, requesting the President to communicate with the eight outstanding States on the subject. From the message of President Adams (January, 1798) it appears that twelve of the sixteen States had at that time certified their ratification, which established the validity of the amendment. New Jersey and Pennsylvania refused their ratification, while South Carolina and Tennessee had not acted upon it.

The twelfth amendment, establishing the present mode of electing the President and Vice-President, was proposed at the first session of the Eighth Congress (1803), and was declared adopted in September, 1804, by the votes of thirteen out of seventeen States, being three-fourths thereof.

The thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments had their origin in questions arising from the late war of secession. The thirteenth had for its object the perpetual abolition of slavery. The fourteenth established the equality of citizenship in all the States, and prohibited every State from abridging the privileges of citizens of the United States, and from denying to them the equal protection of the laws, and from taking life, liberty, or property without due process of law. It also provided for a

reduction of representation in Congress proportioned to the unjust exclusion of any class of citizens from the right of voting; and excluded from holding office under the United States, or any State, certain classes of men who had been engaged in the Rebellion, unless first relieved of disability by a vote of two-thirds of each branch of Congress. It further provided a constitutional guarantee of the validity of the public debt of the United States, and prohibited to every State, as well as to the United States, the assumption of any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion, and the recognition of any claim for slaves lost or emancipated. The fifteenth prohibited the abridgment or denial of the right to vote of citizens of the United States on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. Full power was expressly given to Congress to enforce these several amendments by legislation.

All these last articles had for their permanent object the establishment of universal personal liberty, and the fundamental rights of citizenship everywhere within the Union. The ratification of the thirteenth article was proposed by Congress February 1, 1865, and was proclaimed on the 18th of December, 1865; of the fourteenth was proposed June 16, 1866, and proclaimed on the 28th of July, 1868; of the fifteenth was proposed February 27, 1869, and proclaimed on the 30th of March, 1870.

The foregoing fifteen articles of amendment are the only modifications of the work finished on the 17th of September, 1787, of the propriety of which, time, events, and argument have convinced the American people. The first ten articles were not so much amendments of constitutional provisions as they were a declaration of ungranted rights which the national government did not claim. The eleventh settled in favor of the States a question of their suability in court which had been debatable. The tide of constitutional opinion had thus far flowed towards the rights of the States, and they were satisfied.

In later years, some of the States began to assert rights of separate and final judgment against the supremacy of acts of Congress and the courts, which were inconsistent with the intention of the Constitution and of its founders. The tide of public opinion turned with the exposure of the new dangers threatening national institutions, and flowed strongly towards the further protection of that Union which, as Madison had advised New York, was indissoluble. Under this impulse the last three articles were adopted, in order to put new powers into the hands of the common government, and to place the most important rights of personal liberty and of American citizenship under the protection of the national shield. This was a work impossible to the fathers by reason of slavery; and was only accomplished by their descendants at the cost of vast treasure and richer blood.

The passing generation of men may therefore proudly claim to have added something to the rich legacy which our ancestors bequeathed a hundred years ago. Let us hope that as century shall follow century into the unmeasured flood of time, the uncounted millions who shall inherit this Western World will maintain their allegiance to the Constitution and Union with equal zeal, and with all the support of heart and tongue and sword.

“Thy sun is risen, and shall not set
 Upon thy day divine!
 Ages of unborn ages yet,
 America, are thine!”



INDEPENDENCE HALL.
(EXTERIOR.)

BIOGRAPHIES
OF THE
MEMBERS OF THE FEDERAL CONVENTION.

BY HAMPTON L. CARSON.

By the foregoing sketch it has been shown that the 17th of September marked a most momentous epoch in the history of the American people, as well as in the annals of mankind. It is the day on which the Convention completed its work and committed to the people of the States for their approval that great charter of government now known and honored everywhere as the Constitution of the United States.

The Convention met in the old State House in Philadelphia, in the same chamber in which the immortal Congress of 1776 had assembled. Thus Independence Hall is doubly sanctified. A claim has been made in favor of the Hall of the Carpenters' Company, based upon the resolution upon the Minutes of that venerable body, offering the use of their Hall for the purposes of the Convention; but this claim is unsupported by evidence that the offer was ever accepted, and is effectually exploded by the Journal of the Federal Convention, which succinctly states, "at the State House;" by the evidence of Benjamin Franklin, himself a member of the Convention, who states, in a letter written to his sister, that his health had been much benefited by his daily walks to and from the "State House," while attending to his duties; and

by the Diary of Washington; while the room itself is identified, as well as the building, by the Journal of the Legislative Assembly of Pennsylvania, which shows that the legislature adjourned to an "upper room," because their chamber was occupied by the Federal Convention.

In speaking of the ability and high character of the Convention, the distinguished Chancellor Kent, of New York, has said: "This was a crisis most solemn and eventful in respect to our future fortune and prosperity. All the fruits of the Revolution, and perhaps the final destiny of republican government, were staked on the experiment which was then to be made to reform the system of our national compact. Happily for this country, and probably as auspiciously for the general liberties of mankind, the Convention combined a very rare union of the best talents, experience, information, patriotism, probity, and character which the country afforded; and it commanded that universal public confidence which such qualifications were calculated to inspire." Mr. Curtis, in his "History of the Constitution," says: "There was certainly a remarkable amount of talent and intellectual power in that body. There were men in that assembly, whom, for genius in statesmanship, and for profound speculation in all that relates to the science of government, the world has never seen overmatched. And the same men who were most conspicuous for these brilliant gifts and acquirements, for their profound theories and their acute perception of principles, were happily the most marked in that assembly for their comprehensive patriotism, their justice, their unselfishness, and magnanimity." In the judgment of Mr. Bancroft the Convention was the ablest known to American history. It embraced men who had distinguished themselves in the field or in the council, and in some instances in both. It embraced, too, all those peculiarities of thought and manner which characterized the different portions of the country from which the members respectively came. The impress of local manners was plainly



INTERIOR OF INDEPENDENCE HALL. THE ROOM IN WHICH THE CONSTITUTION WAS SIGNED.



visible, giving a fixed distinction to individuals. All peculiarities of thought and training were represented, and gave color and substance to the deliberations of the assembly.

MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION.

The following is a complete list of the members chosen for the Federal Convention. It will be observed that the list contains the names of eight gentlemen never before included. The credit of the discovery that the list hitherto accepted by historians was incomplete belongs to Paul Leicester Ford, Esq., of Brooklyn, N. Y., to whose courtesy we are indebted for the additions now made. Mr. Ford says that in 1819, when John Quincy Adams, by direction of Congress, edited and published the "Journal of the Federal Convention," he drew up from the commissions, etc., filed by the attending delegates, a list of the members, including those who were appointed but did not attend and those who attended but did not sign the completed instrument, making in all a list of sixty-five names. This list was accepted and republished by Elliot in his "Debates on the Federal Constitution" and by Curtis in his "History of the Constitution," and ever since has been acquiesced in by students. By reference, however, to original documents, acts, journals, etc., Mr. Ford has increased the list to seventy-three names. On the authority of the journals of the Legislature of Maryland the names of Robert Hanson Harrison, Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, Thomas Stone, Thomas Sim Lee, and Gabriel Duvall are added to the Maryland delegation. The names of Richard Henry Lee and Thomas Nelson, added to the Virginia delegation, rest on the authority of a manuscript in the possession of Mr. Ford and the Madison correspondence; while the acts of South Carolina show that Henry Laurens should be added to the delegation from that State. None of these gentlemen ever accepted their appointments or acted under them. Those whose

names are printed in CAPITALS took their seats and signed the Constitution. Those whose names are printed in *italics* took their seats, but refused to sign. Those whose names are preceded by an asterisk (*) were also signers of the Declaration of Independence. Those whose names are printed in SMALL CAPITALS took their seats, but, not being present on the last day of the Convention, failed to sign. Those whose names are in **bold-faced** type withdrew from the Convention, because they thought it guilty of exceeding its powers; and those whose names are printed in plain Roman type never accepted their positions or acted in any way:

New Hampshire.—JOHN LANGDON, John Pickering, NICHOLAS GILMAN, Benjamin West.

Massachusetts.—Francis Dana, **Elbridge Gerry*, NATHANIEL GORHAM, RUFUS KING, CALEB STRONG.

Connecticut.—WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON, *ROGER SHERMAN, OLIVER ELLSWORTH.

New York.—**Robert Yates**, ALEXANDER HAMILTON, **John Lansing**.

New Jersey.—WILLIAM LIVINGSTON, DAVID BREARLEY, WILLIAM CHURCHILL HOUSTON, WILLIAM PATERSON, John Neilson, *Abraham Clark, JONATHAN DAYTON.

Pennsylvania.—*BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, THOMAS MIFFLIN, *ROBERT MORRIS, *GEORGE CLYMER, THOMAS FITZSIMONS, JARED INGERSOLL, *JAMES WILSON, GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

Delaware.—*GEORGE READ, GUNNING BEDFORD, JR., JOHN DICKINSON, RICHARD BASSETT, JACOB BROOM.

Maryland.—JAMES McHENRY, DANIEL OF ST. THOMAS JENIFER, DANIEL CARROLL, JOHN FRANCIS MERCER, LUTHER MARTIN, Robert Hanson Harrison, Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, Thomas Stone, Thomas Sim Lee, Gabriel Duvall.

Virginia.—GEORGE WASHINGTON, Patrick Henry, *Edmund Randolph*, JOHN BLAIR, JAMES MADISON, JR., *George Mason*, *GEORGE WYTHE, JAMES McCLURG, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Nelson.

North Carolina.—Richard Caswell, ALEXANDER MARTIN, WILLIAM RICHARDSON DAVIE, WILLIAM BLOUNT, Willie Jones, RICHARD DOBBS SPAIGHT, HUGH WILLIAMSON.

South Carolina.—JOHN RUTLEDGE, CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY, CHARLES PINCKNEY, PIERCE BUTLER, Henry Laurens.

Georgia.—WILLIAM FEW, ABRAHAM BALDWIN, WILLIAM PIERCE, *George Walton, WILLIAM HOUSTOUN, Nathaniel Pendleton.

WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary*.

The order in which the following biographies occur is that in which the names of the signers of the Constitution were affixed. For the accompanying illustrations we are largely indebted to Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, the distinguished physician and well-known collector, of New York City, who not only placed his own pictures at our disposal, and unhesitatingly opened to us sources of information in relation to originals which could have been reached in no other way; but by his graceful courtesy in expressing his desire to aid in our work has deepened our sense of obligation.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, the president of the Federal Convention, and its most illustrious member, was born at Bridges Creek, Westmoreland County, Va., February 22 (O. S. 11), 1732, and died, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, December 14, 1799. He was the third son of Augustine Washington, by his second wife, Mary Ball, daughter of Colonel Ball, of Lancaster County, Va. He was the great-grandson of John Washington, a gentleman who had emigrated from the north of England about the year 1657, and settled at the place where his distinguished descendant was born.

An orphan at the age of ten years, he inherited the paternal residence in the district between the Potomac and the Rappahannock, while his elder half-brother, Lawrence, inherited the estate subsequently known as Mount Vernon, to which, some years afterwards, upon the extinction of the family of Lawrence, George himself succeeded. His early education was defective, but he displayed a fondness for mathematics. For a time his inclinations were towards the sea, and a midshipman's warrant was procured for him, but owing to his mother's opposition this career was abandoned. Shortly after, at the age of sixteen, he was appointed surveyor to the large estates of Lord Fairfax, and gained experience which in after years proved invaluable. At nineteen years of age he entered the Virginia militia, with the rank of major. The next year, after a trip to the Barbadoes, he was commissioned by Governor Dinwiddie adjutant-general, and in the difficult mission of demanding from France territory claimed by Virginia in the neighborhood of Lake Erie rendered important service. He subsequently became renowned for his services in the French and Indian wars. In 1755 he was with Braddock upon the fatal field of Fort Du Quesne, and by his skill and coolness saved the remnants of the English army. He was appointed commander-in-chief of the Virginia forces, and rendered important service. In 1758 he resigned his commission and became a member of the legislature. About this time he married Mrs. Martha Custis, a young and beautiful widow of wealth. For many years he devoted himself to agriculture. When British oppression provoked the colonies to resistance, Washington was sent as a delegate from Virginia to the first Continental Congress, which met in Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia, in 1774. After the battles at Lexington and Concord, Washington was chosen unanimously by the Congress as commander-in-chief of the colonial forces. He immediately resigned as a member of Congress and accepted his new office, upon the 19th of June, 1775, on the express condition that he should receive no

salary; and for eight years discharged the duties of his arduous position with a degree of fortitude, skill, patience, ability, and exalted patriotism which won for him the unshaken confidence of Congress and his countrymen as well as the plaudits of mankind. Of his military services it is not our intention to speak. They are too well known to require comment, and form an imperishable part of the history of American independence. Although bitterly assailed by intrigue, calumny, and faction, he never wavered in the performance of duty, and never lost the affection or esteem of his countrymen. On December 23, 1783, he formally resigned his commission and withdrew to the shades of private life,—an act of patriotic self-denial which has been termed sublime. During the years of bankruptcy, anarchy, and civil paralysis, which preceded the formation of a more lasting Union, he constantly urged the establishment of a stronger national government. He saw the folly, the weakness, and the insignificance of a government powerless to enforce its decrees, dependent upon the discretion of thirteen different legislatures, swayed by conflicting interests, and therefore unable to provide for the public safety, or for the honorable payment of the national debt. He clearly saw the necessity for a government which could command the obedience of individuals by operating directly upon them, and not upon sovereign States. In his private as well as official correspondence during an early period of the war, in his last words to his officers at Newburgh, in his speech when resigning his commission at Annapolis, and, after his return to Mount Vernon, in his letters to Hamilton, Jefferson, Mason, and Madison, he constantly and vigorously urged the idea of a stronger Union, and the surrender of a portion of the sovereignties of the States. When the Federal Convention was determined on, it was natural as well as appropriate that he should be selected as one of the delegates from Virginia, and, as a proof of the magnitude and solemnity of the duty to be performed, he was placed at the head of the State delegation.

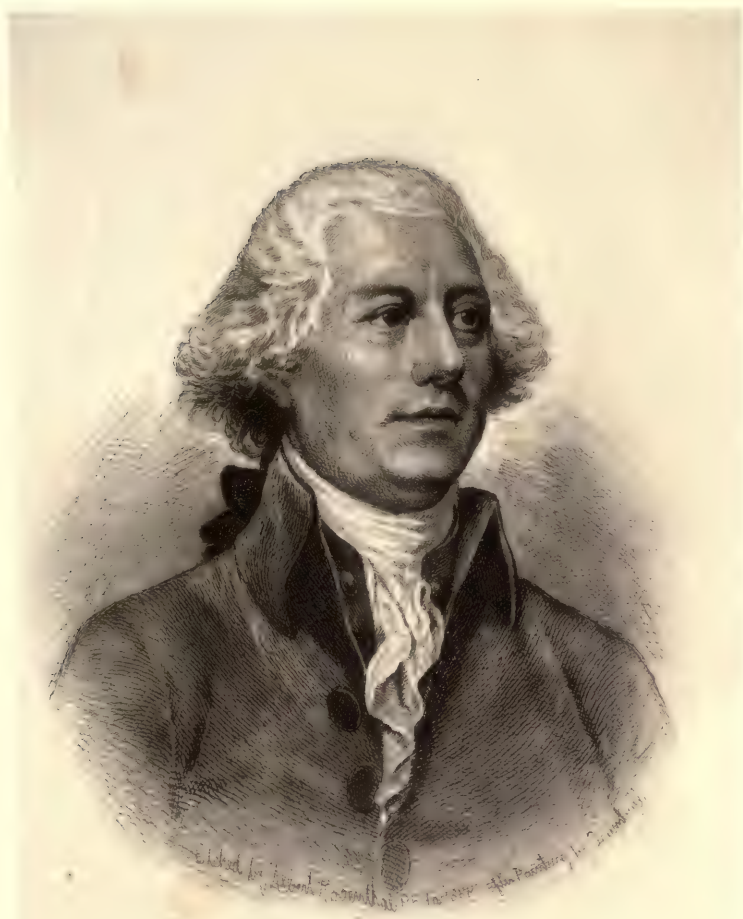
Upon his arrival in Philadelphia he called upon the venerable Franklin, then eighty-one years of age, and the great soldier and the great philosopher conferred together upon the evils which had befallen their beloved country, and threatened it with dangers far greater than those of war. Upon the nomination of Robert Morris, Washington was unanimously chosen president of the Convention,—an honor for which he expressed his thanks in a few simple words, reminding his colleagues of the novelty of the scene of business in which he was to act, lamenting his want of better qualifications, and claiming indulgence towards the involuntary errors which his inexperience might occasion. During the time the Convention was in committee of the whole, Nathaniel Gorham occupied the chair. In that body of statesmen and jurists Washington did not shine as a debater. Of oratorical talents he had none, but the breadth and sagacity of his views, his calmness of judgment, his exalted character, and the vast grasp of his national sympathy, exerted a powerful influence upon the labors of the Convention. So far as the record shows, he seems to have broken silence but twice,—once when he disapproved of the exclusive origination of money bills in the House of Representatives,—a view which he abandoned for the sake of harmony,—and again when he wished the ratio of representation reduced. The proceedings were held in secret, and not until after four months of arduous and continuous toil did the people know how great or how wonderful was the work of the men who builded far better than they knew. When the Constitution was before the people for adoption, and the result was in doubt, Gouverneur Morris wrote to Washington as follows: “I have observed that your name to the Constitution has been of infinite service. Indeed, I am convinced that if you had not attended the Convention, and the same paper had been handed out to the world, it would have met with a colder reception, with fewer and weaker advocates, and with more and more strenuous opponents. As it

is, should the idea prevail that you will not accept the Presidency, it will prove fatal in many parts. The truth is, that your great and decided superiority leads men willingly to put you in a place which will not add to your present dignity, nor raise you higher than you already stand." In the interval neither the voice nor the pen of Washington was idle. In many of his most interesting letters he constantly urged upon his countrymen the necessity of adopting the work of the Convention as the only remedy for the evils with which the country was afflicted. When the new government went into operation Washington was unanimously chosen as the first President, and was sworn into office, in the city of New York, upon the 30th of April, 1789, the oath being administered by Robert R. Livingston, chancellor of New York. In 1792, although anxious to retire, he was again chosen to the executive chair by the unanimous vote of every electoral college, and for a third time, in 1796, was earnestly entreated to consent to a re-election, but firmly declined, thus establishing by the force of his example a custom which has remained unbroken, and which has become a part of the unwritten law of the republic. Once again was his repose interrupted by a call to take command of the forces of the United States, with the rank of lieutenant-general, when war was threatening with France, in 1798, but, though he accepted the trust, the treaty of peace rendered action unnecessary. Upon his death, in 1799, the whole country united in paying homage to the memory of the man, whom Lee eloquently styled, "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." The English historian Green pays this tribute to his character: "No nobler figure ever stood in the forefront of a nation's life. Washington was grave and courteous in address; his manners were simple and unpretending; his silence and the serene calmness of his temper spoke of a perfect self-mastery; but there was little in his outer bearing to reveal the grandeur of his soul which lifts his figure, with all the simple

majesty of an ancient statue, out of the smaller passions and the meaner impulses of the world around him. What recommended him for command as yet was simply his weight among his fellow-landowners of Virginia and the experience of war which he had gained by service in Braddock's luckless expedition against Fort Du Quesne. It was only as the weary fight went on that the colonists learned little by little the greatness of their leader,—his clear judgment, his heroic endurance, his silence under difficulties, his calmness in the hour of danger or defeat, the patience with which he waited, the quickness and hardness with which he struck, the lofty and serene sense of duty that never swerved from its task through resentment or jealousy, that never through war or peace felt the touch of a mean ambition, that knew no aim save that of guarding the freedom of his fellow-countrymen, and no personal longing save that of returning to his own fire-side when their freedom was secured. It was almost unconsciously that men learned to cling to Washington with a trust and faith such as few other men have won, and to regard him with a reverence which still hushes us in presence of his memory."

JOHN LANGDON.

JOHN LANGDON was born in Portsmouth, N. H., in 1739, where he received a common-school education, and became a successful merchant, distinguishing himself as an ardent patriot, actively engaged in the work of the Revolution. He it was who, in concert with John Sullivan, and under his leadership, in 1774, entered Fort William and Mary and carried off all the military stores of the British. In 1775 he was chosen as a delegate to the Continental Congress, resigning in June of 1776 to become a navy agent. In 1776 and 1777 he was Speaker of the Assembly of New Hampshire, and also became a judge of the Court of Common Pleas. In 1777 he furnished the means to call out and sustain the New Hampshire militia under General Stark, and for



JOHN LANGDON

Nat. 1759 - Ob. 1819.

From the original Painting in the Trumbull Collection, Yale School of Art

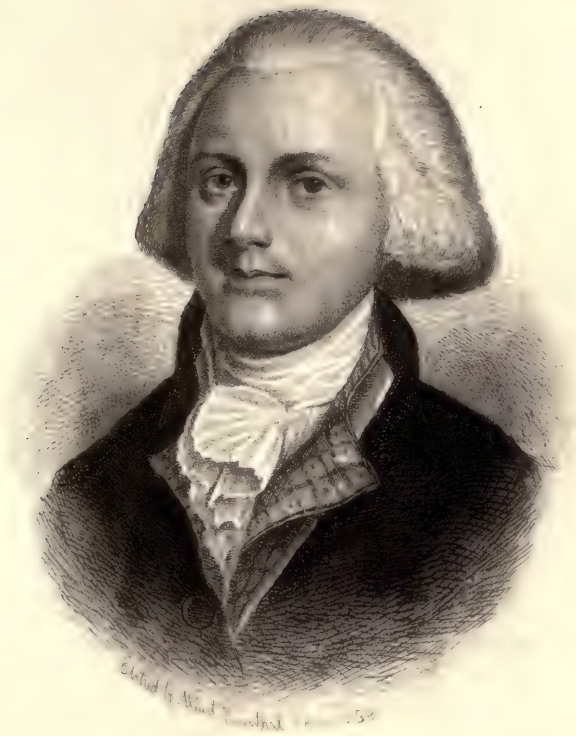


this purpose gave his money, pledged his plate, and appropriated the proceeds of seventy hogsheads of tobacco, and thus rendered possible the brilliant victory won by the American arms at Bennington. He subsequently served as a volunteer at Saratoga and in Rhode Island. In 1779 he was the Continental agent in New Hampshire, and the president of the New Hampshire Convention called to frame a State constitution. In 1783 he was again chosen to Congress, and subsequently, for many years, was a member of the legislature of his own State, being chosen several times as Speaker. In 1785 he was the President of New Hampshire. In 1787 he was chosen as a delegate to the Convention called to frame the Constitution of the United States, but did not take his seat until after the Convention had been in session for two months. The delay was doubtless owing to the fact that there were no funds in the State treasury available for the purpose, when Langdon, with characteristic spirit, offered to pay the expenses of himself and colleague out of his own pocket. He favored the election of President by the two Houses of Congress upon joint ballot; contended that members of Congress should be paid out of the national treasury and not by the States. He objected to a property qualification for members of Congress, and also to the establishment of the national capital at any State capital. He opposed the power of Congress to emit bills of credit, but approved of vesting in it authority to subdue rebellions. He declared that he did not distrust Congress on the subject of standing armies, nor the militia. He objected to taxation being proportioned to representation before a census had been taken. He thought that the States should be prohibited from taxing exports, but that Congress should have the right to tax slaves. He approved of a negative upon State laws, and contended that the States should be prohibited from laying any tax on tonnage from interstate commerce. He also thought that new States should be permitted to come into the Union without dis-

memberment. This general summary will give a fair idea of his attitude as a member of the Federal Convention. His personal character is thus described by Rufus Griswold: "He is eminently practical, with sterling good sense, is social in his habits, and in his manners easy, unaffected and pleasing. Among all the members of the Federal Convention there is not one more thoroughly republican in his feelings and tendencies than John Langdon." After the Constitution went into effect, it fell to the lot of Langdon, as temporary president of the First Congress under the Constitution, to notify Washington of his election to the chief magistracy. In 1788 he was the governor of New Hampshire; from 1789 to 1791 he sat in the Senate of the United States; from 1805 to 1811 he was again governor of his State. In the latter year Jefferson offered him a place in the cabinet as Secretary of the Navy, which he declined. In 1812 a majority in Congress selected him for the position of Vice-President of the United States, which he also declined. He died on the 18th of September, 1819, at the age of seventy.

NICHOLAS GILMAN.

NICHOLAS GILMAN was the son of Nicholas Gilman, treasurer of the State of New Hampshire, and was born in the year 1762, and died in Philadelphia on the 2d of May, 1814, aged fifty-two years. Although debarred by extreme youth from participation in the stirring scenes of the Revolution, he soon became a prominent public man in his own State, for we find that he was sent as a delegate to the Continental Congress in 1786, and served until its close; in 1787 he was chosen as a member of the Federal Convention, being at that time only twenty-five years of age, and was the youngest member of that body. He was the sole colleague of John Langdon, but, not appearing until the work of the Convention was well under way, modestly refrained from any participation in debate. He is described as being boyish in



NICHOLAS GILMAN.

Nat. 1762 - Ob. 1814

From the Miniature in the possession of the Family.





NATHANIEL GORHAM.

Nat: 1738 - Ob: 1796.

From the original Painting in the possession of the Family

appearance, but possessed of an ardent temperament and of great ability as a lawyer. From 1789 to 1797 he was a member of the Congress of the United States in the House of Representatives, and seems, with Fisher Ames, to have been an enthusiastic supporter of the administration of Washington, voting in favor of the celebrated treaty of Mr. Jay. He served as a United States senator from 1805 until the period of his death.

NATHANIEL GORHAM.

NATHANIEL GORHAM, who, with Rufus King and Caleb Strong, represented Massachusetts in the Federal Convention, was born in Charlestown, Mass., on the 27th of May, 1738, and died June 11, 1796. After being educated at the common schools, he entered into business and served as town councillor from 1771 until 1775, when he was chosen as a delegate to the Provincial Congress. He also served as a member of the legislature of his native State, and of the State Board of War from 1778 until the time of its dissolution. He was also a delegate to the State constitutional convention in 1779. In 1782 he was again chosen to Congress, and from 1785 to 1787 acted as its president. For several years he was a judge of the Court of Common Pleas. In 1787 he was chosen to the Federal Convention, and, when that body went into a committee of the whole, was called by Washington to the chair, no doubt on account of his legislative experience and skill as a parliamentarian, and in that capacity served for three-fourths of the time that the Convention was in session. His views were largely those already noticed in our sketch of Langdon. In strong terms he pointed out the danger to all the States if a constitution were not formed, and animadverted with great severity upon the unpatriotic conduct of Rhode Island. He exerted a powerful influence in securing the adoption of the Constitution in his native State, and was a conspicuous member of the Massachusetts Convention. During the last years of his life he

became interested in land speculations, having purchased, with Oliver Phelps, an immense tract on the Genesee River, now comprising ten or twelve counties in the State of New York. His descendants are still in that region.

RUFUS KING.

RUFUS KING was born at Scarborough, now in the State of Maine, March 24, 1755, and died at Jamaica, Long Island, April 29, 1827. He was the son of a rich merchant, and studied law with that distinguished jurist, Theophilus Parsons, of Massachusetts. In 1778 he served as aide-de-camp to General Glover; in 1782 he was chosen to the Legislature of Massachusetts, and also served as a member of the old Congress from 1784 to 1786. He proved to be an active and energetic member. In March of 1785 he moved in Congress the following resolution: "That there be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the States described in the resolution of Congress of April, 1784, otherwise than in punishment of crime; and that this regulation shall be made an article of compact and remain a fundamental principle of the Constitution." This resolution was, by the votes of seven States against four, referred to a committee of the whole, and was subsequently embodied, almost word for word, by Nathan Dane in the famous Ordinance of 1787. He is said to have been an uncommonly handsome man, of polished manners, and of powerful and well cultivated mind. He was a dignified and graceful speaker, and at times displayed oratorical gifts of a rare order of excellence. At the time of his service as a member of the Federal Convention he was but thirty-three years of age, but frequently participated in the debates. His legal knowledge as well as his legislative experience proved to be of much value. He took a moderate view of every great question, and, while wishing the State governments preserved, contended that they should be made subordinate. He expressed great anxiety for a harmonious adop-



RUFUS KING
Not 1755 - Oct 1827

From the Original Painting in the Trumbull Collection, Yale School of Art



WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON.

Nat-1727 - Ob-1819.

From the Original Painting in Columbia College.

tion of the Constitution, and with his colleagues Strong and Gorham and Dana became a member of the Massachusetts Convention called to ratify the Constitution. His efforts contributed largely to the successful result. He expected to have been chosen to the Senate of the United States, but, disappointed in this, in 1788 removed to New York, and with General Schuyler was chosen United States senator from that State. His talents and abilities in debate made him conspicuous, and his greatest speech was delivered against the right of Gallatin to a seat in the Senate, for the reason that he had not been a citizen long enough to be entitled to admission. Having declined the portfolio of Secretary of State, he was sent as minister to London in 1796, and remained there until 1804. In 1813 he was again sent to the Senate of the United States from New York, and delivered a very eloquent speech upon the burning of the capitol by the British. In 1819 he was re-elected, and strenuously opposed the admission of Missouri as a slave State. In 1825 he was again sent as minister to London, but returned the following year in ill health, dying in 1827.

WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON.

WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON was born in Stratford, Conn., October 7, 1727, and died November 14, 1819. He was the son of a clergyman who was the first president of King's (subsequently Columbia) College, New York, and graduated from Yale in 1744. He subsequently studied law, and distinguished himself at the bar by eloquence and ability. He was also deeply versed in science and literature. He was sent to Congress in 1765, and from 1766 to 1771 resided in England as the agent of the colony of Connecticut, and there formed friendships with the literary men of England, conducting for several years a correspondence with Dr. Samuel Johnson, the great lexicographer. From 1772 to 1774 he was a judge of the Supreme Court of Connecticut, and from 1784 to 1787 was a member of the Continental Congress.

In the Federal Convention he was the first to propose the organization of the Senate as a distinct branch of the national legislature. He desired the preservation of the sovereignty of the States, and advocated the representation of the States in one branch, and of the people in another. He thought that population was the true rule of wealth and representation, and that blacks as well as whites should be considered in the computation. He contended that controversies between the States should be left to the judiciary, and that the judicial power should extend to equity causes. After the adoption of the Constitution he served as United States senator from Connecticut from 1789 to 1791, and aided Oliver Ellsworth, subsequently Chief Justice of the United States, in drawing up the bill which laid the foundation of the judiciary system of the United States. From 1789 to 1800 he was the president of Columbia College, and the picture shows him in his official robes.

ROGER SHERMAN.

ROGER SHERMAN is the only man who enjoys the singular distinction of having signed the four most important State papers in American history,—the Articles of Association of the Congress of 1774, the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution of the United States. He was born in Newton, Mass., on the 19th of April, 1721, and died in New Haven, Conn., on the 23d of July, 1793. He was a shoemaker by trade, and, after the death of his father, supported his mother and several younger children, devoting all the time which he could spare from his bench to study, especially to mathematics. At the age of twenty-two he removed to New Milford, Conn., and subsequently kept a small store with his brother, and for some years acted as county surveyor, at the same time furnishing astronomical calculations for an almanac published in New York. Late in life he studied law, and rose to be a judge of the highest court in Connecticut, a position which he held for twenty-three years. His



ROGER SHERMAN.
Nat 1721 - Ob 1793

From the original painting in the possession of the Family.

chief qualities were his great practical wisdom and concise methods of speech. He was tall, erect, and grave in deportment, while his dress was remarkable for its plainness. He was one of the earliest members of the Continental Congress, and served with Jefferson, Franklin, Adams, and Livingston upon the committee to prepare the Declaration of Independence. During the war he served as a member of the Board of War and Ordnance, and of the Treasury. In 1783 he aided in the codification of the laws of Connecticut. In the Federal Convention he rarely spoke, but when he did so he produced a profound impression, the result of his integrity of character and the logical arrangement of his matter. His views were moderate and conservative. He objected to any great deviation from the Articles of Confederation, and wished all the powers of government not absolutely needed for the ends of union left to the States. He disapproved of any unnecessary interference with the Southern States on the subject of slavery. He advocated the election of representatives by the States, and preferred their payment by the States, while he opposed making representatives ineligible to State offices, preferring to make them ineligible to national offices. He desired, however, an absolute prohibition on the States as to paper money. He wished all taxes on exports prohibited, objected to a public provision for delivering up fugitive slaves, opposed the exclusive right of the House to originate money bills, but approved of the assumption by Congress of the State debts. He proposed the appointment of judges by the legislative branch, and opposed a national judiciary that was not appellate. He thought that a distinction existed between treason against the United States and the individual States. He objected to a general bankrupt law, and declared that any positive prohibition of a religious test was unnecessary. He contended that amendments to the Constitution should be assented to by the States, and preferred to submit the Constitution to the Congress of the Confederation, but not to require their

assent. To the ratification of the Constitution he gave important support in his State convention, and published a series of articles in its favor. He was elected to Congress, and thereupon resigned his judicial station. In 1791 he was elected a senator of the United States, but did not live to complete his term of office. At the time of his death he was mayor of New Haven, a position he had held since 1784.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, in the opinion of many competent judges, was the most extraordinary man in the Convention. Of but thirty years of age, and of small and unimposing stature, he towered above all his associates in the force and originality of his genius, and in the bold and radical character of his views. These were expressed with such astonishing eloquence, and such marvellous erudition, as to stamp his plans with the features of creative intellect, and to mark him as the natural leader in a school of political doctrine which exists in full force to-day. He had a remarkably expressive face, with fair complexion and rosy cheeks, with a countenance grave and thoughtful in repose, but when spoken to, lighted up with intelligent vivacity, and a smile of extraordinary sweetness. His mind was of immense grasp and unlimited original resources. Both as a writer and speaker he was equally great, and he could endure more unremitting and intense mental labor than any man in the Convention. His perceptions were rapid, and he reached his conclusions by a species of intuition. He possessed that most unfailing mark of the highest order of intellect, the comprehensiveness of view which leads to accurate generalization. His views were strikingly original. He was frank, amiable, and high-minded, inspiring his friends with the warmest personal attachment, while he rarely failed to make his enemies both hate and fear him. He was born in the island of Nevis, in the year 1757, his



ALEXANDER HAMILTON

Nat. 1757 - Ob. 1804.

From the Original Painting in the Trumbull Collection, Yale School of Art.

mother being a native of that island, and his father being a Scotchman. At twelve years of age he entered the counting-house of a merchant at Santa Cruz, and at fifteen was sent to New York, to complete his education, and was entered as a student in King's (now Columbia) College. At the age of seventeen he wrote political essays on the rights of the colonies, which attracted so much attention that they were attributed to older and well-known men. At nineteen he entered the army as a captain of artillery, and in 1777—being then twenty years old—was selected by Washington to be one of his aides-de-camp, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He served for five years in this capacity, until he was elected a member of Congress from the State of New York. In this body he turned his attention largely to matters of finance and revenue. In 1786 he was chosen a member of the Legislature of New York. He early expressed a wish for a general convention to propose a plan for a Federal Constitution. He was one of the members of the Annapolis Convention, and wrote the address of that body to Congress and the States. In 1787 he was appointed a delegate to the Federal Convention. He was one of the first members to appear, and, though subsequently deserted by his colleagues, Yates and Lansing, remained at the post of duty, and exerted the most extraordinary influence. In demanding the most liberal grants of power to the national government, he struck a high key, and though he could not induce the Convention to adopt his views, yet it was to his strenuous advocacy of a strong government that the vigor and efficiency of the Constitution was largely due. He objected to a government merely federal. He opposed the New Jersey plan, and thought that the substitution of a general government, and the extinguishment of those of the States, would be a great economy. He doubted the advantages of the vast apparatus of the States, and questioned the policy of divided sovereignty. Having pointed out the objections to both plans then under discussion, he read to

the committee of the whole a sketch of a plan which he had prepared, as being better adapted to the end of saving the Union from dissolution. Although accused of a leaning towards monarchy, there is nothing in his plan to support the charge. Many of its features are similar to those of the present Constitution. While disliking the Constitution in the form in which it was finally adopted, like Franklin, he waived his objections and became its ardent advocate before the people. With the aid of Madison and Jay, he wrote the celebrated essays known as "The Federalist," which embodied the most powerful and persuasive arguments in favor of the adoption of the Constitution. Indeed, they are now resorted to in exposition of the instrument itself, and constitute a lasting monument to the genius of the authors. By far the greater part of this work was done by Hamilton. But his greatest display of intellectual strength was as a member of the State convention of New York, called to ratify the Constitution. Here his labors were indeed stupendous. To his unwearied energy, to his vigilance, skill, knowledge, and fascinating powers of speech must be attributed the success which ultimately, although at a late season, crowned the labors of the friends of the Constitution in New York. In 1789, Hamilton accepted office in Washington's administration as Secretary of the Treasury, and gave fresh proof of his genius. He, in fact, organized the government. He originated policies, breathed life into statutes, gave credit and stability to the administration, rescued the nation from bankruptcy, adjusted the claims of public creditors, and developed theories into vigorous principles of constitutional law. In 1795 he retired to the practice of the law in New York and became renowned as an advocate. In 1798, at Washington's request, he was appointed second in command of the army raised to repel the apprehended French invasion, and, on the death of Washington, succeeded to the chief command. He again returned to the practice of the law, until, in July, 1804, he was cut down by the bullet of the duellist. "It is



WILLIAM LIVINGSTON.

Na. 1723 - Ob. 1790

From the original painting in the possession of the Family.

known," says Mr. Curtis, "what a thrill of horror, what a sharp, terrible pang ran through the nation, proving the comprehension by the entire people of what was lost, when Aaron Burr took from his country and the world that important life. In the most distant extremities of the Union men felt that one of the first intellects of the age had been extinguished."

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON.

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON was one of the ablest representatives of New Jersey in the Convention, a man both plain and simple in his dress and manners, but one of the most forcible and elegant writers in the assembly. He was born in Albany, in November, 1723, and passed a part of his boyhood among the Mohawk Indians, in company with a missionary. In 1737 he entered Yale College, and four years later graduated at the head of his class. He subsequently studied law in New York City with James Alexander. For many years he indulged in literary and political work, and published poems which were much admired for their grace and spirited sentiment. At times he was engaged in polemical controversies. Having removed to New Jersey, he was in 1774 elected as delegate to the Continental Congress. The following year he commanded the militia of New Jersey as a brigadier-general. In 1776 he was chosen governor, and filled this office for some years. His pen was active in the cause of the colonists, and his satire and merciless invective so exasperated the British that repeated attempts were made to surround his house and capture his person. He was a sturdy supporter of Congress, and, while governor, refused to appoint an individual as postmaster on the ground that he had refused to take Continental money. In 1785 he was chosen by Congress as minister to Holland, but declined the appointment. In 1787 he was chosen to the Federal Convention, and, though not a prominent debater, was an active member. He reported provisions relative to the public debt and militia, slaves,

navigation, and capitation taxes, and thought that the public creditors should be put in the same state under the Constitution as under the Confederation. In person he was tall and thin, and by a wit was called "the whipping-post." He died in 1790, of dropsy, while governor of the State.

DAVID BREARLEY.

DAVID BREARLEY was born July 11, 1745, and came of a family of note. His grandfather, John Brearley, was born in Yorkshire, England, in 1645, and came to this country in 1680, and settled in New Jersey, in what is now Mercer County. His father, David Brearley, married Mary Clark, by whom he had five children. The eldest son, Joseph, espoused the cause of the colonists by entering the army, and attained the rank of major-general. David, the subject of this sketch, was equally patriotic. While still very young he was a member of the Provincial Congress which formed the first constitution of the State of New Jersey, in 1776. A reward of one hundred pounds having been offered by the British for the capture of any member of that Congress, Brearley was arrested for high treason, but was rescued by his friends. His early education was received at the village of Maidenhead, now Lawrenceville. He attended the college at Princeton, though he did not graduate, but received, in 1781, the honorary degree of Master of Arts. He then studied law, and was admitted to the bar November 15, 1767, and began the practice of his profession at Allentown. The call to arms found him ready for the conflict, and he became a lieutenant-colonel of the Continental army, and a colonel of the Second Monmouth, a New Jersey regiment. He was in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, and with Washington at Valley Forge. On the 10th of June, 1778, he left the field, having been officially notified of his appointment as chief justice of New Jersey. He accepted the position, entered upon his duties, and soon inspired confidence, and gave evidence of

ability of no ordinary kind as a jurist. This, indeed, was the sphere in which he most distinguished himself. During his eleven years of service as the head of the Supreme Court, he had the opportunity to give shape and form and character to the jurisprudence of the State. The experience of these years in the study and practical application of the law pointed him out as a suitable person to fill the important position he subsequently occupied as United States district judge for New Jersey, under the Constitution which he himself assisted in framing. It was while he was chief justice that he was chosen a member of the Federal Convention. Here he distinguished himself not so much by what he said as by what he did. Judge Paterson was unquestionably the leader of the New Jersey delegation, but Brearley in a quiet way pressed the claims of the smaller States for equality of recognition. This was conceded by equal representation in the United States Senate, and in the House of Representatives when the choice of a chief magistrate devolves on that body. He served as one of the Committee of Eleven to determine the length of tenure of office and to define the powers of the President. He was also a member of the State convention called to ratify the Constitution. As a citizen, Judge Brearley was upright, influential, and devoted to the interests of his country. As a soldier, he was fearless, brave, patriotic, and true. As a jurist, he was honest, faithful, impartial, and wise. In every position he occupied he commanded respect and inspired confidence. He died, greatly lamented, at the age of forty-five, August 19, 1790, and was buried in St. Michael's churchyard, at Trenton, with Masonic and military honors.*

* Abridged from a sketch by Samuel M. Hamill, D.D.

WILLIAM PATERSON.

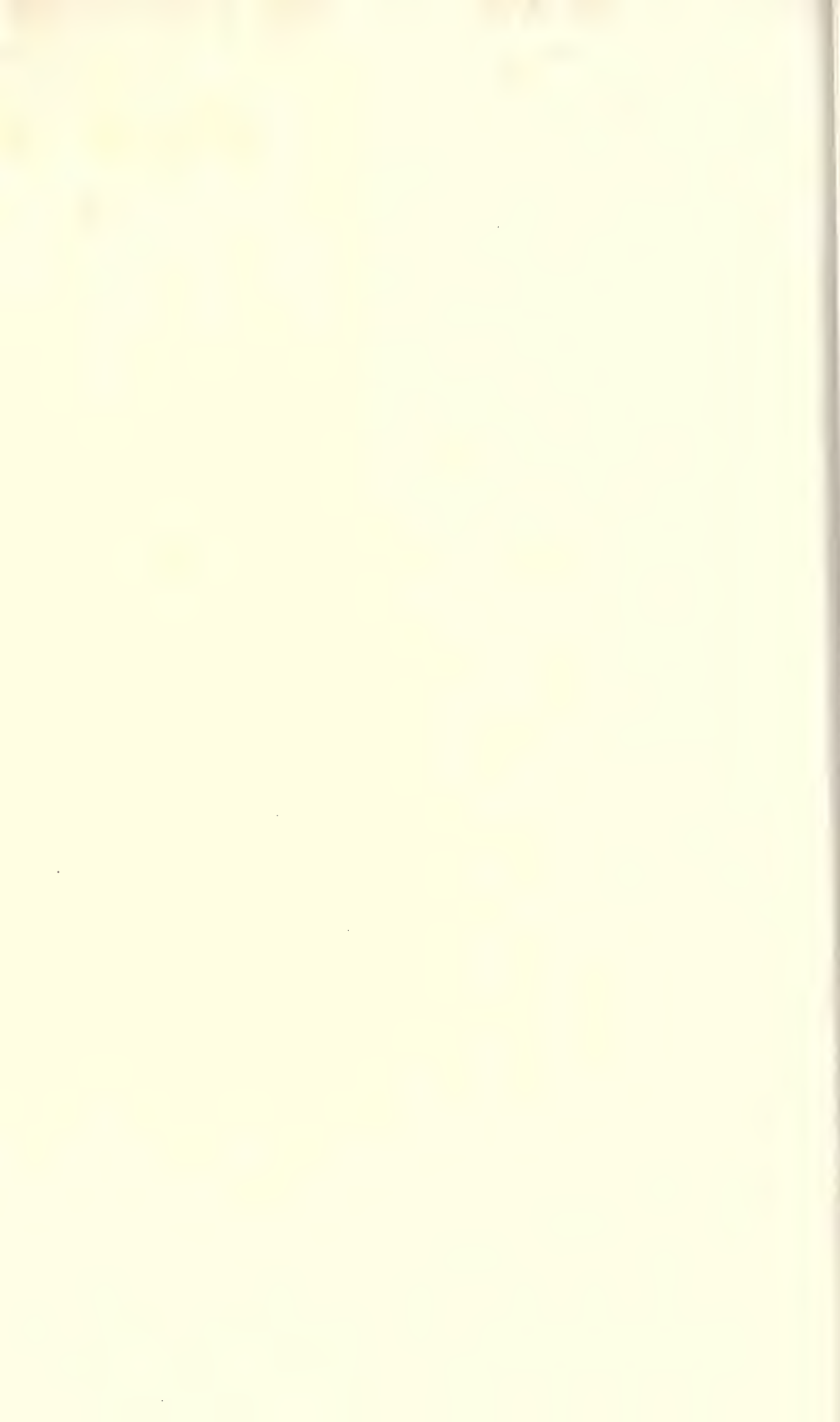
WILLIAM PATERSON, the son of Richard Paterson, an Irish immigrant to New Jersey in the year 1749, was, according to some accounts, born in Ireland, according to others, at sea on the passage to America. He was educated at Princeton, and graduated September 27, 1763. He read law with Richard Stockton, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, was admitted to the bar in 1764, and became an attorney of the Supreme Court in 1769. He took an active part in public affairs, always on the patriotic side, and was a member of the First Provincial Congress of New Jersey, serving as assistant secretary. In 1775 he became a member of the Continental Congress, and during the following year was the attorney-general of his adopted State, and a member of the Legislative Council. He served several times as a member of Congress, but resigned in 1783 this position, as well as that of attorney-general, and resumed the practice of the law, remaining in private station until he was sent to the Annapolis Convention and later to the Federal Convention. In the Convention two plans were proposed, which formed the basis of discussion. The Virginia plan, introduced by Edmund Randolph, proposed, in substance, a national government, and received the support of the larger States. The other, the New Jersey plan, was offered by Paterson, and proposed to preserve the State sovereignties, while giving to the general government power to provide for the common defence and general welfare. The result, as is known, was a fusion of the plans. Paterson contended that the proper object of the Convention was a mere revision and extension of the Articles of Confederation; he wished to preserve the efficiency of the State governments, and thought that the plan of Mr. Randolph went far beyond the powers of the Convention. He insisted on an equal vote of the States in the Senate, and objected to a proportional representation in either House. After



WILLIAM PATERSON.

Nat. 1744 - Ob. 1806.

From the painting in the Nation's Museum, Phil^a.



a full and earnest discussion, in which all the leading men from the different States participated, the question of representation was referred to a committee of one from each State, in which Paterson represented New Jersey, which agreed upon a report that was finally adopted in substance. The ablest supporter of Paterson's views was Oliver Ellsworth, of Connecticut, though he had also the united support of all his State commissioners. After the adoption of the Constitution Mr. Paterson was chosen one of the senators of the United States from New Jersey, his colleague being Jonathan Elmer. He was one of the tellers to count the electoral votes, and chairman of the committee to prepare the certificates of the election and to certify the elected officers. He served as a member of the Judiciary Committee, and took an active part in framing the act to establish the judicial system of the United States. On the death of Governor Livingston, in 1790, he became the governor and chancellor of his State, resigning his position as United States senator, and held the office for three years. During this time he executed, under the authority of the legislature, the work of collecting and reducing into proper form all the statutes of Great Britain which before the Revolution were practised, and which by the Constitution were extended to the State, as well as all the public acts which had been passed since, a work which has been spoken of by a competent authority as a system of statute law more perfect than that of any other State, and which has continued to this day to deserve the highest praise. In 1793, Governor Paterson was appointed by Washington as a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, an office which he held the remainder of his life. He presided over several State trials of importance, and sustained the constitutionality of the famous alien and sedition laws. He died on the 9th of September, 1806, in the sixty-second year of his age.*

* Abridged from Elmer's "Reminiscences of New Jersey."

JONATHAN DAYTON.

JONATHAN DAYTON, the son of Elias Dayton, a brigadier-general during the war of the Revolution, was born at Elizabethtown, N. J., on the 16th of October, 1760. He was graduated at the College of New Jersey in 1776, but as he had entered the Revolutionary army, at the age of sixteen years, in February of that year, did not receive his degree until the month of May, 1777. His father had been elected, by the joint meeting of the legislature, colonel of the Third Battalion, first establishment of the New Jersey line, on the 7th of February, 1776, and on the same day the commission of Jonathan Dayton as paymaster of the battalion was dated. He served under General Sullivan, and in Maxwell's brigade, participated in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, and in the winter camp at Valley Forge. He subsequently held the position of aide-de-camp, with the rank of major, to General Sullivan. In November of 1780, while stationed with his regiment, and serving as captain of the Third New Jersey, he was taken prisoner and carried to Staten Island. He subsequently served under Lafayette at the siege of Yorktown, and aided in the storming of one of the British redoubts. He remained in the service until 1783, when he was discharged. He returned home and entered actively into political life. In 1786 he was elected a member of the General Assembly, and was re-elected in 1787. In that year he was elected by the joint meeting a delegate to the Constitutional Convention, or, as styled in the minutes, a commissioner to meet the commissioners of other States on commercial and other matters. His associates were Brearley, Paterson, Houston, Neilson, Livingston, and Clark, all of whom, except Neilson and Clark, attended and took their seats. Jonathan Dayton was not a passive member of the Convention, but participated frequently in the debates. He was a firm supporter of the New Jersey plan, and a defender of the rights of the



JONATHAN DAYTON J.L.D.
Nat. 1766—Dd. 1824.

*From the Original in the
Library of the University of Michigan*



smaller States. He advocated the payment of the senators out of the national treasury, considering their payment by the States as fatal to their independence; he also advocated an equal vote of the States in the Senate and in the House, and opposed the scheme of an equal vote in the Senate and a proportional one in the House. He seconded the motion of Gouverneur Morris to make the representation in the House proportional to the free inhabitants, saying that he did it that his sentiments on the subject might appear, whatever the fate of the motion. He objected to a joint ballot in Congress on the election of a President, and moved an equal vote of the States for such election. He assented to restrictions on Congress as to an army, which did not interfere with proper preparations for war, and advocated the limitation of the authority of Congress over the militia to those in the actual service of the United States, and instanced the conduct of Rhode Island as showing the necessity of giving latitude to the power of the United States to protect the States from invasion and rebellion. He signed the Constitution as adopted September 17, 1787. In the following November he was elected a member of the Continental Congress; in October, 1788, was again elected, and served as a member of the last Continental Congress until the Constitution went into effect. In 1789 he was again elected to the New Jersey Legislature, and in 1790 served as Speaker of the General Assembly. During the latter year he was an unsuccessful candidate for the office of United States senator. In 1791 he was chosen to the lower House in Congress, and was four times re-elected. In 1795 he was elected Speaker of the House on the opening of the Fourth Congress, and was re-elected Speaker by the Fifth Congress, in which the Federal party had a slender majority. Although it has been said that his politics were considered neutral, yet it is clear that Hamilton regarded him as a leading member of the Federal party. In 1798, when hostilities with France were threatened, Dayton was appointed and con-

firmed as brigadier-general. In the same year he was elected a United States senator to succeed Richard Stockton, and served until the expiration of his term, when he retired to private life. He became largely interested in speculations in Western lands, especially in Ohio, and the city of Dayton in that State now bears his name. An intimate friend of Aaron Burr, it was strongly asserted that Dayton was one of his confederates, and with Blennerhasset, Swartwout, and others he was indicted for treason. The result of the trial of Burr ended all the other prosecutions. In 1814, Dayton was again elected to the Legislature of New Jersey, and was a warm supporter of Madison's administration. He also subsequently held several important offices in his native town. In 1798, the College of New Jersey conferred on him the degree of LL.D. He died at Elizabethtown, October 9, 1824.*

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, the American Socrates, as he was called by Sir James Mackintosh, was the oldest member of the Convention, being at that time eighty-one years of age. A philosopher whose wisdom was world-renowned, he exceeded in practical knowledge every one of his associates. With no pretensions as a speaker, he disposed of every question with extraordinary brevity, sometimes by a happy allegory, sometimes by a single sentence. No man in the Convention, save Washington, was more revered. No man could boast of such a remarkable career. Born in Boston, January 17, 1706, the fifteenth of a family of seventeen children, and coming to Philadelphia a mere lad, without a shilling in his pocket, a friendless printer's boy, he rose by the force of his indomitable energy, prudence, and a sagacity which amounted to genius to be the foremost of the great and trusted sons of his adopted commonwealth. He had stood before kings, crowned

* Abridged from a sketch written by Garret D. W. Vroom.



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

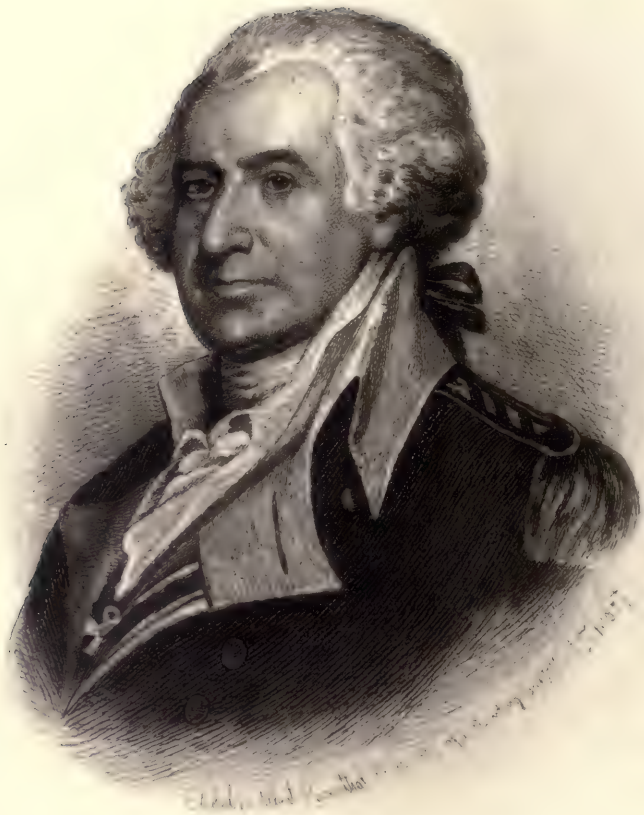
Aet-84.

From the original painting in the possession of the Historical Society of Penna.



with the respect and admiration of the world. To business success he had added scientific renown, and had won the doctorate from Edinburgh and Oxford. He had appeared at the bar of the House of Commons when examined upon the necessity of the repeal of the Stamp Act; he had been a member of the Congress of 1776, and had signed the Declaration of Independence; in 1783, as one of the representatives of the United States, he had signed the definitive treaty of peace, which placed his country among the independent nations of the earth. He had resided in England for fourteen years, from 1757 to 1762, as the agent of the Pennsylvania Assembly to settle their difficulties with the proprietaries, and from 1764 to 1775 as the agent of Pennsylvania, which was subsequently extended to an agency for Georgia, New Jersey, and Massachusetts. He had been in France from 1776 to 1785, and, by his diplomacy, had done more than any other man to secure the French alliance. He had been but two years at home when called upon to serve as a delegate to the Federal Convention. The idea of union had long been familiar to his thoughts. As early as 1754 he had projected a plan for the union of the colonies, and now, after long years of patient waiting, was to see his plans realized. Dr. Franklin's views were treated with the utmost respect. As he was sensible of the effects of age upon his memory, his remarks were carefully written out, and read to the Convention by his colleague, Mr. Wilson. He strongly objected to a salary for the President, as he thought that *profit* attached to so much *honor* would prove dangerous to the public welfare in tempting unprincipled men to grasp both. He was in favor of the impeaching power, and opposed an absolute negative of the President on the legislature, illustrating his views by remarks on the conduct of the colonial governors of Pennsylvania. He dreaded the increase of executive power, and opposed vesting a power of appointment in the office, though he proposed that the President might suspend laws for a limited time. He approved of

an executive council, and preferred a legislature of one House. At a moment of excited discussion he endeavored to allay the passions which had been aroused, and in a few words of great beauty and simplicity proposed that the Convention should be opened each day with prayer. His most extended remarks were on the plan of compromise between the large and small States suggested by Mr. Johnson, of Connecticut. He proposed that votes on money bills should be in proportion to contribution, and that all matters relating to money should be made public. He objected to the limitation on the powers of Congress to increase the compensation of the judges. He opposed a property qualification for representatives, and, while in favor of fixing the compensation of representatives, was against allowing a compensation to senators. He thought that the final ratification of the Constitution should be referred to a second convention. Dr. Franklin had serious objections to the Constitution, but his patriotism induced him to abandon them. "The opinions I have had of its errors," said he, "I sacrifice to the public good. Within these walls they were born, and here they shall die. I hope that for our own sakes, as a part of the people, and for the sake of posterity, we shall act heartily and unanimously in recommending this Constitution, approved by Congress and confirmed by the conventions, wherever our influence may extend, and turn our future thoughts and endeavors to the means of having it well administered." Mr. Madison has recorded the following anecdote at the end of the debates: "Whilst the last members were signing, Dr. Franklin, looking towards the President's chair, at the back of which a rising sun happened to be painted, observed to a few members near him that painters have often found it difficult, in their art, to distinguish a rising from a setting sun. 'I have,' said he, 'often and often, in the course of the session, and the vicissitude of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that sun behind the president without being able to tell whether it was



THOMAS MIFFLIN.

Nat. 1744 - Ob. 1800.

From the original painting in the possession of Alex. J. Dallas Esq. Esq. Phil^a

rising or setting ; but now, at length, I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting sun.' ”

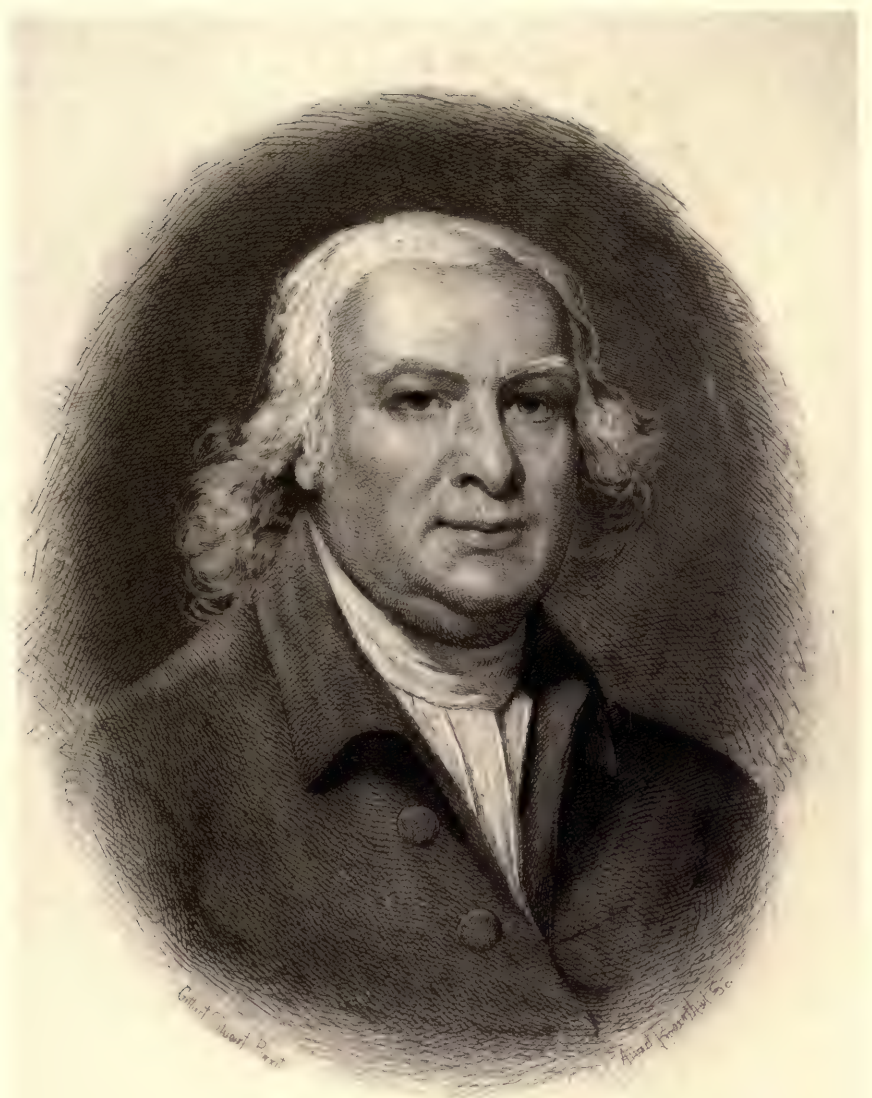
THOMAS MIFFLIN.

THOMAS MIFFLIN, president of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania from 1788 to 1790, governor under the Constitution of 1790 from that year until December, 1799, and a distinguished soldier of the Revolution, was born in Philadelphia in 1744. It was the intention of his father, who was a Quaker, that he should follow a mercantile profession, but he responded to his country's call and took up arms, rising to high rank. He also served in Congress, and was noted as an animated orator. He was one of those who entered into the cabal against Washington in favor of Gates, and in this way estranged himself from many in the army. He retained his political popularity, however, and in 1783 was elected to Congress, and, as the president of that body, received back the commission of Washington when he formally tendered his resignation. Mifflin's reply to the few words uttered by Washington was eloquent, dignified, and elevated, and has been often quoted,—“ We join you in commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, beseeching Him to dispose the hearts and minds of its citizens to improve the opportunity afforded them of becoming a happy and respectable nation. And for you we address to Him our earnest prayers that a life so beloved may be fostered with all His care ; that your days may be as happy as they have been illustrious ; and that He will finally give you that reward which this world cannot give.” In 1785, Mifflin was chosen a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly and served as Speaker. In 1787 he became a member of the Federal Convention. He spoke but once in the course of the debates, contending that the ineligibility of members of Congress should be confined to offices created or increased in value during their term. In 1788 he was a member of the Supreme

Executive Council, and in 1790 was the president of the Convention called to frame a constitution for the State of Pennsylvania. Subsequently he was elected governor, and filled the office for nine years. He died in January, 1800. His biographer, William Rawle, says: "Thus ended the checkered life of Thomas Mifflin,—brilliant in its outset,—troubled and perplexed at a period more advanced,—again distinguished, prosperous, and happy,—finally clouded by poverty and oppressed by creditors."

ROBERT MORRIS.

ROBERT MORRIS, the financier of the American Revolution, was born in Lancashire, England, January 31, 1734, and came to this country with his father, who was a respectable merchant of Liverpool, and settled in Maryland. At an early age he came to Philadelphia, and entered the counting-house of Charles Willing, an eminent merchant, and, in 1754, formed a co-partnership with Thomas Willing, the son of Charles, which lasted until 1793, being the best known and largest importing house in the colonies. He resolutely opposed the Stamp Act, and, contrary to his own interests, signed the non-importation agreement of the merchants of Philadelphia. He served as vice-president of the Committee of Safety until its dissolution, in July, 1776. In 1775 he entered Congress, and served on important committees. Although voting against the Declaration of Independence, and absenting himself from his seat on the 4th of July, he subsequently, on the 2d of August, when the engrossed Declaration lay on the table to be signed, affixed his name to it "with firm hand and unfaltering heart." He was repeatedly re-elected to Congress, and led the Pennsylvania delegation in signing the Articles of Confederation. In 1781, when the finances of the nation were in a deplorable condition, he was unanimously chosen superintendent of finance. In accepting the office, he wrote: "I sacrifice much of my interest, my ease, my domestic enjoyments, and internal tranquillity. If I



ROBERT MORRIS,
Nat. 1734—Ob. 1806.

From the original painting in the possession of the Family



know my own heart, I make these sacrifices with a disinterested view to the service of my country. I am ready to go further; and the United States may command everything I have except my integrity, and the loss of that would effectually disable me from serving them more." For three years he discharged the arduous duties of this most responsible post. When the credit of the government was exhausted, he drew without stint upon his own credit and private resources, and furnished means, without which Washington could not have kept the field. The eloquent Italian historian, Botta, says: "Certainly the Americans owed and still owe as much acknowledgment to the financial operations of Robert Morris as to the negotiations of Benjamin Franklin, or even the arms of George Washington." At one time Mr. Morris threatened to resign, stating that he would not be the minister of injustice. This phrase was supposed to imply a censure of Congress, and was bitterly resented by Mr. Lee and Mr. Bland, who made a severe attack upon Mr. Morris. He was warmly defended and successfully vindicated by Wilson and Hamilton, who declared that ruin would result from his resignation; that the public credit and all the operations dependent on it would be involved. He established the Bank of North America, the first incorporated bank in the United States. In 1787 he was chosen as a delegate to the Federal Convention. It was on his nomination that Washington was chosen as President. He strenuously advocated the choice of senators during good behavior, and that they should be men of property. He objected to the equal vote of large and small States in the Convention. In 1788, he was chosen as the first senator of the United States from Pennsylvania, and remained in office until 1795. He declined the office of Secretary of the Treasury, tendered him by Washington, and, on request, suggested the name of Hamilton. On his retirement from public life he began to speculate in unimproved lands, which resulted in his ruin, and for more than three years was an inmate of a debtor's

prison, with no relief from the government, which he had once "carried on his shoulders." Five years later he died, in 1806, in the seventy-third year of his age.

GEORGE CLYMER.

GEORGE CLYMER, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, was born in Philadelphia in 1739, and was left an orphan at an early age. He was well cared for, however, by his uncle, William Coleman, a gentleman of high character. He devoted himself to mercantile pursuits, but soon became actively interested in the all-absorbing political questions of the day, and stoutly resisted the encroachments of Great Britain. In 1776 he was sent to Congress with Rush, Wilson, Ross, and Taylor, and was one of those men whose names have become immortal by signing the Declaration. He served in Congress until some time in the latter part of 1777, failing of a re-election; but was returned elected in 1780. He was spoken of, but not chosen, as Secretary of Foreign Affairs. After other public services, but particularly those in mitigation of the severities of the penal code in Pennsylvania, he was chosen to the Federal Convention. In this body, his biographer tells us, he evinced the most enlightened and liberal views. An examination of the record shows that he very rarely participated in discussion, and then chiefly upon questions affecting the commercial regulations between the States, and duties upon exports. As a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly, he took an active part in calling the convention to ratify the Constitution, and was subsequently chosen a member of Congress. It was a saying of his that "a representative of the people is appointed to think *for* and not *with* his constituents." In this doctrine he coincided with Burke. He died in 1813.



GEORGE CLYMER.

Nat-1739 - Ob-1813.

From the Original Painting in the Penna. Academy of the Fine Arts.

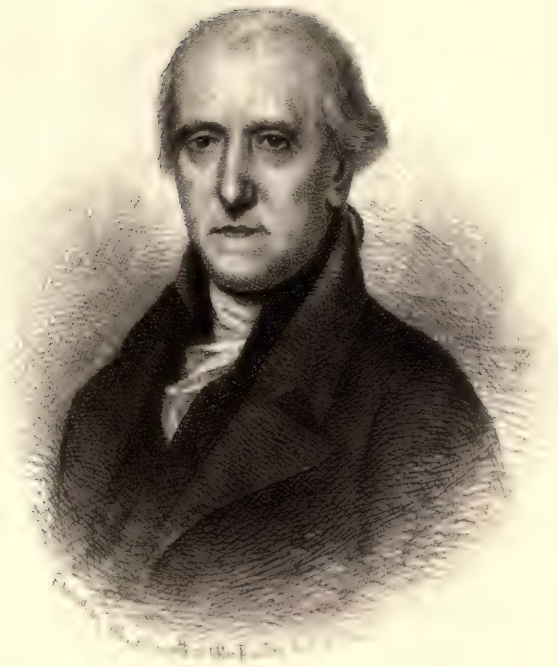
THOMAS FITZSIMONS.

THOMAS FITZSIMONS was born in Ireland in 1741. The victim of oppression, he emigrated to this country, probably in the year 1765, settled in Philadelphia, and engaged in mercantile pursuits. Not long after he married the daughter of Mr. Robert Meade, the great-grandfather of the late General George G. Meade, and formed a partnership with his brother-in-law, who was one of the prominent merchants and ship-owners of Philadelphia. He warmly espoused the cause of the colonies in their contest with the mother country, and raised and commanded a military company. He was with General Cadwalader at Bristol and Burlington, in the movements contemporary with the battles of Trenton and Princeton, and was also a member of the Council of Safety, and of the Navy Board. His house subscribed, in 1780, five thousand pounds to supply the necessities of the army. In 1782 he was elected a member of the Continental Congress, and took a leading part in the debates on the financial situation. After the peace he was for several years a member of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, and in 1787 became a member of the Federal Convention. He opposed universal suffrage, and contended that the privilege of voting should be restricted to freeholders. He favored giving Congress the power to tax exports as well as imports, and argued that the House of Representatives should be united with the President, as well as the Senate, in making treaties. In the great Federal procession in Philadelphia, July 4, 1788, by which the ratification of the Constitution by ten States was celebrated, Mr. Fitzsimons appeared, representing the French alliance, mounted on a horse formerly owned by Count Rochambeau, and carrying a flag of white silk, emblazoned with the ensigns of France and the United States. When the national government was organized, Mr. Fitzsimons was elected by the city of Philadelphia a member of Congress, and remained so until

1795. His views upon all questions of commerce, finance, and exchange were highly valued. He also was a conspicuous advocate of a protective tariff. In 1794 he failed of a re-election, that year proving disastrous to the Federalists. With his retirement from Congress his political career closed. He was a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania; a founder and director of the Bank of North America; a director and subsequently president of the Insurance Company of North America. He is described as a man of commanding figure, and of agreeable, though stately and reserved, manners. He died August 26, 1811.

JARED INGERSOLL.

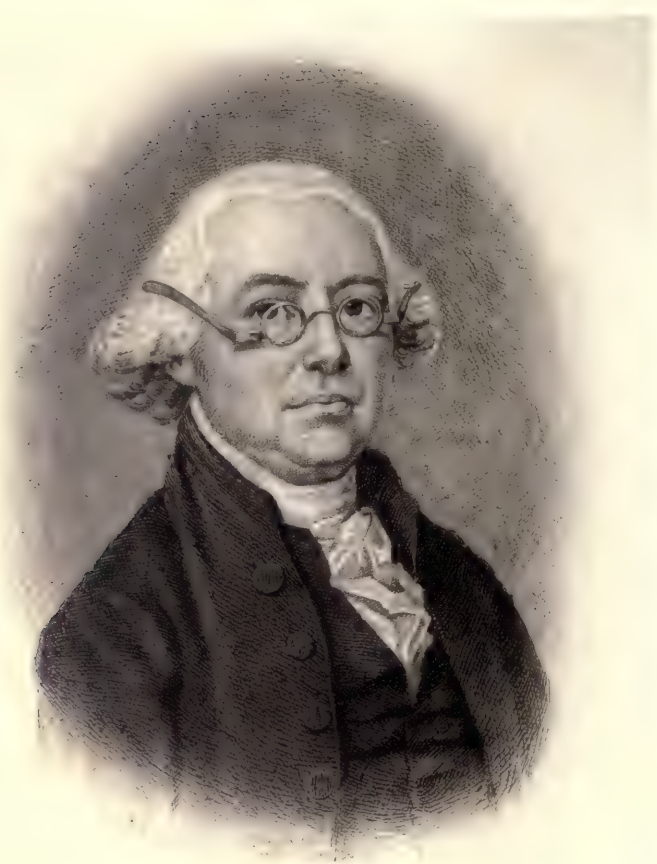
JARED INGERSOLL, one of the leaders of the old bar of Philadelphia, and the preceptor of the late Horace Binney, was born at New Haven, Conn., in the year 1750. His father was a sturdy friend of American independence, and the son, reared in the same school, came to Philadelphia in 1778, under the encouragement of President Reed, to engage in the practice of the law. He had spent some time in England in the study of his profession, and remained in active practice in Philadelphia until his death, in 1822, at the age of seventy-two years. His success was very remarkable, and his ability was marked. Mr. Binney has written of him as a very sound and well-read lawyer, and a most consummate advocate: "In his full vigor, which continued for nearly twenty years after the year 1797, I regard him as having been without comparison the most efficient manager of an important jury trial among all the able men who were then at the bar of Philadelphia." With the exception of his service as a delegate from Pennsylvania in the Federal Convention, he held no place in any popular or representative body. He took no part in the debates. His devotion was to the law, and he was the first attorney-general of the State of Pennsylvania under the constitution of 1790, holding his place for nine years under Governor Mifflin. In 1808 he



JARED INGERSOLL.

Nat-1750 -- Ob-1825

From the original painting in the possession of Edward Ingersoll, Esq.



JAMES WILSON.

Nat 1742-Ob 1798.

From the miniature in the possession of the Family.

was appointed to the same place by Governor Snyder, and for a short time, towards the close of his life, was president of the District Court for the city of Philadelphia.

JAMES WILSON.

JAMES WILSON was a native of Scotland, and had studied at Glasgow, St. Andrews, and Edinburgh, and in 1761, at the age of twenty-one years, emigrated to New York, and in 1766 arrived in Philadelphia. He was an excellent classical scholar, and for a short time was a tutor in the college at Philadelphia. Subsequently he studied law in the office of John Dickinson, and, after some years of practice at Reading, Carlisle, and Annapolis, came to Philadelphia, and was admitted to the Philadelphia bar in December, 1778. For six years—though not continuously—he was a member of Congress. He was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. He held high rank as an orator, and was particularly learned in the principles of finance and constitutional law. In the Federal Convention he was by far the most conspicuous member of the Pennsylvania delegation, with the sole exception, perhaps, of Gouverneur Morris, and is regarded by students of our political history as one of the ablest, as well as one of the worthiest, men in the public service at that day. He served as one of the Committee on Detail, and suggested many features of the present Constitution. He was a strenuous advocate of a government by the people, and was one of the sturdiest supporters of every feature of a national government. He desired that the various branches of the new government should be thoroughly independent of each other. While willing to preserve the State governments, he sought to guard the general government against the encroachments of the States. He contrasted the plans of Mr. Randolph and Mr. Paterson, known as the Virginia and the New Jersey plans, and his able analysis did much to clear the atmosphere of discussion. He pointed out the advantages of a

national government over one purely federative, and showed that the individuality and sovereignty of the States was not incompatible with a general government. He wished the executive to consist of but one person, and proposed that the President should be chosen by electors elected by the people. He wished him armed with an absolute veto, and to serve for a long term, subject to a provision for impeachment. He opposed a proposition to have him removable by Congress on the application of the States, and objected to an executive council. He urged that senators as well as representatives should be chosen by the people, and opposed an equal vote of the States in the Senate, but proposed one senator for every one hundred thousand people; he also objected to the Senate being united in the power of appointment. He advocated a proportional representation of the States in Congress, and suggested the number of freemen and three-fifths of the slaves as a basis of representation. He advocated the same proportion of representation in both Houses, and favored annual elections for members of the lower House. He disapproved of the exclusive origination of money bills by representatives, and objected to residence as a qualification of a member. He desired a provision that the contracts of the Confederation should be fulfilled, and advocated a guarantee to the States of republican institutions. He opposed a proposition to allow the States to appoint to national offices, and doubted whether the writ of *habeas corpus* should ever be suspended. He contended for an absolute prohibition upon the States relative to paper money, and also for a provision prohibiting the passing of laws impairing the obligation of contracts. Such were the liberal and sagacious views of this enlightened statesman. He is strangely unknown, considering the high position to which he is entitled; but his claims are being considered by the writers of to-day. In the convention of Pennsylvania, called to ratify the Constitution, his speeches were the most powerful, eloquent, and luminous





GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

Nat. 1756. D^d. 1816.

From the painting in the National Museum, Paris.

arguments in favor of adoption that were made; and, according to Mr. Curtis, gained the vote of Pennsylvania for the new government against the ingenious and captivating objections of its opponents. On the 29th of September, 1789, he was appointed by Washington one of the associate justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. In 1790 he was chosen professor of law in the law department of the University of Pennsylvania, and three volumes of his lectures have been published. In 1791 he was appointed by the lower House of the Assembly of Pennsylvania to revise and digest the laws of the commonwealth, but the plan was not prosecuted, owing to the lack of a legislative appropriation. Late in life he became involved in land speculation, and became overwhelmed with misfortune, lying in a debtor's prison at the suit of Pierce Butler, a fellow-member in the Federal Convention. Mr. Butler subsequently directed his release, but before the power of attorney was executed Wilson died, at the age of fifty-six, in 1798, at Edenton, N. C.

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS is entitled to a very high rank among the statesmen of America. His oratorical abilities were of an uncommon order, even among orators. His financial skill and knowledge were second only to those of Robert Morris and Hamilton. His patriotism was bold and ardent, and led him to support most zealously the cause of his country against the wishes, sympathies, and traditions of his patrician family. His intellect was keen, his genius brilliant. He was wise and witty, gay and courageous. He was most active in the struggle for independence, and in the work of the Federal Convention played a most conspicuous part. To his pen is due the finish and elegance of expression which characterized the final draft of the Constitution. He outlined our system of national coinage. He originated the plan of the Erie Canal,—the forerunner of an extensive system of internal improve-

ments. As minister to France he performed the most dangerous duties ever allotted to an American representative abroad. He was of the third generation of the Morris family which came to America, in the person of Richard Morris, who bought an estate of more than three thousand acres near the city of New York, which was invested with manorial privileges by the governor, and called Morrisania. Gouverneur was the youngest son, by a second marriage, of Lewis Morris, and was born at Morrisania, January 31, 1752. His education was well attended to, and early in life he acquired a perfect mastery of French, which proved of great service to him in after life. He graduated from Columbia College in 1768, at the age of sixteen, and subsequently studied law under William Smith, afterwards chief justice of the province of New York, and was admitted to the bar in 1771, being not quite twenty years of age. He soon took an interest in public affairs, and in 1775 became a member of the Provincial Congress, and served as a member until he went to the Continental Congress, three years later. At twenty-four years of age he boldly expressed himself thus: "As a connection with Great Britain cannot again exist without enslaving America, independence is absolutely necessary. I cannot balance between the two. We run a hazard in the one path, I confess. But then we are infallibly ruined if we pursue the other." New York was the last State to sign the Declaration of Independence, her delegates in Congress not being empowered to act independently of the New York Convention. But no time was lost. The convention met on July 9; and on the day on which a copy of the Declaration was received, a resolution of approval was passed, and to Gouverneur Morris was intrusted the drafting of the reply to the New York delegates in the Continental Congress. He took an active part in the convention to frame a constitution for the State of New York. He also urged the abolition of domestic slavery, although unsuccessful. In 1778, Morris was sent to the Congress at Philadelphia, and was immedi-

ately appointed on the committee to provide for the army at Valley Forge. From this time a friendship sprang up between Morris and Washington. His ardent interest in the cause of the colonies did not meet with the approval of his mother and other members of his family, and he incurred the displeasure of his old friend and adviser, William Smith; but he steadily pursued his way. He served upon many committees in Congress, and labored incessantly. After five years of service, he became a citizen of Pennsylvania, and began the practice of the law in Philadelphia. In 1780 he met with an accident which resulted in the loss of a leg. In 1781 he was appointed by Robert Morris—to whom he was not related—assistant superintendent of the finances of the United States, holding the position for three years and a half. With General Knox, he negotiated with the English commissioners for the exchange of prisoners. In 1787 he was a delegate to the Federal Convention, and strongly advocated all measures which tended to strengthen the national government. He objected to an equal vote of large and small States in the Convention, illustrated the differences between a national and a federal government, and declared his preference for a national system. He advocated a system of class representation,—that the Senate should be an aristocratic body, appointed for life by the President, and contended for a representation according to property as well as numbers, and urged a freehold qualification for electors of representatives, but objected to residence being a qualification for a representative. He approved of an executive during good behavior, wished an executive council, and proposed a council of State to assist the President, and approved of the President and judges as a council of revision. He opposed slavery, sumptuary laws, the emission of bills of credit by Congress, and an equality of suffrage for the States. He expressed himself upon every subject discussed, and was the most frequent speaker upon the floor, although Madison was not far behind him. He wrote the final draft of the Consti-

tution, and suggested the form of signing the Constitution, which he designed so as to gain the dissenting members, and put into the hands of Dr. Franklin that it might have the better chance of success. Unfortunately it led to many bitter discussions in after years as to the real nature of our government. In 1788 he sailed for Europe, and in London performed important services. In France, during the reign of terror, he alone, of the diplomatic corps, remained in Paris. In 1793 he was recalled from France in response to a demand for the removal of Genet. On his return, he established himself at Morrisania, and was elected to the Senate of the United States from New York. He showed himself a determined Federalist. At the expiration of his term he retired to private life, and died, at the age of sixty-five, in 1816.

GEORGE READ.

GEORGE READ, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, was born in Cecil County, Md., in 1734. His father was the son of a wealthy citizen of Dublin, and having immigrated to America, settled in Cecil County, where he became a respectable planter. Soon after the birth of his son he removed to New Castle, Del. The early education of Mr. Read was received at Chester, Pa., and subsequently at New London, where he enjoyed the benefits of the instruction of the Rev. Dr. Allison. Among his fellow-pupils were Charles Thomson, the secretary of Congress, Hugh Williamson, a member of that body from North Carolina and one of the framers of the Constitution, and Dr. Ewing, provost of the University of Pennsylvania. At the early age of seventeen, Mr. Read applied himself to the study of the law, and was admitted to the bar in 1753. He became well known as a well-read lawyer, thoroughly versed in the intricacies of special pleading, and a master of the logic of the law. Although not gifted as a speaker, he obtained a fair share of business, with such competitors as John Ross, attorney-general, Benjamin Chew,



GEORGE READ.
Nat. 1734 - Ob. 1798.

From the original painting, in the possession of the family.

George Ross, John Dickinson, and Thomas McKean. In 1763 he succeeded John Ross as attorney-general for the three lower counties, as they were called, in Delaware. He held this office until he was elected as a delegate to the Congress of 1775. He then resigned, announcing that he would not act as a representative in the American Congress trammelled with an office held from the British crown. In the struggle for liberty he took an active part, urging the non-importation agreement upon his fellow-citizens, and signing the Declaration of Independence. Shortly after this last act, Joseph Galloway, the Tory, observed to Mr. Read that he had signed it with a halter about his neck, to which Read replied that it was a measure demanded by the crisis, and he was prepared to meet any consequences that might ensue. In September, 1776, he was the president of the convention which formed the first constitution of Delaware. In 1777 he became the governor of the State. During all this time he was also a member of Congress, and performed well his arduous duties. He took an active part in the framing of the Articles of Confederation, and also prepared the acts of assembly which empowered the delegates of Delaware to ratify those Articles. In 1779, owing to ill-health, he retired from public life; but in 1780 again devoted himself to the service of the State in the legislature. In 1782 he was appointed by Congress one of the judges of the Court of Appeals in admiralty cases. In 1785 he was appointed by Congress one of the commissioners who constituted a Federal court created by that body, conformably with the petitions of the States of New York and Massachusetts, to determine a controversy in relation to territory. In 1786 he became a member of the Annapolis Convention, and in 1787 became a member of the Federal Convention. He wished a strong national government, and insisted on an equality of suffrage under the Constitution. He proposed that the President should appoint the senators, and have an absolute negative on laws. He proposed that the sena-

tors should hold their office during good behavior. He thought that the President of the Senate should have a double vote on the election of President by Congress in case of a tie. He approved of the same rules for taxation and representation. He objected to residence being a qualification for representatives, and opposed the emission of bills of credit by Congress. He favored a compromise relative to exports and slaves, and thought that the courts of law and equity should be distinct. Immediately after the adoption of the Constitution he was elected a senator of the United States. He remained in this office until September, 1793, when he was appointed chief justice of the Supreme Court of Delaware, and died in the autumn of 1798. As a lawyer, a patriot, a senator, and a judge, he was alike unpretending, consistent, dignified, and impartial.

GUNNING BEDFORD, JR.

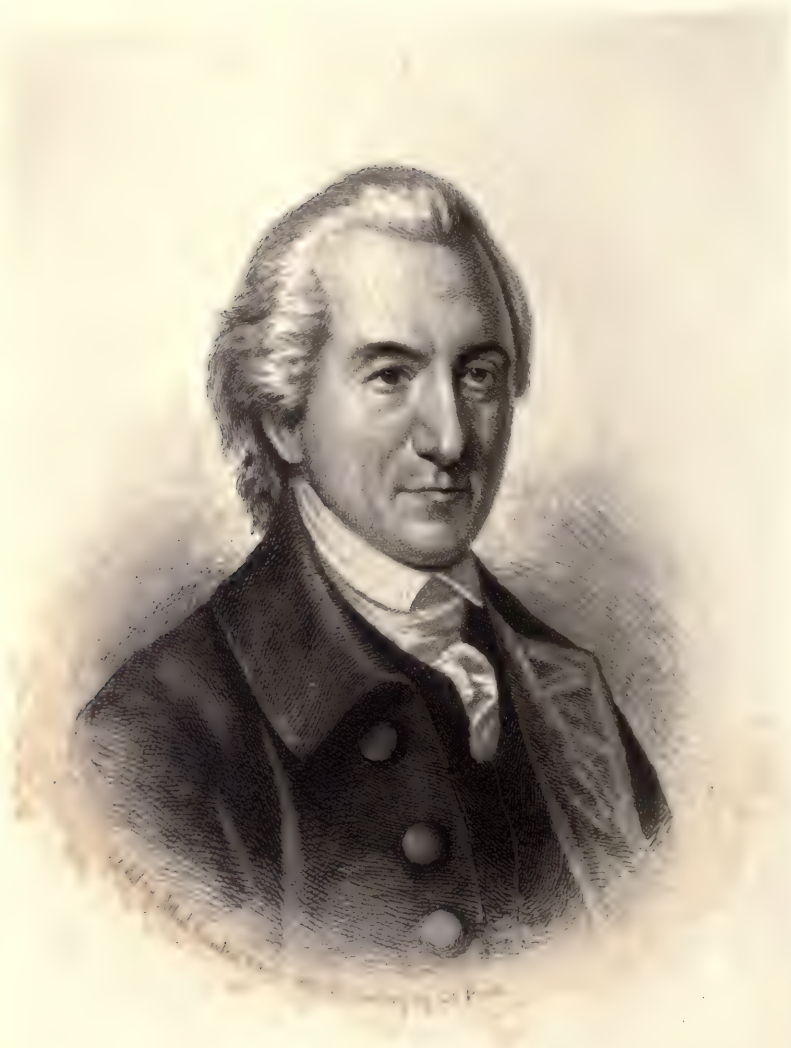
GUNNING BEDFORD, JR., was of English descent. The story of his life is concisely told by the inscription upon his tomb in the cemetery of the First Presbyterian Church, Wilmington, Delaware, which leaves little to be added. "In hope of a joyful resurrection, through faith in Jesus Christ, here rests the mortal part of Gunning Bedford. Born in Philadelphia, A.D. 1747. Graduated at Nassau Hall, New Jersey, A.D. 1771, with great distinction. Having studied law in Philadelphia, he practised in Delaware with success, distinguished by his eloquence as an advocate, attorney-general, member of the Legislature of Delaware (and of Congress), and one of the delegates to the Convention that framed the Constitution of the United States (by whose efforts, with those of other delegates, two senators were obtained for the State of Delaware). He received from Washington the commission of first judge of the District Court of the United States for the District of Delaware, which he held till his death, in 1812. He so behaved in these high offices as to deserve and receive the approba-



GUNNING BEDFORD, JR.

Nat-1747- Ob-1812

From Photograph of the Original Printing furnished by Dr. Thomas Addis Emmett.



JOHN DICKINSON.
Nat. 1732 - Ob. 1808.

From the original painting in Independence Hall, Phil^a

tion of his fellow-citizens. His form was goodly, his temper amiable, his manners winning, and his discharge of private duties exemplary. Reader, may his example stimulate you to improve the talents—be they five, or two, or one—with which God has intrusted you.” In the Federal Convention he denied the right of that body to change the principles of the Confederation. He opposed a negative of Congress on State laws, and insisted on an equal suffrage of the States. He accused the large States of seeking to aggrandize themselves at the expense of the small. He boldly threatened an alliance of the small States with foreign power if oppressed by the large ones, and explained the circumstances which would justify the small States in a foreign alliance. He wished the legislative power of Congress accurately defined. He opposed the conferring of the appointing power entirely upon the President. He preferred an executive term of three years; advocated the removal of the President by Congress on the application of the States, and opposed any negative on the legislature.

JOHN DICKINSON.

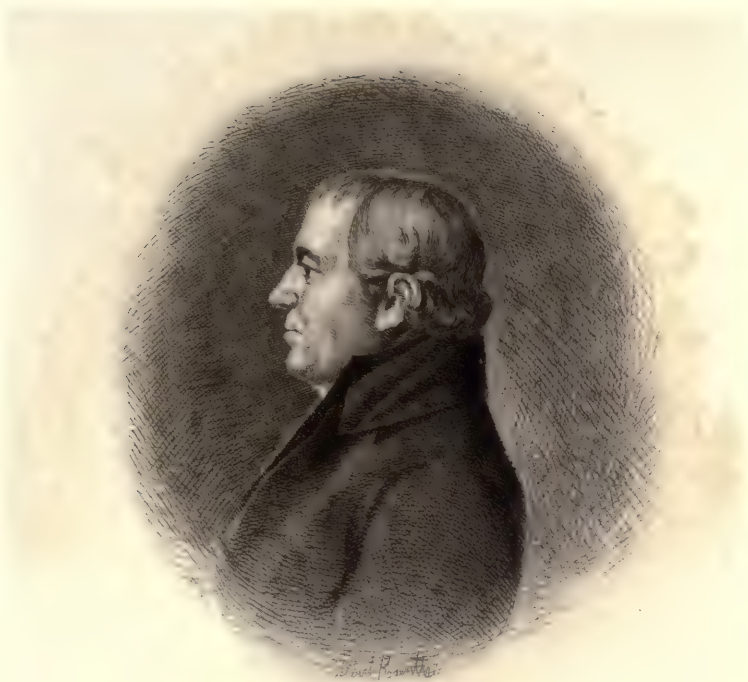
JOHN DICKINSON was one of those distinguished writers whose pens, in the earlier stages of the struggle between the colonies and England, proved flaming swords. He was born in Maryland, on the 2d of November (O. S.), in the year 1732. His parents were wealthy, and he enjoyed the greatest advantages which his native land afforded. His brothers had been educated in England, but the affliction produced by their death in that kingdom prevented the fond father from sending his last son abroad. His father shortly after his birth removed to an estate near Dover, in Delaware, and there filled the office of first judge of the Court of Common Pleas. Dickinson went to Philadelphia to study law under the direction of John Moland, Esq., and, after completing his studies, went to England, where he remained for three years at the Temple, in London. On his return, he established himself

in the practice of the law in Philadelphia, where his abilities and acquirements procured for him eminent success. His first appearance in public life was in the year 1764, as a member of the Assembly of Pennsylvania. In the following year he was a delegate to the general Congress, which assembled at New York, and was the author of the resolutions of that body promulgating their hostility to the measures of Great Britain. In 1767 he published the celebrated "Farmer's" letters, consisting of twelve letters addressed to the inhabitants of the colonies. Few productions have ever been attended with more signal effect, or procured for their author more lasting fame. He aroused the attention of his countrymen to the illegality of British taxation, and to the necessity of a sturdy resistance. They are distinguished for purity of diction, elegance of style, vigor of expression, and animation of sentiment. They attracted attention both at home and abroad; were republished in London, with a preface by Dr. Franklin, and were translated into French, and published at Paris in 1769. On the 17th of October, 1774, Mr. Dickinson took his seat in Congress as a deputy from Pennsylvania, and from his pen emanated the celebrated appeal to the inhabitants of Quebec, and the more famous petition to the king, compositions universally admired for their fervid and manly eloquence and chaste and elegant composition. He also wrote the declaration of Congress of July 6, 1775, setting forth the causes and necessity of their taking up arms. When it came to action, however, Mr. Dickinson's prudence or his fears induced him to withhold his assent from the Declaration of Independence. Like Robert Morris, he absented himself from his seat on the 4th of July, 1776, but he did not, like Robert Morris, subsequently sign that immortal instrument. In short, it would appear that Mr. Dickinson was not a man of intrepidity. He was cautious and conservative, and shrank back from the conflagration which he had done so much to kindle. Yet his honesty and ability were so much respected that, after two years of absence from Congress,

he was returned in April, 1779. In the mean time he entered the military service, and in 1777 received from President McKean, of Pennsylvania, the commission of a brigadier-general, the duties of which he fulfilled satisfactorily. In 1780 he was elected by the Legislature of Delaware president of the State, and in 1782 was president of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, which office he continued to fill until October, 1785. In memory of his public services the Legislature of Pennsylvania incorporated a college at Carlisle by the name of Dickinson College. Mr. Dickinson now removed to Delaware, and in 1787 was sent as a delegate to the Federal Convention. While eulogizing the British monarchy, he opposed a strong executive; advocated the removal of the President by Congress on an application of the States; thought the responsibility of the executive should be strictly guarded, and objected to an unlimited power of appointment. He desired an executive council. He contended for the election of the Senate by the State legislatures, an equal vote of the States in one legislative branch, and wished the Senate to be like the House of Lords. Representatives were to be chosen by the people triennially; electors to be freeholders. He supported the origination of money bills in the House, and opposed a prohibition of duties on exports. He contended for a national judiciary, and thought that the general government should interfere to protect a State on the application of its executive. When the Constitution was before the people he wrote nine letters, signed "Fabius," advocating its ratification. In 1792 he was a member of the convention which framed a constitution for Delaware, and, under the signature of "Fabius," wrote fourteen letters to inform his fellow-citizens in regard to the French Revolution. He died on the 14th of February, 1808, at Wilmington, at the age of seventy-five.

RICHARD BASSETT.

RICHARD BASSETT was a native of Delaware, and resided there all his life, dying in September, 1815. He was a lawyer in active practice, and a member of Congress during the time the Articles of Confederation were in force. He was in active correspondence with the leading men of his day, and many of his letters are preserved in the "Life and Correspondence of George Read." With Read, Broom, Dickinson, and Bedford, all of whom were his associates in the Federal Convention, he was appointed by the Legislature of Delaware, in June, 1786, to meet with the commissioners that had been, or should be, appointed to consider the commercial relations of the several States, and devise and report to Congress a system for the regulation of their trade, a body known to history as the Annapolis Convention. In 1787 he became a member of the Federal Convention, and sturdily supported Read in his efforts to secure equality of State representation in the Senate. From 1789 to 1793 he was a senator of the United States, and was the first member to cast his vote in favor of locating the capital on the Potomac. Mr. Bassett left the Senate to become chief justice of the Common Pleas in Delaware. In 1797 he was a Presidential elector, and voted for John Adams. He was governor of his State from 1798 to 1801, in the latter year becoming a United States Circuit judge, an office he was compelled to abandon on the repeal of the judiciary act. His family has always been conspicuous in public life. His daughter became the wife of the Hon. James A. Bayard, one of the signers of the Treaty of Ghent and subsequently United States senator, as were two of his sons, and his grandson, the Hon. Thomas F. Bayard, now Secretary of State.



RICHARD BASSETT
Nat. 1735—Ob. 1815.

From the St. Memin collection

JACOB BROOM.

JACOB BROOM was the familiar associate of all the public men of his day, and his name constantly occurs in connection with those of Read, Bassett, Dickinson, and Bedford. He was born in 1752, and died in Philadelphia April 25, 1810. He was a member of the Annapolis Convention and a delegate to the Federal Convention. He opposed an adjournment of the Convention without adopting some plan. He was in favor of electing the President by electors chosen by the State legislatures, and thought that the President should hold office during good behavior. He favored a senatorial term of nine years, and thought that members of Congress should be paid by the States. He claimed an equal vote for the small States in the Senate, and favored a negative of Congress on State laws. Mr. Drake, in his "Biographical Dictionary," says: "At the time of his death he was aged fifty-eight years. He filled many offices of trust in Delaware. The address to General Washington, December 17, 1783, was written by Jacob Broom, and is unrivalled as a composition. His son, James M. Broom, graduate of Princeton College, 1794, a member of Congress, 1805-7, from Delaware, and member of Philadelphia bar, died 1850. His son, Jacob Broom, Philadelphia bar, member of Congress, Pennsylvania, died 1864. He was the candidate of the Native American party for Presidency of the United States in 1852."

JAMES MCHENRY.

JAMES MCHENRY was born in Ireland, November 16, 1753. His father sent him to Dublin to receive a classical education. For the sake of his health he made a voyage to America, and came to Philadelphia about the year 1771. Deeply impressed with the new land, he urged his father to emigrate, and, succeeding in this, followed his studies at Newark Academy, in Delaware, then a school of note. He next studied medicine in Phil-

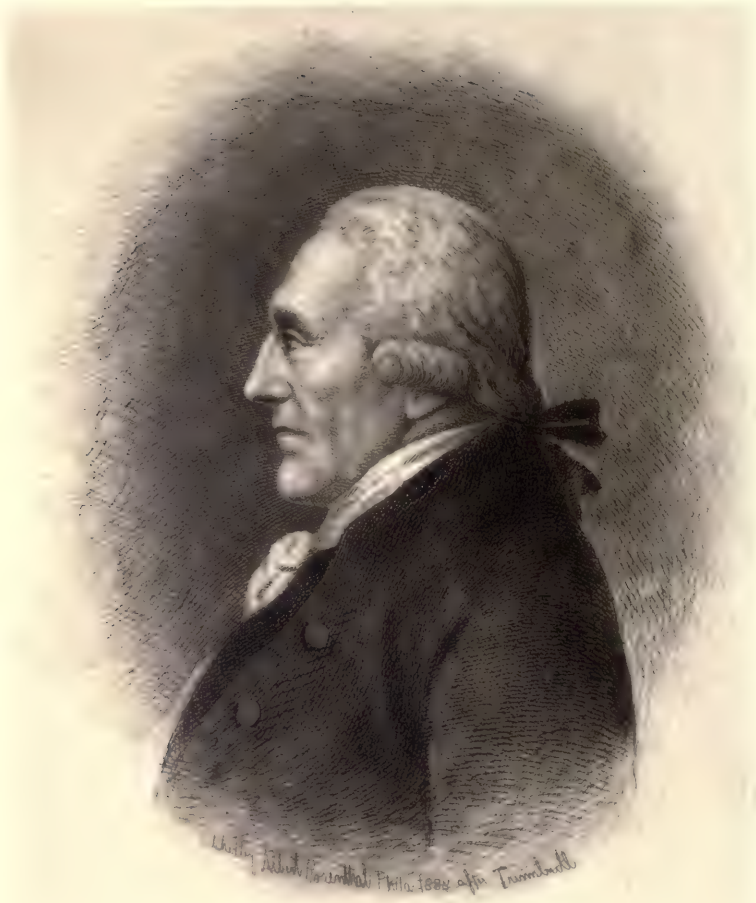
adelphia, under Dr. Benjamin Rush, and while thus engaged became personally attached to General Washington, and followed him to the camp at Cambridge. In January, 1776, he joined the army as an assistant surgeon, and in a short time became a hospital director. He was then commissioned as surgeon of the Fifth Pennsylvania Battalion, commanded by Colonel Magaw. At Fort Washington he was made a prisoner, and was not exchanged until the spring of 1778. On May 15 of that year he was appointed secretary to the commander-in-chief. From this time his relations with Washington were cordial, and through life he was treated by the great soldier as a trusted friend and adviser. McHenry remained a member of Washington's military family until August, 1780, when he was transferred to Lafayette's staff, where he continued until the close of the war. In 1781, McHenry was chosen to the Senate of Maryland, and held his seat until he resigned, in 1786. In 1783 he was appointed to Congress in place of Edw. Giles, deceased, and was elected to the same position by the legislature, on November 27, 1783; was re-elected the next year, and held this office until 1786. This double duty in State and Continental legislatures was not an uncommon thing in those days. In 1787 he became a member of the Federal Convention, and was the first to take his seat of the delegates from Maryland. He was a regular and conscientious attendant, but does not seem to have taken much part in debate. He made some remarks on the subterfuges adopted to avoid the provisions in regard to money bills; proposed to raise taxes by requisition; desired a prohibition in regard to attainders and *ex post facto* laws, and desired regulations as to interstate commerce. He afterwards labored hard to secure the ratification of the Constitution, and, in spite of the earnest and powerful opposition of Luther Martin and Samuel Chase, was successful. Dr. McHenry was repeatedly re-elected to the Legislature of Maryland until he became a member of Washington's cabinet as Secretary



JAMES M^CHENRY.

Nat. 1753 - Ob. 1816.

From the Miniature in the possession of the Society



DANIEL OF ST. THOMAS JENIFER.

Nat-1733-Ob-1790

From Photograph of the Original Painting furnished by Dr. Thomas Addis Emmett

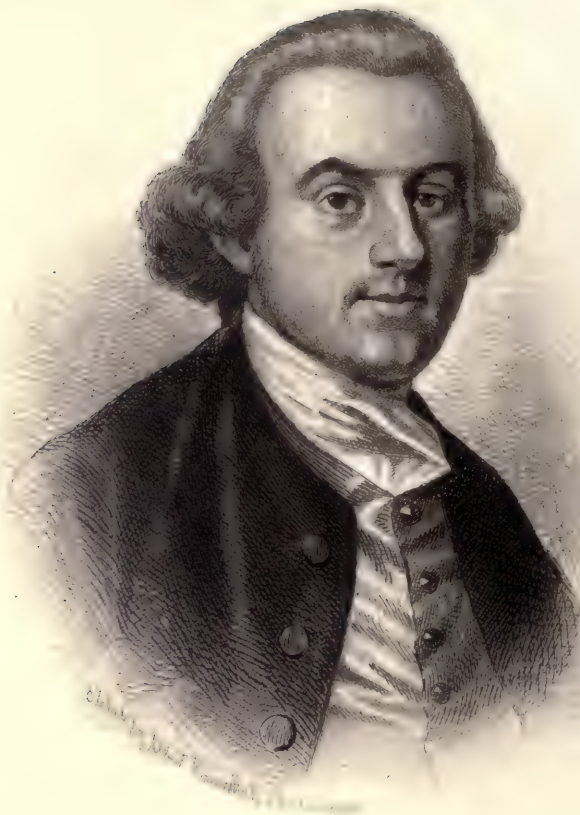
of War, in January, 1796, in place of Timothy Pickering, who was promoted to be Secretary of State. He remained in the cabinet, even under President Adams, until a breach caused him to resign in 1800. From this time forth he took no part in public life. He died May 3, 1816, in the sixty-third year of his age.*

DANIEL OF ST. THOMAS JENIFER.

DANIEL OF ST. THOMAS JENIFER was born in Maryland about 1733. He received a liberal education, and was prominent in Maryland politics before the Revolution. In 1750 he was one of the commissioners from his native State to settle the boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania, and in 1773 was a member of the Proprietary Council under Governor Eden. Notwithstanding his affiliations with the representatives of the royal government, his sympathies were enlisted in the cause of the colonies, and he was in constant correspondence with its most ardent supporters. In November, 1776, he was appointed by the constitutional convention, the first held in Maryland, a member of the Council of Safety, of which body he was chosen president, and in 1778 was elected to the Continental Congress. In 1779, when the fearful depreciation of the Continental money threatened to cast the cause of independence into utter ruin, and the policy of agreeing to the Articles of Confederation was not evident to all of the colonies, Maryland being one among others that refused to instruct her delegates to subscribe to that instrument, Jenifer addressed a letter from Congress to Governor Thomas Johnson that expressed his views in no uncertain words. Under date of May 9, he wrote: "I wish, with all my heart, that we had an executive, and agree with you in opinion that the want of it is a strong reason for entering into some kind of confederation or

* Abridged from a paper read before the Maryland Historical Society, November 13, 1876, by Frederick J. Brown.

other. But it has always hurt me to think of confederating on terms that would not be lasting. I believe that Congress are now more disposed to explain the Confederation than it was some time ago. The necessity of its being done has opened the eyes of some of the Congress. But at present business of greater importance takes up all our time. God grant us wisdom to determine with that judgment and precision which the grand object requires we should do. . . . I am happy in being informed that speculation in our State is almost at a stand. I wish to God it was so in every other, but at this place it seems to be as high as ever. We never knew distress till this vice pervaded the continent. In 1775 every man was ready to offer his services and contribute his mite. But, oh! Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how art thou fallen! . . . I pray God that the troops lately embarked at New York may not be intended for Maryland or Virginia; if they should, I hope my countrymen will act nobly in the day of trial. Nay, I am confident that on this, as on every other occasion, they will approve themselves true Marylanders,—*i.e.*, neither to be menaced by power nor frightened by danger." In 1779 he was also president of the Senate of Maryland, and while a member of that body opposed the confiscation of the property of the loyalists. In 1782 he was a candidate for governor before the legislature, but was defeated by William Paca, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. With Thomas Johnson, Thomas Stone, and Samuel Chase, he was sent to Alexandria to meet a commission appointed by Virginia to settle the jurisdiction over Chesapeake Bay and the rivers Potomac and Pocomoke. Both bodies met at Alexandria on March 21, but, on the invitation of Washington, adjourned to Mount Vernon on the 28th. It was the report of these commissioners that called forth from the Assemblies of Maryland and Virginia the invitation for all the colonies to send representatives to Annapolis in 1786, a gathering that was the immediate predecessor of the Federal Convention. In 1787 he was chosen a



DANIEL CARROLL.

Nat 1756 - Ob 1829

From Photograph of the Original Painting furnished by Dr. Thomas Adde Emmett.

delegate to the Federal Convention. He proposed triennial elections of representatives; was in favor of the ineligibility of representatives to other offices, and desired a provision for regulating commerce between the States. He died November 6, 1790.

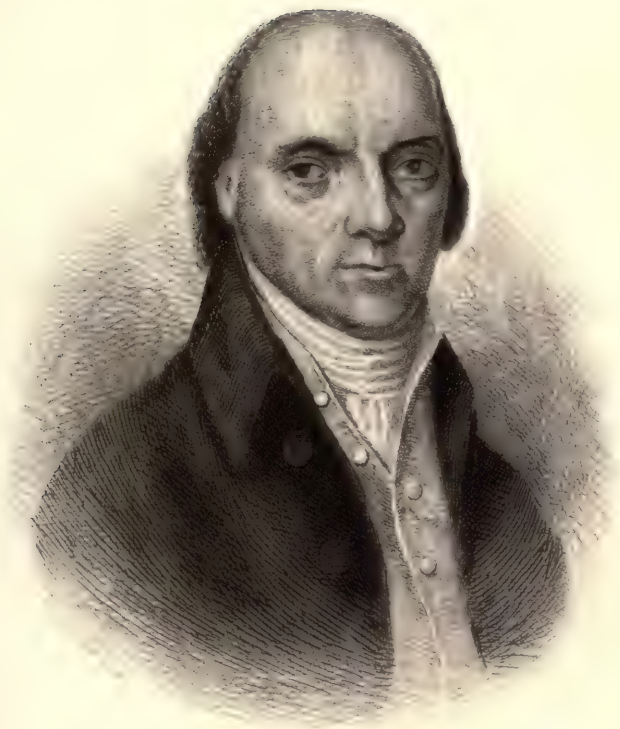
DANIEL CARROLL.

DANIEL CARROLL was born in Prince George's County, Md., in 1756, received a classical education, and engaged in agricultural pursuits on his "Duddington" estate, which is now included within the limits of the city of Washington. He was elected a delegate from Maryland to the Continental Congress in 1780, took his seat February 12, 1781, serving until 1784, taking an active part. He presented to Congress the act of the Maryland Legislature assenting to the Articles of Confederation, in pursuance of which he became a signer of that instrument. Mr. Carroll was a delegate to the Federal Convention, and a warm supporter of the plan adopted. In the Convention he declared himself in favor of an election of the President by electors chosen by lot from the national legislature. When this plan met with but little attention, he advocated the choice of the President by the people or by electors chosen by them. He also advocated a negative on the acts of Congress. He doubted the propriety of senators voting *per capita*, but suggested that they be allowed to enter their dissent on the journal. He proposed that the yeas and nays should be confined to the House of Representatives. He objected to the payment of representatives by the States, and opposed the provision to disqualify persons having unsettled accounts from being members of Congress. The States, he thought, should be guaranteed against violence, and should be permitted to lay tonnage duties to clear harbors and build light-houses. He contended for a regulation of trade between the States, and thought that an address to the people should accompany the Constitution. He was elected a member of Congress in 1789, and

served until 1791, when he was appointed one of the commissioners to locate the Federal city. He died at Washington in 1829.

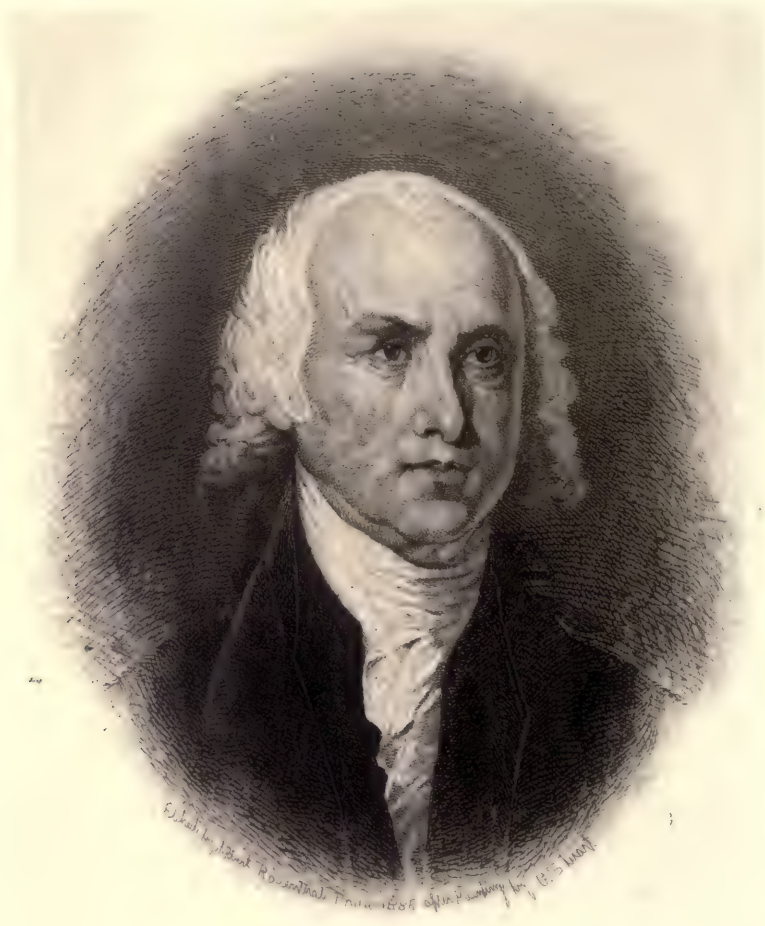
JOHN BLAIR.

JOHN BLAIR was born at Williamsburg, Virginia, in 1732. Graduating from William and Mary College, he repaired to London, where he pursued his legal studies at the Temple, and was soon engaged in full practice at the bar of the General Court. Returning to Virginia, he engaged in the practice of his profession, and was elected to the House of Burgesses. In 1765 he opposed the resolutions of Patrick Henry, but in 1769, when the House was dissolved, he was one of the patriotic band, consisting of Washington, Bland, Nicholas, and others, who held a meeting in the Raleigh Tavern and drafted the non-importation agreement. When the House of Burgesses was again dissolved, in 1770, and the members again assembled at the Raleigh to revise and amend the articles of agreement, associating themselves with the merchants of the colony, he was among them and recorded his name in the roll. In the latter year he was a delegate from William and Mary, the last of a long line of eminent men who represented the college in the public councils of the commonwealth, and was a member of the committee which reported the declaration of rights and the constitution. He was elected by the convention a member of the council, and when the judicial department was established, in 1777, he was elected a judge of the General Court, of which he became chief justice, and on the death of Robert Carter Nicholas, in 1780, he was elected a judge of the High Court of Chancery. By virtue of both stations he became a justice of the High Court of Appeals. The assembly appointed him a delegate to the Federal Convention to revise the Articles of Confederation, in which, with Edmund Randolph and James Madison, he supported the so-called "Virginia plan" in opposition to the New Jersey scheme, which sustained the separate sover-



JOHN BLAIR.
Nat. 1732 - Ob. 1800

From the original in the possession of the Family



JAMES MADISON.

Nat. 1751—Ob. 1836.

From the original painting in the possession of Thomas Jefferson, Goolidge, Boston.

eighty of the States ; and, with Washington and Madison alone of all the delegates from Virginia, voted for the adoption of the Constitution. When the Federal Constitution was submitted for the ratification of Virginia, he was returned from the county of York to the convention and voted in its favor. On the organization of the Federal judiciary, he was appointed by Washington, in 1789, a judge of the Supreme Court, discharging his duties with ability to his resignation, in 1796. He died at Williamsburg, August 31, 1800. In appearance John Blair was about five feet ten inches in height, of an erect and imposing stature, with a full forehead, blue eyes, and a well-formed nose ; hair inclining to be red, and an expression of sweetness and gravity which adhered to him through life. His manners were marked by high-bred courtesy and gentleness, and he preserved to the last that strict attention to his dress which was the characteristic of the colonial *régime*.

JAMES MADISON.

JAMES MADISON, son of James Madison and Ellen Conway, was born March 16, 1751, at Port Conway, Va., and died at his home, Montpelier, June 28, 1836. He is generally spoken of as the Father of the Constitution (and is so called by John Quincy Adams), owing chiefly to the fact that his exertions led directly to the Annapolis Convention, which led to the Federal Convention, and to his authorship of the Virginia plan, which formed a basis for discussion in the Convention that framed the Constitution of the United States. As he himself tells us, his ancestors were planters, in independent and comfortable circumstances,—a family of remarkable longevity, his father living to be seventy-eight, his mother ninety-eight, he himself eighty-five. He attended school, was prepared for college by the clergyman of the parish, entered Princeton in 1769 at eighteen ; after graduation devoted some time to theological pursuits, and then studied law. Although of mild temperament and of but little

physical vigor, he early took an active part on the side of the colonists, and in 1774, at the early age of twenty-three years, became a member of the Committee of Safety. Shortly afterwards he was elected a delegate to the Virginia Convention of 1776, which he calls "my first entrance into public life." Here he was engaged in considering the resolutions instructing the Virginia delegates in the Continental Congress to urge an immediate declaration of independence and in helping to frame a bill of rights and a State constitution. A member of the first assembly under the Constitution, he failed of a re-election because he refused to "treat" the electors, but became a member of the governor's council, and in 1780 became a member of the Continental Congress. He served continuously till 1783, devoting himself to committee work, but particularly to a consideration of the public debt, displaying familiarity with finance and public law. In 1784 he was chosen to the Virginia Assembly, where he strove to increase the power of the Federal government, convinced by his past experience that the imbecility of that body was largely due to its lack of power. He turned his attention also to questions of commerce and trade, and, in the effort to secure uniformity of regulations among the States affecting trade, suggested to Jefferson, then a member of the Congress, the propriety of conferring with Maryland delegates in relation to the navigation of the Potomac. The Annapolis Convention in 1786 was the result of the discussion of the Potomac question. At this convention but five States were represented, and as the commissioners "did not conceive it advisable to proceed on the business of their mission," they adopted an address, written by Hamilton, which was sent to all the States, which resulted in the Federal Convention. Of this body Madison was chosen a member. Some time prior to this he again became a member of Congress. In the Convention his work was of the first importance. He was the most active debater in that body,

and expressed himself on every topic. He was the author of the paper which was made the basis of the Virginia plan, from which the Constitution was in a great measure evolved. To his faithful industry in reporting the debates of his colleagues we are alone indebted for the only full report we have of the labors of the great Convention, the notes of Judge Yates being but meagre in comparison, and terminating abruptly with his sudden and early secession from the Convention. Deeply impressed by the weakness and insufficiency of the Articles of Confederation, he strove earnestly for a better and stronger government, displaying remarkable learning in constitutional law. With Gouverneur Morris and Mason he was opposed to the slave-trade, although he believed that domestic slavery should be protected, though not encouraged, as a Southern interest. He objected to Mr. Paterson's plan, and thought that the powers of the national government should not be too much limited. He pointed out the defects of the Confederation, and dwelt upon the violation of those Articles by the States; he showed the effect a mere confederacy would have on the smaller States, and weighed the comparative dangers of encroachments by the States and the national government on each other. He feared more from the former than the latter. He opposed a committee to prepare a plan of compromise between the large and small States in relation to representation, so that his course towards the small States was complained of. He urged the importance of preserving the mutual independence of the great departments of the government, and thought that the preponderance of the legislature was chiefly to be guarded against. He opposed the suggestion that the President should be removable by Congress upon the application of the States, as well as an executive veto. He wished the judiciary united with the executive to revise the laws, and desired a provision to prevent the President from appointing to offices not previously created by law. He objected to an equal

suffrage being allowed to all the States, contended that the Senate and judiciary should not be immediately chosen by the people, and thought that the judiciary should be appointed by the Senate. He advocated a small Senate, and a proportional representation in the Senate. He objected to an election of the Senate by the State legislatures, and suggested that the Senate should have a negative on State laws. He advocated seven years as the term of senatorial service, though he did not object to nine, his purpose being to give stability and firmness to that body. He objected to the payment of senators and representatives by the States, and to a landed qualification for members of Congress. He did not consider the origination of money bills in the House as important. He desired to cut off all pretence for a paper currency, and thought it best to prohibit Congress from making bills of credit a legal tender. He proposed to vest Congress with power in regard to the public lands, Territories, Indians, a seat of government, incorporations, copyrights, patents, a university, arsenals, and the militia. He urged a prohibition on the States as to the laying of embargoes or taxes on exports and imports, and preferred a ratification of the Constitution by conventions instead of the legislatures of the States. When the Constitution was before the people, he was one of its most strenuous supporters. With Hamilton and Jay he wrote the "Federalist," contributing twenty-nine of the eighty papers, Jay writing but five. In the Virginia Convention upon him fell the brunt of the debate in opposition to the onslaughts of Henry, Mason, and Lee. Without the graces of oratory, he was powerful and persuasive in argument, and, with John Marshall, more than supplemented the brilliant eloquence of Edmund Randolph, whose power was seriously marred by his previous refusal to sign the instrument as one of its framers. At this time Madison was but thirty-eight years of age, but had won world-wide renown as a statesman. Owing to the opposition of Patrick Henry, he failed of election to the United States Senate,



WILLIAM BLOUNT

Nov. 1744 - 11/18/1800

From the portrait of the original painting preserved by Dr. Thomas Aldis Emmett

but was elected to the House, where he took the leading part in all measures designed to put the new government into operation. At first a Federalist, he soon fell under the influence of Jefferson, and was recognized as the leader of the opposition to Washington's administration, his hostility to Hamilton becoming warm and pronounced. To meet the opposition which the Constitution had encountered, Madison proposed twelve amendments declaratory of fundamental popular rights,—ten of which, essentially as he proposed them, were adopted. With Washington's administration his Congressional service ended. He wrote the Kentucky resolutions of 1798, which, with the resolutions of Jefferson, became the seed of nullification and secession, which, many years after, he declared were "twin heresies" that "ought to be buried in the same grave." In 1801 he became Jefferson's Secretary of State, and remained so for eight years. In 1809 he became President, and was re-elected. During the war with England he did not particularly distinguish himself, lacking nerve and discretion. The remaining twenty years of his life were passed in retirement, but in busy correspondence, discussing political, moral, and social questions. He will be remembered for the great and distinguished services he rendered to the cause of the Constitution long after his failures and incompetency as President have been forgotten.

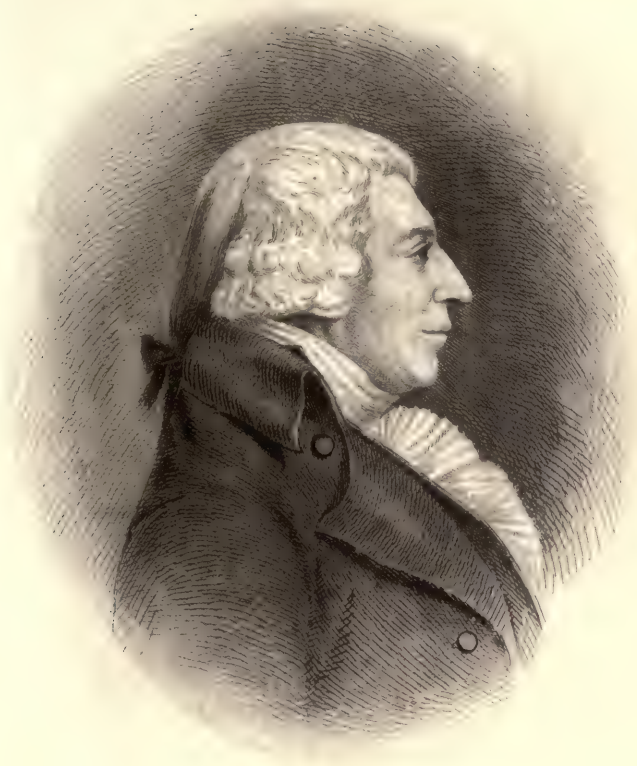
WILLIAM BLOUNT.

WILLIAM BLOUNT, a son of Jacob Blount, of North Carolina, a member of the Provincial Assemblies of 1775-76, was born in Craven County, N. C., in 1744. He was a member of the House of Commons of North Carolina in 1780 and 1784, and a delegate to the old Congress in 1782-83 and 1786-87. In 1780 and 1784 he represented the Newbern district in the assembly, and was a member of the Federal Convention, at Philadelphia, in 1787. So far as the records show, he took no active part in the debates. On the adoption of the Federal Constitution by North Carolina, in

1789, he was defeated for the United States Senate by Benjamin Hawkins; but in August of 1790, Washington appointed him governor of the Territory south of Ohio. Repairing to Tennessee in 1791, he founded the city of Knoxville, and was president of the convention which framed the first constitution of that commonwealth. In 1796 he was elected to the United States Senate, but was impeached, found guilty, and expelled in 1797, for having instigated the Creeks and Cherokees to aid the British in conquering the Spanish territory on the southern border of the United States. On his return to Knoxville, the Speaker of the State Senate resigned, and Mr. Blount was unanimously chosen to succeed him, and was also elected their presiding officer. He died at Knoxville, March 21, 1800.

RICHARD DOBBS SPAIGHT.

RICHARD DOBBS SPAIGHT was born at Newbern, N. C., March 25, 1758. When nine years old he was sent abroad to acquire an education, which was finished at the University of Glasgow. Returning to America in 1778, he joined the army and was at the battle of Camden as aide to Governor Caswell. From 1781 to 1783 he was a member of the legislature, and in December of the latter year was elected a delegate to the Continental Congress, and served until 1786. He was a prominent member of the Federal Convention. He proposed the election of United States senators by the legislatures of the States, and suggested seven years as the Presidential term of office. He was in favor of reconsidering the decision, once arrived at, to choose the President by electors appointed by the State legislatures, and objected to requiring more than a majority to pass a navigation act. In 1788 he was a delegate to the first State convention to consider the Constitution, in which he earnestly but fruitlessly urged its adoption. After residing some time in the West Indies for the benefit of his health, he returned to North Carolina and served as



RICHARD DOBBS SPAIGHT.

Nat 1753 — Ob 1802.

*From the miniature in the possession of the Family
From photograph furnished by Dr Thomas Adair Emmett.*



HUGH WILLIAMSON

Nov. 1735 - Ob. 1819

From Photograph of the Original Painting furnished by Dr. Thomas A. A. Pennell

governor from 1792 to 1795, and as representative in Congress from 1798 to 1801. He was defeated at the next election by John Stanley, who, on September 5, 1802, challenged him. They fought the same day, and Spaight was mortally wounded.

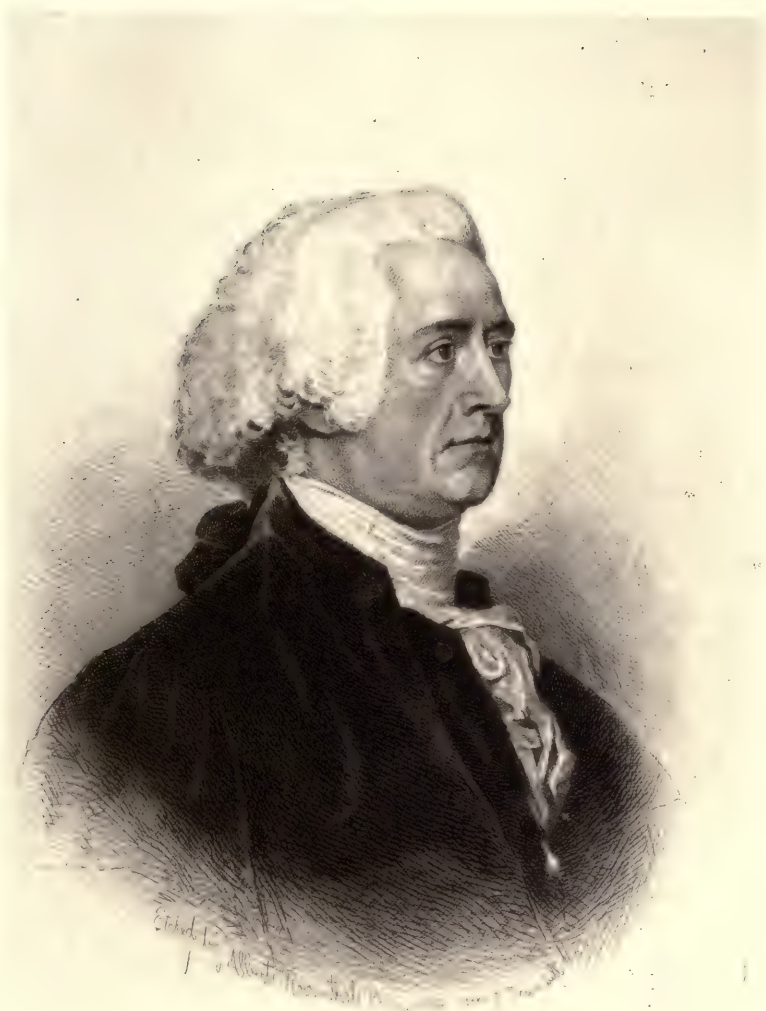
HUGH WILLIAMSON.

HUGH WILLIAMSON, son of John Williamson, who emigrated from Ireland to Pennsylvania in 1730, was born in West Nottingham Township, Chester County, Pa., December 5, 1735. He received his early education in the school of Rev. Francis Allison; entered the College of Philadelphia in 1753, and graduated four years later. Studying divinity, he was licensed to preach in 1759; but soon finding that his true vocation lay in a different direction, left the pulpit, and entered upon the study of medicine. In 1760 he was appointed professor of mathematics in his Alma Mater, and in 1764 left for Edinburgh, London, and Utrecht, to complete his medical studies, obtaining from the latter university his degree of M.D. Returning to Philadelphia, he began to practise successfully. In 1768 he was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society, and the year following was commissioned by the Society, with other members, to observe the transit of Venus. After visiting the West Indies, in 1772, he went to London to procure aid for the Academy at Newark, N. J., where he was examined, in February, 1774, by the Privy Council on the subject of the destruction of the tea at Boston. After the Declaration of Independence he returned home, bringing important papers. In 1777 he engaged in mercantile pursuits with a younger brother in the South, which led to his settling in Edenton, N. C., where he also practised medicine. He was appointed, in 1779, medical director-general of the forces in North Carolina, and was particularly efficient at the battle of Camden. In 1782 he was elected to the House of Commons from Edenton District, and was a delegate to the Continental Congress from 1782 to 1785. He served

a second time from 1787 to 1788. He was a delegate to the Convention which framed the Federal Constitution in 1787, as well as to the State convention which ratified it in 1789. In the Convention he was the most active member from his State. He proposed impeachment of the President for malpractice or neglect; preferred the consent of an executive council to appointments instead of either branch of the legislature; suggested the appointment by Congress of a provisional successor of the President; and thought that the Presidential term should be six years. On the whole, he preferred an executive of three persons to a single one, and strongly disapproved of the seat of government being at a State capital. He wished the Senate to be a small, select body, with its members chosen for a term of six years, and thought that representatives should be paid by the State legislatures. He urged a compromise between the large and small States as to representation, and the protection of Southern interests in apportioning representation. He approved of the exclusive right of representatives to originate money bills, the prohibition of a tax on exports, and contended for a provision for a trial by jury. He doubted whether controversies between the States should in all cases be decided by the judiciary. After the adoption of the Constitution, he served as a member of Congress from 1790 to 1793. He then removed to New York, where he died, May 22, 1819.

JOHN RUTLEDGE.

JOHN RUTLEDGE was the son of Dr. John Rutledge, who, with his brother Andrew, both natives of Ireland, settled in Carolina, about 1735. The historian, Dr. Ramsay, says: "In the friendly competitions of the States for the comparative merits of their respective statesmen and orators, while Massachusetts boasts of her John Adams, Connecticut of her Ellsworth, New York of her Jay, Pennsylvania of her Wilson, Delaware of her Bayard, Virginia of her Henry, South Carolina rests her claim on the talents and



JOHN RUTLEDGE.

Nat-1739 - Ob-1800.

From the Original Painting in the Furbull Collection, Yale School of Art.

eloquence of John Rutledge." After an excellent classical education, Rutledge entered as a law student in the Temple, in London, and proceeding barrister, came out to Charleston, and commenced the practice of law in 1761. In his first cause—an action for breach of promise of marriage—his eloquence astonished all who heard him. His business became large, and he at once took rank among the able and eloquent members of the bar. With Gadsden and Lynch he was sent to the Congress at New York, in 1765, and his denunciation of the Stamp Act surprised the members of distant provinces by the eloquence displayed. He returned to the bar, and for ten years engaged in successful practice. In 1774 he became a member of the first Continental Congress, and was continued a member by successive elections until 1776. He was then elected president and commander-in-chief of South Carolina. His duties thenceforth were executive. As a sample of the spirit with which he acted, the following anecdote is quoted. He wrote to General Moultrie, who commanded Sullivan's Island, in the harbor of Charleston, this laconic note: "General Lee wishes you to evacuate the fort. You will not without an order from me. I would sooner cut off my hand than write one. J. Rutledge." In 1778 he became the governor of the State under the new constitution, and made great exertions to repel the British invasion, to defend Charleston in the years 1779–80, to procure the aid of Congress and of the adjacent States, and to revive the suspended legislative and judicial powers of the State. In 1782 he was elected to Congress. In 1783 he was appointed minister plenipotentiary to Holland, but declined serving. The next year he was elected a judge of the Court of Chancery in South Carolina. From this time forth his duties were almost entirely judicial. In 1787, as a member of the Federal Convention, he assisted in framing the Constitution, and subsequently exerted himself to induce his countrymen to ratify it. When Robert Morris nominated Washington as the president of the

Convention, Rutledge promptly rose to second the motion. When it became apparent, through seemingly hopeless differences of opinion, that the Convention might adjourn without formulating any plan of government, Rutledge made a powerful appeal for harmony. He preferred a single executive, elected by joint ballot of the national legislature, with a property qualification, but was opposed to giving to the President the power of war and peace, and the power of appointing judges. He favored a representation of the States in the Senate according to their importance, thought that senators should serve without pay, and that representatives should be elected by the State legislatures. Representation in the House, he said, should be proportioned to contribution, and representatives should be ineligible to other offices. He favored a small House, biennial elections, annual meetings of Congress, and a property qualification for members. He objected to an alteration by Congress of State regulations relative to the election of members of Congress, nor should Congress fix the qualifications of its own members. He wished a specific enumeration of the powers of Congress, and objected to the exclusive right of the House to originate money bills. He favored a recognition of slavery, in order to induce the Southern States to come into the Union. As soon as the new government went into operation, he was designated by Washington as an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and served until 1791, when he was elected chief justice of his native State. Afterwards he was appointed Chief Justice of the United States, but, owing to enfeebled mental powers, was never confirmed by the Senate. He died in 1800.





CHARLES COTESWORTH PICKNEY

N.B. 1746 — OB. 1835

From the Original Painting in the Trumbull Collection, Yale School of Art.

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY.

THE family of Pinckney is of English origin, and settled in South Carolina in 1692. Charles Cotesworth, the son of Charles and Eliza (Lucas) Pinckney, was born February 25, 1746. When he was seven years of age, he was sent to England to receive his education; after five years of private tuition he was fitted for Westminster, and in due time for Christ Church, Oxford. There he had the advantage of listening to the law lectures of Judge Blackstone, of which he took ample notes. He left Oxford at the age of eighteen, and was entered as a student of law at the Temple. He returned to South Carolina in 1769, after a short tour on the continent and nine months of military study at the Royal Academy of Caen, in Normandy. His commission to practise law in the provincial court is dated January 19, 1770. He soon acquired a large practice, but the Revolution interrupted it and called his military attainments into action. During the war he rose to the rank of brigadier-general. He was taken prisoner at the fall of Charleston, and remained a captive nearly two years. During this time he suffered from the arrogance of his captors, but, as has been said, "nothing could shake the firmness of his soul; oppression might drive the iron into it, but it could not weaken its integrity. Threats and temptation were alternately used, but in vain." He was ordered from the death-bed of his son into closer confinement, and was forced to comply. To Major Money, of the British army, he wrote in the following bold and eloquent strain: "I entered into this cause after reflection and through principle. My heart is altogether American, and neither severity, nor favor, nor poverty, nor affluence can ever induce me to swerve from it." To Captain McMahan, another British officer, he emphatically says: "The freedom and independence of my country are the gods of my idolatry." After the war he resumed the practice of law, in which he was very successful, and in 1787

was chosen a member of the Federal Convention. He had already had some experience in the work he was now called to perform, having in 1778 been a member of the constitutional convention of South Carolina. In that body he successfully sustained a proposition of the Rev. William Tennant to secure liberty and equality to all Protestant sects. In the Federal Convention he took an active part in the debates, and his views are clearly and forcibly expressed. He seconded the motion of Charles Pinckney that the following clause should be made a portion of the Constitution: "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the authority of the United States." He also moved to strike out the clause allowing compensation to senators, as that body ought to be composed of persons of wealth, and then the wealthy alone would undertake the service. He, at first, doubted whether the Constitution should deviate far from the Confederation, but, as the debate went on, favored a far more effective government. He proposed seven years as the executive term, but disapproved of impeachment of the President by the national legislature. He proposed that representatives, as well as senators, should be elected by the State legislatures, and he opposed the exclusive right of the House to originate money bills. He also objected to making senators and members ineligible to State offices. He contended for Southern interests in fixing the proportion of representation, and thought that whites and blacks should be equally estimated in determining the ratio. He wished a specific enumeration of the powers of Congress, and doubted whether there should be a power to amend the Constitution. After the adoption of the Constitution he was an ardent Federalist. He was offered a place on the Supreme Bench, then the post of Secretary of War as the successor of General Knox, and afterwards, on the removal of Mr. Randolph, that of Secretary of State. These positions he declined; but in 1796, when Monroe

ceased to represent the views of the government, he accepted the mission to France. The Directory refused to receive him, and he was reminded that the law forbade any foreigner to stay more than thirty days in France without leave to do so. For this permission Pinckney refused to apply, and after remaining two months in Paris he was requested to quit the republic. He retired to Amsterdam, where he was joined by Marshall and Gerry; and as the three envoys failed to settle the existing difficulties, Pinckney and Marshall returned to America. It was while on this mission that Pinckney made his famous reply to an intimation that peace might be secured with money: "MILLIONS FOR DEFENCE, BUT NOT A CENT FOR TRIBUTE!" While war seemed imminent, President Adams appointed Washington to the command of the army, and left to his judgment the selection of his general officers. Pinckney was commissioned major-general, but was second to Hamilton, who had been his junior during the Revolution. When his attention was called to this fact, he replied, "I am confident that General Washington had sufficient reasons for this preference. Let us first dispose of our enemies; we shall have leisure then to settle the question of rank." In 1790, General Pinckney was again a member of the State constitutional convention; and in the close election of 1800 was the Federal candidate for Vice-President of the United States. He died at Charleston, August 16, 1825. General Pinckney's hospitality was unbounded; his manners were easy, frank, and cordial, and his conversation, as might have been expected from his education, instructive and amusing. A strict Episcopalian himself, he had a keen respect for the convictions of others; and so highly was his liberality in religious affairs respected that for years he was chosen president of the Bible Society of Charleston. His character was well summed up by the late Charles Chauncey, who spoke of him as "the man whose love of honor was greater than his love of power and deeper than his love of self."

CHARLES PINCKNEY.

CHARLES PINCKNEY was born in Charleston, S. C., in 1758. He received his education in his native town, and studied law under his father. In 1779 he was elected a member of the legislature, and in the following year was captured by the British and sent to St. Augustine, Fla., where he was detained on a prison ship for some time. In 1785 he was elected to the Continental Congress and served until 1788. He was one of the four delegates from South Carolina to the Federal Convention, in which he acted a distinguished part. He submitted and advocated with great ability a plan of government prepared by himself, a large portion of which was incorporated into the Constitution. Some discredit has been cast upon Pinckney's authorship of a distinct plan by Bancroft, who says that "Charles Pinckney, of South Carolina, a young man of twenty-nine then, presented a plan for a Constitution 'grounded on the same principles as the resolutions' of Virginia. It received the same reference, but no part of it was used, and no copy of it has been preserved." His authority is Yates in 1 Elliot. An examination of the "Madison Papers," published as a supplement to Elliot's "Debates," shows that, on May 29, Mr. Pinckney did present a plan which he had prepared, and the plan itself, consisting of sixteen articles, is printed in full. Mr. Madison, in a note published in the appendix, says, however, that no copy of the plan was taken at the time, and that the one inserted in the "Debates" was taken from the paper furnished to the Secretary of State, and contained in the journal of the Convention, published in 1819. A comparison of the paper with the Constitution in its final form, and with the propositions and speeches of Mr. Pinckney in the Convention, shows a considerable variance, and, in the opinion of Mr. Madison, stamps the paper as an effort to reproduce, after the lapse of many years, what had passed in the Convention, and that, therefore, the paper is not to



CHARLES PINCKNEY

Nat. 1758 - Ob. 1824

From Photograph of the Original Painting furnished by Dr. Thomas Aditis Emmett



PIERCE BUTLER.

Nat-1744 - Ob-1822

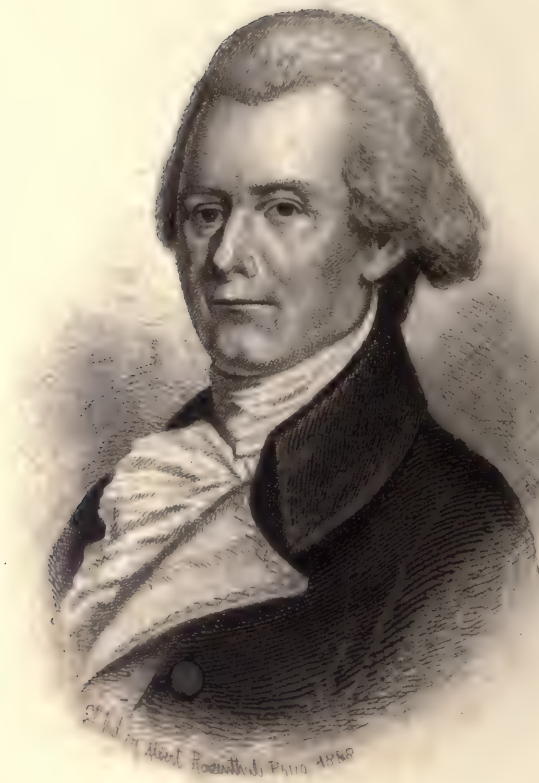
From Photograph of the Miniature furnished by Dr. Thomas Aldis Emmet

be relied on as original. However this may be, Mr. Pinckney took an active part in the work of the Convention, and was frequently upon the floor. It was on his motion that the clause was inserted in the Constitution forbidding a religious test. He was a leading member in favor of ratification in the South Carolina Convention called for that purpose. In 1789 he was chosen governor of South Carolina, and in the following year was president of the State constitutional convention. He was re-elected governor in 1791 and again in 1796, and served until 1798, when he was elected to the United States Senate. He resigned his seat in 1801 to accept the post of minister to Spain, where he remained until 1805. On his return he was at once elected a member of the legislature, and in 1806 he was for the fourth time chosen governor. He served in the State legislature from 1810 to 1814; and in 1818 was elected to Congress for three years, and distinguished himself by his opposition to the Missouri Compromise. His speech on that question was the last act of his public life. He was a brilliant speaker, an able writer, and a conversationalist of extraordinary power. He died in Charleston, October 29, 1824.

PIERCE BUTLER.

PIERCE BUTLER, born in Ireland, July 11, 1744, was the third son of Sir Richard Butler, fifth baronet, and member of Parliament for Carlow, 1729-61. He was entered in the army at a very early age, and, owing to his father's wealth and influence, held a commission, dated February 15, 1755, as lieutenant in the Twenty-second Foot before he was eleven years of age. In 1760 he became lieutenant, and in 1761 captain, in the same regiment. In July, 1762, he exchanged into the Twenty-ninth Foot, of which he became major on April 20, 1766. He was for some years stationed in America, but sold his commission in 1773 in South Carolina, where he had married, in 1768, a

daughter of Colonel Middleton. After the Revolution he took an active part in local politics; and on March 6, 1787, he was appointed a delegate to the Continental Congress from South Carolina, but did not take his seat until August 2, having been in the mean time chosen one of the representatives of his State in the Federal Convention, in whose debates he took an active part. He proposed a rule to provide against absence from the Convention and an improper publication of its proceedings. He objected to a reduction of the powers of the States, but approved of the distribution of the powers of the government as stated in the Virginia plan. Bancroft says that Butler "advanced the business of the day by saying, in the spirit of Montesquieu, 'Heretofore I have opposed the grant of new powers to Congress, because they would all be vested in one body; the distribution of the powers among different bodies will induce me to go great lengths in its support.'" He opposed a triple executive, and favored a single one, the power of making war to be vested in the President, with power also to suspend laws for a limited time, but without an absolute negative in matters of legislation. He urged a settlement of the ratio of representation in the Senate before deciding upon that of the House; objected to compensation of senators, and, as property was the true basis of representation, contended that the States be represented in the Senate and in the House according to wealth or contribution. He thought that blacks and whites should be equally included in fixing the proportion of representation. He opposed the election of representatives by the people, and thought that members of Congress should be paid by the States. He opposed the power of Congress to tax exports, to emit bills of credit, or to negative State laws. He proposed that fugitive slaves should be given up; that the seat of government should be fixed by the Constitution, and that a ratification of the instrument by nine States should be sufficient. In 1789 he was elected one of the first



WILLIAM FEW
Nat-1748 - Ob-1828.

From the Miniature in the possession of the Family

United States senators from South Carolina, and served until 1796, when he resigned. He was re-elected in 1802, and again resigned in 1804. Butler was an active member of the Senate, generally in opposition to Washington's administration. He was one of the ten Democrats who voted in favor of Jay's treaty, in consequence of which he was much twitted in the lampoons of the day with his noble birth, of which he was inordinately vain. He was at times a director of the first and second Banks of the United States. He died in Philadelphia, February 15, 1822, and was buried in the family vault at Christ Church.

WILLIAM FEW.

WILLIAM FEW was born in Baltimore County, Md., June 8, 1748. In 1758 his father removed with his family to North Carolina, and here, with but little more than a year's attendance at a village school, the early years of Few's life were spent in farming. Imbued with an insatiable thirst for knowledge, his spare time was devoted to reading everything which came in his way, and attending the county court in search of that knowledge which enabled him, after the war, to gain admittance to the bar and begin the study and practice of the law at the same time. In 1776, Few removed to Georgia, and was soon afterwards elected a member of the Executive Council. On the invasion of Georgia by the British, he joined the militia, and was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Richmond County regiment. He was a member of the legislature from 1778 until 1780, when he was elected a delegate to the Continental Congress, serving until the end of 1783. In 1786 he was re-elected to Congress, and next year was selected one of the Georgia delegation to the Federal Convention. He took no part in the debates. In 1789 he was chosen United States senator, and served until 1793, when he resumed the practice of his profession. In 1799 he removed to New York, and served in the legislature of that

State from 1801 to 1804. He died at Fishkill, on the Hudson, July 16, 1828.

ABRAHAM BALDWIN.

ABRAHAM BALDWIN, one of the delegates from Georgia to the Convention that framed the Constitution of the United States, was born in North Guilford, Conn., November 22, 1754, being the second son of Michael Baldwin and Lucy Dudley. From the village school he entered Yale College, and graduated in 1772. In 1775 he was appointed tutor in that institution, and continued to serve as such until 1779. In 1781 he declined the chair of professor of divinity and the position of college pastor. During the Revolution he served a short time as a chaplain in the army. He subsequently opened a school, and devoted all of his leisure time to the study of law. In 1784 he emigrated to Georgia, and, having been admitted to the bar, opened an office in Richmond County. He travelled an extensive circuit and obtained many clients. On one occasion, having won a case, more, perhaps, by his tactics than by the authorities of the law, the losing party, a very litigious and irascible, but influential, man, accosted him and said, "Young man, they have used you as a stick to beat me with this time, but henceforth you shall be my stick and beat everybody else," and he immediately retained Mr. Baldwin in several suits. In less than three months after his admission to the bar he was elected to the legislature, and early in the session showed his interest in the cause of education by the introduction of a bill to establish the University of Georgia. For his services in its behalf his name was coupled with that of John Milledge, its benefactor, and a marble pillar was erected in their honor on the college campus. For several years Mr. Baldwin was president of the University. In 1785 he was chosen a member of the Continental Congress, and again in 1787; the same year he was chosen a delegate to the Federal Convention. He thought that there should be a representation of property



ABRAHAM BALDWIN.

Nat-1754—Ob-1807.

From a Bust by J.B.Ferrat.





WILLIAM JACKSON
Nat-1759 - Ob-1828

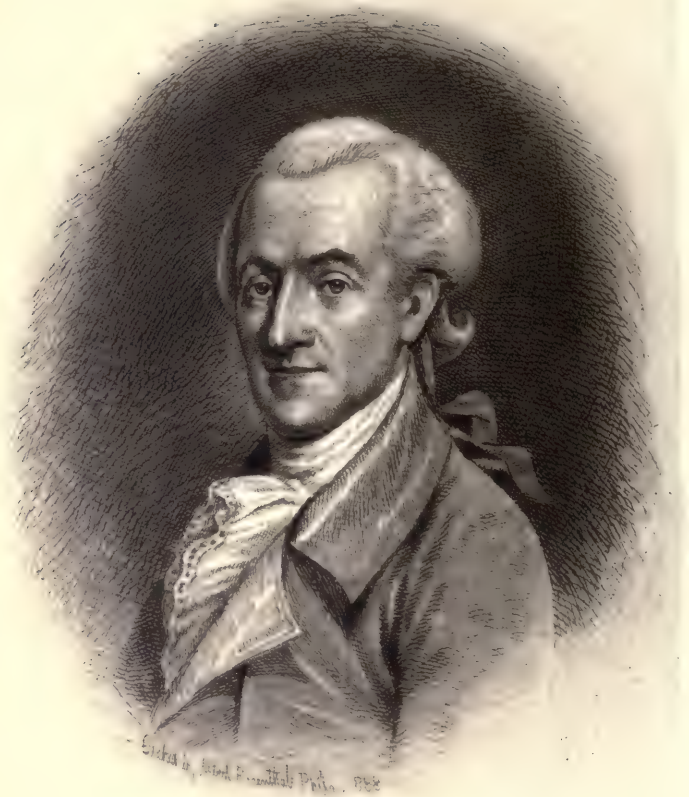
From the original portrait in the Historical Society of New York

in the Senate. He desired the question of interference with slavery to be left entirely to the States, and preferred a provision that the claims to the public lands should not be affected by the Constitution. After the adoption of the Constitution he was continued a member of the House of Representatives until 1799, when he was transferred to the United States Senate, and held office until his death, March 4, 1807. In the periods of transition that preceded and followed the adoption of the Constitution Mr. Baldwin retained a firm grasp on the confidence of the people and bore an important part. In the Convention he was a distinguished member, and in debate made use of the following striking expression: "Political power is like the screw in mechanics: it holds all it has, and every turn gives it more." While a strong advocate of the Constitution, in the division of party that followed its adoption he sided with the Democrats, and insisted upon a strict construction of its language. He was a man of large benevolence, and, while young, provided for the education of his brothers and sisters, who had been left destitute by the death of their father. He was industrious to an extreme, and was never absent a day from his place in Congress until the beginning of his fatal sickness. He died unmarried. He was a brother-in-law of the poet Joel Barlow and a half brother of Henry Baldwin, judge of the Supreme Court of the United States. In Georgia a county bears his name and preserves his memory.

WILLIAM JACKSON.

WILLIAM JACKSON, the secretary of the Convention, was born in Cumberland, England, March 9, 1759, and was sent at an early age to Charleston, S. C., where, under the guardianship of Colonel Owen Roberts, he received his education. He was commissioned a lieutenant in the First South Carolina Regiment, in June, 1775; was promoted captain in 1779, and soon afterwards was appointed aide-de-camp to General Lincoln, with the

rank of major. He was actively engaged in the Revolution until the surrender of Charleston, in 1780, when he became a prisoner. Having been exchanged in February, 1781, he was appointed secretary to John Laurens on his mission to France for the purchase of supplies. On his return to America, he became Assistant Secretary of War, under his old commander, Lincoln. This office he resigned in 1783, in order to visit Europe on private business. In the following year he settled himself in Philadelphia, and began the study of law in the office of William Lewis, and was admitted to the bar in 1788. On the organization of the Federal Convention he was, on the recommendations of Washington and Hamilton, chosen its secretary, his competitor being William Temple Franklin, grandson of the famous doctor. "The delicate nature of the Convention's work, and the difficulties which beset it, required that its business should be conducted with the greatest secrecy. How conscientiously Jackson fulfilled the trust reposed in him is evident from the fact that no paper exists in his handwriting giving the least idea of the proceedings of the Convention, and that the same feeling which prompted him to destroy his memoranda forbade him from ever alluding to the subject." In 1789 he became private secretary to Washington, in whose family he remained for two years. In 1792 he declined the appointment of adjutant-general of the army, which was tendered him by Washington, and devoted himself to the practice of his profession. In 1796, Washington appointed him surveyor of the port of Philadelphia, from which office he was removed by Jefferson in 1802. His eulogy on General Washington was prepared at the request of the Society of the Cincinnati, of which Jackson was for many years secretary-general. He died in Philadelphia, December 17, 1828, and was buried in Christ Church burial-ground, at Fifth and Arch Streets.



ELBRIDGE GERRY.

Nat-1744 - Ob-1814.

From the Miniature in the possession of the Family.

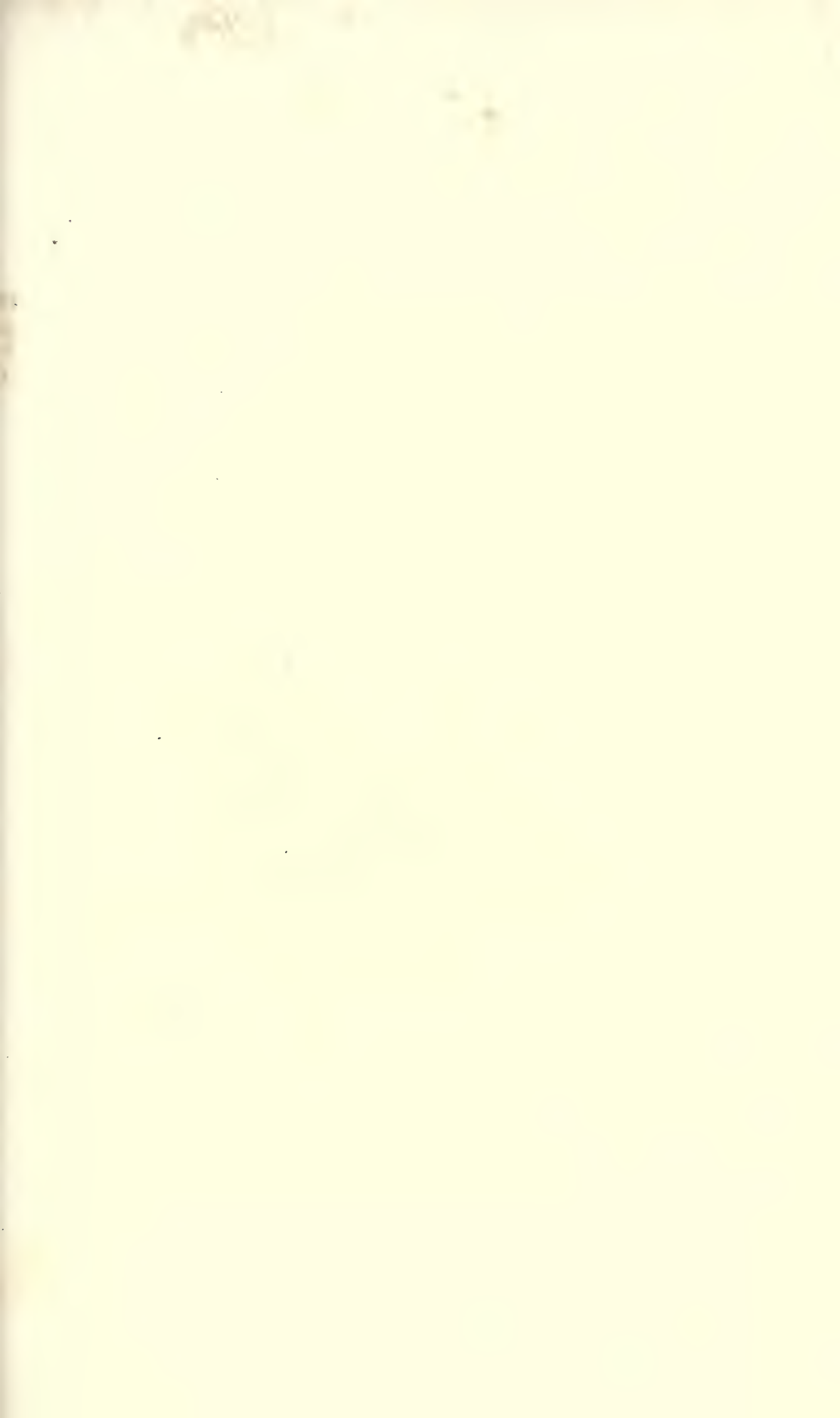
The men who signed the Constitution enjoy a distinction which is not shared by their fellow-members of the Convention. They have a glory all their own. They not only wrought as architects, but stood by their plans and attested them by affixing their names to an instrument as immortal as the Declaration of Independence, and far more remarkable as a political and intellectual achievement.

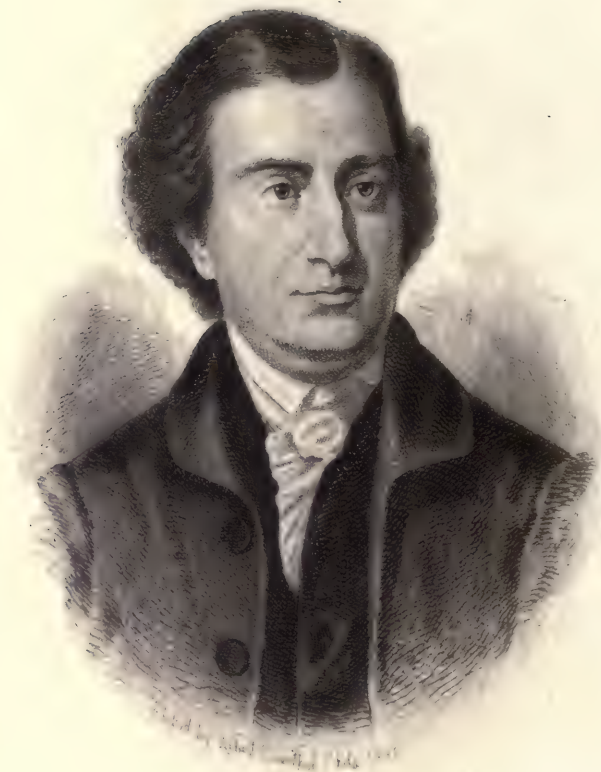
We now present sketches of the men who distinctly refused to sign.

ELBRIDGE GERRY.

ELBRIDGE GERRY enjoys the distinction of being the fifth signer of the Declaration of Independence; but though a member of the Federal Convention and actively participating in its debates until the close, he firmly refused to sign the Constitution. He was born in the town of Marblehead, Mass., in the year 1744, his father being a merchant of considerable means. He was educated at Harvard University, and received his degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1762. He then applied himself to mercantile pursuits, and while still young acquired a large estate and stood well among the merchants of his State. His attention was soon directed to the political concerns of the province; and in May, 1773, he took his seat in the General Court of Massachusetts Bay, and became, from that moment, one of the most zealous political leaders in the country. In the eventful controversy between Governor Hutchinson and the province, the impeachment of the judges, the opposition to the importation of tea, and to the Boston port bill, in the establishment of the non-intercourse system, and of close correspondence with the other colonies, Mr. Gerry bore a leading part. He became a member of the Provincial Congress and of the Committee of Safety. In the early part of 1776 he was chosen, with Hancock, the Adamses, and Paine, to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, and with them signed the Declaration. For five years Mr. Gerry remained a member of that body, and served

upon all the important committees, distinguishing himself by his close attention to questions of finance, trade, and the supply of the army. In 1780 he retired, as did so many of the eminent names in American history, and did not return to public service until June, 1783, and then served until September, 1785. He was chosen as a delegate to the Annapolis Convention, with Lieutenant-Governor Cushing, Francis Dana, and Stephen Higginson, but all declined the appointment, viewing the measures proposed as too limited and inefficient for the purposes intended. In 1787 he became a member of the Federal Convention, and strenuously opposed what he deemed the aristocratic or monarchical features of the plans proposed. These appeared so objectionable that he refused to sign, as did George Mason and Edmund Randolph, of Virginia. In a letter to his constituents he explained his position as follows: "It was painful for me, on a subject of such national importance, to differ from the respectable members who signed the Constitution. But conceiving, as I did, that the liberties of America were not secured by the system, it was my duty to oppose it. My principal objections to the plan are, that there is no adequate provision for a representation of the people; that they have no security for the right of election; that some of the powers of the legislature are ambiguous, and others indefinite and dangerous; that the executive is blended with, and will have an undue influence over, the legislature; that the judicial department will be oppressive; that treaties of the highest importance may be formed by the President, with the advice of two-thirds of a quorum of the Senate; and that the system is without the security of a bill of rights. These are objections which are not local, but apply equally to all the States." These views and those of others who concurred were so potent as to prove a direct cause of the eleven amendments to the Constitution, many of which were made the conditions of ratification by Massachusetts, Virginia, and other States. Gerry failed to be elected to the Massachusetts Conven-





EDMUND RANDOLPH,
Nat. 1753—Ob. 1813

From the original painting in the State House, Richmond, Va.

tion, but was invited to sit in conference and give written opinions when requested. When the new government went into effect, Mr. Gerry became a member of Congress, and served for two terms. In 1797 he was sent as one of the envoys to France. He subsequently became governor of Massachusetts; and on the 4th of March, 1813, was inaugurated Vice-President of the United States, and died, while holding that office, November 23, 1814, at the age of seventy. His career amply illustrated his own maxim: "It is the duty of every citizen, though he may have but one day to live, to devote that day to the service of his country."

EDMUND RANDOLPH.

EDMUND RANDOLPH was born in Virginia, August 10, 1753, and was graduated in 1771, at William and Mary College. He studied law, and had attained distinction at the bar before the troubles with Great Britain called him to more energetic scenes. He had warmly espoused the cause of his native country from the earliest signs of the approaching quarrel, thereby incurring the displeasure of his father, a stanch royalist, who eventually, it is said, disinherited him. In August, 1775, he became aide-de-camp to Washington, whose confidence and esteem he soon won. In May, 1776, he was elected a delegate to the Virginia Convention, which, two months later, made him the first attorney-general under the new constitution, an office held under the old government for nearly thirty consecutive years by members of his family; and before the close of the year the people of Williamsburg, then the capital of Virginia, elected him their mayor. After acting as clerk of the House of Delegates for one session, he was chosen a member of the Continental Congress, in whose proceedings he took a prominent part until the expiration of his term, in 1782. Returning to Virginia, "his success at the bar was extraordinary. Clients filled his office, and beset him on his way to court with their papers in one hand and with guineas in the other." In 1786

he was elected governor for the term of two years, and was also chosen one of the delegates to the Annapolis Convention. In the following year he was appointed one of the brilliant delegation sent by Virginia to the Federal Convention. After an organization had been effected, Randolph, in an eloquent and lengthy speech, introduced the business which had brought them together. He set forth in detail the defects of the existing Confederacy, the dangers and confusion arising from its weakness, and introduced, in a series of resolutions prepared by Madison, an outline of the remedies proposed. The consideration of these resolutions, which are known as the "Virginia plan," occupied the Convention until the 15th of June, when four days were devoted to the plan introduced by Mr. Paterson, of New Jersey. On the 19th, Randolph's resolutions, as amended in committee of the whole, were adopted as the basis for the formation of the Constitution. In the debates of the Convention Randolph bore a distinguished part. He advocated a plural executive, provision for the impeachment of the President and his ineligibility to a second term, a seven years' term for senators, biennial election of representatives, periodical apportionment of representation, the exclusive right of the representatives to originate money bills, compulsory attendance of members, their right to enter dissent on the journals, their ineligibility to other offices, the regulation of the militia by the national government, inferior national courts, the definition of treason in the British statute, a compromise on the slave-trade, amendments to the Constitution without the assent of Congress, ratification by State conventions, and a second general convention for final ratification. He opposed granting undefined powers to Congress, investing the executive with an absolute veto power, the Vice-President's presiding over the Senate, the payment of representatives by the States, the fixing a time for the meeting of Congress, the prohibition of Congress to issue bills of credit, navigation acts being passed by a majority, and the removal of judges on appli-

cation of Congress. And, finally, on the completion of the Constitution, he objected to the powers conferred on the President and Senate, the want of a more definite boundary between State and national authority, the rejection of his proposed second general convention, and refused to affix his signature. In spite of his objections, on the assembling of the Virginia Ratification Convention, he ranged himself on the side of the Constitution, and warmly urged its adoption. On the 29th of September, 1789, he entered Washington's cabinet as the first Attorney-General of the United States, and from this office was transferred, in January, 1794, to that of Secretary of State. In August, 1795, he was compelled to resign, on account of an intrigue with the French envoy. He published a vindication of his conduct, in which he cleared himself of the charge of bribery. He afterwards practised law until his death, which occurred in Frederick County, Va., on the 12th of September, 1813. Randolph was a portly man, nearly six feet in height, with a remarkably handsome face, illuminated by a brilliant pair of very large and dark eyes. In speaking, his attitudes were dignified and commanding, his gestures easy and graceful, his voice unusually harmonious, his style polished and ornate, but often wanting in fluency. His literary attainments were of high order. He studied the English classics with the closest attention, delighted in philosophy and metaphysics, and "loved poetry as a kinsman of Thomas Randolph, the boon companion of Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, was bound to love it." His legal knowledge was varied and profound, but his whole character was marred by a spirit of vacillation, which inclined him to temporize and compromise all dangerous political questions.*

* Contributed by Charles R. Hildeburn.

GEORGE MASON.

GEORGE MASON, one of the most remarkable men of Virginia belonging to the Revolutionary period, was descended from Colonel George Mason, a member of Parliament in the reign of Charles I., and an officer in the army of Charles II., at the battle of Worcester, after which he escaped to Virginia in disguise, losing all his estate in England. He was born in Stafford (now Fairfax) County, Va., in 1726, and became the intimate friend as well as neighbor of George Washington. He drafted the non-importation resolutions which were presented to and adopted by the Virginia Assembly in 1769. One of these resolutions pledged the planters to purchase no slaves imported after November 1, of that year. In 1775 he became a member of the Virginia Convention, but declined an election to Congress, urging Francis Lightfoot Lee to take his place, and he served with reluctance as a member of the Committee of Safety. He was the author of the famous "Declaration of Rights," and the "Plan of Government," adopted by Virginia in 1776. He took an active part in revising the statutes of his State; and while a member of the legislature, attracted attention because of his great ability as a debater. In 1777 he became a member of the Continental Congress, and in 1787 was sent to the Federal Convention, where he took a very active part in the debates. He favored an election of the President directly by the people for a single term of seven years. He opposed the postponement of the repeal of the slave-trade, the counting of slaves as a basis of representation, and the establishment of a property basis for suffrage. He considered some features of the Constitution as agreed on in Convention so dangerous that he distinctly refused to sign. He declared that the plan as it stood would end in either monarchy or a tyrannical aristocracy,—which, he was in doubt, but one or the other, he was sure. The Constitution had been formed without the knowledge of the people.



Engraved by J. Smith in 1795.

GEORGE MASON.

Nat-1726 - Ob-1792.

From the Pairing in the possession of the Family.



CALEB STRONG.

Nat-1745 - Ob-1819

From the painting in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

He argued that a second convention be held, so that they would know more of the sense of the people, and be able to provide a system more consonant to it. It was improper to say to the people, take this or nothing. As the Constitution then stood, he could neither give it his support or vote in Virginia; and he would not sign here what he could not support there. In this view he was ardently supported by Randolph and Gerry. On the question—on the proposition of Mr. Randolph—for a second convention all the States voted no, and on the question to agree to the Constitution, as it had been amended, all the States voted ay. The three gentlemen above named then distinctly refused to sign. In the Virginia Convention Mason ardently opposed its ratification, when some twenty amendments were proposed. In this he was strenuously supported by Patrick Henry. Many of these amendments were subsequently adopted, and are now a part of the Constitution. He was chosen one of the first senators of the United States from Virginia, but declined the honor, and spent the remainder of his days, until his death, in October, 1792, in retirement upon his estate at Gunston, near Mount Vernon.

We now present sketches of men who attended the Federal Convention, participated in its debates, but for various reasons were absent on the 17th of September, and hence did not sign the completed instrument.

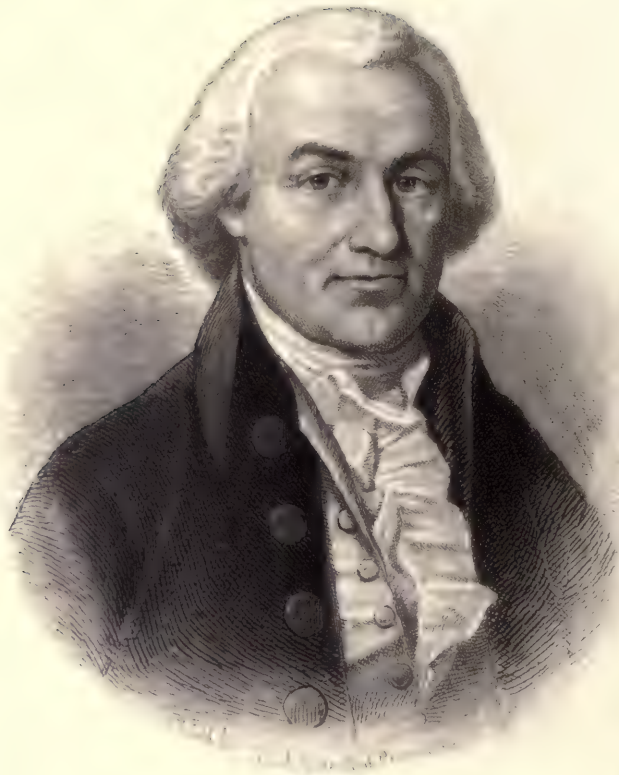
CALEB STRONG.

IN speaking of Caleb Strong as a member of the Federal Convention, Bancroft says that he was “a statesman of consummate prudence from the valley of the Connecticut, a graduate of Harvard, and a fit representative of the country people of Massachusetts.” From a review of his words and acts the student will readily conclude that his mental qualities were solid rather than brilliant. His sound judgment, moderation, plain-

ness of speech and manner, sterling integrity, and strength of purpose induced his fellow-citizens to elect him time and again to office. Without the gifts of the orator or the skill of the politician, he won with ease the confidence and esteem of his constituents, and during a long life, if he did not awaken admiration, never failed to inspire respect. Sullivan says that he was a man of strong mind, calm disposition, and pure character. His person was tall and of moderate fulness, his visage was long, his complexion dark, and his eyes blue. He was born at Northampton, Mass., on the 9th of January, 1745, his ancestors having been among the earliest settlers in the colony. He was educated at Harvard, and entered upon the study of the law, but was deterred for some years by ill health from the active practice of the profession. In 1775, at the age of thirty-one, he was appointed one of the commissioners of safety, and during the whole of the Revolutionary struggle was engaged in the service of the public,—from 1776 to 1780 as a member of the legislature, in 1779 as one of the framers of the constitution of Massachusetts, and in 1780 as one of the council of the State. In the following year he was appointed a justice of the Supreme Court of the State, but declined to accept the office. By a resolution of the General Court of the 10th of March, 1787, he was appointed a delegate to the Federal Convention, and on the 9th of April received his commission from the governor. His colleagues were Francis Dana, Elbridge Gerry, Nathaniel Gorham, and Rufus King. Mr. King was the only member from Massachusetts present on the 14th of May, the day appointed for the meeting of the Convention. Mr. Strong did not appear until the 28th of May. He did not take an active part in the debates of the Convention, but the notes of Mr. Madison show that he occasionally entered into discussion. He seconded and supported Mr. Ellsworth's motion in favor of annual elections of members of Congress. In this he was sustained by Wilson

and Sherman, and opposed by Madison, Mason, and Hamilton. Upon the adjustment of representation he favored the commitment of the question, which resulted in equality of State representation in the Senate and popular representation in the House. In support of the report of the committee he made his most elaborate speech, urging harmony, and contending that if no accommodation took place the Union itself must soon be dissolved. Upon the question of associating the supreme national judiciary with the executive in the revisionary power, in order to guard against abuses of power on the part of the legislature,—a matter repeatedly and strenuously urged by Wilson, Madison, Ellsworth, Mason, and Gouverneur Morris, and as strenuously opposed by Gorham, Gerry, and Luther Martin,—he contended that the power of making ought to be kept distinct from that of expounding the laws. Upon the choice of the executive he favored appointment by the national legislature. The remaining subjects upon which he expressed himself were the compensation of members and the importance of lodging the exclusive power to originate money bills in the House of Representatives. He did not sign the Constitution, owing to his absence, by leave, from the Convention on the 17th of September. He was chosen a member of the Massachusetts Convention called to consider the adoption of the Constitution, which met on January 9, 1788, at the meeting-house in Brattle Street. This convention was composed of the ablest men in the State. John Hancock, then governor, was chosen president; William Cushing, then chief justice, was chosen vice-president; and G. R. Minot, the historian, was chosen secretary. Upon the floor were Samuel Adams, Christopher Gore, Benjamin Lincoln, and Theophilus Parsons. Besides these were Gorham and Rufus King, both of whom had served with Strong in the Federal Convention. Gerry, although not a member, was invited to sit in conference and give written opinions when requested. An

intense interest was taken in the proceedings of this distinguished assembly. It was believed that if the Constitution was rejected by it, there could be no hope that it would ever receive the favorable consideration of the requisite number of States. It is also said that there is no doubt that if the question had been taken without discussion there would have been a large majority against adoption, for each member would have voted on his own objections, and there were some objections in almost every mind. It was voted, upon the motion of Mr. Strong, to take up each paragraph in turn "in free conversation, until every member shall have had an opportunity to express his sentiments on the same." The final and only question was on the acceptance or rejection of the instrument as a whole. Mr. Strong, though by no means as active as his colleagues in debate, occasionally rose to defend the work of the Convention, to explain its provisions and urge its adoption, speaking upon almost the same topics which he had discussed in the Federal Convention. He earnestly supported the conciliatory propositions submitted by President Hancock, which resulted not only in the ratification and adoption of the Constitution by Massachusetts, but in the recommendation of certain alterations and provisions, some of which are now embodied in the amendments. The vote upon the final question was yeas 187, nays 168. Mr. Strong became one of the first senators of the United States from Massachusetts, his colleague being George Cabot, and from 1789 to 1797 held this office, always acting with King and Ellsworth as a supporter of the administration of Washington. In 1800 he was elected governor of Massachusetts, and served continuously until 1807, and again in 1812 to 1816. As a Federalist he was opposed to the war with England, and subjected himself to the severest censure. He denied the right of the President to make requisitions upon him for troops, upon constitutional grounds, and declined responding to his calls. He



OLIVER ELLSWORTH.

Nat-1745 - Ob-1807.

From the original painting in the possession of the Family

adopted prompt measures for the safety of his State, and no ill consequences flowed from this clash of authority. He died at his native town, on the 7th of November, 1819, aged seventy-four years. In 1801 Harvard conferred upon him the degree of LL.D.

OLIVER ELLSWORTH.

OLIVER ELLSWORTH, one of the most distinguished statesmen and jurists of America, was born in Windsor, Conn., April 29, 1745. He received a classical education, and graduated at Princeton in 1766. He studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1771. His integrity, industry, knowledge of law, careful preparation of his cases, and earnest logic, occasionally warming into eloquence, soon won for him a commanding position among his professional brethren. He rose almost at once to a position of political distinction, and took an active part in support of the colonies in resisting the oppression of Great Britain. In 1777 he was elected a delegate to the Continental Congress, and became a leading member, serving upon important committees, and conspicuous for his talents as a debater. In 1784 he was appointed a judge of the Superior Court of Connecticut. While still on the bench, in 1787 he was chosen a member of the Federal Convention, and exerted an influence in securing substantial recognition of the State governments, which has linked his name with that of Paterson, of New Jersey, as one of the authors of our Federal system. He objected to the word "national," and preferred the title of "The United States," declaring that he wished the plan of the Convention to go forth as an amendment of the Articles of Confederation, since, under this idea, the authority of the legislatures could ratify it. He did not like popular conventions, as they were better fitted to pull down than to build up constitutions. He wished the agency of the States maintained, and urged a compromise between the large and small States as to their vote in Congress. He desired both senators and representatives to be paid

by the States, but wished their pay to be fixed by the Constitution. He contended for an executive council, and approved of a council of revision of acts of Congress, to be composed of the President and the judges. He opposed taxes on exports, and wished the power of making paper money to be withheld from Congress. He opposed a negative of Congress on State laws, and preferred the nomination of judges by the State, subject to the approval of the President, and, finally, contended that the Constitution should be ratified by the State legislatures. For some reason he was absent from the Convention on the last day, and did not sign the completed instrument, but in his own State convention, and ever afterwards, he was among the most earnest and zealous supporters of the new government. Having attached himself to the Federal party, he was elected by the legislature of his native State to the Senate of the United States, in which he gained great renown as a debater, and as a supporter of Washington's administration. His most substantial service to the country was his work upon the establishment of the judiciary system of the United States. He was the author of the first judiciary act, although he received aid from his colleague, William Samuel Johnson. So highly did Washington estimate the abilities of Mr. Ellsworth that he appointed him Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States in 1796. In 1799 he was sent as envoy extraordinary to Paris, where he aided in the negotiation of a treaty with France. In the following year he resigned the office of Chief Justice. He died November 26, 1807. "Oliver Ellsworth," says Dr. Dwight, "was born to be a great man." In one of his senatorial speeches, Daniel Webster referred to him as "a gentleman who has left behind him, on the records of the government of his country, proofs of the clearest intelligence, and of the utmost purity and integrity of character," while a recent biographer has declared that "for strength of reason, for sagacity, wisdom, and sound, good sense in the conduct of affairs; for moderation of

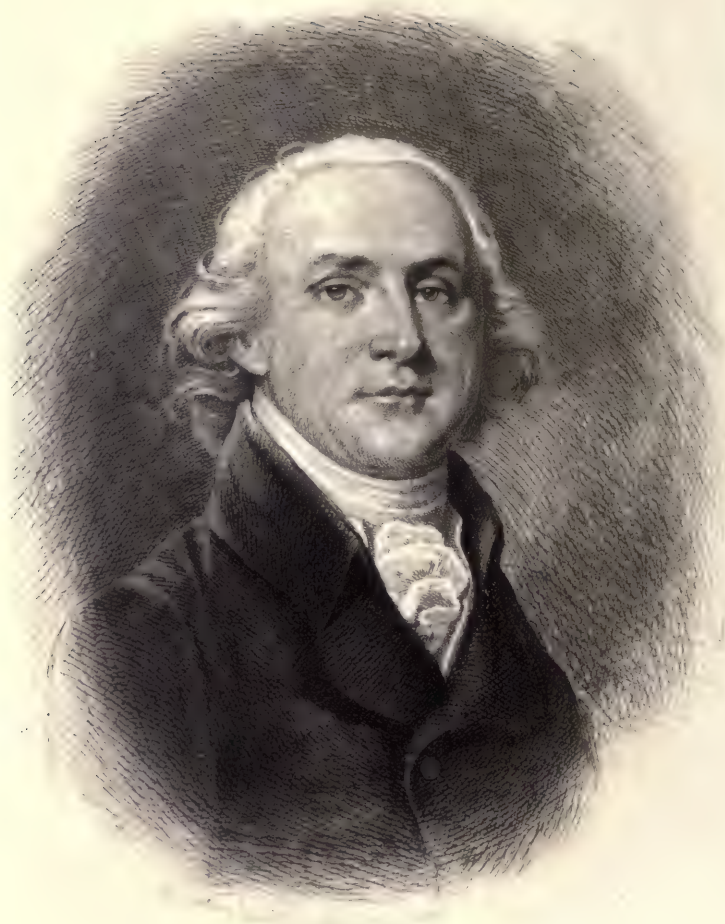
temper, and general ability, it may be doubted if New England has yet produced his superior."

WILLIAM CHURCHILL HOUSTON.

WILLIAM CHURCHILL HOUSTON, born in Cabarrus County, N. C., in the year 1740, was of Irish parentage, his father coming to this country with Lord Cabarrus, from whom he obtained a tract of land in the central part of North Carolina. Early in life he exhibited an eager desire for study, and, to gratify his passion, rode on horseback, equipped with clothing and fifty pounds in money, through Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, until he reached Nassau Hall at Princeton, N. J. Here, at the age of twenty-one, he was admitted to the Freshman class, and was soon made a teacher in the grammar school, at that time an adjunct of the college. In 1768 he was graduated with honor, and received a silver medal in acknowledgment of his merit. In the following year he became the senior tutor of the college, and in 1771 was elected to the chair of mathematics and natural philosophy, an office which he held for twelve years. In 1776 he held for several months the office of captain of militia. He attended important meetings of the Council of Safety of New Jersey, and for a time acted as treasurer. In 1778 and 1779 he was a member of the General Assembly. In April, 1781, after some preliminary study, aided by Richard Stockton, he was admitted to the bar. While still connected with the college he was made secretary of the Provincial Congress, and was elected five times by the legislature of New Jersey to the Continental Congress, serving in 1779, 1780, 1781, and 1784, distinguishing himself in the discussion of financial questions, methods of increasing the revenue, preparing the budgets for the appropriations for the army, navy, and civil affairs. In 1781 he was appointed clerk of the Supreme Court of New Jersey, and was reappointed in 1786, holding this position at the time of his death. He was also surrogate of Hunterdon County,

and receiver of Continental taxes. In 1783 he resigned his professorship. By this time he had become distinguished as a lawyer, and served as one of the commissioners to settle a dispute as to territory between Connecticut and Pennsylvania. For several years he was the counsel for the East Jersey proprietors. He was appointed by the legislature of his adopted State a delegate to the Annapolis Convention, which met September 11, 1786, and closed its labors by suggesting the Federal Convention. In 1787 he was chosen as one of the delegates to this Convention, but was prevented by illness from attending until May 25, when, seven States being convened, the Convention was organized. It has been said that he did not remain in Philadelphia more than a day; but Mr. Madison, in his volume of the "Debates in the Federal Convention," credits him with a motion to reconsider the determination "that the appointment of the executive be by electors chosen by the legislatures of the States," urging in debate the extreme inconveniency and the considerable expense of drawing together men from all the States for the single purpose of electing the chief magistrate. He also joined in the report of the New Jersey commissioners of the action of the delegation and the result of their labors. For some reason, not now determined, he did not sign the Constitution. During the year 1787 consumption had made such rapid progress in his system that he determined in the following year to visit his old home. He had proceeded only as far as Frankford, Pa., and had just obtained quarters at an inn, when he suddenly and unexpectedly expired, August 12, 1788, in the forty-eighth year of his age. He was buried in Philadelphia, in the ground connected with the Third Presbyterian Church. In person, Mr. Houston was tall and slender, with a face grave and serious, of dignified conduct, and of graceful gesture in speaking.*

* Abridged from a paper by Wm. S. Stryker, adjutant-general of New Jersey.



JOHN FRANCIS MERCER.

Nat-1759 - Ob-1821

From Photograph of the Original Painting, furnished by Dr. Thomas Aldis Emmet

JOHN FRANCIS MERCER.

JOHN FRANCIS MERCER was born in Stafford County, Va., May 17, 1759, and was a graduate at William and Mary College in 1775. He entered the Third Virginia Regiment as a lieutenant in 1776; became captain June 27, 1777, and served as aide to General Lee until the battle of Monmouth, when his sympathy with that officer on his disgrace induced him to resign from the army. He returned to Virginia, and soon afterwards raised and equipped at his own expense a troop of horse, of which he was commissioned lieutenant-colonel. Joining Lawson's brigade, he served with it, at Guilford and elsewhere, until its disbandment, when he attached his command to the forces under Lafayette, with whom he remained till after the surrender of Yorktown. He then studied law with Thomas Jefferson; and from 1782 to 1785 was a delegate to the Continental Congress from Virginia. While in Congress he objected to the States making any valuation of lands, discussing the retrospective features of such a measure. He also opposed the exportation of tobacco under the authority of Congress, declaring that Virginia had assented to the export of the first quantity merely out of respect for Congress, and under the idea that her rights of sovereignty had been encroached upon, and that as a further quantity had been exported without the license of the State, he disputed the extension of the authority of Congress. He also objected to a general system of revenue. He urged calling on Pennsylvania to restore goods seized while under passport; proposed the appropriation of imposts to pay the army first, and advocated a new scale of depreciation. He opposed the commutation of half pay and funding the public debt. He also objected to a proclamation relative to peace, and moved to erase the application to France for a loan of three millions of dollars. In 1785 he married Sophia, daughter of Richard Sprigg, of West River, Md., and removed to "Cedar Park," his wife's estate, and

soon attained prominence in Maryland politics. He was appointed a delegate to the Federal Convention in 1787, and advocated a freehold qualification for electors of representatives, while objecting to residence as a qualification of representatives. He considered the exclusive power of originating money bills in the House as so great an advantage that it rendered the equality of votes in the Senate ideal, and of no consequence. He thought a quorum in Congress should be less than a majority; objected to the Senate having any but legislative powers, and the exclusion of foreigners from Congress being retrospective. He thought the power of appointment to office necessary to sustain the due influence of the executive. He objected to the power of the judiciary to declare acts of Congress void, but wished the judiciary to have a revisionary power over laws. He strenuously urged a prohibition of a tax on exports; approved of Congress establishing post-roads; opposed an exclusion of the power of Congress to emit bills of credit, and objected to military force being introduced into a State by Congress to subdue rebellion without a previous application by the State. He did not sign the Constitution. He was a member of the Maryland Convention called to ratify the Constitution, and opposed its ratification, contending strongly for amendments. In this he was supported by William Paca, Samuel Chase, and Luther Martin. From 1792 to 1794 he was a representative in Congress; and from 1801 to 1803 was governor of Maryland, having previously served for several years in the State legislature, to which, after some years of retirement, he was again elected. He was a trusted friend and devoted political follower of Jefferson. Failing health induced him to visit Philadelphia for the purpose of consulting Dr. Philip Syng Physick, and while there he died on the 30th of August, 1821, and was buried in St. Peter's churchyard.



LUTHER MARTIN

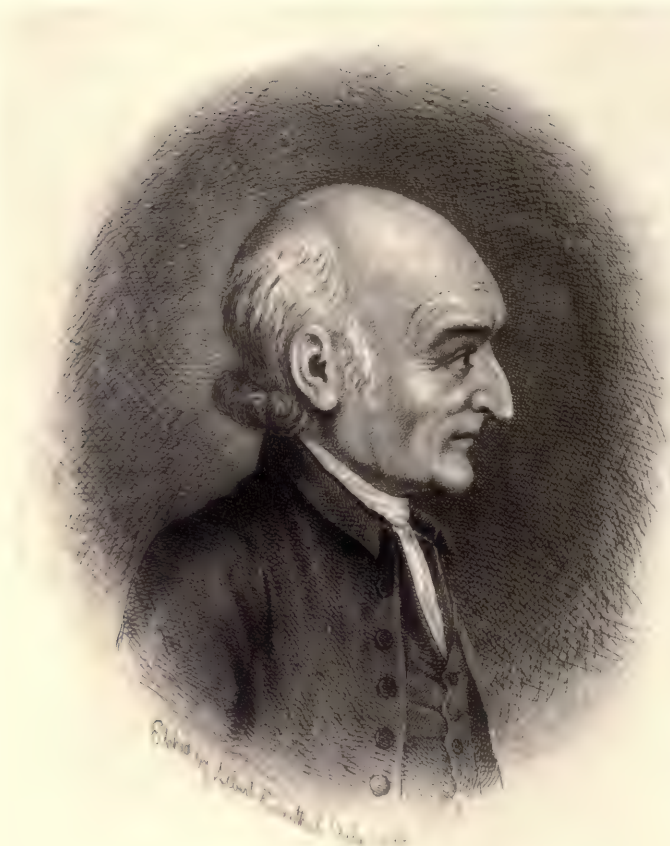
Nat. 1744 - Ob. 1826.

From the painting in the National Museum, Phila.

LUTHER MARTIN.

LUTHER MARTIN was born at New Brunswick, N. J., in 1744. After a few years' attendance at a grammar school, he went to Princeton College, and graduated in 1766, at the head of his class. He studied law in Maryland, in Queen Anne's County. In 1771 he was admitted to the bar, and in the following year went to Williamsburg, Va., where he began to practise his profession. He subsequently returned to Maryland, and, in 1774, was appointed one of the commissioners for the county of Somerset to oppose the claims of Great Britain; he also served as a member of the convention at Annapolis to the same end, taking strong patriotic grounds. In 1778 he was appointed attorney-general of Maryland, "in which position he vigorously and rigorously prosecuted—almost persecuted—the Tories of his State." In 1787 he was sent as one of the delegates to the Convention which framed the Constitution, and took an active part in the debates. He declared that the separation from Great Britain left each State sovereign and equal, and opposed any confederation except on equal grounds. He strongly objected to a national government, and declared himself in favor of Mr. Paterson's plan. He was willing, however, to adhere to the compromise giving the small States an equal vote in the Senate. He proposed an election of the executive by electors chosen by the State legislatures; contended for an equal vote of the States in both Houses; objected to senators voting *per capita*; thought that senators should be paid by the States, and that representatives should be elected as the State legislatures directed. He opposed the negative of Congress on the State laws. He also thought that the suppression of insurrections should be left to the States. He even proposed that taxes should be raised by requisitions. He wished the Constitution ratified by the State legislatures; failing in this, he expressed dissatisfaction with the general character of the Constitution. He

was one of the sturdiest champions of State rights. Although subsequently christened by Jefferson "The Federal Bull-dog," he spoke in Convention in vehement opposition to the Constitution, and left that body rather than sign the instrument. He also opposed the ratification of the Constitution in the Maryland Convention, making arguments so able that John C. Calhoun subsequently drew from them in his nullification speeches. He bitterly denounced the license allowed the African slave-trade in the Constitution, and declared that God viewed with equal eye the poor African slave and his American master. It is remarkable that his next public appearance was as a staunch supporter of the Federal Constitution, and fully as remarkable that such appearance should be as counsel for a Federal officer, Judge Samuel Chase, who had been no less bitter in his opposition to the same instrument. He appeared as counsel for Judge Chase when impeached before the United States Senate, in 1804. The impeachment was not sustained. In 1805 he resigned the attorney-generalship of the State of Maryland, after twenty-seven years of continuous service, and, despite his years, had the largest practice of any lawyer in the State. In 1807 he appeared as counsel for Aaron Burr when tried for high treason, at Richmond, and was again on the winning side. In 1814 he was appointed chief justice of the Court of Oyer and Terminer for Baltimore City and County, a position which he filled with ability until 1816, when the court was abolished. Forty years from the date of his first commission, in February, 1818, he was reappointed attorney-general of Maryland. The last important case in which he took a part was the famous case of *McCulloch vs. The State of Maryland*, before the Supreme Court of the United States, in 1819,—a test case as to the right of a State to tax the circulation of a United States bank within its limits. By a stroke of paralysis, in 1820, he was thrown upon the bounty of his friends. In 1822 the Maryland Legislature passed an act which is unparalleled in American history, requiring



GEORGE WYTHE.

Nat. 1726 - Ob. 1806.

From a print by W. T. Lloyd in the possession of Frederick D. Stone, Phila.

every lawyer in the State to pay annually a license fee of five dollars to be paid over to trustees for the use of Luther Martin. He died at the house of Aaron Burr, in New York, 10th of July, 1826. As a lawyer he was undoubtedly one of the ablest which our country has produced, and his name will descend to posterity among the brightest of those who have gained their reputation chiefly at the bar.

GEORGE WYTHE.

GEORGE WYTHE was one of the most eminent lawyers and judges that Virginia has ever produced. He was born in the year 1726, on the shores of the Chesapeake, in the county of Elizabeth City, Va. His father was a wealthy farmer, and his mother was a woman of singular learning. From her he acquired his early education, and became an accomplished Greek and Latin scholar, as well as a proficient in grammar, rhetoric, and logic. Early in life he gave himself up to dissipation, but at the age of thirty shook off his youthful follies, devoted himself to indefatigable study, and from this time until his death, at the age of eighty, practised the most rigid and inflexible virtue. He studied law under Mr. John Lewis, an eminent practitioner, and quickly rose in his profession. As a lawyer his character bears the severest scrutiny, and he ranks among the wisest and most able of judges. He entered the Virginia House of Burgesses, and continued a member until the dawn of the Revolution. In 1775 he was sent to Congress, and was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. In November, 1776, Wythe, Jefferson, Pendleton, Mason, and Lee were appointed a committee to revise the laws of the State of Virginia. In less than two years they reported one hundred and twenty-six bills,—the greater part of which work was done by Wythe and Pendleton. In 1777 he was chosen Speaker of the House of Delegates. At the close of the year he was appointed one of the three judges of the High Court of Chancery of Virginia, and on the subsequent change in the

organization of the Court of Equity was constituted sole chancellor, which high station he filled with the strictest integrity and the most abundant learning for more than twenty years. While in this office he published a series of Chancery reports, which are held in high estimation. In December, 1786, he was selected by the legislature, together with Washington, Henry, Randolph, Blair, Madison, and Mason, as a delegate to the Federal Convention. He attended, and was appointed on the committee to prepare rules for the Convention. As chairman of the committee he reported the rules on May 29, and on the 17th of June obtained leave of absence on account of the serious illness of his wife. He was unable to return, and thus, being absent on the last day of the session, failed to sign the Constitution. He was twice a Presidential elector. He became the legal preceptor of two Presidents of the United States and one Chief Justice, and was sought by many for advice and counsel. In emancipating his slaves, he gave them sufficient to supply their wants. On the 8th of June, 1806, in his eighty-first year, he was poisoned; but the trial of his nephew, who was suspected of the act, and of forging a will in his own favor, resulted in an acquittal, and a cloud of mystery hangs about his last hours. Jefferson said of him: "His virtue was of the purest kind, his integrity was inflexible, and his justice exact; of warm patriotism, and devoted, as he was, to liberty and the natural and equal rights of men, he might truly be called the Cato of his country, without the avarice of the Roman."

JAMES McCLURG.

JAMES McCLURG was born in 1747, at Hampton, Va. After graduating at William and Mary College, in 1762, he went to Edinburgh, and there, in 1770, took the degree of Doctor of Medicine. After two years' study in Paris and London he returned to America, settled at Williamsburg, and soon rose to the head of his profession. He was for many years a member of the Execu-



JAMES M^oCLURG

Nat 1747 - Ob 1823.

From Photograph of the Original Painting, furnished by Dr. Thomas Addis Emmett.

tive Council of Virginia, and when Patrick Henry declined to serve in the Federal Convention was elected in his place. He appeared on May 25, the day on which the Convention was organized, with Washington, Randolph, Blair, Madison, Mason, and Wythe. He participated in the deliberations of the Convention, but was compelled by private affairs to leave Philadelphia before the final vote was taken, and consequently was not one of the signers of the Constitution. In the debate upon the term of the executive, he moved to strike out "seven years" and insert the words "during good behavior." He contended that by striking out the words declaring him not re-eligible, the executive was put into a situation that would keep him forever dependent on the legislature; and he conceived the independence of the executive to be equally essential with that of the judiciary department. Upon this motion, Mr. Madison remarks that its probable object was merely to enforce the argument against the re-eligibility of the executive magistrate by holding out a tenure during good behavior, as the alternative for keeping him independent of the legislature. Mr. Madison adds that Dr. McClurg, though possessing talents of the highest order, was modest and unaccustomed to exert them in public debate. Dr. McClurg also desired some specific provision relative to the exercise of executive powers by the President, and asked whether it would not be necessary, before the Committee on Detail was appointed, to determine on the means by which the executive was to carry the laws into effect, or to resist combinations against them. Was he to have a military force for the purpose, or to have the command of the militia, the only existing force that could be applied to that use? As the resolutions then stood, the committee would have no determinate directions on this great point. Mr. Wilson of Pennsylvania adopted the suggestion, and thought that some additional directions to the committee would be necessary; but Rufus King replied that the committee were to provide for the end. Their discretionary power to provide for

the means is involved, according to an established axiom. Dr. McClurg died at Richmond, July 9, 1823, devoting his later years to the practice of his profession.

ALEXANDER MARTIN.

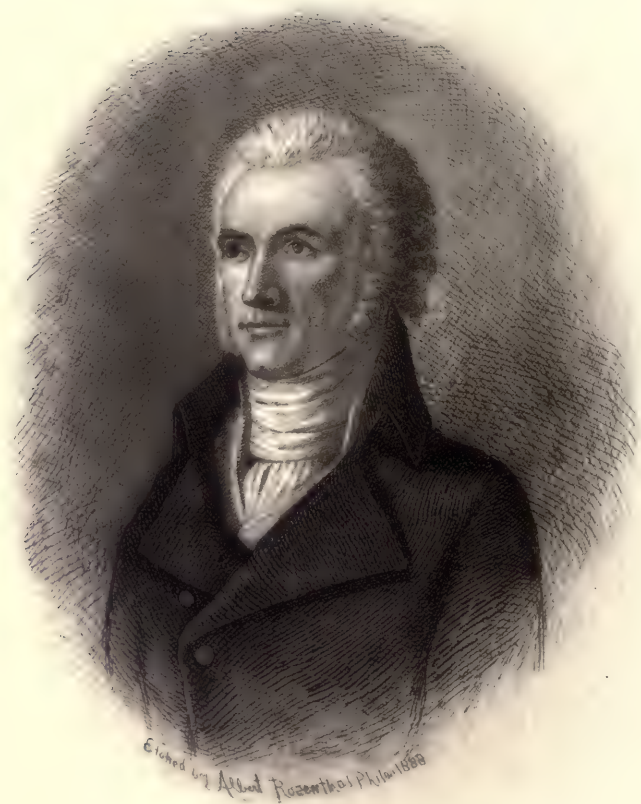
ALEXANDER MARTIN was born in New Jersey about 1740. His parents removed, while he was quite young, first to Virginia, and then to Guilford County, N. C. He was sent to Princeton, where he graduated in 1756. In 1772 he was elected to the Assembly, and in 1774 and 1775 to the First and Second Provincial Congresses. He became colonel of the Second North Carolina Regiment April 4, 1776, and served under Washington until the battle of Germantown, where he disgraced himself by hiding in a tree, was court-martialed, and dismissed from the army. In 1779 he was chosen a member of the State Senate, serving until 1782, and again in 1787 and 1788. He was Speaker of the Senate during most of his term, and as such became, in 1781, on the capture of Governor Burke, acting governor. He was governor from 1782 to 1785, and from 1789 to 1792, and was United States senator from 1793 to 1799. His support of John Adams and the alien and sedition laws destroyed his long-enjoyed popularity, and caused his defeat at the next election for senator. He published some verses, which are said to be "more patriotic than poetic." He was one of the North Carolina delegates to the Federal Convention, but withdrew without signing the Constitution. In the Convention he desired that the ineligibility of representatives should be limited to offices created or augmented during their term. In this he warmly supported Mr. Madison. When it was moved by Mr. King "that the States, at the first meeting of the general legislature, should be represented by sixty-five members," in which five representatives were allotted to North Carolina, Mr. Martin contended that his State was entitled to six members, but his views did not prevail. He supported Mason, of Virginia, in his view that it was highly



ALEXANDER MARTIN.

Nat-1740 - Ob-1807.

From the photograph of the Original Engraving furnished by Dr. Thomas Ad. Lis. Emmett.



WILLIAM RICHARDSON DAVIE.

Nat. 1756 — Ob. 1820.

From a print by Longacre.

improper that the seat of the general government should be at any State capital, first, because it tended to produce disputes concerning jurisdiction, and next, because the intermixture of the two legislatures tended to give a provincial tincture to the national deliberations. He died at Danbury, N. C., in November, 1807.

WILLIAM RICHARDSON DAVIE.

WILLIAM RICHARDSON DAVIE was born at Egremont, England, June 20, 1756, and was brought by his father to South Carolina soon after the treaty of peace of 1763, where he was adopted by his uncle. His early education was received in North Carolina, after which he entered Princeton. While there, he was serjeant of the company organized among the students, and served for a few months in New Jersey and New York. Returning to the college, he graduated in 1776, with the highest honors of his class. Selecting the law for his profession, he began its study at Salisbury, N. C., but the war continuing, his devotion to the cause of liberty induced him to abandon it. He began at once to recruit a company of dragoons, of which he was elected lieutenant, and which was subsequently attached to Pulaski's legion. In 1779 he was promoted brigadier-major. He fought at Stono, where he was severely wounded, at Hanging Rock, and Rocky Mount. Taking the field with a legionary corps and the rank of major, he was actively engaged in protecting the country between Charlotte and Camden from the enemy's predatory excursions. When Cornwallis entered Charlotte, Colonel Davie severely handled Tarleton's legion, wounding its commander. His efficiency in saving the remnant of the army after the defeat at Camden, as well as his other services, procured for him the rank of colonel-commandant of the cavalry of the State. General Greene, on taking command of the Southern department, appointed him commissary, in which his zeal greatly contributed to the successful operations which followed. After the war he resumed the practice of law,

and soon rose to great eminence, and for a number of years was a member of the legislature. In 1787 he was a member of the Convention which framed the Federal Constitution. He proposed an impeachment of the President for malpractice or neglect, a matter which he deemed of vital importance to secure the good behavior of the executive, "for," said he, "if he be not impeachable whilst in office, he will spare no effort or means whatever to get himself re-elected." He proposed eight years as the executive term, but subsequently supported Mason in his motion "that the executive be appointed for seven years, and be ineligible a second time." He insisted that slaves be included in the ratio of representation. The illness of his family called him home before the labors of the Convention were terminated; hence his name does not appear to that instrument. In the State convention he was its most able champion to the time of final ratification. He was commissioned major-general of the State militia, and in 1799 was elected governor, but soon after resigned to accept the position of envoy to France, with Ellsworth and Gerry. On his return to America he retired from public life. During the war of 1812 he was appointed a major-general of the United States, but declined, owing to bodily infirmities from wounds received during the Revolution. He died at Camden, S. C., November 8, 1820.

WILLIAM PIERCE.

WILLIAM PIERCE was a native of Georgia. He entered the army at the beginning of the Revolution, serving for some time as aide-de-camp to General Nathaniel Greene, and was presented with a sword by Congress in recognition of his gallant conduct. He represented Georgia in the Continental Congress during 1786 and 1787. He was the agent of Georgia in the settlement of the disputes with South Carolina as to boundary in 1785, and served as a trustee of the State college. He was also a delegate to the Convention which framed the Constitution of the

United States. He appeared and took his seat on the 31st of May. His colleague Few had appeared on the 25th of May, the day on which the Convention was organized, while Houstoun did not appear until June 1, and Baldwin not until June 11. Mr. Pierce declared himself in favor of an election by the people as to the first branch, and by the States as to the second branch; by which means the citizens of the States would be represented both individually and collectively. He proposed three years as the senatorial term, and, on Mr. Spaight's motion to make it seven years, declared that seven years would raise an alarm; that great mischiefs had arisen in England from their septennial act, which was reprobated by their most patriotic statesmen. At the same time that Mr. Pierce was a member of the Convention he was a member of the Continental Congress, with Mr. Few, and an examination of the journals of Congress shows that he alternated in his attendance with Few, so that the State of Georgia should always be represented. Pierce appeared in Congress on the 27th of August, and hence, being absent from the Federal Convention on the memorable 17th of September, failed to be one of the signers of the Constitution. He published his impressions of Congress in a Savannah newspaper, which is now in the Force Library.

WILLIAM HOUSTOUN.

WILLIAM HOUSTOUN was admitted to the Inner Temple, London, 1776, and was one of the Georgia delegation to the Continental Congress from 1784 to 1787. But little is known of him. In the latter year he was also chosen one of the representatives from Georgia to the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States. He doubted the propriety of a guarantee as to the State constitutions, and said that he was afraid of perpetuating the existing constitutions of the States. That of Georgia was a very bad one, and he hoped it would be revised and amended. It might also be difficult for the general government to decide be-

tween contending parties, each of which claimed the sanction of the Constitution. For some reason, not known, his name does not appear as one of the signers.

JOHN LANSING, JR.

JOHN LANSING, JR., was born in Albany, N. Y., on the 30th of January, 1754. He was liberally educated, and choosing the law as his profession, studied with Robert Yates in his native town, and James Duane in New York City. At the outbreak of the Revolution he entered the army, and in 1776 and 1777 was aide-de-camp to General Schuyler. From 1781 to 1784 he represented Albany in the assembly; in the latter year was elected a member of the Continental Congress, and served until 1788, retaining his seat in the New York Assembly, of which he was chosen Speaker in 1786. In March, 1787, he was appointed a delegate to the Federal Convention. His conduct proved to be a singular verification of Mr. Madison's views concerning him and his colleague Yates, as expressed in a letter dated March 11, 1787, addressed to Governor Randolph, of Virginia: "The two latter are supposed to lean too much towards State considerations to be good members of an assembly, which will only be useful in proportion to its superiority to partial views and interests." He opposed going into a committee of the whole; objected most strenuously to the Virginia plan, even as amended, contending that the power of the Convention was limited to the amendment of the Confederation. He proposed that the power of legislation be vested in the existing Congress, assigning as reasons the want of competent powers in the Convention to establish a new government, and the state of the public mind. He remained until July 5, when, with Yates, he *left* the Convention. In the words of Luther Martin, "he had uniformly opposed the system, and despairing of getting a proper one brought forward, or of rendering any real service, returned no more." He was a member of the New York Convention which



JOHN LANSING

Nat. 1754—OB. 1823.

From the photograph of the Original Painting furnished by 1^{re} Thomas A. B. Smith

adopted the Constitution, and voted against its ratification. In 1788 he was again chosen Speaker of the assembly, and in 1790 was appointed one of the judges of the Supreme Court. In 1798 he succeeded Robert Yates as chief justice, and in 1801, on the resignation of Robert R. Livingston, became chancellor of New York. He was a Presidential elector in 1824. On the evening of the 12th of December, 1829, he went out from the City Hotel, Albany, it is supposed, to deposit a letter in the box provided in the river steam-boats for the accommodation of letters too late for the mail, and was never again heard of.

ROBERT YATES.

ROBERT YATES was born at Schenectady, N. Y., March 17, 1738. He received a classical education, and in 1754 was sent to New York City to study law under William Livingston. In 1760 he was admitted to the bar, and, fixing his residence at Albany, soon rose to eminence in his profession. At the beginning of the quarrel with Great Britain, he actively espoused the cause of his country, and wrote several essays over the signature of "The Rough Hewer," which attracted much attention. He was a member of the New York Provincial Congresses of 1775, 1776, and 1777, and in 1776 was chosen one of the Council of Safety. In August, 1776, he served on the committee which drafted the first constitution of the State, and in 1777 became one of the judges of the Supreme Court, of which he became chief justice in 1790. He was one of the delegates from New York to the Federal Convention, but took no active part in the debates, but took notes, which were published after his death. He was opposed to the plan proposed, and withdrew from the Convention, July 5, with John Lansing, Jr., leaving Alexander Hamilton alone upon the floor to represent New York. With Lansing he addressed a letter to Governor Clinton, stating their joint reasons for withdrawing from the Convention and for their opposition to the Con-

stitution. They did not believe that the limited powers under which they acted could by any possible construction embrace an idea of such magnitude as assent to a general constitution in subversion of that of the State. They were convinced of the impracticability of establishing a general government, pervading every part of the United States, and extending essential benefits to all. They stated that they were not present at the completion of the Constitution; but before they left the Convention, its principles were so well established as to convince them that no alteration was to be expected, to conform it to their ideas of expediency and safety. A persuasion that further attendance would be fruitless and unavailing rendered them less solicitous to return. After the adoption of the Constitution Judge Yates felt bound to submit, and took the occasion of a charge to the grand jury to give the following expression of his views: "The proposed form of government for the Union has at length received the sanction of so many of the States as to make it the supreme law of the land, and it is not, therefore, any longer a question whether or not its provisions are such as they ought to be in all their different branches. We, as good citizens, are bound implicitly to obey them, for the united wisdom of America has sanctioned and confirmed the act, and it would be little short of treason against the republic to hesitate in our obedience and respect to the Constitution of the United States of America." In 1798 he resigned the chief justiceship and resumed the practice of the law. His rulings at *nisi prius* were seldom found incorrect; and on the bench of the Supreme Court he was distinguished for a clear, discriminating mind, which readily arrived at the true principles of the case before him. His impartiality in the trial of State criminals, of whom the turbulence and political animosities of the time brought many before him, was such as to cause demands from the Whigs for his impeachment. He was, however, alike indifferent to censure or applause in the faithful and

independent exercise of his official duties. He died at Albany, September 9, 1801.

It was at first our intention to include among our biographies the eminent men who declined to serve, or who did not attend the Convention. They were John Pickering, of New Hampshire; Benjamin West and Francis Dana, of Massachusetts; John Neilson and Abraham Clark, of New Jersey; Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, Samuel Chase, Thomas Sim Lee, Gabriel Duvall, and Robert Hanson Harrison, of Maryland; Patrick Henry, Thomas Nelson, and Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia; Richard Caswell and Willie Jones, of North Carolina; Henry Laurens, of South Carolina; George Walton and Nathaniel Pendleton, of Georgia. A candid consideration of the matter has satisfied us that, however distinguished for public services and brilliant talents, their refusal to attend the Federal Convention has stripped them forever of any claim to share in the glory which belongs to the framers of the Constitution of the United States.

It is now proper to present the completed work of the Convention.

THE CONSTITUTION
OF
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

We the People of the UNITED STATES, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquillity, 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

We the People

of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, secure domestic Tranquillity, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do hereby constitute 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 the whole or a major part of the number 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, but not, however, so as to disqualify him, shall not, have attained to the Age of twenty five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and when elected, 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 including 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 seven Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand Persons; 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 three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantings three, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania four, Delaware three, Maryland three, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Governor thereof shall issue writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

Section 3. The Electors in each State shall have the Qualification requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature. The Senate 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 Clauses, the first of which shall be the first, the second the second, and the third the third. The Electors in each State shall have the Qualification of Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature, and the Electors in each State shall have one Vote. The Senate shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for a Term of 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 Clauses, the first of which shall be the first, the second the second, and the third the third. The Electors in each State shall have the Qualification of Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature, and the Electors in each State shall have one Vote. The Senate shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for a Term of six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

The Senate will have the and Power to try all Impeachment. When the Senate of the United States shall be in Session, they shall be in each or either of the United States, and no Power shall be exercised in them the Exercise of the kinds of the Members, or in any of the 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 House, Place 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 Times 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 Members, and may punish its Members for disorderly Behaviour, and under such Punishes 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 that 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, 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 absence at the Session of their respective Houses, and on going to and returning from the same: and except in Cases of Impeachment, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

Whoever is Representative shall during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such Time: and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

Section 7. All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as to the Matter of any Bill which shall have originated in the House of Representatives: and all Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives, but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as to the Matter of any Bill which shall have originated in the House of Representatives.

United States; if he opposes 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 then
the City, to read before the Senate, and proceed to consider it. If after reading there, when there are two thirds of that House, that it ought to pass the Act,
it shall be so ordered, and if approved by the Senate, it shall become a law. But if not, it shall be returned to that House, to reconsider it. If after a second
consideration, it shall be approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a law. If the House of Representatives shall not concur with the Senate,
in a Bill, it shall be returned to that House, to reconsider it. If after a second consideration, it shall be approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a law.
If the Senate shall have three fifths of a majority, a Bill passed by the House, shall become a law, notwithstanding the objection of the Senate.
If a Bill shall be passed by the Senate, and shall not be returned to that House, it shall be considered as if it had been so returned, and shall become a law.

Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except in a question of Adjournment),
shall be signed, when it shall be presented to the President, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be rejected by
two thirds of the Senate, and the House of Representatives, or by a majority of the Senate, and a majority of the House of Representatives.

Section 5. The Congress shall have Power to lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debt and provide for the common Defense 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 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
(Lawrence)

To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

To define and punish Crimes and Offences committed on the high Seas, and against the Law of Nations;

To declare War, and to grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captives on Land and Water;

To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money shall be made for any longer Term than two Years;

To provide and maintain a Navy;

To provide and regulate the Militia of the United States, and 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;

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, according to the Principles of the Constitution, and for such other Matters as may be necessary to the Execution of the said Powers;

To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions, and for such other Matters as may be necessary to the Execution of the said Powers;

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, according to the Principles of the Constitution, and for such other Matters as may be necessary to the Execution of the said Powers.

in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Office thereof.
Neither of them. The latter or Supplication of such. It seems as if the States may wish to pay, shall not be prohibited by the Congress
power to the great one thousand, eight hundred and eight, but a State is duty, may be imposed on a State Supplication, not wanting to do this for each State.
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.

For all the other matters or cases, the Law shall be as follows.

No Regulation or other direct Tax, shall be laid, upon any single State.

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 any one State be favored by one
State, be obliged to enter, share or pay Duties or Taxes.

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, 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.

No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance or Compact; nor shall any State, enter into any Agreement or Compact, with a foreign State, without the
Consent of the Congress; nor shall any State, lay any Impost or Tax, on Imports or Exports, without the Consent of the Congress; nor shall any State, coin Money, or
any Thing but gold and silver Coins; nor shall any State, issue Letters of Marque or Privateers, without the Consent of the Congress; nor shall any State, grant
Letters of Marque or Privateers, without the Consent of the Congress; nor shall any State, grant any Title of Nobility.

No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any Impost or Tax, on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary,
for executing its Inspection Laws; and the net Produce of all Duties and Exports, shall be for the Use of the
Treasury of the United States, until such Law, shall be made, subject to the Consent of the Congress, and the Consent of the State, in which the same
shall be laid.

No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any Impost or Tax, on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary,
for executing its Inspection Laws; and the net Produce of all Duties and Exports, shall be for the Use of the
Treasury of the United States, until such Law, shall be made, subject to the Consent of the Congress, and the Consent of the State, in which the same
shall be laid.

Article. II.

Section. 1. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four
Years, and together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, he shall, as follows:

Each State shall appoint, for or against him, one elector, in the Legislature thereof, or in any other Body, or in any other
and Representatives to which the Electors may be entrusted in the Congress, but no Elector shall be an Officer or Agent of that or
any other State.

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 to the Clerk 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 a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed shall have elected one of them, for President and such Majority, and have no equal Number of Votes. If no Person shall have the Vote of a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed, the President shall be chosen from among the three Persons having the greatest Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by Ballot one of them, for President and such Majority, and have no equal Number of Votes. If no Person shall have the Vote of a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed, the President shall be chosen from among the three Persons having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors, and in like Manner 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; Acquiescence for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two thirds of the States, and in like Manner shall in like Manner choose the Vice President. 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 shall 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, of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall 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 State.

He, prior to his entry on the Execution of his Office, 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 actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officers in each of the executive Departments, upon any Subject relating to the Duties of his respective Office, 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 and dismiss Ambassadors, Ministers, Consuls, Judges, and all other Officers and Ministers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law; he may also grant all such Pardons and Reprieves as shall be established by Law.

which shall appear at the End of this act &c.

Section 3. No shall for in him to have power to the Congress of Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to his 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, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons under such Conditions and Penalties as shall be provided by the Senate and House of Representatives.

Section 4. The President shall have Power to receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons under such Conditions and Penalties as shall be provided by the Senate and House of Representatives.

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 Court, 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 of Law, Equity, and Commerce, that arise under the Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States; to all Cases of Admiralty and Maritime Jurisdiction; to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party; to Cases affecting Ambassadors, Consuls, and other public Ministers and Consuls; to all Cases of Controversy between two or more States; between two or more Members of different States, one State against another; between Citizens of different States, one Citizen of one State against another Citizen of another State; between Citizens of the same State, one Citizen against another; between a State and Citizens of another State; between a State and foreign Citizens, one Citizen of one State against another Citizen of another State; between a State and foreign Citizens, one Citizen of one State against another Citizen of another State.

In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, Consuls, and other public Ministers and Consuls, and in Cases of Controversy between two or more States, between two or more Members of different States, one State against another, the Supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have such Jurisdiction, as the Congress shall make.

The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury, and such Trial shall be hold in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed, but when not convenient, the Congress may by Law direct the Trial to be in another State.

Section 3. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or adhering to their Enemies, or in giving Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless he shall have been convicted by a Jury of his Peers 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 Disfranchisement during the Life of the Person attainted.

Article IV.

Section 1. Full Faith and Credit shall be given in every State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the

Congress may by general Laws provide the Manner in which such suits, Pleas and Proceedings shall be proved and the Effect thereof.

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

1. No Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall be removed from that State, until he can be delivered up, according to the Laws of the State from which he fled, to the State to which he fled, to be removed to that State, to receive Justice of the Crime.

For the same held in force or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, being imported 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 created 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 Legislators of the State in which 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 seventh Article, and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its 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 Law 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, required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

As raising the name.
 The word "Liberty" being not derived from the word "liberty" and
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 neither in an English or in the Spanish language of the first page.
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 second page.

That William M. M. Secretary

Done

in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the Delegates present the following
 Day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty seven and
 of the Independence of the United States of America the following **Articles** whereby
 We have herewith subscribed our Names.

- | | | |
|----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Delaware | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> G. Mifflin James Mifflin Richard B. Smith John Mifflin James Mifflin | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> John Mifflin James Mifflin Richard B. Smith John Mifflin James Mifflin |
| Maryland | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> John Mifflin James Mifflin Richard B. Smith John Mifflin James Mifflin | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> John Mifflin James Mifflin Richard B. Smith John Mifflin James Mifflin |
| Virginia | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> John Mifflin James Mifflin Richard B. Smith John Mifflin James Mifflin | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> John Mifflin James Mifflin Richard B. Smith John Mifflin James Mifflin |
| North Carolina | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> John Mifflin James Mifflin Richard B. Smith John Mifflin James Mifflin | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> John Mifflin James Mifflin Richard B. Smith John Mifflin James Mifflin |
| South Carolina | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> John Mifflin James Mifflin Richard B. Smith John Mifflin James Mifflin | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> John Mifflin James Mifflin Richard B. Smith John Mifflin James Mifflin |
| Georgia | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> John Mifflin James Mifflin Richard B. Smith John Mifflin James Mifflin | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> John Mifflin James Mifflin Richard B. Smith John Mifflin James Mifflin |

In Convention, Monday September 17th 1787.

PRESENT

The States of

New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Mr. Hamilton from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware,
Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia.

Resolved,

That the preceding Constitution be laid before the United States in Congress assembled, and that it is the Opinion of this Convention, that it should afterwards be submitted to a Convention of Delegates, chosen in each State by the People thereof, under the Recommendation of the United States in Congress assembled, and that each Convention assembling to, and ratifying the same, should give Notice thereof.

Resolved, That it is the Opinion of this Convention, that as soon as the Conventions of nine States shall have ratified this Constitution, the United States in Congress assembled, should fix a Day on which Electors should be appointed by the States which shall have ratified the same, and a Day on which the Electors should assemble to vote for the President, and the Time and Place for commencing Proceedings under this Constitution.

That after such Publication the Electors should be appointed, and the Votes certified, signed, sealed and directed, as the Constitution requires, to the Secretary of the United States in Congress assembled, and should transmit their Votes certified, signed, sealed and directed, as the Constitution requires, to the Secretary of the United States in Congress assembled, that the Electors and Representatives should convene at the same Time and Place appointed; that the Secretary of the United States in Congress assembled should convene at the same Time and Place appointed, and counting the Votes for President; and that after he shall be chosen,

W. A. Wm Sec. Treas.

By the unanimous Order of the Convention

John Jay Sec. Treas.

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 chusing 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 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 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 increased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

SECTION. 7. 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 Controul 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 chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; A quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two-thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice President.

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

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 Behavior, 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 Amendment,

which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

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 Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth *In witness* whereof we have hereunto subscribed our Names,

G^o. WASHINGTON, *Presidt.*,
And deputy from Virginia.

Attest :

WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

JOHN LANGDON,
NICHOLAS GILMAN,

MASSACHUSETTS.

NATHANIEL GORHAM,
RUFUS KING,

NEW YORK.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON,

CONNECTICUT.

WM. SAM'L JOHNSON,
ROGER SHERMAN,

NEW JERSEY.

WILL. LIVINGSTON,
DAVID BREARLEY,
WM. PATERSON,
JONA. DAYTON,

PENNSYLVANIA.

B. FRANKLIN,
THOMAS MIFFLIN,
ROBT. MORRIS,
GEO. CLYMER,
THOS. FITZSIMONS,
JARED INGERSOLL,
JAMES WILSON,
GOUV. MORRIS,

DELAWARE.

GEO. READ,
GUNNING BEDFORD, JUN.,
JOHN DICKINSON,
RICHARD BASSETT,
JACO. BROOM,

MARYLAND.

JAMES MCHENRY,
DAN OF S. THOS. JENIFER,
DAN'L CARROLL,

VIRGINIA.

JOHN BLAIR,
JAMES MADISON, JR.,

NORTH CAROLINA.

WM. BLOUNT,
RICH'D DOBBS SPAIGHT,
HU. WILLIAMSON,

SOUTH CAROLINA.

J. RUTLEDGE,
CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY,
CHARLES PINCKNEY,
PIERCE BUTLER,

GEORGIA.

WILLIAM FEW,
ABR. BALDWIN.

IN CONVENTION MONDAY, *September 17th, 1787.*

PRESENT

THE STATES OF New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Mr. Hamilton, from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

Resolved, That the preceding Constitution be laid before the United States in Congress assembled, and that it is the Opinion of this Convention, that it should afterwards be submitted to a Convention of Delegates, chosen in each State by the People thereof, under the Recommendation of its legislature, for their Assent and Ratification; and that each Convention assenting to, and ratifying the Same, should give Notice thereof to the United States in Congress assembled.

Resolved, That it is the Opinion of this Convention, that as soon as the Conventions of nine States shall have ratified this Constitution, the United States in Congress assembled should fix a Day on which Electors should be appointed by the States which shall have ratified the same, and a Day on which the Electors should assemble to vote for the President, and the Time and Place for commencing Proceedings under this Constitution.

That after such Publication the Electors should be appointed, and the Senators and Representatives elected: That the Electors should meet on the Day fixed for the Election of the President, and should transmit their Votes certified, signed, sealed and directed, as the Constitution requires, to the Secretary of the United States in Congress assembled, that the Senators and Representatives should convene at the Time and Place assigned; that the Senators should appoint a President of the Senate, for the sole Purpose of receiving, opening and counting the Votes for President; and, that after he shall be chosen, the Congress, together with the President, should, without Delay, proceed to execute this Constitution.

By the unanimous Order of the Convention,

GEORGE WASHINGTON, *Presidt.*

W. JACKSON, *Secretary.*

IN CONVENTION, September 17, 1787.

SIR:—We have now the honor to submit to the consideration of the United States in Congress assembled, that Constitution which has appeared to us the most advisable.

The friends of our country have long seen and desired, that the power of making war, peace, and treaties, that of levying money and regulating commerce, and the correspondent executive and judicial authorities should be fully and effectually vested in the general government of the Union; but the impropriety of delegating such extensive trusts to one body of men is evident,—hence results the necessity of a different organization.

It is obviously impracticable in the Federal government of these States to secure all rights of independent sovereignty to each, and yet provide for the interest and safety of all. Individuals entering into society must give up a share of liberty to preserve the rest. The magnitude of the sacrifice must depend as well on situation and circumstance as on the object to be obtained. It is at all times difficult to draw with precision the line between those rights which must be surrendered and those which may be reserved; and on the present occasion this difficulty was increased by a difference among the several States as to their situation, extent, habits, and particular interests.

In all our deliberations on this subject, we kept steadily in our view that which appears to us the greatest interest to every true American, the consolidation of our Union, in which is involved our prosperity, safety, perhaps our national existence. This important consideration, seriously and deeply impressed on our minds, led each State in the Convention to be less rigid on points of inferior magnitude than might have been otherwise expected: and thus the Constitution, which we now present, is the result of a spirit of amity, and of that mutual deference and concession which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable.

That it will meet the full and entire approbation of every State is not perhaps to be expected; but each will doubtless consider that, had her interests been alone consulted, the consequences might have been particularly disagreeable or injurious to others; that it is liable to as few exceptions as could reasonably have been expected, we hope and believe; that it may promote the lasting welfare of that country so dear to us all, and secure her freedom and happiness, is our most ardent wish.

With great respect, we have the honor to be, sir, your excellency's most obedient and humble servants,

GEORGE WASHINGTON, President,
By unanimous order of the Convention.

HIS EXCELLENCY, THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

ART. 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.

ART. 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.

ART. 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.

ART. 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.

ART. 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 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.

ART. 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.

ART. 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.

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

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

ART. 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.

ART. 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.

ART. 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 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 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.

ART. XIII. 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.

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

ART. XIV. 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.

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.

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.

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.

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

ART. XV. 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.

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

History of the Amendments to the Constitution.

At the first session of Congress under the Constitution, begun in the city of New York, March 4, 1789, many amendments to it were offered for consideration in conformity with the recommendations made by a number of the conventions that ratified it. Ten of these were proposed by Congress to the legislatures of the several States. They were ratified by the requisite number by the middle of December, 1791. The XIth Amendment was proposed September 5, 1794, and was ratified in 1798. The XIIth Amendment was proposed December 12, 1803, and was ratified in 1804.

In May, 1810, an amendment was proposed by Congress, prohibiting citizens of the United States from accepting or retaining any title of nobility or honor, present, pension, or emolument from any person, king, or foreign power, without the consent of Congress, under the penalty of disfranchisement. It was never ratified.

The XIIIth Amendment was adopted by Congress, February 1, 1865, and was ratified December 18, 1865.

The XIVth Amendment was adopted by Congress, June 16, 1866, and was ratified July 21, 1868.

The XVth Amendment was proposed to the legislatures of the States February 27, 1869, and proclaimed adopted March 30, 1870.

Order of Ratification of the Constitution by the States.

Delaware	Dec. 6, 1787	Unanimously.
Pennsylvania	Dec. 12, " :	46 to 23.
New Jersey	Dec. 18, "	Unanimously.
Georgia	Jan. 2, 1788	Unanimously.
Connecticut	Jan. 9, "	128 to 40.
Massachusetts	Feb. 6, "	187 to 168.
Maryland	April 26, "	63 to 11.
South Carolina	May 23, "	149 to 73.
New Hampshire	June 21, "	57 to 46.
Virginia	June 25, "	89 to 79.
New York	July 26, "	30 to 27.
North Carolina	Nov. 21, 1789. . . .	193 to 75.
Rhode Island	May 29, 1790. . . .	34 to 32.

Order of Admission of States into the Union.

Vermont . . . 1791	Alabama . . . 1819	Wisconsin . . . 1848
Kentucky . . . 1792	Maine . . . 1820	California . . . 1850
Tennessee . . . 1796	Missouri . . . 1821	Minnesota . . . 1858
Ohio 1802	Arkansas . . . 1836	Oregon 1859
Louisiana . . . 1812	Michigan . . . 1837	Kansas 1861
Indiana 1816	Florida 1845	West Virginia. 1863
Mississippi. . . 1817	Texas 1845	Nebraska . . . 1864
Illinois 1818	Iowa 1846	Nevada 1864
	Colorado . . . 1876	

Territories.

Arizona 1863	Dakota 1861	Idaho 1853
Indian Territory . 1834	Montana 1864	New Mexico . 1850
Utah 1850	Washington . 1853	Wyoming . . . 1868
District of Columbia { 1790	District of Alaska . . 1868	
	{ 1791	

HISTORY
OF THE
CONSTITUTIONAL CENTENNIAL COMMISSION.

BY HAMPTON L. CARSON,
SECRETARY OF THE COMMISSION.

THE Constitutional Centennial Commission was organized at Philadelphia, on the 2d of December, 1886, for the purpose of celebrating with appropriate ceremonies the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Framing and Promulgation of the Constitution of the United States.

The important results to the nation and to the world at large of the event to be commemorated, and the brilliant scenes which had attended the International Exhibition, held at Philadelphia in 1876, in celebration of the Centennial Anniversary of the Declaration of American Independence, led to the belief that the people would respond with reverent zeal to an invitation to visit the holiest spot of American earth, and inspired high hopes of a great awakening of patriotism.

ORIGIN OF THE MOVEMENT.

The movement had its origin in a concurrent resolution of the Legislature of New Jersey, adopted on the 2d of June, 1886, inviting the governors and representatives of the thirteen colonial States to assemble in Philadelphia on the 17th of September following, to consider the propriety of a national celebration. This

resolution was suggested by Colonel Jesse E. Peyton, of Haddonfield, to whose fervor and industry in aiding the work thus auspiciously begun the most grateful acknowledgment is due. The invitation met with a cordial reception by those addressed; and in order to provide for the entertainment of the visitors the councils of the city of Philadelphia appointed a joint committee, of which the Hon. John Bardsley was chairman, and John R. Lloyd, Chas. Roberts, J. Dallas Hall, Harold Mann, W. C. Mackie, Jos. D. Murphy, John E. Hanifen, Jas. Moran, Chas. Lawrence, John H. Graham, Edwin S. Stuart, A. Ellwood Jones, Theo. M. Etting, Edward Mathews, Geo. D. Scherr, Geo. L. Horn, Jas. A. Freeman, Wm. Moffett, Jas. R. Gates, John Eckstein, and Jos. H. Paist were members. Their efforts were supported by those of a committee of citizens, of which Thomas Cochran, Esq., was chairman, John W. Woodside secretary and treasurer, and William Brockie, Jas. A. Wright, Wm. J. Lloyd, Wm. J. Latta, Thos. L. Gillespie, Edwin H. Fitler, Alex. P. Brown, Howard Deacon, B. K. Jamison, Amos R. Little, Justus Strawbridge, Robert Buist, Jr., Wm. H. Rhawn, Thos. Dolan, A. B. Rorke, David F. Conover, Thos. J. Smith, J. W. Supplee, P. P. Bowles, Wm. M. Singerly, Geo. Fox, S. H. Austin, Jr., and L. S. Boraef were members.

Committees were also appointed by the Philadelphia Maritime Exchange, the Commercial Exchange, the Lumbermen's Exchange, the Carpenters' Company, and the press.

MEETING OF THE GOVERNORS OF THE COLONIAL STATES.

On the morning of the 17th of September, 1886, the distinguished guests assembled in Parlor C, of the Continental Hotel, and were met by the Councils' and Citizens' Committees.

The various States were represented as follows:

PENNSYLVANIA.—Governor Robert E. Pattison and Secretary of the Commonwealth W. S. Stenger.

VIRGINIA.—Governor Fitzhugh Lee and his staff, Colonel R. S. Beirne, Colonel B. O. James, and Secretary J. E. Walker.

MARYLAND.—Governor Henry Y. Lloyd, Attorney-General Charles B. Roberts, and E. W. LeCompte, D. W. King, C. P. Paine, and J. E. Hirst, of his Excellency's staff.

DELAWARE.—Governor Charles C. Stockley, W. Causey, George V. Massey, J. Turpin Moore, Henry A. DuPont, the Hon. J. A. Nicholson, J. P. Cochran, and the Hon. Benjamin T. Biggs.

NEW YORK.—Lieutenant-Governor Edward A. Jones and Secretary C. F. Arcole.

RHODE ISLAND.—Governor George F. Wetmore.

GEORGIA.—Governor Henry D. McDaniel, the Hon. Evan P. Howell, the Hon. N. J. Hammond, Colonel John A. Stephens, and Sanders McDaniel.

NEW JERSEY.—A committee of the State legislature, empowered to represent Governor Leon Abbett. They were A. F. R. Martin, F. S. Alcott, John C. Besson, and H. M. Jewett.

SOUTH CAROLINA.—Colonel James A. Hoyt, acting for Governor J. R. Sheppard.

CONNECTICUT.—Ex-Governor Bigelow, representing Governor Harrison, and Colonel A. N. Kellam.

Letters of regret were received, but expressing sympathy with the movement, from Governor Robinson, of Massachusetts, Governor Currier, of New Hampshire, and Governor Scales, of North Carolina.

Governor Pattison, of Pennsylvania, delivered a brief address of welcome:

“I desire to say, in behalf of the people of Pennsylvania, that we are pleased and honored to have you in our midst, and we earnestly hope that your stay will be pleasant. We shall assuredly endeavor to make it so. We extend to you all the cordiality that one people can extend to another. We welcome you to the Keystone State and extend to you its

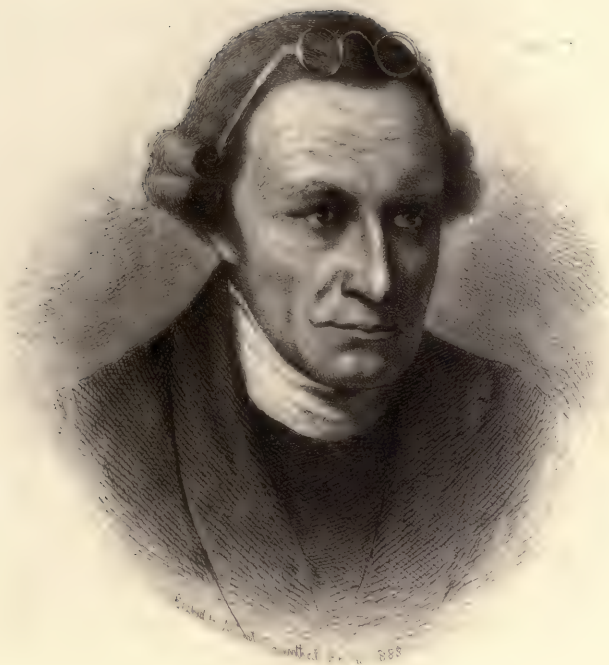
freedom. And we hope that your proceedings in behalf of the celebration next year will be productive of great good; that they will be second only in importance and historic value to the signing of the Declaration of Independence. We are glad to have you with us."

The visitors then repaired to the State House, and were received in Independence Hall—which had been appropriately decorated with flags—by the Hon. William B. Smith, mayor of Philadelphia.

"It is with a high degree of pleasure and honor," he declared, "that I am permitted in behalf of Philadelphia, a city rich in historic memories, to welcome here the chief representatives of the States that have grown from the thirteen colonies. I heartily bid you welcome, and trust that we may be able to add to your pleasure while here. May this visit be not only one of rare enjoyment to you, but also productive of good to us all. Again I bid you welcome."

To this greeting Governor Lee, of Virginia, replied:

"Professor Tyndall, in tracing the history of a drop of water, represents it as lifted up from the ocean by the heat of the sun's rays and wafted over the continents by every breeze, to be again returned to the bosom of the sea. So, it seems, after a lapse of ninety-nine years, the representatives of the colonial States return again to this great city to revive the associations of patriotism and historic memory. I beg leave to return our sincere thanks to the mayor for his kind and hearty welcome. Virginia had much to do with framing this great nation. One of her sons penned the Declaration of Independence; another—the trumpet-tongued orator—shook the throne of haughty England by the cry, 'Give me liberty or give me death!' another composed the plan which became the basis of the Constitution. Virginia, it is true, had some objections to the Constitution as originally framed, based upon the rights of each State to maintain her own supremacy in relation to the governmental affairs of the nation. I thank God that the question of State sovereignty has been settled, and is now behind us instead of before us. I can say of the Southern States that their future efforts will all be



PATRICK HENRY.
Nat-1736- Ob-1799.

From the Original Painting in the possession of the Family.





HALL OF THE CARPENTERS' COMPANY.

directed towards building up this great country. We are part and parcel of a boundless nation, and we will do our share towards making the country what our forefathers intended it to be,—the glory of America and a blessing to the world.”

THE MEETING AT CARPENTERS' HALL.

After the governors had enrolled their names among the visitors upon the official registry, the meeting assembled at the historic hall of the Carpenters' Company, where they were welcomed by Richard K. Betts, one of the most venerable members of the company, and for many years the head of that distinguished body. In the course of his address he said :

“I am directed in behalf of the Carpenters' Company to welcome you to this hall. We offered it for the use of the First Congress, when every other door was shut to them. This hall witnessed their deliberations, and in it was delivered the first prayer in Congress in behalf of the infant nation. This very room sheltered the Committee of Safety, which guided the helm of the republic through the stormy period of the Revolution. In this hall the Constitution, that sacred charter of our rights, was agreed to. Historians have made a mistake in regard to the building where the Constitution was adopted. It was agreed to and adopted in this room, and it was only ratified by the Assembly of Pennsylvania in Independence Hall. This we hold to be the nation's birthplace, although we wish to take no honor from Independence Hall, for it was there that the indentures of the nation were cancelled.”

Hampton L. Carson, of Philadelphia, then delivered the following address :

“GOVERNORS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE COLONIAL STATES :

“The agreeable duty has been assigned to me of bidding you welcome in the name of the citizens of Philadelphia. You have been summoned to participate in the preparations now being made for the proper celebration of the centennial anniversary of the most important event in

our history as a people, of the sublimest political achievement in the annals of mankind.

“With uncovered heads and with reverent feet you entered, a few moments ago, the sacred hall of Independence, and now, in the spirit of worshippers before a shrine, you stand upon the very spot where the First Continental Congress protested against the tyranny of the British crown. What a contrast between that day and this! Then a handful of feeble but heroic men, hemmed in upon a narrow strip of land between the ocean and the wilderness, without money or friends, of divided strength and distracted councils, dared all the terrors of destructive war in defence of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. To-day their children’s children, gathered from the broad expanse of a continent as boundless as the sea, rich, happy, strong, and prosperous, constitute the most powerful and respected nation of the earth. Such are the results of a century of freedom! Such are the splendid trophies of local self-government! Such are the rich fruits of our Federal Union! Such are the blessings of man’s conquest of himself!

“We have met together, not for the purpose of commemorating the casting of the tea into Boston harbor, nor of recalling that day when the ‘embattled farmers fired the shot heard round the world’; not to celebrate the declaration of our independence, nor yet to live anew in that glad hour of victory and exultation, when, after six years of arduous struggle, the sword of Cornwallis was surrendered to Washington; but to prepare to perpetuate by appropriate ceremonies that far grander and more memorable day when thirteen sovereign States, casting aside their conflicting interests, their rivalries and jealous fears, entered into a close and lasting union, and gave to the world the Federal Constitution, which the greatest living statesman of England has pronounced to be ‘the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man.’

“This is the occasion of our meeting, and it seems proper to review briefly some of the events which rendered a union of the States both possible and necessary. Prior to the Declaration of Independence none of the colonies were, or pretended to be, sovereign States in the sense in which we now use the term. They were colonies, chartered, provincial, or proprietary, dependent in a measure upon the crown, although exercising many of the powers of self-government. But when, bending beneath the

weight of oppression, they threw off their allegiance and proclaimed their independence, they became, and of right were, free and independent States. Without stopping to define, or to closely scrutinize the exact nature of their powers, the Congress of 1775 assumed at once some of the highest functions of sovereignty. They promptly took measures for national defence and resistance, equipped an army and navy, raised money, emitted bills of credit, contracted debts upon national account, established a national post-office and prize courts for the condemnation of prizes, with appellate jurisdiction to themselves. In 1776 they took bolder steps, and exercised powers which were revolutionary. The validity of these acts was never doubted or denied by the people. In 1777 the celebrated 'Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union' were introduced, but they were not ratified, so as to become obligatory upon all the States, until March, 1781. Shortly after this time the war was practically at an end, and then it was perceived that the principal powers related to operations of war, and were unsuited to times of peace. Congress could send out and receive ambassadors, but they could not command the means to pay their ministers at a foreign court. They could contract alliances, but could not raise money or men to give them vigor. They could enter into treaties, but every State might break them with impunity. They could institute courts for piracies and felonies on the high seas, but they had no means to pay either judges or jurors. They could contract debts, but could not pay a dollar. They could pledge the public faith, but could not redeem it. They could not raise any revenue, levy any tax, enforce any law, secure any right, or regulate any trade. In short, they could declare everything, but do nothing. Congress was at the mercy of the States. They had no resource except persuasion. There was an utter want of coercive authority to carry into effect a constitutional decree. That power to enforce obedience which jurists call the *sanction* of a law was lacking. The disobedient could not be punished. No fines could be imposed, no imprisonment be inflicted, no privileges be divested, no forfeitures be declared, no refractory officers be suspended. The only way in which money could be raised was by requisitions upon the States, and compliance depended upon the patriotism and good nature of the legislatures. Obedience was sometimes tardy, resistance was sometimes defiant. Without an executive, without a judiciary, without a balance-wheel to control the violence of passion, the government, if such it could

be called, was misshapen, palsied, and powerless. Every measure, however just, required the assent of nine States, and, however urgent the necessity for immediate action, involved the fatal delay of debate in thirteen separate legislatures. The result was as might have been expected. The union 'was but a rope of sand.' The public debt amounted to forty-two millions of dollars, eight millions of which were due to France and Holland, our generous allies at the darkest hour of the struggle, and there was no power anywhere to redeem the national honor. Thousands of our best citizens, whose patriotism and bravery had saved the country, held the dishonored bills of the Continental Congress. The army, clamoring for pay, mutinous and sullen, threatened to open the flood-gates of civil discord, and deluge the land with blood. The navy, which, under Paul Jones, had proudly swept the seas, now cowered beneath the bold swoop of the corsairs of Algiers. Trade languished, commerce was dead. Rebellion reared its horrid crest in Massachusetts, and the Congress, which had braved king, lords, and commons, fled from Philadelphia to Princeton, when insulted by a squad of mutineers commanded by sergeants.

"At this day it is impossible to fathom the depth of that dark pit of degradation into which this nation had been cast at the close of the Revolution. It seemed as if all the blood, the treasure, the sacrifices, and the anguish of those eight years of war had been spent in vain. How empty was the boast that this was the 'People's government!' The fruits at which they grasped had turned like Dead Sea apples into ashes at the touch,—the vision which had lured them onward now mocked them in their misery. Ruin, despair, civil paralysis, bankruptcy, disunion, discord, dishonor! The cynic might have sneered: 'Far better would it have been to have paid that paltry tea tax, and argued rather than have thrashed the British ministry into acquiescence with our views concerning taxation and representation.' But God stood 'within the shadow, keeping watch above his own,' and out of chaos evolved our beautiful political planetary system, where each State, while moving in an orbit of its own, revolves with the music of the Union about the Federal Constitution as a central sun. Then order came and peace to troubled hearts. Prosperity smiled upon us and benignant Heaven showered down her choicest gifts. Not Rome in her two thousand years of conquest, nor England in her marvellous career, had ever witnessed or dreamed of the astounding growth and vigor which we

have displayed in one hundred years of constitutional government. Not after the models of Achaian leagues, nor of Italian republics, nor of Swiss cantons, nor of the Dutch commonwealth, nor even of constitutional monarchy did our fathers build; but after a style of architecture all their own, inspired by faith in the great Giver of all good, and upheld by an unflinching trust in man, his powers, his capacities, his rights, his duties, and his immortal destiny, they laid the deep foundation and reared the swelling dome of the people's government, which, surviving the shock of foreign war and civil strife and furious debate, has emerged from every storm stronger, purer, sanctified.

“In the presence of these hallowed memories, in this sacred hall, let us invoke the shades of our immortal sires, and like them, forgetting and forgiving all real or fancied wrongs, and rising above all sectional prejudice and jealousy, in a spirit of fraternal affection and regard, renew our vows of fealty to the Constitution, and by a fitting celebration of that great day when it became the organic law of our beloved republic, proclaim to our children that for them as for us that Constitution is the Ark of the Covenant,—the bond, the pledge, and the source of union. Thus, standing in this temple of liberty, with our hands upon the horns of the altar and our hearts quickened with celestial fire, we can go forth without fear to meet the responsibilities of the century to come.”

After the delivery of Mr. Carson's address, the convention organized, and, upon motion, Governor Fitzhugh Lee, of Virginia, was elected as chairman, and Hampton L. Carson, of Philadelphia, was chosen as secretary.

A committee, consisting of all the governors present, was appointed to draft and submit resolutions, which were subsequently adopted as follows:

“WHEREAS, The adoption of the Constitution of the United States of America is the most important event in the history of the American people, and that instrument is the sublimest political achievement of mankind;

“AND WHEREAS, The Centennial Anniversary of this memorable epoch is now close at hand;

“AND WHEREAS, The Legislature of New Jersey has, by resolutions passed the second day of June, A.D. 1886, invited the governors and representatives of the thirteen original States to assemble in Philadelphia and consider the propriety of preparing for a national celebration ;

“AND WHEREAS, The governors and representatives of said States have met in Philadelphia upon the seventeenth day of September, A.D. 1886 ;

“*Therefore, be it resolved,* By the governors and representatives of the colonial States, in meeting assembled, that the Federal government, and each State and Territory of the Union, be invited to unite in preparations for a proper celebration, to be held at Philadelphia, upon the seventeenth day of September, A.D. 1887 ; that the President be invited to formally communicate to Congress, at their next meeting, the fact that his administration closes the first century of constitutional government, and to urge upon that body the propriety of taking measures to render the celebration worthy of an occasion of such dignity and importance ; that the executive of every State and Territory in the Union be formally communicated with, and urged to press upon the attention of their people the fitness of their hearty co-operation ; that this body communicate, through its chairman and secretary, with the President of the United States and with the governors of the States and Territories, and request them to appoint a delegate to meet in Philadelphia on Thursday, the second day of December, A.D. 1886 ; said delegates to organize as a permanent organization, with power to devise such plans and measures as will, in their judgment, secure a celebration worthy of so great an event.

“*Resolved,* That the city of Philadelphia be requested to appoint a committee of citizens to co-operate with said permanent organization.”

The Convention then adjourned.

In the evening there was a grand banquet given by the Hibernian Society. The inscription upon the *menu* was as follows :

“First dinner of the Society, September 17, 1771, at Burns’s tavern, Philadelphia.

“After one hundred and fifteen years the Society has the honor of entertaining the governors of the thirteen original States at Dooner’s Hotel, Philadelphia.”

Speeches were made by John Field, president of the society,

Governor Stockley and Hon. Benjamin T. Biggs, of Delaware, Governor Lee, of Virginia, Senator Thomas V. Cooper, of Pennsylvania, and Governor McDaniel, of Georgia.

The next day the Citizens Committee issued invitations to an old time 1776 barbecue, given in honor of the governors of the original thirteen States,—assembled to inaugurate the celebration,—at Belmont Mansion, Fairmount Park. The dinner was presided over by Thomas Cochran, Esq. Speeches were made by Thomas Cochran, Esq., of Philadelphia, Hon. James Buchanan, of New Jersey, Governor Lee, of Virginia, Colonel A. Loudon Snowden, of Philadelphia, Governor McDaniel, of Georgia, and Colonel Hoyt, of South Carolina.

PRELIMINARY CORRESPONDENCE.

In pursuance of the resolutions adopted by the convention of governors, letters were addressed by the Hon. Fitzhugh Lee, as chairman, to the governors of all the States and Territories, inviting them to appoint commissioners to be present at a convention to be held at Philadelphia on the second day of December, 1886. These letters were accompanied by copies of the resolutions adopted at the meeting of September 17, and also by letters from the Hon. John Bardsley, chairman of the Joint Committee of the Select and Common Councils of the city of Philadelphia, and from Thomas Cochran, Esq., chairman of the Citizens Committee, pledging their co-operation and support.

In response to this request, commissioners were appointed by the governors of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Ohio, Illinois, Iowa, Indiana, Michigan, Missouri, Oregon, Idaho, Wyoming, Dakota, and Montana.

ORGANIZATION AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMISSION.

On December 2, 1886, the commissioners met in Parlor C, of the Continental Hotel, and were received by a large body of citizens. Addresses of welcome were delivered by Thomas Cochran, Esq., chairman of the Citizens Committee, and by the Hon. John Bardsley, chairman of the Joint Committee of the Councils of Philadelphia. The Convention organized by the election of the Hon. John A. Kasson, of Iowa, as president, and of Hampton L. Carson, of Philadelphia, as secretary, both on the nomination of Colonel Hoyt, of South Carolina.

The following commissioners were present: JOHN A. KASSON, of Iowa; JAMES V. CAMPBELL, of Michigan; HENRY C. ROBINSON, of Connecticut; BENJAMIN A. KIMBALL, of New Hampshire; ROWLAND HAZARD, of Rhode Island; HENRY FAILING, of Oregon; JOHN H. RODNEY, of Delaware; MARCELLUS GREEN, of Mississippi; HENRY CABOT LODGE, of Massachusetts; THOMAS T. GANTT, of Missouri; CLINTON P. PAINE, of Maryland; CHARLES H. REEVE, of Indiana; JAMES D. RICHARDSON, of Tennessee; WILLIAM H. HOLLIDAY, of Wyoming; JAMES A. HOYT, of South Carolina; AMOS R. LITTLE, of Pennsylvania; WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, of Virginia; EDWARD W. KNIGHT, of Montana; CHARLES G. GARRISON, of New Jersey; J. J. FINLEY, of Florida; and EDWARD F. JONES, of New York.

On the second day L. W. Barringer, Esq., appeared as commissioner from North Carolina, and Hon. N. G. Ordway, as commissioner from Dakota.

A letter was read from the Hon. Alfred T. Goshorn, of Ohio, regretting his inability to be present, but accepting the position of commissioner in behalf of his State. Hon. D. B. Lucas, of West Virginia, Hon. John M. Palmer, of Illinois, and Hon. John Hailey, of Idaho, although appointed as commissioners, were unable to be present.

A committee was appointed, of which the president of the convention was *ex officio* a member, consisting of Henry Cabot Lodge, chairman; William Wirt Henry, James A. Hoyt, Edward W. Knight, John A. Kasson, Amos R. Little, and Edward F. Jones, to confer with a committee of citizens of Philadelphia for the purpose of preparing and submitting a plan of procedure to be observed as appropriate to the proposed national celebration.

The committee of citizens of Philadelphia consisted of Edward Shippen, Esq., chairman; John Lucas, Edward T. Steel, Thomas J. Smith, Frank M. Etting, David G. Yates, and T. Morris Perot.

The joint committee, through Mr. Lodge, as chairman, presented a report, which, after discussion, was adopted in the following form:

The committee to whom was referred the duty of conferring with the committee of citizens of Philadelphia, and with the Councils of the city of Philadelphia, in regard to the proposed celebration at Philadelphia, on the seventeenth day of September, 1887, of the Centennial Anniversary of the signing of the Constitution of the United States, have the honor to report:

“FIRST. That there be an oration and poem in commemoration of the signing of the Constitution.

“SECOND. That there be a military display, in which the United States shall be invited to be represented by each branch of its military and naval service; that the several States and Territories and the District of Columbia shall be invited to be represented by their militia and volunteer service; that the President of the United States be requested to designate officers to command the same.

“THIRD. That there be an industrial processional display.

“FOURTH. That invitations to participate in the celebration be extended to the President of the United States and his cabinet, the Federal judiciary, Congress, and the representatives of all departments of the national government; to the governors of each State and Territory, to the judiciaries and legislatures of the same, and the representatives of the several departments thereof; to the commissioners of the District of Columbia, and to the various civic organizations and associations of the Union; and that the

resident representatives of foreign governments having friendly relations with the United States be invited to participate.

“FIFTH. The creation of a suitable memorial in the city of Philadelphia commemorative of the signing and adoption of the Constitution and of the progress of the nation since that period.”

It was also

“*Resolved*, That the commissioners should be requested to report at once to the governors of the States and Territories which they represent the action of this convention, and ask the prompt and earnest co-operation of the States and Territories in carrying out the programme adopted by the convention; and that the secretary be directed to make a similar report to the proper authorities of the United States and of the States and Territories which have not been represented in this Commission, and that the latter be again requested to appoint representatives in this Commission as early as possible.”

On the motion of Mr. Reeve, of Indiana, it was

“*Resolved*, That a committee, consisting of thirteen members, shall be appointed, which shall be a Sub-Commission, and have the powers of the general Commission, and be authorized to arrange and provide for all details to carry out the programme adopted, and shall have general charge, with power to appoint other committees and all managers and necessary officers to co-operate with other committees or persons who may be appointed to aid in the design; with power to confer all authority on all persons by them selected, and to carry into operation the details that may from time to time be decided on, subject at all times to the control of this body.”

The president, in pursuance of the above resolution, appointed the following Sub-Commission :

Amos R. Little, of Pennsylvania, chairman; William Wirt Henry, of Virginia; Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts; James A. Hoyt, of South Carolina; Charles H. Reeve, of Indiana; E. F. Jones, of New York; Clinton P. Paine, of Maryland; Alfred

T. Goshorn, of Ohio; Thomas T. Gantt, of Missouri; Marcellus Green, of Mississippi; Henry C. Robinson, of Connecticut; and N. G. Ordway, of Dakota.

Judge Campbell, of Michigan, expressing his inability to serve, Charles G. Garrison, of New Jersey, was appointed in his place.

On the motion of Mr. Little, it was agreed that the president and secretary be made *ex-officio* members of the Sub-Commission.

On the motion of Mr. Reeve, from Indiana, the following resolution was adopted as amended by Mr. Richardson, from Tennessee :

Resolved, That the thirteen commissioners appointed to take charge of the details of the celebration be authorized to fill any vacancies occurring in their own body, unless action be taken by this organization, with power to add to their number representatives from States not at present represented in the Commission.

Resolved, That the Sub-Commission be authorized and directed to memorialize Congress, and ask their aid and co-operation in accomplishing the purposes of this great memorial celebration on the part of the people of the Union."

Colonel Hoyt, of South Carolina, offered the following resolution, which, after debate as to the number of copies to be printed, was adopted :

Resolved, That the secretary be instructed to print at least five thousand copies of the proceedings of this Commission, and to include the proceedings of the meeting of the governors of the original thirteen States, held in this city, on the seventeenth of September last, together with the opening address of Mr. Hampton L. Carson, on that occasion."

On the motion of Mr. Hazard, of Rhode Island, the Commission adopted the name of "The Constitutional Centennial Commission."

On the motion of Mr. Henry, of Virginia, the Hon. John A. Kasson, of Iowa, was elected president of the Commission, and

the Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, and Colonel James A. Hoyt, of South Carolina, were elected vice-presidents.

Mr. Lodge, as chairman of the committee appointed to prepare an address to the people of the United States, made the following report, written by Colonel Gantt, of Missouri, which was adopted :

“The convention of delegates, appointed by the several States and Territories to take steps towards the celebration of the signature of the Constitution, feel it their first duty to call the attention of the country and of both press and public to the approach of this great anniversary.

“It becomes us also, to recall the characteristics of the change in the government of States effected by the tranquil adoption of a system of checks to the heated impulses which political strife has always aroused. The barrier to hasty legislation effected by an organic law, unchangeable except by processes involving delay, and so securing an interval in which reflection might resume its sway over passion, was to all practical purposes a novelty a century ago.

“The success of the great experiment depended eventually upon the reverence with which men might be brought to regard the fundamental and supreme law, and upon the determination to consider it, in the nature of things, inviolable, except by the surrender of every respectable attribute of an upright people.

“Upon the existence of this reverence the statesmen of 1787 relied, and to its existence and preservation their descendants owe whatever is valuable in the institutions they inherit. To strengthen and quicken the sense of the sacredness of this principle and the paramount duty of observing it, and to admonish our countrymen that only by intelligent perception of its transcendent importance can be assured a continuance of the blessings which make us the admiration of the world, seems a prominent duty of this Commission.

“The successful formation of the Constitution was the most momentous event in the history of the American people, and marks an epoch in the history of the civilized world. Under the Constitution this great nation has grown up and prospered, and on the continued success of our system of constitutional government depends, in large measure, the future welfare and

happiness not only of our own people but of mankind. We believe that the people appreciate, in a solemn and grateful spirit, the character of this celebration, and that they will give it that hearty support throughout the length and breadth of the land which will make it, in all ways, worthy of the occasion and the event."

The Commission then adjourned to meet upon the call of the president, or of the Executive Committee to be appointed by the Sub-Commission.

On the evening of December 2, 1886, it being the sixty-second anniversary of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, a dinner was given to the commissioners in the hall of the society. Surrounded by historic portraits and thousands of volumes, in the midst of visible reminders of the heroic past, the commissioners discussed the coming celebration, and, kindling with enthusiasm born of the time and place, spoke eloquent and patriotic words in response to the sentiments that were offered. The dinner was presided over by the Hon. Wayne MacVeagh, ex-Attorney-General of the United States. Mr. Henry—the grandson of Patrick Henry—responded to the memory of "George Washington, the President of the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States." Captain Granville, of England, a descendant in the sixth generation of William Penn, responded to the toast to the memory of his ancestor, "The Illustrious Founder of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania." Mr. Kasson, the president of The Constitutional Centennial Commission, responded to "Centennial Anniversaries and National Celebrations,—their Uses and Influence." Hon. H. Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, and Hon. Henry C. Robinson, of Connecticut, responded in behalf of "The Eastern States." Colonel James A. Hoyt, of South Carolina, replied for "The Southern States." Hon. James V. Campbell, the chief justice of Michigan, spoke for "The Northwest." Hon. Thomas T. Gantt, of Missouri, replied for "The Valley of the Mississippi." Lieutenant-Governor

Jones, of New York, responded to "The Middle States." Hon. N. G. Ordway spoke for "The Territories," while Mr. Talcott Williams, of Philadelphia, responded to "The City of the Constitutional Convention, of the Declaration of Independence, the City Founded by William Penn." Henry M. Stanley, the celebrated African explorer, and Wilson Barrett, the actor, were also called upon.

The next day the commissioners, after visiting the public institutions of Philadelphia, were tendered a banquet at the Union League, and in the evening attended a Patti concert.

WORK OF THE SUB-COMMISSION.

Immediately after the adjournment of the Commission, the Sub-Commission organized as follows: Amos R. Little, of Pennsylvania, chairman; William Wirt Henry, of Virginia; Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts; James A. Hoyt, of South Carolina; Charles H. Reeve, of Indiana; E. P. Jones, of New York; Clinton P. Paine, of Maryland; Alfred T. Goshorn, of Ohio; Thomas T. Gantt, of Missouri; Marcellus Green, of Mississippi; Henry C. Robinson, of Connecticut; N. G. Ordway, of Dakota; Charles G. Garrison, of New Jersey; John A. Kasson, of Iowa; Hampton L. Carson, of Pennsylvania; the two latter being *ex-officio* members.

An executive committee was appointed, of which Amos R. Little was chosen chairman, Clinton P. Paine vice-chairman, and Hampton L. Carson secretary; F. C. Brewster, Jr., Esq., was chosen corresponding secretary.

Headquarters were rented, and the office equipped by the employment of the necessary clerical and stenographic assistance.

EFFORTS TO SECURE CONGRESSIONAL ACTION.

In January, 1887, the representatives of the committee visited Washington, and secured a personal interview with the Presi-



HAMPTON L. CARSON, ESQ.,
Secretary of the Commission.

THOMAS COCHRAN, ESQ.,
Chairman of Citizens' Committee.

HON. JOHN A. KASSON,
President of the Commission.

AMOS R. LITTLE, ESQ.,
Chairman of the Executive Committee.

JOEL J. BAILLY, ESQ.,
Chairman of Finance Committee.

dent of the United States, and presented him with the following address :

“TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: .

“The undersigned represent the Executive Committee of the Sub-Constitutional Centennial Commission, charged with the duty of carrying out the details of the national celebration, determined on at Philadelphia on the second day of December, A.D. 1886, by the commissioners of the States and Territories, to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of the framing and promulgation of the Constitution of the United States of America.

“We have the honor to address you, in compliance with the terms of a resolution adopted at Philadelphia, in relation to this important matter, and respectfully request that you will make it the subject-matter of a communication to Congress calling attention to the fact that your administration closes the first century of government under the Federal Constitution; that it is proposed to celebrate by appropriate ceremonies the centennial anniversary of the seventeenth day of September, A.D. 1787, upon which the great work of the Federal Convention was completed and recommended to the several States for adoption as the only means of preserving to future generations the fruits of the long struggle against the British crown, and of escaping from the dangers of anarchy and civil confusion.

“No national memorial celebration can be of deeper significance than this. It is one in which not only this nation but the world at large is profoundly interested. The successful establishment of a new and untried system, its unparalleled growth and expansion, the beneficence of its results, and its value as a demonstration of the power and ability of the people to govern themselves, mark this epoch as one of the most memorable in human history. The celebration is one in which the nation and the States should co-operate. We now appeal to you as the executive head of the nation to emphasize by your approval the dignity and importance of the occasion.

“The programme adopted embodies the delivery of an oration and a poem in commemoration of the signing of the Constitution; a military display, in which the United States shall be invited to be represented by

each branch of its military and naval service; that the several States and Territories and the District of Columbia shall be invited to be represented by their militia and volunteer service; that the President of the United States be requested to designate officers to command the same; that there shall be an industrial processional display; that invitations to participate in the celebration shall be extended to the President of the United States and his cabinet, to the Federal judiciary, to Congress, and the representatives of all departments of the Federal government; to the governors of each State and Territory, to the judiciaries and legislatures of the same, and the representatives of the several departments thereof; to the commissioners of the District of Columbia, and to the various civic organizations and associations of the Union, and that the resident representatives of the foreign governments having friendly relations with the United States be invited to participate. It was also resolved that there should be created in the city of Philadelphia—the city of the Constitution—a suitable memorial commemorative of the signing and adoption of the Constitution and of the progress of the nation since that period.

“Your memorialists therefore respectfully urge upon you the fitness of your hearty co-operation, and, as the celebration will take place before another Congress can convene, request that you make the matter the subject of a special message, and thus insure the prominence of the national feature of this great celebration, in which the Nation, the States, and the Territories should fitly join.

“Very respectfully,

“AMOS R. LITTLE, *Chairman*,

“CLINTON P. PAINE, *Vice-Chairman*,

“N. G. ORDWAY,

“C. J. HARRAH,

“HAMPTON L. CARSON, *Secretary*,

“*Executive Committee of the Sub-Constitutional Centennial Commission.*”

On the eighteenth day of January, 1887, the President sent the following message to Congress:

“TO THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

“As a matter of national interest, and one solely within the discretion and control of Congress, I transmit the accompanying memorial of the Exec-

utive Committee of the Sub-Constitutional Centennial Commission proposing to celebrate on the 17th of September, in the city of Philadelphia, as the day upon which and the place where the Convention that framed the Federal Constitution concluded their labors and submitted the result for ratification to the thirteen States then composing the United States. The epoch was one of the deepest interest and the events well worthy of the commemoration. I am aware that, as each State acted independently in giving its adhesion to the new Constitution, the dates and anniversaries of their several ratifications are not coincident. Some action looking to a national expression in relation to the celebration of the close of the first century of popular government under a written constitution has already been suggested, and, whilst stating the great interest I share in the renewed examination by the American people of the historical foundation of their government, I do not feel warranted in discriminating in favor of or against the propositions to select one day or place in preference to all others, and therefore content myself with conveying to Congress these expressions of popular feeling and interest upon the subject, hoping that, in a spirit of patriotic co-operation rather than of local competition, fitting measures may be enacted by Congress which will give the amplest opportunity all over these United States for the manifestation of the affection and confidence of a free and mighty nation in the institutions of a government of which they are the fortunate inheritors, and under which unexampled prosperity has been enjoyed by all classes and conditions in our social system.

“GROVER CLEVELAND.

“EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 18, 1887.”

About the same time the following memorial was presented :

“TO THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA :

“Your memorialists have the honor to represent the Constitutional Centennial Commission, which was organized at Philadelphia on the 2d of December, 1886, by the commissioners appointed by the governors of the States and Territories for the purpose of providing for the proper celebration by the nation of the centennial anniversary of the framing and promulgation of the Federal Constitution.

“No national memorial celebration can be of deeper significance than

that which relates to the completion of the structure of our government by its architects and builders, and its solemn dedication to the service of the people and mankind. That hour marked the most momentous epoch in our history. The labors of that day preserved for all time the precious fruits of freedom and self-government. Unique in origin; without a prototype in design; of enduring strength, and of phenomenal success, in the history of political philosophy the Constitution stands alone. Tested by danger and adversity, as well as by peace and prosperity, endeared to us by tradition and hallowed by experience, it has become the object of our reverential and affectionate regard. To it no American mind can be too attentive, and no American heart too devoted; and it is believed that the people will gather, as around a shrine, to commemorate by appropriate exercises the great work which was accomplished in Philadelphia by the statesmen of the Revolution, and to return in a devout and heartfelt manner their thanks to divine Providence for the blessings which they have enjoyed during a century of Federal constitutional government.

“Animated by these feelings, and conscious of the sublime meaning of the approaching event, the commissioners have framed and outlined a programme of exercises which in their judgment would be appropriate. They have provided for the delivery of an oration and a poem in commemoration of the signing of the Constitution. They have determined that there shall be a military display, in which the United States shall be invited to be represented by each branch of its military and naval service; that the several States and Territories and the District of Columbia shall be invited to be represented by their militia and volunteer service; that the President of the United States be requested to designate officers to command the same; that there shall also be an industrial processional display; that invitations to participate in the celebration shall be extended to the President of the United States and his cabinet, to the Federal judiciary, to Congress and the representatives of all departments of the Federal government; to the governor of each State and Territory, to the judiciaries and legislatures of the same, and the representatives of the several departments thereof; to the commissioners of the District of Columbia, and to the various civic organizations and associations of the Union; that the resident representatives of the foreign governments having friendly relations with the United States be invited to participate. The Commission also resolved that there should be

created in the city of Philadelphia a suitable memorial, commemorative of the signing and adoption of the Constitution and of the progress of the nation since that period.

“Thus the commissioners have endeavored to gather the people together in the city of that august Convention which framed the Constitution, and have invited them to visit the hallowed ground of its birth-place, and, by reviewing the scenes, recalling the deeds, and reviving the memories of the great statesmen who framed it, to renew their vows of fealty to the Constitution and knit in closer bonds of union the members of our great republic.

“Your memorialists respectfully urge upon the attention of your honorable bodies the fitness of your hearty co-operation, and ask you, by timely and appropriate action, to authorize the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy to arrange for the proper representation and participation by the military and naval services of the United States; to designate the troops and marines and their officers which are to take a part; and to provide for the proper supplies and encampment of the men.

“And your memorialists further petition that Congress shall, by appropriate resolutions, recognize the importance and the dignity of the coming celebration and pledge their hearty co-operation; that the nation shall be represented by competent commissioners, who shall be clothed with authority to unite with the commissioners of the different States and Territories in the prosecution of the work of carrying out the details of the programme, and particularly the erection of a suitable memorial, to which each State and Territory shall contribute, but to which the nation shall furnish the cap-stone and the crown.

“And your memorialists further petition that the President be authorized to designate a competent commission, to be charged with the duty of collecting and publishing all documents, whether drawn from the public archives or from private sources, which relate to the history and formation of the Constitution, including the debates in the Federal Convention and the conventions of the several States which successively adopted and ratified the Constitution, so that a monument of historical literature may be built up and a fund of information furnished for the instruction of the philosopher and the student when contemplating the political achievements of mankind.

“And your memorialists further petition that Congress heartily cooperate in our work, and insure the success of a celebration national in its character and world-wide in its significance.

“AMOS R. LITTLE, *Chairman*,
 “CLINTON P. PAINE, *Vice-Chairman*,
 “N. G. ORDWAY,
 “C. J. HARRAH,
 “HAMPTON L. CARSON, *Secretary*,

“Executive Committee of the Sub-Constitutional Centennial Commission.”

In the early part of January a bill was introduced in the Senate by Mr. Cameron, of Pennsylvania, and in the House by Mr. Randall, of Pennsylvania, with a view to making a suitable appropriation. Subsequently several visits were made to Washington for the purpose of obtaining favorable legislative action. A hearing was obtained by the representatives of the Executive Committee before the Judiciary Committee of the House, to which the bill had been referred, addresses being delivered by Messrs. Henry, of Virginia; Richardson, of Tennessee; Garrison, of New Jersey; Barringer, of North Carolina; Paine, of Maryland; and Randall, John C. Bullitt, and Carson, of Pennsylvania. The result was a report from the Judiciary Committee of the House in favor of an appropriation of one hundred thousand dollars. The bill failed because it was not reached on the calendar.

EFFORTS TO SECURE STATE ACTION.

An effort was then made to secure an appropriation from the State of Pennsylvania, and a bill was introduced appropriating fifty thousand dollars. This was passed by the House and amended in the Senate by increasing the amount to one hundred thousand dollars, divided into two items, one of seventy-five thousand dollars and one of twenty-five thousand dollars. The

amendment was concurred in, and the bill went to Governor James A. Beaver, who vetoed the item of twenty-five thousand dollars because of certain objectionable features in the form of this portion of the bill, but who signed the appropriation of seventy-five thousand dollars upon the 3d of June, 1887, a sum which the friends of the measure believed to be sufficient, a view justified by the event.

The committee deemed it prudent to raise a private fund through the subscriptions of citizens of Philadelphia, who responded most liberally.

LIST OF PHILADELPHIA SUBSCRIBERS.

The Philadelphia Traction Company . . . \$1000	E. H. Fidler & Co. \$500
Amos R. Little 500	H. H. Houston 500
W. E. Garrett & Sons 500	Geo. B. Roberts 500
John Mundell & Co. 500	M. Guggenheim & Co. 500
James Moore 500	Bailey, Banks & Biddle 500
MacKellar, Smiths & Jordan 500	Joel J. Baily & Co. 500
Wm. Wood & Co. 500	Edwin Longstreth 500
John C. Bullitt 500	Hood, Bonbright & Co. 500
Peter Wright & Sons 500	J. & J. Dobson 500
Charles J. Harrah 500	Geo. W. Childs 500
Adams Express Company 500	Brown Bros. & Co. 500
J. E. Caldwell & Co. 500	Charlemagne Tower 500
E. C. Knight 500	Coffin, Altemus & Co. 500
Moore & Sinnott 500	Henry C. Gibson 500
Drexel & Co. 500	Wm. T. Carter & Co. 500
Harrison, Frazier & Co. 500	Atlantic Refining Co. 500
Burnham, Parry, Williams & Co. 500	Darlington, Runk & Co. 500
John Wanamaker 500	Wm. M. Singerly 500
Erben, Search & Co. 500	Thomas Cochran 250
Hamilton Disston 500	Wm. Cramp & Sons 250
Alexander Brown 500	Sharpless Bros. 250
Strawbridge & Clothier 500	Hirsh & Bro. 250
Lewis Bros. & Co. 500	I. P. Morris Co. 250
R. D. Wood & Co. 500	Barker, Brothers & Co. 250
Wm. Weightman 500	Joseph F. Tobias 250
John T. Lewis & Bro. 500	B. K. Jamison & Co. 250
Horstmann Bros. & Co. 500	E. W. Clark & Co. 250

Neafie & Levy	\$250	Reeves, Parvin & Co.	\$100
Hotel Lafayette	250	Wm. H. Rhawn	100
McCallum & Sloan	250	Knickerbocker Ice Co.	100
A. Pardee & Co.	250	Lindley Smyth	100
Granville B. Haines & Co.	250	Thomas Potter, Son & Co.	100
Coxe Bros. & Co.	250	Nathan Myers	100
Bement, Miles & Co.	250	Allison Manufacturing Co.	100
Dell & J. C. Noblit.	250	Wm. Simpson, Sons & Co.	100
Wood, Brown & Co.	250	Fairbanks & Co.	100
Girard House	250	Partridge & Richardson	100
J. E. Kingsley & Co.	250	Wm. C. Houston, Jr.	100
Philadelphia Savings Fund	250	Gregg & Bowe Co.	100
Chester Oil Co.	250	Graham & Passmore	100
J. B. Lippincott Co.	200	N. W. Ayers & Son	100
The Misses Drexel	200	B. H. Bartol	100
First National Bank	200	S. M. Wanamaker & Co.	100
Girard Fire and Marine Ins. Co.	200	E. H. Coates & Co.	100
Philadelphia National Bank	200	French, Richards & Co.	100
Girard National Bank	200	Bergner & Engle Brew. Co.	100
John Cadwalader	200	S. S. White Co.	100
The Times	200	Samuel Y. Heebner	100
Wanamaker & Brown	200	M. E. McDowell & Co.	100
Firth & Foster Brothers	150	Stewart, Ralph & Co.	100
Wm. Massey	100	Mitchell, Fletcher & Co.	100
George V. Cresson	100	A. C. Yates & Co.	100
J. B. Ellison & Sons	100	Grundy Brothers & Campion	100
Jessup & Moore	100	R. B. Wigton & Sons	100
Dunn Bros. & Co.	100	Martin, Fuller & Co.	100
Dr. David Jayne & Son	100	George C. Boldt	100
Keystone Watch Co.	100	J. A. Dougherty	100
E. T. Steel & Co.	100	Henry Pratt McKean	100
Young, Smyth, Field & Co.	100	Hall & Carpenter	100
Martin & Wm. H. Nixon	100	John Baird	100
J. Lowber Welsh	100	Stephen Greene	100
Geo. H. McFadden & Bros.	100	DeHaven & Townsend	100
Charles Smith & Sons	100	Thomas H. Green	100
Thackara Manufacturing Co.	100	H. Belfield & Co.	100
Bingham Hotel Co.	100	Graff, Wilcox & Co.	100
C. H. Garden & Co.	100	J. E. Mitchell & Co.	100
Jacob Reed's Sons	100	Wm. Ayers & Son	100
J. B. Sheppard & Sons	100	James Conaway	100
D. B. Cummins	100	Hoopes & Townsend	100
Geo. Morrison Coates	100	T. A. Biddle & Co.	100

Wm. P. Clyde & Co.	\$100	Spring Garden Nat. Bank	\$100
J. Wesley Supplee	100	Beneficial Saving Fund	100
S. F. Tyler	100	Manufacturers' Nat. Bank	100
Hughes & Muller	100	Reyburn, Hunter & Co.	100
Bryan, Fox & Sons	100	Ziegler Bros. & Co.	100
Conyers Button & Co.	100	Guarantee Trust and Safe Dep. Co.	100
Charles D. Reed	100	H. Tilge & Co.	100
Wm. F. Murphy & Sons	100	Western National Bank	100
McNeely & Co.	100	Samuel Dickson	100
Howell & Bro.	100	Berwind & White Co.	100
Clark & Kimball	100	Kohn, Adler & Co.	100
George S. Harris & Sons	100	Provident Life and Trust Co.	100
Geo. B. Newton & Co.	100	F. B. & B. W. Fleisher	100
Lloyd & Supplee Hardware Co.	100	E. J. Howlett & Son	100
Alex. Crow & Son	100	Penn National Bank	100
A. Whitney & Son	100	J. B. Stetson & Co.	100
Allen B. Rorke	100	J. G. Reading	100
Townsend, Whelen & Co.	100	Simons Bros. & Co.	100
Henry Winsor & Co.	100	A. Boyd Cummings	100
John S. Bispham	100	R. Glendenning & Co.	100
Consolidation National Bank	100	John H. Michener	100
Wm. J. McCahan & Co.	100	Manayunk Nat. Bank	100
Wm. C. Houston	100	Western Savings Fund	100
Fidelity Ins. Trust and Safe Dep. Co.	100	Winthrop Smith	100
Charles S. Lewis	100	Wilson Bros.	100
Dr. William Pepper	100	Ridge Ave. P. R. W. Co.	100
A. J. Antelo	100	T. E. Cornish	100
Charles Spencer	100	G. & H. Barnett	100
Joseph D. Potts	100	G. Vollmer & Sons	100
Corn Exchange Nat. Bank	100	Dornan Bros. & Co.	100
John Bromley & Sons	100	H. J. & G. R. Crump	100
Charles H. Banas	100	Northern Liberties Nat. Bank	100
Charles Scott	100	Edward Shippen	100
C. A. Hart & Co.	100	City National Bank	100
Penn Mutual Life Ins. Co.	100	Northern Saving Fund	100
Baeder, Adamson & Co.	100	James Dougherty	100
Henry R. Schoch	100	N. Parker Shortridge	100
W. W. Justice	100	Charles Lennig	50
Hughes & Patterson	100	Frank P. Nicholson	50
Thomas Wood & Co.	100	John Y. Huber	50
Pennsylvania Fire Ins. Co.	100	Bell Telephone Co.	50
American Fire Ins. Co.	100	J. M. Gazzam	50
Aaron Fries	100	Amos Hillborn & Co.	50

Geo. W. Weikel	\$50	S. Emlen Meigs	\$50
C. & H. Borie	50	E. Mellor & Co.	50
H. N. Burroughs	50	Leibrandt & McDowell	50
Wm. H. Arrott	50	Insurance Co. of the State of Pennsylvania	50
Marks Brothers	50	National Bank of Germantown	50
Saller, Lewin & Co.	50	David H. Lane	50
Wm. Waterall	50	Joseph M. Bennett	50
V. C. Sweatman	50	George G. Pierie	50
Strouse, Loeb & Co.	50	S. Murray Mitchell	50
Wm. Henry Rawle	50	Morwitz & Co.	50
J. J. Allen's Sons	50	Robert P. Dechert	50
Delaney & Co.	50	Wm. Mann	50
A. J. Holman & Co.	50	C. S. Garrett & Son	50
W. Atlee Burpee & Co.	50	George Watson	50
Wm. Helme	50	Thomas L. Gillespie	30
A. G. Elliot & Co.	50	Gaulbert, Morgan & Caskey	30
Snyder, Harris, Bassett & Co.	50	Dr. J. D. Thomas	25
Samuel & Frank Field	50	Charles W. Henry	25
Clement M. Biddle & Co.	50	W. Zeisse	25
Benjamin Reiff	50	Brown, DeTurck & Co.	25
D. F. Conover & Co.	50	W. S. Auchincloss	25
J. G. Rosengarten	50	Eli Keen & Sons	25
John W. Patton	50	Julius Sichel	25
Smith, Kline & Co.	50	Hastings & Co.	25
E. P. Borden	50	Artman, Treichler & Co.	25
D. T. Pratt	50	Francis Perot's Sons	25
Harbert, Russell & Co.	50	Wm. B. Hackenburg & Co.	25
F. Gutekunst	50	John Brown	25
Felton, Rau & Sibley	50	H. H. Collins	25
Snodgrass, Murray & Co.	50	A. Ulrich & Co.	25
Wm. D. Rogers & Co.	50	Caleb Cope	25
C. Edelpeim	50	Wiseman & McGill	25
Samuel R. Shipley	50	T. J. Dunn & Co.	25
F. M. & H. Brooke	50	Pennock Bros.	25
John S. Serrill	50	Thos. Devlin & Co.	25
Hale & Kilburn Co.	50	J. W. Catherwood	25
A. Hagen & Co.	50	Wm. H. Lambert	25
W. W. Jones	50	Wm. S. Kimball	25
James Campbell	50	James A. Freeman	25
Thomas L. Leedom & Co.	50	A. J. Weidener	25
J. R. Keim & Co.	50	Levi Knowles & Co.	25
Hires & Co.	50	David Carrick & Co.	25
B. H. Shoemaker	50	Wm. Brockie	25

Pfaelzer Bros. & Co.	\$25	Morris L. Fell & Co.	\$25
Joseph L. Caven	25	H. B. Benners & Son	25
H. W. Pulaski & Co.	25	Edward Iungerich	25
B. Andrews Knight	25	James W. Cooke	25
H. S. Cattell	25	George C. Neumann	25
R. Blankenburg & Co.	25	C. M. Ghriskey	25
Pack & Son	25	Schwartz & Graff.	25
J. N. Gillilan	25	White, Hentz & Co.	25
Fleisher & Bro.	25	Adam S. Conway	25
E. A. D. Hunter	25	Blumenthal Bros. & Co.	25
S. Weir Mitchell	25	P. Blakiston, Son & Co.	25
B. W. Greer & Hetzel	25	Samuel H. Gilbert	25
M. A. Furbush & Son	25	P. S. Dooner	25
American Dredging Co.	25	S. Sternberger & Co.	25
W. & T. Allen & Co.	25	Charles Santee	25
W. H. & G. W. Allen	25	J. W. Gaskill & Sons	25
David B. Fox	25	F. J. Dreer	25
M. Newburger & Son	25	R. Dale Benson	25
England & Bryan	25	A. Wrightson	25
V. P. McCully	25	J. C. McCook & Co.	25
Samuel Lees	25	Samuel Jackson	25
Mellor & Rittenhouse	25	George Gilpin	25
Lippincott, Coale & Co.	25	Enoch Lewis	25
Hance Brothers & White	25	J. T. Shinn	25
Hensel, Colladay & Co.	25	Alburger, Stoer & Co.	25
James H. Windrim	25	Clark Bros. & Co.	25
Monroe Bros. & Co.	25	Sailer & Stevenson	25
Whitney & Kemmerer	25	Sowers, Potts & Co.	25
Andrew H. Miller	25	Johnson, Holloway & Co.	25
Joseph F. Page	25	Thomas Roberts & Co.	25
Taylor & Betts	25	Richard A. Lewis	25
H. C. Wilbur & Sons	25	Wm. F. Harrity	25
W. H. Phelen	25	George E. Bartol	25
George Whiteley	25	J. H. Collins, Son & Co.	25
Joshua L. Bailey	25	McCambridge & Co.	20
George T. Fox	25	T. C. Henry	20
VanDusen Bros. & Co.	25	Cooke & Ewing	20
George W. Scott	25	C. D. Norton & Co.	20
Wilson, Childs & Co.	25	J. McArthur, Jr.	20
R. Nebinger	25	G. Keebler & Co.	20
E. L. Reakirt	25	Eshleman & Craig	20
D. S. Wiltberger	25	Wm. King & Co.	20
Weimer, Wright & Watkin	25	Lloyd & Russell	20

Cooke & Gager	\$20	J. C. Grieb & Son	\$10
H. & G. Kessler	20	W. H. Horn & Bro.	10
C. A. Clark & Son	15	Bailey, Eachus & Shoe	10
John Gay's Sons	15	J. E. Lonergan & Co.	10
Geo. W. Russell	15	R. A. Shetzline	10
Edward Partridge	15	Schaefer & Koradi	10
Charles Beck	10	Levi Bros.	10
E. W. Woolman	10	A. M. Burton	10
J. J. DeZouche & Co.	10	Thomas Donaldson	10
P. Tobin	10	W. Curtis Taylor	10
Wright, Tyndale & VanRoden	10	L. Schwarzwaelder	10
J. M. Da Costa	10	Tyndale, Mitchell Co.	10
J. D. Allgaier	10	S. Kind & Co.	10
H. A. Jeitles & Co.	10	H. Mosebach	10
N. D. Stoops & Co.	10	J. Stilz & Son	10
Robinson & Loeble	10	Alex. Adair	10
Harding, Britton & Co.	10	Edmund Webster	10
H. C. Blair & Sons	10	Emil Wahl	10
R. Patterson	10	John Blood & Co.	10
C. E. Robinson & Bro.	10	Henry McGrath	10
G. A. Schwarz	10	Neil & Rau	10
Charles Platt	10	Hartley, Fink & Co.	10
American Machine Co.	10	David Stern	10
E. R. Artman & Co.	10	W. B. Riley & Co.	10
Charles Richardson	10	Dripps & Wardle	10
Joseph Chapman & Co.	10	A. Oliver	10
Garrett & Buchanan	10	Ellis D. Williams	10
Techner & Frank	10	J. Richmond	10
Mattson & Dilks	10	H. A. Hitner & Sons	10
W. C. Hannis	10	Cash	10
Charles J. Cohen	10	Cash	10
Horace See	10	Henry Davis	5
A. R. Justice	10	Gideon Sibley	5
Keen, Bodine & Co.	10		
Hyzer & Llewellen	10	Total	\$51,450

This sum was exclusive of the amounts privately expended by the exhibitors in the civic and industrial display of September 15, of which the Commission has no accurate knowledge, but it is believed that the display cost more than two hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

STATE APPROPRIATIONS.

The State of Massachusetts appropriated forty thousand dollars; Connecticut, eighteen thousand dollars; Rhode Island, twenty-five hundred dollars; Delaware, two thousand dollars; which sums were expended by each State for her own share in the celebration, and did not pass through the hands of the Commission. New Jersey authorized her governor to send her militia at the cost of the State, while Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Ohio, Maine, Iowa, West Virginia, New York, and the District of Columbia made arrangements to send troops, either at the public expense, or through the patriotic interest of private citizens who contributed funds for that purpose.

EFFORTS TO AROUSE PUBLIC SENTIMENT.

Believing it to be of the utmost importance to the success of their plans that the newspaper press of the city should be in active co-operation, the Executive Committee called a conference of the editors of all papers at Parlor C, of the Continental Hotel, early in May, and reported to them the progress which had been made in the plans of the Commission, which was followed by the happiest consequences. The press became the energetic and eloquent ally of the Commission, and daily published matter relating to the proposed celebration, supported by judicious and well-timed editorials.

As a means of reviving interest in the past, and of arousing a spirit of emulation, the Executive Committee published in every paper of the United States an abridged account of the joyful and magnificent pageant of 1788, in honor of the adoption of the Constitution by ten States, as written by Francis Hopkinson.

The paper was entitled

“THE EVENT OF A CENTURY AGO.

“On July 4, 1788, the citizens of Philadelphia celebrated both the Declaration of Independence and the establishment of the Constitution, proposed by the late general convention of the States, then solemnly adopted and ratified by ten of those States. The celebration began by a salute to the rising sun by a full peal of bells from Christ Church steeple, and a discharge of cannon from the ship *Rising Sun*, anchored off Market Street. At the same time ten vessels, named in honor of the ten adopting States, and superbly decorated, could be seen arranged the whole length of the harbor, in the following order: New Hampshire, opposite to the Northern Liberties; Massachusetts, opposite to Vine Street; Connecticut, to Race Street; New Jersey, to Arch Street; Pennsylvania, to Market Street; Delaware, to Chestnut Street; Maryland, to Walnut Street; Virginia, to Spruce Street; South Carolina, to Pine Street; and Georgia, to South Street.

“The several divisions which were to compose the grand procession began to assemble at 8 o'clock in the morning, at and near the intersection of Third and South Streets. At this point the line of march commenced, and continued along Third Street to Callowhill Street, thence up Callowhill Street to Fourth Street, thence along Fourth Street to Market Street, and thence to Union Green, in front of Bush Hill, William Hamilton, Esq., having kindly offered the spacious lawn before his house, at Bush Hill, for the purposes of the day. At 9.30 the grand procession began to move in the following order:

“*First.* Twelve axe-men, dressed in white frocks, with white girdles round their waists, and wearing ornamented caps, and headed by Philip Pancake.

“*Second.* The First City Troop, commanded by Captain Miles.

“*Third.* Independence, represented by John Nixon, on horseback, bearing the staff and cap of Liberty; under the cap a white silk flag, with these words, ‘Fourth of July, 1776,’ in large gold letters.

“*Fourth.* Artillery, commanded by Captain Moreland Fisher.

“*Fifth.* French Alliance, represented by Thomas Fitzsimons, on horseback, carrying a flag of white silk, bearing three *fleur-de-lis* and thirteen stars in union, over the words, ‘Sixth of February, 1778,’ in gold characters.

The horse on which he rode was the same on which Count Rochambeau rode at the siege of Yorktown.

“*Sixth.* Corps of light infantry, commanded by Captain A. G. Claypoole, with standard of the First Regiment.

“*Seventh.* Definitive Treaty of Peace, represented by George Clymer, on horseback, carrying a flag adorned with olive and laurel; the words, ‘Third of September, 1783,’ in gold letters, pendant from the staff.

“*Eighth.* Colonel John Shee, on horseback, carrying a flag, blue field, bearing an olive and laurel wreath, over the words, ‘Washington, the friend of his country,’ in silver letters.

“*Ninth.* The City Troop of Light Dragoons, Captain W. Bingham, commanded by Major W. Jackson.

“*Tenth.* Richard Bache, on horseback, as a herald, attended by a trumpeter, proclaiming ‘A New Era,’ the words ‘New Era,’ in gold letters, pendant from the herald’s staff, with an appropriate verse.

“*Eleventh.* Convention of the States, represented by Peter Muhlenberg, on horseback, carrying a blue flag, with the words, ‘Seventeenth of September, 1787,’ in silver letters.

“*Twelfth.* Band of music.

“*Thirteenth.* The Constitution, represented by Chief-Justice McKean and Judges Atlee and Rush, in their robes of office, seated in a lofty ornamented car, in the form of a large eagle, drawn by six white horses. The Chief Justice supported a tall staff, on the top of which was the cap of liberty; under the cap was the new Constitution, framed and ornamented, and immediately under the Constitution were the words ‘The People,’ in large gold letters, affixed to the staff.

“*Fourteenth.* Corps of Light Infantry, commanded by Captain Heysham, with the standard of the Third Regiment.

“*Fifteenth.* The gentlemen representing the States that had ratified the Federal Constitution, each carrying a small flag, bearing the name of the State he represented in gold letters, viz.: Duncan Ingraham, New Hampshire; Jona. Williams, Jr., Massachusetts; Jared Ingersoll, Connecticut; Samuel Stockton, New Jersey; James Wilson, Pennsylvania; Colonel Thomas Robinson, Delaware; Hon. J. E. Howard, Maryland; Colonel Febiger, Virginia; W. Ward Burrows, South Carolina; George Meade, Georgia.

“*Sixteenth.* Colonel William Williams, on horseback, in complete armor, bearing on his arm a shield emblazoned with the arms of the United States.

“*Seventeenth.* The Montgomery Troop of Light Horse, commanded by James Morris.

“*Eighteenth.* Consuls and representatives of foreign States in alliance with America.

“*Nineteenth.* Hon. Francis Hopkinson, Judge of the Admiralty, wearing in his hat a gold anchor, pendant on a green riband. He was preceded by the register's clerk, carrying a green bag, filled with rolls of parchment, the word ‘Admiralty’ in large letters on the front of the bag.

“James Read, Register of the Admiralty Court, wearing a silver pen in his hat.

“Clement Biddle, marshal of the Admiralty, carrying a silver oar.

“*Twentieth.* Wardens of the Port and Tonnage Officer.

“*Twenty-first.* Collector of Customs and Naval Officer.

“*Twenty-second.* Peter Baynton, as a citizen, and Colonel Isaac Melcher, dressed as an Indian chief, in a carriage, smoking the calumet of peace together.

“*Twenty-third.* The Berks County Troop, commanded by Captain Ph. Strubing.

“*Twenty-fourth.* The New Roof, or Grand Federal Edifice, on a carriage, drawn by ten white horses. This building, thirty-six feet high, was in the form of a dome, supported by thirteen Corinthian columns, raised on pedestals, the frieze decorated with thirteen stars. Ten of the columns were complete, but three left unfinished. On the pedestals of the columns were inscribed in ornamented letters the initials of the thirteen American States. Round the pedestal of the edifice these words: ‘*In union the fabric stands firm.*’

“The grand edifice was followed by a corps of over four hundred and fifty carpenters, saw-makers, file-cutters, etc.

“*Twenty-fifth.* The Pennsylvania Society of Cincinnati and militia officers.

“*Twenty-sixth.* Corps of Light Infantry, commanded by Captain Rose.

“*Twenty-seventh.* The Agricultural Society, headed by their president, Samuel Powel, and Major Hodgdon, bearing a banner representing industry.

“*Twenty-eighth.* Farmers, headed by Messrs. Richard Peters, Richard

Willing, Samuel Meredith, Isaac Warner, George Gray, Charles Willing, and others. One of the ploughs in this department, drawn by four oxen, was directed by Richard Willing, in the dress and character of a farmer.

"*Twenty-ninth.* The Manufacturing Society, with spinning- and carding-machines, looms, etc. The carding-machine, worked by two men, carding cotton at the rate of fifty pounds' weight per day, was placed on a carriage thirty feet long, eighteen feet wide, and thirteen feet high, drawn by ten horses. Also several other machines in full operation. The carriage was followed by a large number of weavers.

"*Thirtieth.* Corps of Light Infantry, commanded by Captain Robinson.

"*Thirty-first.* The Marine Society. Ten captains, five abreast, followed by the members of the society, six abreast.

"*Thirty-second.* The Federal ship Union, mounting twenty guns, commanded by John Green, three lieutenants, and four boys in uniform. The crew, including officers, consisted of twenty-five men.

"The ship was thirty-three feet in length, width and rigging in proportion. Her hull was the barge of the ship Alliance, the same which formerly belonged to the Serapis, and was taken in the memorable engagement of Captain Paul Jones, in the Bonhomme Richard, with the Serapis. She was mounted on a carriage drawn by ten horses.

"Boat-builders in a boat-builders' shop, eighteen feet long, eight feet wide, thirteen feet high, drawn by four horses. Seven hands were at work building a boat thirteen feet long, which was actually set up and nearly completed during the procession. Then followed large deputations of the different trades,—sail-makers, ship-carpenters, ship-joiners, rope-makers, and ship-chandlers, merchants and traders, and others.

"*Thirty-third.* The trades formed an important feature of the procession, and were followed by officers of Congress, Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, justices of the Court of Common Pleas, sheriff and coroner, Board of City Wardens, city treasurer, etc., members of the bar, the clergy, physicians, the county troop of horse commanded by Major W. McPherson, bringing up the rear. The length of the line was a mile and a half, the distance marched about three miles, and the time consumed over three hours.

"Francis Hopkinson, who himself participated in this procession, wrote that it was 'an exhibition which for novelty, splendor, and decorum justly merited universal admiration and applause. If, besides the magnificence of

the thing itself, we take into consideration the important occasion that induced it, it must be acknowledged to have been an object most interesting and truly sublime.'

"It is, of course, but natural to expect that the celebration of 1887 will surpass that of 1788 in respect to grandeur and magnificence in every detail. To surpass it, however, in the joy and enthusiasm of the participants will not be such an easy task."

The Executive Committee also issued the following address to the people of the United States :

"The Constitutional Centennial Commission was organized at Philadelphia, on the 2d of December, 1886, by the commissioners appointed by the States and Territories, for the purpose of providing for the proper celebration by the nation of the centennial anniversary of the framing and promulgation of the Constitution of the United States of America.

"At various times and in different places you have been called together to commemorate by appropriate ceremonies the great events in your national history. In obedience to that impulse which bids a people do honor to its past, you have reared the lofty column, the triumphal arch, or the votive tablet to the memories of those who fought for freedom on the battle-field, or who, by their wisdom in the Senate-chamber, preserved the principles of free government for the benefit of mankind. In 1874 you were summoned by the voice of Philadelphia to meet in the hall of the Carpenters' Company, where the First Continental Congress protested against the tyranny of the Stamp Act, the Tea Act, the Boston Port Bill, and all the vexatious restrictions upon trade, and boldly proclaimed their rights to the enjoyment of life, liberty, and property, their resistance to taxation without representation, and their purpose to defend their ancient charters from assault. In 1875 you answered the call of Lexington and Concord and Bunker Hill, to pay the respectful homage of your gratitude to those bold farmers who 'fired the shot heard round the world,' and thrice drove the red-coated grenadiers to the shelter of their shipping. In 1876 you again assembled in Philadelphia, like worshippers before a shrine, to bow in reverence and return devout thanks to God for the spirit which inspired the fathers of the republic to declare that 'these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and

independent States,' and to the accomplishment of that grand purpose to solemnly pledge their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor. There and then you met your ancient enemy, not in the furious shock of war, but in a time of profound peace, in honorable rivalry, with feelings of amity and generous forgetfulness of former wrongs. You called upon the nations of the earth to witness the spectacle of successful free government, the triumphs of your mechanic art, the products of your looms and workshops, the marvels of your inventive genius, the rich harvests of your fields, your mineral wealth, and all the accumulated proofs of your material and industrial prosperity and progress. Since then you have assembled at Saratoga and Trenton, at Brandywine and Germantown, upon the sacred hills at Valley Forge, at Monmouth and Stony Point, at Charleston, Savannah, and Eutaw Springs. Alternately you exulted in the recollection of victory, as at Cowpens, or were saddened and chastened, as at Camden, by the memories of defeat. But lately you hurried to the plains of Yorktown, the scene of final triumph, to attest your joy at the deliverance of America from bondage, and to proclaim your undying attachment to the principles which animated the patriots of our ever-glorious Revolution.

“For a third time you are summoned to Philadelphia,—the city of the Declaration of Independence,—the city of the Constitution. It is the Mecca of America. Thither every lover of free government, every student of the political achievements of mankind, every citizen who values the blessings of liberty, or who has enjoyed its protection and its benefits, should find his way. It is a national celebration. It is the people's jubilee. But a few years ago, the inhabitants of frozen Iceland met on their Law Mount and celebrated, with song and saga, their one thousandth anniversary. But a few days since, millions of British subjects rent the air with their acclamations upon the completion of the fiftieth year of the reign of their gracious queen. Our national memorial celebration is of far deeper significance than these. It relates to the completion of the structure of our government by its architects and builders, and its solemn dedication to the service of the people and mankind. The hour when that august Convention—presided over by Washington and illumined by the wisdom of Franklin, Hamilton, Madison, Wilson, Langdon, Morris, Gerry, Sherman, Ellsworth, Livingston, Dickinson, Carroll, Rutledge, Pinckney, Baldwin,

and their immortal associates—completed its work, and on the 17th of September, 1787, committed to the people of the States for their approval that great charter of government, now known and honored everywhere as the Constitution of the United States, marked the most momentous epoch in our history. The labors of that day preserved for all time the precious fruits of freedom and self-government. Unique in origin; without a prototype in design; of enduring strength, and of phenomenal success, in the history of political philosophy the Constitution stands alone. Tested by danger and adversity, as well as by peace and prosperity, endeared to us by tradition and hallowed by experience, it has become the object of our reverential and affectionate regard. To it no American mind can be too attentive, and no American heart too devoted, and it is believed that the people will gather, as they never yet have gathered, to commemorate by appropriate exercises the great work which was accomplished in Philadelphia by the statesmen of the Revolution, and to return in a devout and heartfelt manner their thanks to divine Providence for the blessings which they have enjoyed during a century of federal constitutional government.

“Animated by these feelings, and conscious of the sublime meaning of the approaching event, the commissioners have framed and outlined a programme of exercises which in their judgment are appropriate. They have provided for the delivery of an oration by Mr. Justice Miller, of the Supreme Court of the United States, and a poem by a national poet in commemoration of the signing of the Constitution. There will be a grand industrial processional display, which will outshine in magnificence and extent, in the variety and completeness of its details, the great popular rejoicings of over one hundred years ago. There will be a military display, in which the United States will be represented by each branch of its military and naval service, commanded by the general of the army; the several States and Territories and the District of Columbia will be represented by their militia and volunteer service. The President of the United States will preside in person upon the 17th of September. Invitations to participate in the celebration have been extended to the President of the United States and his cabinet; to the Federal judiciary; to United States senators and members of Congress; to the representatives of all departments of the Federal government; to the governor of each State and Territory; to the judiciaries

and legislatures of the same, and the representatives of the several departments thereof; to the commissioners of the District of Columbia, and the resident representatives of the foreign governments having friendly relations with the United States. Nor have the various civic organizations and associations of the Union been forgotten. They, and all major- and brigadier-generals of the army, active or retired, all rear-admirals and commodores, all known descendants of the framers of the Constitution, historians; poets, literary men, newspaper editors, judges, lawyers, physicians, preachers, bishops, cardinals, distinguished inventors and explorers, and all others who are true representatives of national progress, have been invited to be present. From North and South, East and West—from every corner of the republic—come the hearty assurances of co-operation and patriotic zeal.

“Come, then, citizens of America, to the city of the Constitution. Revisit the hallowed ground of its birthplace. Review the scenes, recall the deeds, revive the memories, of the great statesmen who framed it. Renew your vows of fealty to the Constitution, and thus knit in closer bonds of union the members of our great republic.

“JOHN A. KASSON, *President*.

“AMOS R. LITTLE, *Chair. Ex. Com.*

“HAMPTON L. CARSON, *Secretary*.”

The governor of Pennsylvania issued the following

PROCLAMATION.

“TO THE PEOPLE OF PENNSYLVANIA, GREETING:

“The centennial anniversary of the signing of the Constitution of the United States of America is approaching.

“In pursuance of a movement inaugurated by the Legislature of New Jersey on the second day of June, 1886, planned by the governors and other representatives of the thirteen original States of the Union, and carried out by representatives of all the States and Territories organized and known as the Constitutional Centennial Commission, the occasion will be observed and celebrated in a manner befitting its dignity and importance, in the city of Philadelphia, on the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth days of September, 1887.

“The adoption of the Constitution by the Convention which assembled in the city of Philadelphia, for the purpose of maturing a plan for the government of the United States—concluding its labors on the 17th of September, 1787—and its subsequent ratification by the several States there represented, was an event which has few equals in importance in the history of the world. A century of unexampled progress and prosperity, during which the Constitution has not only met the requirements of ordinary, peaceful, national life, but has also withstood the shock of great and trying emergencies, demonstrates the wisdom, sagacity, and forethought of its framers. As a result of the successful labors of our patriotic forefathers, personal freedom based upon constitutional guarantees, and civil liberty under a government ordained, established, and administered by the people, have become the aspiration and hope of the most enlightened peoples of the world. We do well to pause for a day, in the busy whirl of active life, to pay tribute to the memory of the men who so wondrously planned our fair fabric of government, and to commemorate the material progress which we have made and the political prestige which we have won, as the result of their thoughtful labors.

“In view of the facts already stated, and of the further fact that our commonwealth has made liberal material provision for this celebration, I, JAMES A. BEAVER, governor of the said commonwealth, do hereby commend to all the people thereof the observance of the days set apart by the Constitutional Centennial Commission aforesaid for the commemoration of the centennial anniversary of the signing of the Federal Constitution.

“I earnestly recommend to all our manufacturers throughout the commonwealth, employers and employed, the most hearty co-operation in making the industrial display, which is to be one of the principal features of the celebration, worthy the great occasion, the progressive spirit of the age, and the proud pre-eminence which Pennsylvania occupies as an industrial State.

“I recommend to our citizen soldiery, organized not for war but as the best preventive of war, to take such part in the exercises of the occasion as may be allotted to them, with a just pride in the prestige which their organization has attained.

“I recommend to all our people to join in the glad observance of

these days of rejoicing, with a grateful recognition of the fact that our great metropolis, which is not only the birthplace of the Declaration which made our country a possibility, but of the Constitution which has made it a fact, has also been selected by general and hearty consent as the place where we as a nation shall set up the first century's mile-stone of our existence and progress. Delaware led us in the adoption of the Constitution; New Jersey led us in the proposition for this celebration: let no State lead us in observance of the great occasion.

"I also further recommend to the clergymen throughout the commonwealth that, so far as they may be able conveniently to do so, they preach sermons appropriate to the occasion upon the Sabbath immediately preceding or immediately following the said celebration, and that they join with their congregations in humble and devout thanksgiving to almighty God for the blessings of civil and religious liberty which he hath vouchsafed to us under the Constitution, and in earnest prayers for his unerring guidance in the time to come.

"GIVEN UNDER MY HAND AND THE GREAT SEAL OF THE COMMONWEALTH at Harrisburg, this twenty-second day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven, and of the commonwealth the one hundred and twelfth.

[GREAT SEAL.]

"JAMES A. BEAVER.

"By the Governor:

"CHARLES W. STONE,

"Secretary of the Commonwealth."

The committee also supplied the associated press of the country, from time to time, with such matter as was calculated to awaken public interest and arouse a feeling of pride in the celebration.

INVITATIONS ISSUED.

The committee secured, through the assistance of the commissioners of the various States, lists of citizens embracing the names of descendants of the framers of the Constitution, prominent statesmen, leading officers of the army and navy, historians,

poets, and other writers distinguished in literature, inventors, leading representatives of commerce and industry, bank presidents, railway presidents, presidents of colleges, bishops, divines of all denominations, members of the national and State governments in all their branches, heads of departments, representatives of foreign governments, consuls, mayors of cities, members of the learned professions, and other citizens who had distinguished themselves in national progress. In addition to the general invitation to the public announced in the papers, over thirteen thousand engraved invitations were sent out and seventy-five per cent. of the responses were acceptances. Certain special invitations were issued to those high in official station, both in this country and in England, Canada, and Mexico, asking them to be the guests of the Commission. These invitations were accepted by the President and Mrs. Cleveland; Executive Secretary Colonel Lamont and Mrs. Lamont; Ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes; Ex-Vice-President Hannibal Hamlin and Mrs. Hamlin; General Sheridan and Mrs. Sheridan; Commodore Walker and Mrs. Walker; Hon. T. F. Bayard, Secretary of State; Hon. Chas. S. Fairchild, Secretary of the Treasury, and Mrs. Fairchild; Hon. Morrison R. Waite, then Chief Justice of the United States, and Mrs. Waite; Mr. Justice Miller and Mrs. Miller; Mr. Justice Harlan and Mrs. Harlan; Mr. Justice Matthews and Mrs. Matthews; Mr. Justice Gray; Mr. Justice Blatchford; the Hon. John J. Ingalls, President of the Senate, and Mrs. Ingalls; Hon. Wm. M. Evarts; the Rt. Rev. Henry C. Potter; Cardinal James Gibbons; Jerry Witherspoon, D.D., Major-General Schofield; Rear-Admiral Luce; Brigadier-General R. C. Drum, Adjutant-General of the United States; Sir Lyon Playfair, and the Marquis De Chambrun. Letters of regret were received from Hon. William C. Endicott, Secretary of War, and Mrs. Endicott; Hon. William C. Whitney, Secretary of the Navy, and Mrs. Whitney; Hon. L. Q. C. Lamar, Secretary of the



To

1787



1887

The authorities of the several States of this Union, have resolved to celebrate the Centennial Anniversary of the Framing and Promulgation of the Constitution of the United States, at Philadelphia, on the 15th, 16th, and 17th days of September next, by suitable ceremonies, including military and industrial displays, and the delivery of an Oration and a Poem.

In behalf of the Constitutional Centennial Commission, we have the honor to request your presence.

John A. Kasson, President.

Amos R. Little, Chairman Ex. Com.

Hampton S. Carson, Secy. 907 Walnut St. Phila.

An early answer is requested.

Interior, and Mrs. Lamar ; Hon. William F. Vilas, Postmaster-General, and Mrs. Vilas ; Hon. A. H. Garland, Attorney-General ; Mr. Justice Bradley and Mrs. Bradley ; Mr. Justice Field and Mrs. Field ; Admiral Porter and Mrs. Porter ; General Wm. T. Sherman ; Hon. John Sherman and Mrs. Sherman ; Hon. John G. Carlisle and Mrs. Carlisle ; Madam Polk ; Madam Tyler ; Madam Grant ; Madam Garfield ; Hon. Robert T. Lincoln ; Hon. Hamilton Fish ; Hon. Simon Cameron ; Hon. E. Rockwood Hoar ; Hon. George Bancroft ; Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes ; John G. Whittier ; General Lew Wallace ; Hon. John Quincy Adams ; Alexander Hamilton, Esq. ; Brigadier-General Tidball ; Edmund Clarence Stedman ; Walt Whitman ; Rt. Hon. Wm. E. Gladstone ; Rt. Hon. John Bright ; Rt. Hon. the Earl of Roseberry ; the Most Hon. the Marquis of Lansdowne, G.C.M.G., Governor-General of Canada ; Madam, the Marchioness of Lansdowne ; the Lord Chief Justice, Sir William, and Lady Ritchie ; the Hon. Sir John A. McDonald ; His Excellency, Señor Don Praforio Diaz, President of the republic of Mexico ; His Excellency, Señor Don Ignacio Mariscal, minister of foreign affairs, and the Chief Justice of Mexico.

Special invitations were issued to the governors of all the States and Territories, and the following accepted and were present during the ceremonies : Hon. Benjamin T. Biggs, governor of Delaware ; Hon. John B. Gordon, governor of Georgia ; Hon. William Larrabee, governor of Iowa ; Hon. T. T. Riddle, lieutenant-governor, acting for Governor John A. Martin, of Kansas ; Hon. Joseph R. Bodwell, governor of Maine ; Hon. Henry Lloyd, governor of Maryland ; Hon. Oliver Ames, governor of Massachusetts ; Hon. John M. Thayer, governor of Nebraska ; Hon. Charles H. Sawyer, governor of New Hampshire ; Hon. Robert S. Green, governor of New Jersey ; Hon. David B. Hill, governor of New York ; Hon. Alfred M. Scales, governor of North Carolina ; Hon. Joseph B. Foraker, governor

of Ohio; Hon. Sylvester Pennoyer, governor of Oregon; Hon. James A. Beaver, governor of Pennsylvania; Hon. J. W. Davis, governor of Rhode Island; Hon. John P. Richardson, governor of South Carolina; Hon. Fitzhugh Lee, governor of Virginia; Hon. E. Willis Wilson, governor of West Virginia; Hon. S. P. Hughes, governor of Arkansas; Hon. E. A. Perry, governor of Florida; Hon. J. M. Rusk, governor of Wisconsin; Hon. Simon B. Buckner, governor of Kentucky; Hon. Phineas C. Lounsbury, governor of Connecticut. The governors were attended by their staffs and cabinet officers, and participated in the military display of September 16, as appears by the account of the ceremonies of that day.

Eloquent letters of acceptance or declination were received, among which the most notable were those of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright. All these were published in the papers as a means of creating and keeping alive public sentiment, and selections and extracts will be found in a subsequent chapter.

SUB-COMMITTEES.

Under the power derived from the Commission to appoint sub-committees and associate with themselves persons to aid in the design and in the prosecution of the work, the Executive Committee appointed the following sub-committees, all of which actively co-operated, and by able and energetic management contributed substantially to the success of the celebration.

The CIVIC AND INDUSTRIAL DISPLAY was placed under the management of COLONEL A. LOUDON SNOWDEN, as chief marshal, who associated with him GENERAL J. W. HOFMANN, as deputy marshal, and appointed the following Executive Committee of the Civic and Industrial Department: Dr. Wm. Pepper, Thos. Dolan, Jas. Dobson, Hamilton Disston, Wm. M. Singerly, Chas. H. Cramp, Joel J. Baily, Justus C. Strawbridge, Thomas Cochran, Frank Thompson.



SAMUEL DICKSON, ESQ.,
 Chairman of Committee on Selection of
 Orator.

THOMAS M. THOMPSON, ESQ.,
 Chairman of Committee on Reception of
 Guests.

COL. A. LOUDON SNOWDEN,
 Marshal of the Civic and Industrial
 Display.

RICHARD C. McMURTREE, ESQ.,
 Chairman of Committee of the Phila-
 delphia Bar.

C. J. CLEBORNE, M. D.,
 Chairman of Medical Volunteer Corps.



WM. HENRY LEX, ESQ.,
Chairman of Medical Committee.

WILLIAM J. LATTA, ESQ.,
Chairman of Transportation Committee.

GEN. CLINTON P. PAINE,
Chairman of Military Committee.

GEN. JOHN F. HARTRANFT,
Commander of Pennsylvania Troops.

COL. THEODORE E. WIEDERSHEIM,
Secretary of Military Committee
and Citizens Committee.

The MILITARY DISPLAY was committed to the Military Committee, composed as follows :

Brigadier-General Clinton P. Paine, Maryland, *Chairman*.

Colonel Theodore E. Wiedersheim, Pennsylvania, *Secretary*.

Major-General John F. Hartranft, Division Commander, National Guard of Pennsylvania.

Major-General William S. Stryker, Adjutant-General, New Jersey.

Major-General Josiah Porter, Adjutant-General, New York.

Major-General Henry A. Axline, Adjutant-General, Ohio.

Major-General James Howard, Adjutant-General, Maryland.

Brigadier-General James McDonald, Adjutant-General, Virginia.

Brigadier-General Daniel H. Hastings, Adjutant-General, Pennsylvania.

Brigadier-General George R. Snowden, commanding First Brigade National Guard of Pennsylvania.

Brigadier-General James W. Latta, ex-Adjutant-General, Pennsylvania.

Colonel Robert P. Dechert, Second Regiment Infantry, National Guard of Pennsylvania.

Colonel S. Bonnaffon, Jr., Third Regiment Infantry, National Guard of Pennsylvania.

Colonel W. P. Bowman, First Regiment Infantry, National Guard of Pennsylvania.

Colonel George H. North, Assistant Adjutant-General, Division National Guard of Pennsylvania.

Major R. F. Cullinan, Quartermaster First Brigade, National Guard of Pennsylvania.

Colonel Alex. Krumbhaar, Assistant Adjutant-General, Pennsylvania.

Colonel Charles S. Green, Ordnance Master, Division National Guard of Pennsylvania.

The selection of an ORATOR and POET was committed to Samuel Dickson, Esq., of Philadelphia, who associated with him John Cadwalader and Horace Howard Furness, Esqs., and the Hon. Wm. Strong. Their choice fell upon Mr. Justice Samuel F. Miller, of Iowa, of the Supreme Court of the United States, as orator ; but invitations to act as poet of the occasion having

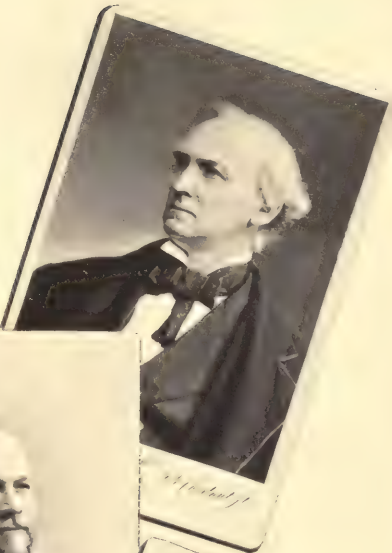
been declined by several gentlemen, no selection of a poet was made.

The important matter of TRANSPORTATION was committed to William J. Latta, chairman, General Passenger Agent Pennsylvania Railroad, and George W. Boyd, Pennsylvania Railroad; John W. Woodside; C. G. Hancock, Philadelphia and Reading Railroad; John H. Weeks, Baltimore and Ohio Railroad; J. E. Barr.

The RECEPTION OF GUESTS and the provisions for their accommodation were committed to Thomas M. Thompson, Esq., chairman, who associated with him

George W. Childs,	John C. Bullitt,	Charles J. Harrah,
George B. Roberts,	J. B. Sinnott,	Alex. P. Brown,
Anthony J. Drexel,	Samuel Dickson,	John W. Patton,
John Baird,	John Cadwalader,	Thomas C. Else,
William Massey,	Thomas L. Gillespie,	George Watson,
Henry C. Gibson,	Winthrop Smith,	W. T. Carter,
John T. Lewis,	Richard A. Lewis,	W. E. Garrett,
W. W. Frazier,	Francis W. Kennedy,	Wm. J. Lloyd,
Joseph W. Lewis,	Wm. H. Lucas,	Andrew Wheeler,
D. B. Cummins,	Dr. S. Weir Mitchell,	David W. Sellers,
Edward Shippen,	George H. Stuart,	Wm. H. Hurley,
B. K. Jamison,	Col. Chas. H. Banes,	Wm. H. Staaake,
R. Dale Benson,	William Waterall,	Lewis A. Thompson,
Wharton Barker,	Samuel Lees,	Mason Hirsh,
William Brockie,	William Wood,	James A. Freeman,
Hon. Wm. B. Hanna,	Wm. S. Reyburn,	John C. Kelly,
Hon. D. Newlin Fell,	John W. Woodside,	Dr. Da Costa,
Hon. Michael Arnold,	F. B. Reeves,	Jos. F. Tobias,
Aaron Fries,	Walter G. Wilson,	W. C. Houston, Jr.,
	John Huggard.	

The MUSICAL features of the entertainment were committed to William Henry Lex, Esq., as chairman, and George P. Kimball and Simon Gratz, Esqs. George C. Thomas, of Drexel & Co.,



HON. EDWIN H. FITLER,
Mayor of Philadelphia.

HON. JOHN BARDSLEY,
Chairman of Joint Committee of the
Councils of Philadelphia.

HON. JAS. A. BEAVER,
Governor of Pennsylvania.

COL. JESSE E. PEYTON,
Father of the Celebration.

HON. JOHN E. REYBURN,
Chairman of Joint Committee of the
Legislature of Pennsylvania.

was chosen as treasurer, and Joel J. Baily as chairman, of the FINANCE COMMITTEE, with Amos R. Little, Hamilton Disston, Theo. E. Wiedersheim, Winthrop Smith, and John W. Woodside as associates.

The following committees served as auxiliaries :

COMMITTEE OF THE PHILADELPHIA BAR.

Richard C. McMurtrie, Esq., *Chairman.* Joseph B. Townsend, *Treasurer.*
Samuel W. Pennypacker, *Secretary.*

Edward Shippen,	Henry M. Hoyt,	Wm. Heyward Drayton,
George M. Dallas,	Lewis C. Cassidy,	Samuel Dickson,
Wm. Rotch Wister,	Henry Flanders,	Hampton L. Carson,
John Cadwalader,	J. Granville Leach,	David W. Sellers,
Geo. Tucker Bispham,	Victor Guillou,	Ludovic C. Cleemann,
A. Sydney Biddle,	James Otterson,	George S. Graham,
Thomas J. Diehl,	W. Herbert Washington,	Samuel S. Hollingsworth,
Wm. Brooke Rawle,	Wm. M. Meredith,	Charles F. Warwick,
Robert Ralston,	Isaac Elwell,	A. Haller Gross.

CITIZENS' COMMITTEE.

Thomas Cochran, <i>Chairman.</i>	Theodore E. Wiedersheim, <i>Secretary.</i>	
Hon. Edwin H. Fidler,	Allen B. Rorke,	John Huggard,
A. J. Drexel,	Hon. Andrew G. Curtin,	F. Oden Horstmann,
Amos R. Little,	Joseph J. Martin,	John T. Bailey,
Joel J. Baily,	John L. Lawson,	Charles E. Pugh,
James A. Wright,	A. Haller Gross,	Benjamin Thackara,
George W. Childs,	Samuel G. Thompson,	Charles B. Baeder,
John Wanamaker,	Hon. James Pollock,	D. B. Cummins,
Henry C. Gibson,	W. C. Pearse,	Craige Lippincott,
Caleb Cope,	John Field,	Joseph L. Caven,
John C. Bullitt,	William Wood,	Joseph B. Townsend,
Pemberton S. Hutchinson,	Col. Thomas Potter, Jr.,	B. Frank Clyde,
Joseph Patterson,	C. E. Shull,	William Platt Pepper,
Thomas Dolan,	Clement M. Biddle,	Hon. Michael Arnold,

Frederick Fraley,	William V. McKean,	Beauveau Borie,
Lemuel Coffin,	Frank M. Etting,	John B. Garrett,
Charles J. Harrah,	John Lowber Welsh,	Thomas McKean,
William Weightman,	Hon. Henry M. Hoyt,	James S. Mason,
Charles Emory Smith,	Hon. William B. Smith,	Conyers Button,
Alexander Brown,	Col. John H. Taggart,	Caleb J. Milne,
George B. Roberts,	Henry Carey Baird,	David H. Lane,
Joseph W. Lewis,	William M. Bunn,	John H. Converse,
Edward Longstreth,	Andrew M. Moore,	George A. Colket,
R. D. Wood,	E. W. Clark,	John H. Catherwood,
William T. Carter,	Simon Gratz,	Edward S. Clarke,
Hon. Richard Vaux,	Thomas MacKellar,	Joseph F. Page,
H. H. Houston,	John F. Smith,	J. Vaughn Merrick,
Thomas M. Thompson,	Charles E. School,	J. C. Fuller,
Horace Howard Furness,	Gen. James W. Latta,	Augustus G. Heaton,
William M. Singerly,	George H. McFadden,	Meyer Sulzberger,
Hon. Daniel M. Fox,	William F. Harrity,	J. R. Claghorn,
Edward T. Steel,	Gen. W. H. H. Davis,	Hon. Charles O'Neill,
Edward C. Knight,	Andrew H. Dill,	George M. Troutman,
William H. Rhawn,	Thomas Fitzgerald,	Charles O. Baird,
M. P. Handy,	George DeB. Keim,	William P. Ellison,
George Burnham,	Ferdinand J. Dreer,	J. R. Fell,
William C. Allison,	Charles Platt,	Charles Smith,
Col. R. Dale Benson,	J. G. Darlington,	Major William Struthers,
William Sellers,	Seth B. Stitt,	Henry D. Welsh,
Thomas L. Gillespie,	Dr. E. Morwitz,	Robert Shoemaker,
Gen. John F. Hartranft,	John E. Graeff,	George A. Heyl,
Thomas G. Hood,	Alan H. Reed,	Dell Noblit,
Col. A. K. McClure,	J. Robley Dunglison,	Charles F. Berwind,
Alexander Biddle,	James H. Windrim,	Wharton Barker,
Hampton L. Carson,	W. W. Justice,	John B. Stetson,
Theodore C. Search,	B. H. Bartol,	Charlemagne Tower,
Hamilton Disston,	Hon. A. C. Harmer,	Charles B. Wright,
George Philler,	Henry Townsend,	George Campbell,
John H. Michener,	Thomas H. Green,	Henry Whelen,
Winthrop Smith,	John Markoe,	John B. Myers,

Benjamin H. Shoemaker,	Frederick Graff,	William G. Warden,
Charles E. Warburton,	Daniel Dougherty,	Robert Dornan,
Col. Charles H. Banes,	Hugh DeHaven,	Isaac A. Sheppard,
William J. Latta,	Daniel Donovan,	James V. Watson,
John Cadwalader,	S. Emlen Meigs,	William Henry Rawle,
Dr. William Pepper,	Lincoln Godfrey,	Thomas A. Biddle,
John Price Wetherill,	Stephen Greene,	Col. S. Bonnaffon, Jr.,
Thomas H. Dudley,	William E. Littleton,	William L. Elkins,
Clayton McMichael,	Samuel B. Huey,	John G. Reading,
N. Parker Shortridge,	Hon. William D. Kelley,	Frank Thompson,
Frederick D. Stone,	E. W. Bailey,	Hon. George H. Boker,
David G. Yates,	Frank W. Murphy,	James Spear,
Bushrod W. Adams,	Hugh A. Mullen,	Jacob Naylor,
William Brockie,	Conrad B. Day,	Henry Winsor,
Walter Wood,	B. B. Comegys,	Joseph T. Potts,
John Lucas,	A. M. Collins,	S. Emlen Meigs,
B. K. Jamison,	C. G. Hancock,	A. J. Antelo,
William W. Harding,	John H. Weeks,	Charles S. Lewis,
Thomas S. Harrison,	J. E. Barr,	Lindley Smyth,
Justus C. Strawbridge,	Francis B. Reeves,	Stephen A. Caldwell,
J. Weslee Supplee,	William Henry Lex,	Samuel R. Shipley,
Edward Shippen,	George P. Kimball,	Henry M. Dechert,
Samuel C. Perkins,	George Hincken,	Clayton French,
Col. Silas W. Pettit,	Col. George H. North,	John Gardiner,
Joseph P. Sinnott,	Hon. Robert E. Pattison,	William Massey,
Hon. Samuel J. Randall,	J. Albert Caldwell,	Samuel Dickson,
Hon. Leonard Myers,	Andrew J. Sloan,	John H. Rigney,
Edward L. Hopkins,	W. W. Frazier,	Capt. R. S. Collum,
Col. Francis J. Crilly,	W. E. Garrett,	Dr. J. D. Thomas,
Alexander M. Fox,	John T. Lewis,	Col. W. P. Bowman,
Abraham Barker,	R. C. McMurtrie,	Charles W. Henry,
Joseph Moore, Jr.,	Hon. William B. Hanna,	E. P. Allinson,
James McManes,	Hon. D. Newlin Fell,	P. A. B. Widener,
Samuel Field,	Aaron Fries,	Henry S. Cattell,
B. Andrews Knight,	John W. Patton,	M. Guggenheim,
William Rotch Wister,	Thomas C. Else,	Thomas E. Cornish,

George McGowan,
 Hon. H. H. Bingham,
 Samuel B. Brown,
 William J. Lloyd,
 Joseph F. Tobias,
 Robert S. Davis,
 Andrew Wheeler,
 Gen. E. Burd Grubb,
 J. Lowrie Bell,
 Clarence S. Bement,
 William C. Houston, Jr.,
 William A. Dick,
 Alexander P. Colesberry,
 Gibson Peacock,
 James Gibson,
 John Baird,
 Charles H. Cramp,
 Henry C. Lea,
 John Mundell,
 Dennis F. Dealy,
 Col. Walter G. Wilson,
 T. Morris Perot,
 J. G. Rosengarten,
 Clement A. Griscom,
 James Moore,
 William H. Hurley,
 W. H. C. Hargreaves,
 Alexander P. Brown,
 J. W. Woodside,
 Benjamin Reiff,

George Watson,
 David W. Sellers,
 Richard A. Lewis,
 Francis W. Kennedy,
 William M. Runk,
 George W. Banks,
 Gen. George R. Snowden,
 John T. Morris,
 William H. Nixon,
 Eben C. Jayne,
 William H. Kemble,
 Hon. Samuel G. King,
 George Morrison Coates,
 Charles Lennig,
 Charles Sharpless,
 S. Davis Page,
 John M. Campbell,
 Joseph B. Baker,
 William H. Lucas,
 Dr. S. Weir Mitchell,
 George H. Stuart,
 William Waterall,
 Samuel Lees,
 William S. Reyburn,
 William H. Staake,
 Lewis A. Thompson,
 John C. Kelly,
 Mason Hirsh,
 James A. Freeman,
 Dr. Jacob Da Costa,
 J. Storm Patterson.

Thomas Donaldson,
 Col. R. P. Dechert,
 Edward L. Levy,
 Jacob Neafie,
 E. P. Kershaw,
 A. Hunt,
 William Simpson, Jr.,
 George W. Weikel,
 Frank P. Nicholson,
 Major R. Cullinan,
 Charles H. Howell,
 Augustus R. Hall,
 Edwin S. Stuart,
 Col. Alex. Krumbhaar,
 G. Frederick Jordan,
 J. Howard Mencke,
 Godfrey Keebler,
 Stuart Wood,
 Nathan Myers,
 John McArthur, Jr.,
 Simon Muhr,
 S. B. Fleisher,
 Col. Charles S. Greene,
 William S. Stewart,
 Moses A. Dropsie,
 James M. Hibbs,
 E. O. Thompson,
 T. Broome Belfield,
 John J. Stadiger,
 Samuel Wagner,

THE COMMITTEE OF THE LEGISLATURE OF
PENNSYLVANIA.

Hon. John E. Reyburn, *Chairman of Joint Committee.*

SENATE.

Hon. George Handy Smith	.	.	Philadelphia County.
Hon. John E. Reyburn	.	.	Philadelphia County.
Hon. Boies Penrose	.	.	Philadelphia County.
Hon. John C. Grady	.	.	Philadelphia County.
Hon. Henry S. Taylor	.	.	Philadelphia County.
Hon. George F. Huff.	.	.	Westmoreland County.
Hon. Thomas B. Schnatterly	.	.	Fayette and Greene Counties.
Hon. Amos H. Mylin	.	.	Lancaster County.

HOUSE.

Hon. H. K. Boyer	.	.	Philadelphia County.
Hon. J. Ridgway Wright	.	.	Luzerne County.
Hon. John B. Robinson	.	.	Delaware County.
Hon. A. A. Clay	.	.	Elk County.
Hon. Thomas H. Capp	.	.	Lebanon County.
Hon. R. Patterson	.	.	Philadelphia County.
Hon. George Worman	.	.	Philadelphia County
Hon. Silas Stevenson.	.	.	Lawrence County.

THE COMMITTEE OF THE COUNCILS OF PHILADELPHIA.

Hon. John Bardsley, *Chairman.*

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Charles Roberts,	Charles Lawrence,	George L. Horn,
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Harold Mann,	Edwin S. Stuart,	William Moffett, M.D.,
W. C. Mackie,	A. Ellwood Jones,	James R. Gates,
Jos. D. Murphy,	Theodore M. Etting,	John Eckstein, <i>Clerk,</i>
John E. Hanifen,	Edward Mathews,	Jos. H. Paist, <i>Clerk.</i>

THE COMMITTEE OF THE PRESS.

M. P. Handy, <i>Chairman</i>	. . .	<i>The Daily News.</i>
G. W. Childs	. . .	<i>The Public Ledger.</i>
Charles Emory Smith	. . .	<i>The Press.</i>
W. M. Singerly	. . .	<i>The Record.</i>
Alex. K. McClure	. . .	<i>The Times.</i>
Charles E. Warburton	. . .	<i>The Evening Telegraph.</i>
Clayton McMichael	. . .	<i>The North American.</i>
Wm. W. Harding	. . .	<i>The Philadelphia Inquirer.</i>
Robert S. Davis	. . .	<i>The Evening Call.</i>
Gibson Peacock	. . .	<i>The Evening Bulletin.</i>
Dennis F. Dealy	. . .	<i>The Herald.</i>
W. H. C. Hargreaves	. . .	<i>The Associated Press.</i>
W. C. Pearse	. . .	<i>The United Press Association.</i>
C. E. Shull	. . .	<i>The Press News Association.</i>
Col. John H. Taggart	. . .	<i>The Sunday Times.</i>
Hon. Wm. M. Bunn	. . .	<i>The Sunday Transcript.</i>
Chas. E. School	. . .	<i>The Evening Star.</i>
Col. Thomas Fitzgerald.	. . .	<i>The Item.</i>
Dr. E. Morwitz	. . .	<i>The German Democrat.</i>
J. Robley Dunglison	. . .	<i>The Sunday Republic.</i>
Hugh A. Mullen	. . .	<i>The Sunday World.</i>
George Hincken	. . .	<i>The Sunday Dispatch.</i>

Special acknowledgment is due to the Associated Press, the United Press Association, the Press News Association, and the local press of Philadelphia and of Pennsylvania for their diligent promotion of the cause without cost to the Commission.

Acknowledgment is also due to the Western Union Telegraph Company and the Bell Telephone Company, which placed their wires at the service of the Commission and of its sub-committees without cost to the Commission.

A red cross service was also organized by the formation of a Volunteer Medical Corps, for service during the entire period

of the celebration, which was placed under the exclusive control of a medical director. Medical-Inspector C. J. Cleborne, of the United States navy, was duly commissioned as chairman of the Medical Committee, and with the aid of his associates discharged his duties in a manner so satisfactory as to add additional renown to that already justly enjoyed by Philadelphia as a city pre-eminent for medical and surgical skill.

By the machinery thus indicated the Executive Committee prosecuted the designs of the Commission as outlined in the programme adopted in December, 1886. An account of the work of each sub-committee cannot be attempted here, as it would involve substantially a description of the display and ceremonies of each day. That of the marshal and chairman of the Civic and Industrial Department will be found in the account of the trades' display of September 15; that of the Military Committee in the description of the military display of September 16; that of the Committee on the Selection of the Orator, and of the Committee on Music, in the description of the ceremonies in the square of Independence on September 17; the work of the Committee on Finance has been already stated; the reports of the Committee on Transportation, of the Committee on Reception, and of the medical director of the Volunteer Medical Corps will be found in subsequent sections; while the work of the auxiliary committees, which was unofficial in its character, will be found embraced in the account of the banquets, entertainments, and receptions which attended and followed the celebration itself.

After the adjournment of the Commission in December, 1886, and in response to the letters addressed to the governors of the States and Territories who had not then appointed a commissioner, urging them to make a suitable appointment, the following gentlemen were named as commissioners: Hon. Chas. E. Fenner, of Louisiana; Hon. E. B. Purcell, of Kansas; Hon. James C. Tappan, of Arkansas; Hon. Alexander Ramsey, of Minnesota;

Hon. M. F. Mott, of Texas ; Dr. William B. Lapham, of Maine ; Hon. Charles D. Long, of Michigan, *vice* Hon. James V. Campbell, who had resigned ; Hon. Samuel W. Williams, of Arkansas, *vice* James C. Tappan, who resigned ; Hon. Oscar R. Hundley, of Alabama ; Hon. John Jameson, of Illinois, *vice* John M. Palmer, who resigned ; Hon. L. E. Chittenden, of Vermont ; Hon. Sylvester Pennoyer, of Oregon, *vice* Henry C. Failing, who resigned ; Hon. Richard Mackintosh, of Utah ; Hon. Wm. M. Robertson, of Nebraska ; Hon. Thomas Carroll, of Washington Territory ; Hon. Murat Masterson, of New Mexico ; and Hon. Samuel Henszey, of Arizona.

The following is a complete list of

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CENTENNIAL COMMISSION.

JOHN A. KASSON, <i>President</i>	. . . . .	Iowa.
OSCAR R. HUNDLEY . . . . .	. . . . .	Alabama.
SAMUEL A. HENSZEY . . . . .	. . . . .	Arizona.
SAMUEL W. WILLIAMS, <i>vice</i> JAMES C. TAPPAN . . . . .	. . . . .	Arkansas.
HENRY C. ROBINSON . . . . .	. . . . .	Connecticut.
N. G. ORDWAY . . . . .	. . . . .	Dakota.
JOHN H. RODNEY . . . . .	. . . . .	Delaware.
J. J. FINLEY . . . . .	. . . . .	Florida.
JOHN HAILEY . . . . .	. . . . .	Idaho.
JOHN JAMESON, <i>vice</i> JOHN M. PALMER . . . . .	. . . . .	Illinois.
CHARLES H. REEVE . . . . .	. . . . .	Indiana.
E. B. PURCELL . . . . .	. . . . .	Kansas.
CHARLES E. FENNER . . . . .	. . . . .	Louisiana.
WILLIAM B. LAPHAM . . . . .	. . . . .	Maine.
HENRY CABOT LODGE . . . . .	. . . . .	Massachusetts.
CLINTON P. PAINE . . . . .	. . . . .	Maryland.
CHARLES D. LONG, <i>vice</i> JAMES V. CAMPBELL . . . . .	. . . . .	Michigan.
ALEX. RAMSEY . . . . .	. . . . .	Minnesota.
MARCELLUS GREEN . . . . .	. . . . .	Mississippi.
THOMAS T. GANTT . . . . .	. . . . .	Missouri.
EDWARD W. KNIGHT . . . . .	. . . . .	Montana.

WM. M. ROBERTSON	Nebraska.
BENJAMIN A. KIMBALL	New Hampshire.
CHARLES G. GARRISON	New Jersey.
MURAT MASTERTON	New Mexico.
EDWARD F. JONES	New York.
LEWIN W. BARRINGER	North Carolina.
ALFRED T. GOSHORN	Ohio.
SYLVESTER PENNOYER, <i>vice</i> HENRY C. FAILING	Oregon.
AMOS R. LITTLE	Pennsylvania.
ROWLAND HAZARD	Rhode Island.
JAMES A. HOYT	South Carolina.
JAMES D. RICHARDSON	Tennessee.
M. F. MOTT	Texas.
RICHARD MACKINTOSH	Utah.
L. E. CHITTENDEN	Vermont.
WILLIAM WIRT HENRY	Virginia.
THOMAS CARROLL	Washington Territory.
D. B. LUCAS	West Virginia.
WILLIAM H. HOLLIDAY	Wyoming.
HAMPTON L. CARSON, <i>Secretary</i>	Pennsylvania.
F. C. BREWSTER, Jr., <i>Corresponding Secretary</i>	Pennsylvania.

No appointments were made by California, Colorado, Wisconsin, Kentucky, Alaska, Indian Territory, or the District of Columbia. It is believed that at the last moment a gentleman was commissioned to represent Georgia, but the appointee never filed his credentials or took his seat in the Constitutional Centennial Commission.

The Commission held a meeting on the evening of September 14, 1887, in Parlor C, of the Continental Hotel, in Philadelphia, where the following proceedings took place.

The meeting was called to order at 8.30 o'clock, President JOHN A. KASSON in the chair.

The secretary called the roll, and the following members re-

sponded: Mr. Hundley, of Alabama; Mr. Robinson, of Connecticut; Mr. Rodney, of Delaware; Mr. Reeve, of Indiana; Mr. Kasson, of Iowa; Mr. Purcell, of Kansas; Mr. Fenner, of Louisiana; Dr. Lapham, of Maine; Mr. Paine, of Maryland; Mr. Lodge, of Massachusetts; Mr. Long, of Michigan; Mr. Ramsey, of Minnesota; Mr. Green, of Mississippi; Mr. Gantt, of Missouri; Mr. Robertson, of Nebraska; Mr. Kimball, of New Hampshire; Mr. Garrison, of New Jersey; Mr. Barringer, of North Carolina; Mr. Goshorn, of Ohio; Mr. Little, of Pennsylvania; Mr. Chittenden, of Vermont; Mr. Henry, of Virginia; Mr. Henszey, of Arizona; Mr. Mackintosh, of Utah.

The PRESIDENT. I have to inform the Commission that the governor of the State of Michigan has appointed two gentlemen from that State, one in addition to Mr. Long; the other gentleman, Mr. Attwood, is present, and if there should be no objection on the part of the commissioners we should feel it our duty to recognize that appointment on the part of the governor, and enter him as an additional commissioner. Is there any objection, gentlemen, to that disposition? If not, the name will be entered upon the list as an additional commissioner.

Mr. GANTT. Mr. President, have we the right to do that?

The PRESIDENT. That is the question which I submit to the Commission. If it is desired, I will have the commission read.

Mr. GANTT. Mr. President, I think that, inasmuch as the meeting of the governors last September contemplated the appointment by the governors of the several States of but *one* delegate, it is rather outside of our prerogative to take action of this kind, and I am not certain, sir, but that I am a little jealous in this matter. I think, under the circumstances, that the one commissioner, representing one State and Territory, does not wish to lessen his importance upon this occasion.

The PRESIDENT. I ought to state, in candor, that I remember now that the word used by the governor in the commission given

to Mr. Attwood is not "commissioner," but "delegate." I am bound in frankness to state that to the Commission.

Mr. RAMSEY. Is the delegate here, Mr. President?

The PRESIDENT. Yes, both are here; and I further wish to say that, while I agree with Colonel Gantt that the original resolution adopted at the September convention contemplated but the *one* commissioner, I should be glad to show all the courtesies to all the gentlemen so treated by the governors, and give them places for viewing the ceremonies, etc.; and if either of the gentlemen from Michigan wish to say anything on this subject we should be glad to hear from him.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, Judge Campbell was originally appointed commissioner from Michigan. He found that his business engagements were such as to make it impossible for him to attend, and the governor appointed me as commissioner in his stead. In a conversation with the governor, had a few days after my appointment, he remarked to me that he would like to have Mr. Attwood go to Philadelphia with me. He said, "I would like to make him an additional commissioner," and until my arrival here to-day Mr. Attwood supposed that he was named in that commission as an "additional commissioner," but I now notice that he is named as a "delegate." I think the governor had the idea, however, at the time of Mr. Attwood's appointment, that he was appointing him as an additional commissioner. Of course I do not desire to press that question upon the Commission here, or to beg favors for Michigan which cannot be extended to gentlemen from each State. But I am anxious that Mr. Attwood should have such courtesies extended to him as the Commission may deem proper. I should be very glad if he could be admitted as commissioner, but I am not in a position to insist upon that at this moment.

The PRESIDENT. Will the secretary read the original resolution adopted at the meeting of the governors in September, 1886?

The secretary read as follows :

“ *Be it Resolved*, By the governors and representatives of the colonial States in meeting assembled, that the Federal government, and each State and Territory of the Union, be invited to unite in preparations for a proper celebration, to be held at Philadelphia, upon the seventeenth day of September, A.D. 1887; that this body communicate, through its chairman and secretary, with the President of the United States and with the governors of the States and Territories, and request them to appoint a delegate to meet in Philadelphia on Thursday, the second day of December, A.D. 1886; said delegates to organize as a permanent organization, with power to devise such plans and measures as will in their judgment secure a celebration worthy of so great an event.”

MR. RAMSEY. I suppose the whole difficulty has grown out of the fact that the governors have not understood their duty in the matter. I suppose, as the gentlemen have come from a distance, and the compensation is not so very large, that we should do the courteous thing by these gentlemen *as auxiliaries*.

MR. GARRISON. This has evidently been the result of a misunderstanding on the part of the governors. I move that the gentlemen who may have been named by the governor of any State or Territory as an additional commissioner or delegate, or to represent the governor in his absence, be deemed the special guests of this Commission.

THE PRESIDENT. This has reference to those States and Territories that have sent more than one representative?

MR. GARRISON. Yes, sir. I suppose there is no authority, nor is there any power given to this body, to admit them as commissioners, but these gentlemen are here in a peculiar position, and it seems to me that the Commission will do no less than assign them a position which we alone can give them, and that is to consider them the special guests of the Commission.

MR. RAMSEY. Will the chair say how many States are in this predicament?

The PRESIDENT. At present I know of three,—Michigan, Louisiana, and Georgia,—and I learn from the secretary that the governor of Georgia means to compliment various persons by giving them commissions.

Mr. GANTT seconded the motion of the gentleman from New Jersey.

The motion was carried.

On motion of Mr. REEVE, Mr. Attwood, of Michigan, was invited to remain during the proceedings.

The PRESIDENT. The secretary will now read the report of what has been done by your officers since the last meeting.

The report was read.

Mr. CHITTENDEN. Mr. President, I rise simply to ask whether this report will be printed, and appear in a regularly published volume of the proceedings of the Commission?

The PRESIDENT. Probably.

Mr. CHITTENDEN. It seems to me it is a report calculated to do a great deal of good, and it should have a very extended circulation.

On the motion of the gentleman from Vermont, the report as read was adopted. As it has been substantially embodied in this history of the Commission, it is not reprinted here.

The PRESIDENT. The chairman will call the attention of the Commission a little further to the gentlemen whose services have been really invaluable to the work of the Commission, and it becomes my duty—and I but voice the sentiment of my friend who sits beside me (Mr. Little)—to commend to you, for the valuable aid they have rendered us, Colonel A. Loudon Snowden, Mr. Thomas Cochran, Mr. Joel J. Baily, Mr. Lex, Colonel Wiedersheim, Mr. Thompson, Mr. Latta, and some other gentlemen, and if any of the commissioners deem it proper to submit resolutions instructing our secretary to communicate to them the thanks of the Commission, and its appreciation of their services, it

will give great pleasure to the officers, who know that the aid rendered by them has not only been invaluable, but even indispensable. It really is not easy to give too much credit for the amount of work that has been done for and in behalf of the Commission by the gentlemen I have named.

Mr. REEVE. With a very full appreciation of the efforts of these gentlemen, and the very efficient manner in which their work has been accomplished, and the beneficial results which will flow from it, I beg leave to offer the following resolution :

Resolved, That the Constitutional Centennial Commission, recognizing the extraordinary and laborious services rendered in aid of the success of the constitutional celebration by Colonel A. Loudon Snowden, hereby instruct the secretary of this body to communicate to him their appreciation of his services, together with the thanks of the Commission."

The resolution as read was adopted.

Mr. REEVE. I further wish to supplement this resolution by moving that the secretary be instructed to draw up separate resolutions, containing the name of each of the gentlemen named by the president, said resolutions to be similar to the one just adopted.

The motion was unanimously carried.

Mr. HUNDLEY offered the following resolution.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Commission be extended to our executive officers for the efficient manner in which they have discharged their duties."

The resolution was unanimously carried.

The PRESIDENT. I will call attention to the two other bodies to whom we are very largely indebted.

Your Executive Committee here were in great distress about funds at one time, before the public interest had been aroused. Congress had failed to appropriate anything. The citizens of Philadelphia and the country at large did not know whether the

celebration was going to amount to anything, and it was with great difficulty, and largely by the energy of the Executive Committee, Mr. Little and Mr. Cochran, and some gentlemen associated with them, that the appropriation was passed by the Pennsylvania Legislature, which gave them the basis to work upon; and the citizens of Philadelphia, also, have responded liberally; and from these two sources the work of the Commission has gone on from that time to this, and the result bids fair to be such a success as I hope will satisfy all of you, gentlemen of the Commission, if it please God to send us fair weather for the next three days. Under the circumstances, I think that the Commission, as a body, should recognize both the generosity of the Legislature of Pennsylvania and the liberality of the citizens of Philadelphia.

Mr. HENRY. I wish to offer the following resolution :

Resolved, That the Constitutional Centennial Commission highly appreciate the liberality of those generous citizens of Philadelphia, whose contributions in time and money, given in aid of the Commission, have proved so important and even indispensable to the success of our efforts; and that the secretary cause this resolution to be published in the journals of this city."

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Mr. GANTT. Should there not be a special recognition of the generous contribution of the State of Pennsylvania? I think it is eminently fitting there should be such a resolution, and I hold in my hand a resolution which I think is expressive of the sentiments of the Commission.

The secretary read the resolution, as follows :

Resolved, That the Constitutional Centennial Commission, at its final session, recognizing the generous action of the governor and Legislature of Pennsylvania in the liberal grant made for the advancement of the purposes of the Commission in celebrating the birth of the American Constitution, direct their secretary to communicate, through the governor, their

high appreciation of it, and their thanks for the important aid which was thus given towards the accomplishment of their patriotic object."

The resolution as read was unanimously adopted.

Mr. ROBINSON offered the following resolution :

"*Resolved*, That the hearty thanks of the Commission are tendered to its president, the Hon. John A. Kasson, who has more than expressed the patriotism of the Commission by his peculiar executive ability, energy, and untiring devotion."

The resolution as read was unanimously adopted.

The PRESIDENT. I have to thank the Commission for their appreciation of what I have done, and I should have been more than satisfied to have my services passed over ; but I cannot separate myself, in this respect, from the chairman of the Executive Committee ; and I beg that, as a personal favor to myself, I should not be separated at this moment from my most valuable associate, the commissioner from Pennsylvania, Mr. Little.

Mr. REEVE. I wish to offer the following resolution :

"*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Commission are due and are hereby tendered heartily to Amos R. Little, for the very valuable and ardent services rendered to this Commission as chairman of the Executive Committee."

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Mr. HENRY offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted :

"*Resolved*, That the Constitutional Centennial Commission desire specially to recognize the services of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., their secretary, which were as excellent as they were faithful, and hereby convey their high appreciation of his efforts to accomplish the patriotic efforts of the Commission."

The PRESIDENT. I wish, also, to state a little more definitely to the Commission that we are enabled, by the aid furnished by the

citizens of Philadelphia, to say to every governor that during his stay in Philadelphia he will be the guest of the Commission. We have the pleasure of stating to you that twenty-two or twenty-three governors will be present with us, largely the majority of the governors of the Union. The number of the commissioners has largely increased since our last meeting. We have also invited various persons who have rendered distinguished services to our country in one direction or another, and made them our guests. The object, as you will see, is to make this affair of Saturday especially a representative meeting of every class of people in the United States who have contributed to its advancement and prosperity, morally, intellectually, and materially; and you will have the pleasure, gentlemen, of seeing upon our platform undoubtedly the largest representation of all classes of our people that has ever been witnessed in this country, or in any other country, so far as I know. We have invited the clergymen of every denomination, and hope to have a representative of all known denominations. A number of bishops have been invited; also representatives of labor organizations, including the representative of the largest body, I believe, the chairman of the Knights of Labor, and in fact every interest of the community, political as well as religious, social as well as moral. We will have every class of people here who acknowledge allegiance to the Constitution of the United States. Every one has been invited, with the single exception of those who carry the red flag and refuse to recognize the flag of the United States.

Mr. RAMSEY announced that the lieutenant-governor of Minnesota would be present, in the absence of the governor, whose official duties rendered it impossible for him to attend.

SEVERAL MEMBERS. Will the chair be good enough to instruct us as to our movements to-morrow?

The PRESIDENT. The chair will answer that. We have taken special care, in the arrangement of seats at the reviewing stands

at all the ceremonies to provide for such persons as the President of the United States, the Cabinet, the Supreme Court, senators, representatives in Congress, governors of States, commissioners, and various other special guests. On Saturday, which we term the intellectual day of our ceremonies, our quarters are very limited. The commissioners will be considered as hosts, in a certain sense, and will be obliged to be very near the front; consequently the commissioners are provided for in a way that cannot but be satisfactory to them.

On military day, which is Friday, they will be in Section A, the middle section of the reviewing stand on Broad Street, opposite the Union League, where all the processions are to be reviewed. On the first day, in the absence of President Cleveland, the ex-President and ex-Vice-President, the only two surviving members of these offices, and the commissioners and governors will also be in the middle section of that reviewing stand. I have given instruction to the officers in charge of that stand to reserve a number of seats on those two days for that purpose. That is so far the provision made for you.

MR. CHITTENDEN. I wish to inquire whether any provision is made for ladies who attend the governors and commissioners in the city.

THE PRESIDENT. None on the reviewing stand. That is because ladies prefer to look at the parades from windows on such occasions. There are also some private stands, very handsomely gotten up, where ladies will go.

MR. HUNDLEY. How are commissioners to be admitted to these stands?

THE PRESIDENT. The tickets are here and will be distributed after adjournment.

There is one other thing I forgot to mention, which is of some importance. It was the desire of the executive officers to comply with the orders of our Commission for a poet, but I am sorry to

say for the patriotism of our American poets, in the hot weather, that they all declined. Several distinguished gentlemen were applied to, but we were unable to procure a poet. Your president, however, thought that we should at least have a new national hymn, because the old were unsatisfactory. We thought that none of them rose to the level of the country as it is to-day. Several persons were applied to. One of them, Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, has taken the old tune of "Hail Columbia," which, if I am rightly informed by our secretary, who is our learned member, was written by Joseph Hopkinson in 1798, and which has a very great traditional value, and has furnished us some additional verses, which will be rendered by a large chorus. Another gentleman applied to was F. Marion Crawford, the novelist, who has become very distinguished in the field of literature, and who was said to be possessed of poetic genius also. A friend suggested that I take my application to him, and to my agreeable surprise, from Sorrento, Italy, he sent an admirable hymn, which I had privately printed, and it will reach the public on the day of the 17th.

Owing to the short time we had, we were unable to get a musical score for the hymn; but a composer of this city, Professor Gilchrist, assured me he could furnish suitable music for the chorus. He has done so, and that chorus will be rendered by two hundred men with trained voices; and each stanza will be rendered (in lieu of a poem) by an elocutionist of this city. Hon. Samuel F. Miller, the senior justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, will deliver the oration of the day.

Now, gentlemen, we owe the thanks of the Commission to those gentlemen who, unable to be here themselves, have contributed so much to the interest of the occasion. What action will you take on the matter, in order to instruct our officers to convey our thanks to them?

Mr. REEVE offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the thanks of the Constitutional Centennial Commission are hereby tendered to Dr. O. W. Holmes and F. M. Crawford for the hymns furnished for the use of the Commission at the celebration of the framing and promulgation of the Constitution of the United States."

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

The PRESIDENT. The only thing which now remains is to take action on final adjournment. Shall the chair call a meeting for that purpose?

Mr. HUNDLEY. Mr. President, I move that we meet only for a few moments, and receive the report of the secretary, and adjourn *sine die*. I think it would be proper to do that. Therefore, I move that we do meet at some time after the ceremonies, as suggested by the chairman, and let him call a meeting for that purpose.

Mr. HENRY. Mr. Chairman, I should think it would be almost impossible to get a meeting for the Commission after getting through with the ceremonies of this occasion. I do not think there would be any necessity for it, and I think we might adjourn *sine die*.

The PRESIDENT. There is one point, perhaps, that may be considered now,—that is, the propriety of publishing a small volume or memorial of these proceedings, under the direction of our secretary, embracing the proceedings up to the close of Saturday's ceremonies.

Mr. CHITTENDEN. Mr. Chairman, I think that one of the greatest benefits which is to flow from the action of this Commission is the bringing to the minds of the people of the United States, in a fresh and striking manner, the fact that they have got a Constitution, and that it is an instrument of interest that they ought to know something about; and I sincerely hope such a publication will be made, and I think it should be published in a form in which it will be preserved,—something more than a mere pamphlet, a book with covers,—and I hope that the funds of the Commission will warrant that a large edition of it may be pub-

lished, and that it may have a general, wide-spread distribution. I move you, sir, that the executive officers of this Commission be directed to prepare these papers and memorials, and to print and publish them in such form and in such number as they think most advisable.

Mr. GANTT. Mr. Chairman, I could not help being very much struck by the very appropriate remark of the gentleman from Alabama. It seems to me to be very desirable that our proceedings should take an orderly and decent form. I think we should meet after our work is done and express our views respecting its accomplishment. It is perfectly true that we should not be able to speak with anything like a definite understanding of the accounts of the Commission, but that can be safely trusted to the accounting officers, and I really think we should be neglecting a very valuable point of decorum, if we go off without one word of ratification and sanction at the close of the ceremonies.

Mr. LITTLE. I think the executive officers would be gratified if there could be a meeting on Monday after the ceremonies were all over; but we fear the commissioners would want to leave before that time, and that we should probably not have a quorum, and could, consequently, take no action. On Saturday there are so many private entertainments that it would probably take us until Saturday night before we could have a meeting.

Mr. REEVE called attention to the necessity of providing a special committee for winding up the affairs of the commission, and with full power to act after the final adjournment of this body, and submitted a motion on that subject.

After some discussion and amendment, the resolution was adopted in the following form:

Resolved, That the president and chairman of the Executive Committee and the secretary of the Commission, with Thomas Cochran, chairman, Colonel Theo. E. Wiedersheim, secretary of the Citizens Committee, be con-

stituted an Executive Committee by this Commission, with power to transact all business necessary to wind up the affairs of the Commission after this meeting; and if they deem it judicious and proper, they are hereby authorized to publish or cause to be published, with official endorsement, so much of the proceedings of the Commission, and of the proceedings of the celebration as they may deem proper for general circulation, and that the members of the Commission shall each be entitled to a copy, to be forwarded to them by the proper officer.

"They are also instructed to deposit the original records of this Commission with the librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania."

Mr. HUNDLEY. I move that when the meeting adjourn it shall stand adjourned until the close of the proceedings in Independence Square, where a meeting will be held at the seats occupied on that occasion by the members of this Commission.

The motion was adopted.

Mr. HUNDLEY. I suggest that before a final adjournment is held that the members of the Commission be requested to sign their autographs to a blank piece of paper to be attached by the secretary to the proceedings when the proceedings are complete.

Mr. HUNDLEY'S suggestion was accepted, and the members were requested to remain for a few moments after adjournment for that purpose.

On motion, the meeting adjourned to meet on the platform at the close of the ceremonies on Saturday, the 17th.

In the interval the members of the Commission attended the official ceremonies of the celebration, and the various banquets, receptions, and entertainments, as described in the report of the Reception Committee.

A final meeting of the Commission was held on the grand stand, in Independence Square, September 17, 1887, immediately after the close of the official ceremonies, President JOHN A. KASSON in the chair. There were present Oscar R. Hundley, of Alabama; Samuel W. Williams, of Arkansas; Henry C. Robinson,

of Connecticut ; E. B. Purcell, of Kansas ; C. H. Reeve, of Indiana ; Charles E. Fenner, of Louisiana ; William B. Lapham, of Maine ; Clinton P. Paine, of Maryland ; Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts ; Charles D. Long, of Michigan ; Alex. Ramsey, of Minnesota ; Thomas T. Gantt, of Missouri ; Marcellus Green, of Mississippi ; William M. Robertson, of Nebraska ; Benjamin A. Kimball, of New Hampshire ; Charles G. Garrison, of New Jersey ; Lewin W. Barringer, of North Carolina ; Alfred T. Goshorn, of Ohio ; Amos R. Little, of Pennsylvania ; L. E. Chittenden, of Vermont ; William Wirt Henry, of Virginia ; Samuel A. Henszey, of Arizona ; Richard Mackintosh, of Utah ; N. G. Ordway, of Dakota ; and Hampton L. Carson, of Pennsylvania, secretary.

Mr. REEVE offered the following resolution, as a substitute for the separate resolutions of thanks to the same gentlemen, adopted at the last meeting :

“Resolved, That, realizing the vast extent of incessant labor required to prepare the details for the celebration of the centennial anniversary of the framing and promulgation of the Constitution ; with a knowledge of the manner in which their energies have been devoted to its performance, and appreciating the patriotism that prompted and sustained them in their long, arduous efforts, the grateful thanks of the Commission are due to those by whom the principal work was done on behalf of the Commission ; and they are hereby extended to the Hon. John A. Kasson, president of the Commission ; Amos R. Little, the vice-president, and chairman of the Executive Committee ; and Hampton L. Carson, secretary.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

On motion of Mr. CHITTENDEN, the Executive Committee was instructed to communicate the thanks of the Commission to all those who had conducted the musical exercises,—Professor Soussa and Professor Rosewig ; to Professor Gilchrist, for his contribution of the score of the chorus of Mr. Crawford’s hymn. They were further instructed to communicate, through their secretary, the

thanks of the Commission especially to Mr. F. Marion Crawford, for his new national hymn ; to other gentlemen, whose services have been valuable ; and to Oliver Wendell Holmes, for his verses ; to Mr. Justice Miller, for the memorial oration ; to Bishop Potter, Cardinal Gibbons, and Dr. Witherspoon, for their services in the memorial ceremonies ; and to the mayor and police of the city of Philadelphia for their efficient police regulations.

The Commission thereupon adjourned *sine die*.

Apart from the brilliant and pronounced success which crowned the labors of the Commission, it is gratifying to record the fact that, after all indebtedness had been paid, the chairman of the Executive Committee was able to return to the treasury of the State of Pennsylvania a sum exceeding ten per centum of the appropriation of seventy-five thousand dollars, and to return to each citizen subscriber a dividend of fifty per centum of his subscription, —a most substantial proof of the wisdom, prudence, and fidelity with which the duties of the accounting officers of the Commission were discharged.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON TRANSPORTATION.

HON. JOHN A. KASSON,

President of the Constitutional Centennial Commission.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your Committee on Transportation beg to submit their report of work accomplished during the great celebration of September 15, 16, and 17, 1887. Your committee, whose chairman had acted in a like capacity during the preliminary work of organization in September and December, 1886, was organized for permanent work in June, 1887, with the following membership :

Geo. W. Boyd, assistant general passenger agent, Pennsylvania Railroad Company, 233 South Fourth Street.

C. G. Hancock, general passenger agent, Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company, 231 South Fourth Street.

J. E. Barr, Esq., of Porter & Coates, No. 900 Chestnut Street.

John W. Woodside, Esq., of Stewart, Ralph & Co.

Theo. E. Wiedersheim, No. 14 South Third Street.

John H. Weeks, general agent, Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, Fourth and Chestnut Streets.

William J. Latta, chairman, general agent, Pennsylvania Railroad Company, Broad Street Station.

It was deemed wise on your part to associate a small number of railroad officers with a number of prominent citizens upon your Transportation Committee, and we believe that a great measure of our success was the result of that wisdom.

A general meeting of your committee was called on Tuesday, August 30, 1887, in the office of the chairman at Broad Street

Station, at which the secretary of your Military Committee, the adjutant-general of Pennsylvania, and the several regimental quartermasters of the National Guard of Pennsylvania were present. A complete programme was there mapped out for the transportation of all the military organizations from Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maine, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Delaware, and small companies from many other States, as well as the governors and staffs of such States as had at that time signified their acceptances of the invitations extended them. Your chairman takes much pleasure in stating that little or no deviation from that programme was found to be necessary in the actual movement of the organizations then arranged for.

About thirty-five thousand (35,000) soldiers, firemen, members of societies, etc., were moved by the several railroads to and from Philadelphia during the period in question.

The railroad companies promptly met the general desire for reduced rates.

Your committee have to record the fact that the most cordial co-operation was shown by the different transportation companies.

Your committee presents for your information the following exhibits:

- A. Financial statement.
- B. Report of passengers transported.
- C. Report of organized bodies transported (included in total of B).
- D. List of military and other organizations.

In conclusion, your committee desire to express their thanks for the hearty responses coming from yourself and your several assistants and sub-committees in aiding us in the great work so successfully accomplished.

To the officers of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, Phila-

delphia and Reading Railroad Company, Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, are the thanks of the Commission and your committee especially due.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM J. LATTA,

Chairman.

Approved:

J. E. BARR,
C. G. HANCOCK,
GEO. W. BOYD,
JOHN H. WEEKS,
JOHN W. WOODSIDE,
THEO. E. WIEDERSHEIM,

} *Committee.*

PHILADELPHIA, October 17, 1887.

EXHIBIT "A."

CONSTITUTIONAL CENTENNIAL COMMISSION.

COMMITTEE ON TRANSPORTATION

IN ACCOUNT WITH THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

Received from Amos R. Little, <i>Chairman</i> , for military transportation and other expenses		\$10,000.00
Expended for transportation of National Guard of Pennsylvania:		
Pennsylvania Railroad Co., Voucher A	\$5761.80	
" " " " B	75.00	
	<hr/>	\$5836.80
Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Co., Voucher C		2750.00
Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Co., " D		898.00
St. George Hotel Co., " E		20.00
		<hr/>
		\$9,504.80
Balance due Executive Committee		\$495.20

Remitted October 7, 1887, by check, Bank of North America.

Receipt of same acknowledged same date by Amos R. Little, chairman.

I hereby certify the above to be a true statement of the financial receipts and expenditures of the Committee on Transportation in connection with their work in the celebration of September 15, 16, and 17, 1887.

[Signed] WILLIAM J. LATTA,

Chairman.

EXHIBIT "B."

STATEMENT OF PASSENGERS CARRIED TO AND FROM PHILADELPHIA DURING THE DAYS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION, SEPTEMBER 15, 16, AND 17, 1887.

Lines.	Passengers.
By Pennsylvania Railroad Co. (actual)	372,347
" Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Co. (estimated)	300,000
" Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Co. "	15,400
" Steamer D. R. Martin	14,317
" Steamer Columbia	3,409
" Steamer Jersey Blue	273
" Steamer Edwin Forrest	223
" Baltimore and Philadelphia Steamboat Co.	262
" Philadelphia and Smyrna Transportation Co.	165
	<hr/>
Total for the three days as above	706,396

EXHIBIT "C."

SPECIAL ORGANIZATIONS INCLUDED IN EXHIBIT "B," AND SHOWN IN EXHIBIT "D" IN DETAIL, CARRIED TO AND FROM PHILADELPHIA DURING THE CONSTITUTIONAL CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION, SEPTEMBER 15, 16, AND 17, 1887.

Lines.	No. of persons coming to Phila.	No. of persons round trip.
By Pennsylvania Railroad Co. (actual)	15,781	31,562
" Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Co. (estimated) . .	2,490	4,980
" Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Co. "	1,200	2,400
		38,942

EXHIBIT "D."

LIST OF MILITARY AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS ATTENDING THE CONSTITUTIONAL CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION AT PHILADELPHIA, SEPTEMBER 15, 16, AND 17, 1887, HANDLED BY THE PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD, PHILADELPHIA AND READING RAILROAD, AND BALTIMORE AND OHIO RAILROAD COMPANIES.

Organizations <i>via</i> Pennsylvania Railroad.	Number.	Initial point.
President Cleveland and party	10	
General Sheridan, U.S.A., and staff	5	Washington.
Pennsylvania Troops :		
Sheridan Troop	60	Tyrone.
Battery B	60	Pittsburgh.
Fifth Regiment	500	
Sixth Regiment :		
Company B	50	Chester.
" H	50	Media.
" I	50	West Chester.
Eighth Regiment :		
Company A	50	York.
" C	50	Chambersburg.
" G	50	Carlisle.
" I and headquarters	50	Wrightsville.
Tenth Regiment	450	
Twelfth Regiment	400	
Fifteenth Regiment	425	
Sixteenth Regiment	500	
Eighteenth Regiment	620	
New Jersey Troops :		
General Plume and staff	12	Newark.
Third Regiment	750	Elizabeth.
Fourth "	750	Jersey City.

Organizations <i>via</i> Pennsylvania Railroad.	Number.	Initial point.
New Jersey Troops :		
One Company	38	Woodbury.
“ “	41	Vineland.
“ “	61	Cape May.
“ “	61	Atlantic City.
“ “	9	Haddonfield.
New York Troops :		
Provisional Regiment	900	New York.
New York City Regiments	1,400	“
Seventy-first Regiment Band	50	“
Governor of New York and staff	25	“
Maryland Troops :		
Two Companies	100	Cumberland.
Fifth Regiment	400	Baltimore.
Provisional Regiment	1,200	“
Governor of Maryland and staff	18	“
Delaware Troops		
	500	
Governor of Connecticut and staff	40	Hartford.
“ “ “ Foot Guards	150	“
“ “ New Hampshire and staff	40	
Maine and Rhode Island troops	600	
Governor of Rhode Island, staff, and troops	150	
Governor of Massachusetts, staff, and troops	1,100	
Governor of Georgia and staff	25	
Atlanta Rifles	33	
South Carolina troops	100	
Governor of South Carolina and staff	25	
Governor of North Carolina and staff	30	
Governor of New Jersey and staff	15	Jersey City.
Alexandria Light Infantry	50	Alexandria.
Dubuque Grays	50	Dubuque.
Company B, First Regiment, Virginia	60	Richmond.
Old Dominion Guard	100	Portsmouth.
Capitol City Guard	167	Washington.
Columbia Rifles	50	“
Corcoran Cadets	50	“
Washington Cadet Corps	150	“
Union Veterans, First Company	50	“
“ “ Old Guard	50	“
Colored military	800	“
Van Houten Post, G.A.R.	100	New York.

Organizations <i>via</i> Pennsylvania Railroad.	Number.	Initial point.
Posts 130 and 131, G.A.R.	100	West Chester.
Post 34, G.A.R.	28	Avondale.
Fame Fire Co.	100	West Chester.
Fire Company of West Chester	97	" "
Hope Hose Co.	50	Bordentown.
Weccacoe Hose Co.	35	"
Humane Hose Co.	25	"
Richmond Fire Co.	50	Richmond.
Beverly Fire Co.	50	Beverly.
Fire Co.	90	Norristown.
Vigilant Fire Co.	35	Altoona.
Pennsylvania Railroad Fire Co.	35	"
Fire Co.	25	Princeton.
Liberty Fire Engine Co.	25	Spring City.
Franklin Fire Co.	200	West Chester.
Fire Co.	36	Millville, N. J.
Mayor of Boston and party	25	Boston.
Disston's Saw Works employés	500	Tacony.
Indian school-children	209	Carlisle.
Marine Band	39	Washington.
Band	25	Phoenixville.
Milton Cornet Band	25	Milton.
Liberty " "	25	Reading.
Germania Band	30	"
Spring City Band	25	Spring City.
West Chester Band	27	West Chester.
Band	25	Belvidere.
Knights of the Golden Eagle	75	Phoenixville.
" " " " "	22	Haddonfield.
" " " Mystic Chain	33	Altoona.
" " " " "	35	Johnstown.
Total	15,781	

Organizations <i>via</i> Philadelphia and Reading Railroad.	Number.	Initial point.
Fourth Regiment, N.G.P.	500	Pottsville.
Eighth " "	450	Wilkesbarre.
Thirteenth " "	450	Scranton.

Organizations <i>via</i> Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.	Number.	Initial point.
Fourteenth Regiment, N.G.P.	449	Pittsburgh.
Various regiments	751	Washington and points south.

REPORT OF THE MEDICAL DIRECTOR OF THE VOLUNTEER MEDICAL CORPS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CENTENNIAL COMMISSION.

"MEDICAL COMMITTEE ROOMS,
"CITY HALL, PHILADELPHIA, 4th October, 1887.

"HON. JOHN A. KASSON,

"President of the Constitutional Centennial Commission.

"AMOS R. LITTLE, ESQ.,

"Chairman of the Executive Committee.

"GENTLEMEN,—I have the honor to transmit the accompanying report of the operations of the Volunteer Medical Corps, which was adopted as the final report of the committee.

"I avail myself of this opportunity to acknowledge the courtesy and cooperation of the officers of the Centennial Commission and the members of the Medical Committee in the discharge of the duties confided to my direction.

"Very respectfully,

"C. J. CLEBORNE, M.D.,

"Chairman of the Medical Committee."

OFFICE OF THE MEDICAL COMMITTEE OF THE
CONSTITUTIONAL CENTENNIAL COMMISSION,
BROAD AND MARKET STREETS, PHILADELPHIA, CITY HALL.

REPORT OF THE MEDICAL DIRECTOR.

The following account of the operations of this department is respectfully submitted :

The Volunteer Medical Corps of the Constitutional Centennial was organized under the authority of the Hon. John A. Kasson, the president of the Commission, who appointed me chairman of the Medical Committee on the 12th of September, 1887.

“CONSTITUTIONAL CENTENNIAL COMMISSION,

“PHILADELPHIA, September 12, 1887.

“With a view to provide for the eventualities and accidents which may occur during the three days of the centennial celebration, the Constitutional Centennial Commission hereby appoints Medical-Inspector C. J. Cleborne, United States Navy, chairman of a committee (the members of which will be selected by him) to organize a Volunteer Medical Service, to be on duty during the three days of the celebration.

“He is also authorized to consult with the mayor, and to request the co-operation of the police in establishing an effective service, and in the performance of its duties.

“JOHN A. KASSON,

“*President of the Commission.*

“AMOS R. LITTLE,

“*Chairman of the Executive Committee.*”

The chairman was authorized to organize and direct the department, subject to such rules and regulations as might be found necessary to carry out efficiently a plan for the relief of the sick and injured during the celebration of the 15th, 16th, and 17th of September, 1887. Finding there were but four or five days for preparation, and no time to get a medical committee in advance, and then mature a plan, I was obliged to organize a simple form of field-hospital service, and collect medical stores and supplies before the committee was formed. To this fact must be attributed any failure in perfecting the scheme, which had to be submitted in a somewhat crude state to the Medical Committee. The essential parts of my plan were to form at a central point a base of medical supplies and ambulances, and a reserve corps of medical officers, for detail when necessary. In the plan proposed, the routes of the industrial procession of the 15th inst., and of the military parade of the 16th inst., were to be laid off into sixteen “dressing stations,” each in charge of a surgeon-in-chief, with a sufficient number of professional assistants.

The stations were to be connected with one another, with the

general hospitals, and with the Central Medical Station by telegraphic communication; and telegraph operators were to be directed to co-operate with the medical officers in sending or receiving official messages or reports.

To provide against overcrowding and to preserve discipline, arrangements were to be made to have a special detail of police at each station, and a patrol officer to be assigned to duty with the medical officers, thus affording protection and intelligent assistance to each surgeon-in-chief.

In order to avoid dependence upon drug-stores for medical supplies, each station was to be provided with an outfit of medicines, stores, splints, bandages, and other surgical necessities, sufficient for emergencies and "first dressings." Each medical officer was to be required to furnish himself with one or more tourniquets and a fully-equipped pocket-case. The hospital ambulances were to be provided with operating-cases and a supply of medicines and stretchers, and every requisite necessary for the more serious accidents. Each station was to be furnished with a light one-horse wagon or van, having a supply of straw and a bottle of water; and a limited supply of stretchers were to be distributed among the stations, to facilitate the transportation of serious cases within or without the line. The entire medical force was to be placed under one head,—a medical director,—who was to take post at the Central Medical Station, and was to be assisted by an inspecting purveyor and a special telegraph operator. This plan was afterwards supplemented by the appointment of an Executive and Transportation Committee, who greatly facilitated the work of inspection, and increased the means of transportation by procuring stretchers from the Philadelphia Hospital. A printed circular of general instructions was to be furnished to each officer, but a certain amount of latitude and discrimination was left to the chief surgeon, who was to be held responsible for his aides and the discipline and management of his station. The design was to

utilize, as expeditiously as possible, such material as was at hand, at the smallest possible expense to the Commission.

The medical profession, as usual, came forward nobly to aid the work of humanity: within twenty-four hours eighteen of the most eminent and distinguished physicians and surgeons of our city kindly consented to become members of the Medical Committee.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE.

Prof. D. Hayes Agnew,	Prof. J. M. Da Costa,
“ John Ashhurst, Jr.,	“ S. W. Gross,
“ William Pepper,	Dr. John L. Ludlow,
Dr. John H. Packard,	“ J. Wm. White,
“ Thomas H. Andrews,	“ S. S. Stryker,
“ William G. Porter,	“ Horace Y. Evans,
“ Richard A. Cleemann,	“ Harrison Allen,
“ I. Minis Hays,	“ J. Howard Taylor,
“ A. C. Gorgas,	“ C. J. Cleborne,
<i>Medical Director U. S. Navy.</i>	<i>Medical Director U. S. Navy.</i>

No sooner was it known that professional aid was needed than numbers of medical men volunteered for duty at stations.

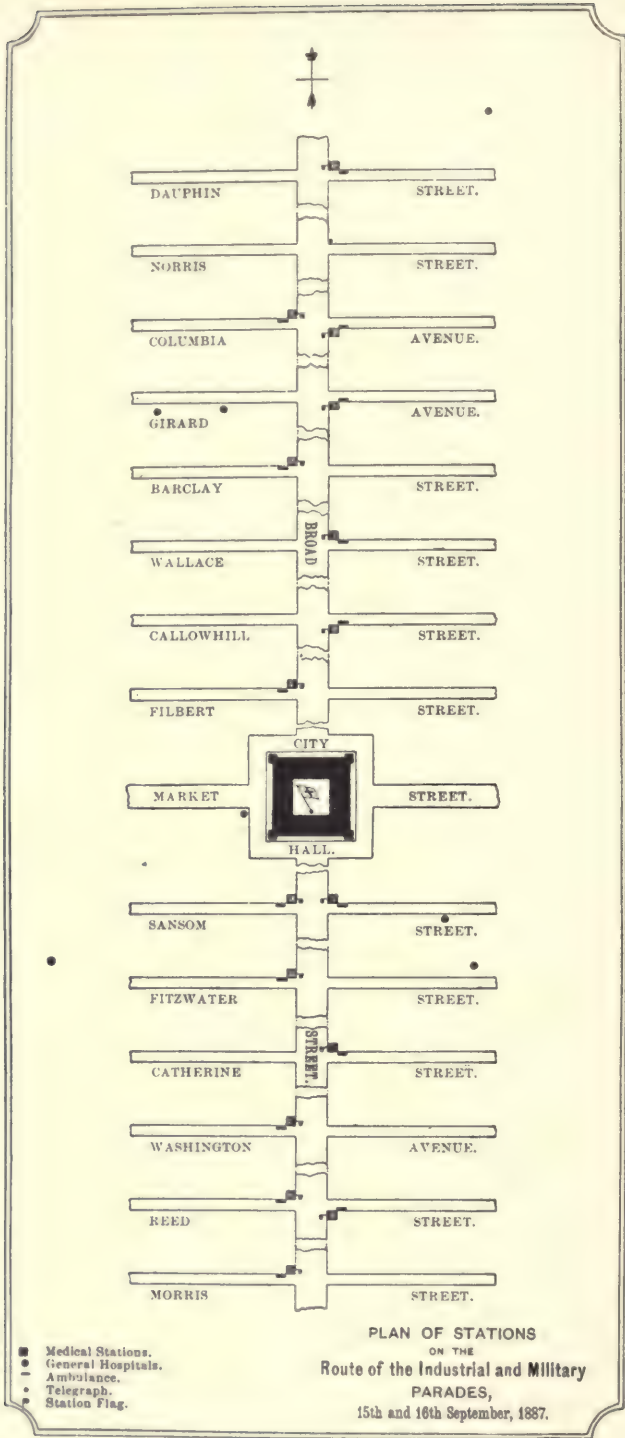
Sixteen gentlemen of large hospital experience and practice were appointed as chiefs, and empowered to call to their aid such assistance as might be necessary; sixty-four physicians promptly responded to their call and twenty more were held in reserve at the Central Medical Station, City Hall.

The leading merchants and druggists of the city gave abundantly of their stores for the use of the sick and injured; within forty-eight hours, over eighteen hundred dollars' worth of drugs, wagons (for use as temporary ambulances), and comforts and supplies of all kinds were generously offered for the use of the committee.

The Medical Committee met at the City Hall on the 13th inst., when this plan of organization (which was but a simple and practi-

cal application of field-hospital service) was submitted for its consideration, and was unanimously adopted. The circular of general instructions was also submitted, and, after a slight amendment by the committee, was authorized to be issued. The chairman of the committee was then appointed the medical director, and was ordered to carry out the proposed plan of operations during the celebration of the Constitutional Centennial. Accordingly, the officers of the several stations were notified to report with their assistants at the Central Medical Station, City Hall, at 6.30 A.M. on the morning of the 12th inst. Each officer in charge was then given a badge, a circular of instructions, a "red cross flag," and his medical outfit. The hospital ambulances and temporary ambulances were on hand at the same hour to carry the chiefs to their several stations. Everything being in readiness, the inspecting purveyor saw that each officer left fully equipped for his post, and by half past eight o'clock, I received telegraphic reports that all the surgeons were at their stations and ready for any emergency.

At eight A.M. the Executive Committee inspected the dressing stations on both sides of the line from Dauphin to Morris Streets, reiterated the necessary instructions to the chiefs, and remedied some defects. The inspecting medical purveyor (Dr. Ashton) was mounted, and he also inspected the stores of the stations, and reported everything in order and in readiness for service, after which he stationed himself near the Presidential stand. During this and the following days of the celebration, several members of the medical committee (Drs. Packard, Porter, Andrews, Stryker, Allen, and White) stationed themselves near the Chief Magistrate, which increased the confidence of the Presidential party, and gave me the assurance of having the highest medical and surgical skill within reach, in case of necessity. The location of the "dressing stations," names of the surgeons and of the telegraphic operators on Thursday, the 15th inst., were as follows:



Station No. 1, Broad and Dauphin Streets.

Chief.—Dr. J. M. BALDY.

Telegraph Operator.—Jos. Janney.

Aides.—Dr. J. W. McCaskey, Dr. J. R. McCausland, Dr. C. Hoban, Dr. L. J. Hammond.

Station No. 2, Broad and Columbia Avenue. East.

Chief.—Dr. O. H. KOONS.

Telegraph Operator.—J. W. Stanley.

Aides.—Dr. Lewis Brinton, Dr. A. J. Downes.

Station No. 3, Broad and Columbia Avenue. West.

Chief.—Dr. WALTER CHRYSSTIE.

Telegraph Operator.—J. W. Stanley.

Aides.—Dr. George N. Boyd, Dr. J. K. Young.

Station No. 4, Broad and Barclay Streets.

Chief.—Dr. E. P. DAVIS.

Telegraph Operator.—R. C. McCready.

Aides.—Dr. W. A. N. Daland, Dr. A. A. Stevens, Dr. R. C. Morris, Dr. G. W. Watson.

Station No. 5, Broad and Girard Avenue.

Chief.—Dr. C. P. GRAYSON.

Telegraph Operator.—A. H. Sprachlin.

Aides.—Dr. Albert A. Chrisky, Dr. Benjamin Reath, Dr. W. M. Powell.

Station No. 6, Northeast Corner Broad and Filbert Streets.

Chief.—Dr. W. J. HEARN.

Telegraph Operator.—Robert Brown.

Aides.—Dr. L. E. Taubel, Dr. E. T. Ward.

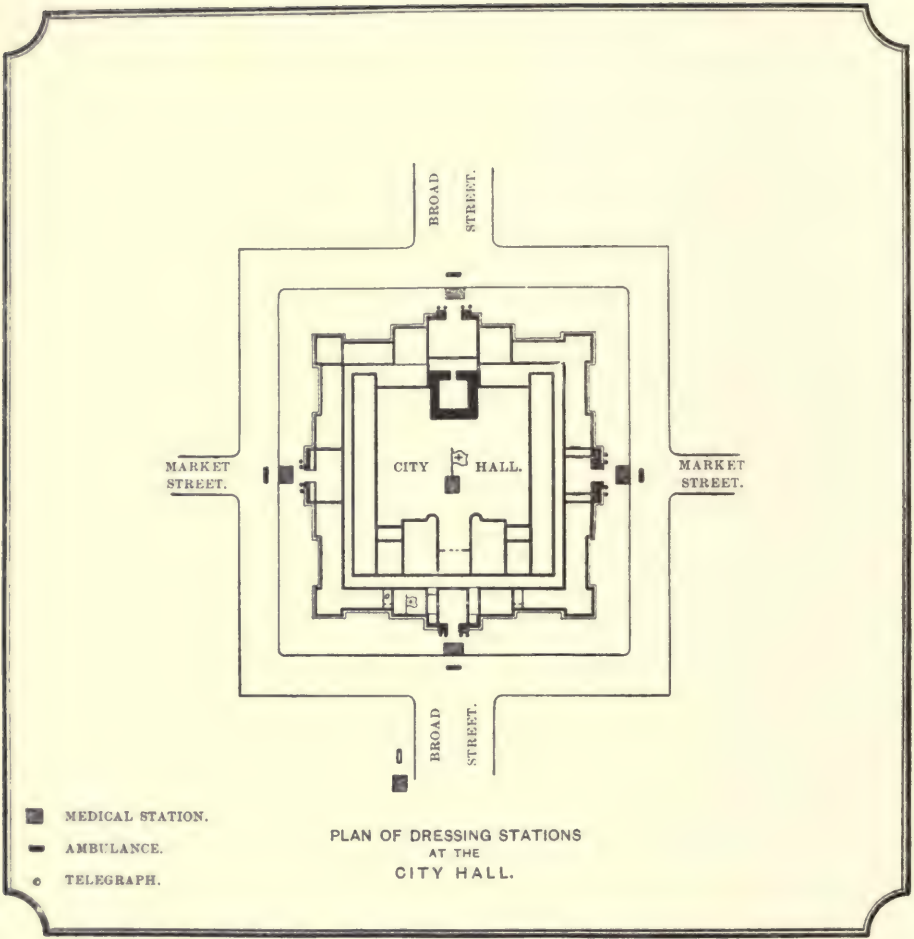
Station No. 7, Broad and Wallace Streets.

Chief.—Dr. R. KEELY.

Telegraph Operator.—

Aides.—Dr. J. G. Shoemaker, Dr. Charles Baum, Dr. Charles M. Seltzer.

Station No. 8, Northwest Corner Broad and Sansom Streets.*Chief.*—Dr. O. H. ALLIS.*Telegraph Operator.*—W. E. Wineland.*Aides.*—Dr. Wm. M. Sweet, Dr. Wm. C. Lott, Dr. Robert P. Robins, Dr. Groome.**Station No. 9, Broad and Callowhill Streets.***Chief.*—Dr. Wm. H. ANGNEY.*Telegraph Operator.*—H. A. Shinn.*Aides.*—Dr. A. B. Hirsh, Dr. M. H. Bochrock, Dr. Wm. Miller.**Station No. 10, Broad and Fitzwater Streets.***Chief.*—Dr. CHAS. B. PENROSE.*Telegraph Operator.*—*Aides.*—Dr. T. S. K. Morton, Dr. H. H. Kynett, Dr. Alex. McAllister.**Station No. 11, Southeast Corner Broad and Sansom Streets.***Chief.*—Dr. ORVILLE HORWITZ.*Telegraph Operator.*—W. E. Wineland.*Aides.*—Dr. Robert E. Coyle, Dr. W. S. Jones.**Station No. 12, Broad and Washington Avenue.***Chief.*—Dr. W. M. L. COPLIN.*Telegraph Operator.*—J. P. McLoraine.*Aides.*—Dr. Martin Williams, Dr. B. Frank Scholl, Dr. J. P. Mann.**Station No. 13, Broad and Catharine Streets,***Chief.*—Dr. EUGENE L. VANSANT.*Telegraph Operator.*—E. Hudgins.*Aides.*—Dr. G. W. Holland Dr. Wm. H. Capp, Dr. R. A. Taylor, Dr. J. F. Bower.**Station No. 14, Broad and Reed Streets.***Chief.*—Dr. Wm. E. ASHTON.*Telegraph Operator.*—J. B. McKeever.*Aides.*—Dr. T. G. Ashton, Dr. R. Percy Crandall, Dr. T. O. Wetherley, Dr. Gunter, Dr. W. R. Powell.



BROAD STREET.
MARKET STREET.
CITY HALL.
MARKET STREET.
BROAD STREET.

- MEDICAL STATION.
- AMBULANCE.
- TELEGRAPH.

PLAN OF DRESSING STATIONS
AT THE
CITY HALL.

Station No. 15, Broad and Reed Streets.

Chief.—Dr. A. L. PIPER.

Telegraph Operator.—J. B. McKeever.

Aides.—Dr. Potts, Dr. Robert O. Kevin.

Station No. 16, Broad and Morris Streets.

Chief.—Dr. A. HEWSON, Jr.

Telegraph Operator.—A. H. Lang.

Aides.—Dr. Bayard Murray, Dr. W. Shippen, Dr. W. J. Holly.

City Hall Staff.

Chief.—Dr. T. H. ANDREWS.

Telegraph Operator.—D. K. Teter.

Aides.—Dr. G. Milton Bradfield, Dr. Prevost, Dr. H. A. Slocum, Dr. L. Brinkman, Dr. R. Thalheimer, Dr. W. F. Rea, Dr. D. B. Birney, Dr. L. J. Deal, Dr. W. H. Teller, Dr. W. R. Cochran, Dr. H. Augustus Wilson.

On Friday, the surgeons were at their stations by nine o'clock A.M., and an inspection was made by 9.30, and completed by 10.30. The location of the stations was as follows: Station No. 1, Broad and Market Streets; Station No. 2, Tenth and Market Streets; Station No. 3, Broad and Columbia Avenue; Station No. 4, Broad and Barclay Streets; Station No. 5, Broad and Girard Avenue; Station No. 6, Broad and Filbert Streets; Station No. 7, Broad and Wallace Streets; Station No. 8, Broad and Sansom Streets; Station No. 9, Broad and Callowhill Streets; Station No. 10, Broad and Fitzwater Streets; Station No. 11, Broad and Sansom Streets; Station No. 12, Fifth and Market Streets; Station No. 13, Broad and Catharine Streets; Station No. 14, Ninth and Chestnut Streets; Station No. 15, Seventh and Chestnut Streets; Station 16, Fifth and Chestnut Streets.

The ambulances belonging to the hospitals concentrated around the Public Buildings.

On Saturday the surgeons and ambulances were on duty at

8.30 A.M. There were five ambulances, which were stationed as follows: One at each of the entrances of the Public Buildings and one at the Hotel Lafayette. The surgeons not attached to ambulances were given roving commissions, and mixed with the crowd, giving aid when and where required. After the President's reception at the City Hall the stations were removed to the State House, four ambulances being on duty at that point, and one remaining at the south entrance of the City Hall. The surgeons with roving commissions were placed at various points on the grand stand in Independence Square and at other important points.

At the headquarters of the Medical Department at City Hall a reserve corps of surgeons (and ambulances kindly loaned by the hospitals) were stationed to meet pressing emergencies for medical aid, and to supply stores and surgical necessaries. The staff stationed at the City Hall did excellent service, and had their hands full of women's and children's cases, owing to the crowded state of the stands. The police force co-operated admirably with the medical officers, and telegraphic facilities were placed at their service throughout the celebration.

The volunteer service was organized and put into active operation, stores collected, ambulances extemporized, and surgeons obtained within four working days, with the result of relieving much physical suffering, and giving a feeling of confidence to the people and exhibitors.

It is a gratifying fact that, although there were nearly a million of spectators on the streets and stands, the number of casualties was very small, and but few the result of personal violence. This is strong testimony to the good order and good nature which prevailed among the vast throng, and to the excellent discipline and arrangements of the police authorities. There was at all times harmonious action between the telegraph operators, the police, and the medical staff; while the facilities afforded by the electrical stations prevented the possibility of any delay in the

treatment or transportation of the injured. It is to be hoped that the successful result of this telegraphic system of medical aid will lead to a similar (but permanent) organization in every city, which could be made available in case of riots and on all public occasions.

LIST OF CASUALTIES.

	Sept. 15.	Sept. 16.	Sept. 17.
Bronchitis (chronic)	2	...	...
Contused wounds	18	15	3
Syncope	72	47	20
Hysteria	3	3	2
Heat exhaustion	37	51	10
Alcoholism	2	4	1
Epilepsy	4	2	3
Lacerated wounds	4	4	2
Abrasion	2	1	...
Shock	2	2	...
Punctured wounds	2	1	...
Nervous prostration	4	8	...
Epileptiform convulsions	6	...	...
Cardiac syncope	4	1	...
Vertigo	2	...	...
Fractures	2	4	...
Concussion of brain	1	2	...
Hemorrhage	1	1	...
Colic	2	2	1
Dislocations	1	...	...
Incised wounds	5	1	...
Cerebral anæmia	2	1	1
Sprain	4	...	...
Contusions	5	...	1
Hæmoptysis	1	1	...
Cholera morbus	2	...	...
Mania . . . . .	...	1	...
Sunstroke . . . . .	...	1	...
Premature labor . . . . .	...	1	...
Diarrhœa . . . . .	...	2	...
Chill . . . . .	...	2	...
Hernia . . . . .	...	1	...
Dementia . . . . .	...	...	1
	<u>192</u>	<u>159</u>	<u>45</u>

Grand total for three days, 396.

I append herewith the reports of the Executive and Transportation Sub-Committees, and of Dr. Ashton, the inspecting medical purveyor.

It is proper to state, in conclusion, that the success of this organization was largely due to the efficiency of the Western Union Telegraph Company and its operators; to the aid of the police and the patrol, who did everything to preserve discipline; to the generous donations of medical and other stores; the loan of light wagons as temporary ambulances; the earnest co-operation of the officers of the Constitutional Centennial Commission, and to the medical gentlemen who have so zealously served with me during the celebration.

C. J. CLEBORNE, M.D.,

Medical Director.

THOS. H. ANDREWS, M.D.,

Secretary and Treasurer.

DRESSING-STATION OUTFIT.

LIST OF ARTICLES.

Aqua ammonia.	Candles.
Spirits of camphor.	Bicarbonate of soda.
Adhesive plaster.	Screw-driver.
Tow (marine lint).	Towels.
Tourniquets.	Soap.
Whiskey.	Nails and staples for red-cross flag.
Five gallons of spring water.	Red-cross flag.
Basins and drinking-cups.	Aromatic spirits of ammonia.
Quinine.	Styptic colloid.
Valerianate of ammonia.	Absorbent lint.
Tinct. Opii Camph.	Splints.
Tinct. digitalis.	Absorbent cotton.
Two blankets.	Beef, wine, and iron.
Pins.	Roller bandages.
Two spoons.	Sponges.
Half gallon of water (ambulance use).	Morphia, one-quarter-grain tablets.

Morphia, one-sixth-grain (hypodermic).	tablets	Cocaine solution, four per cent. and two per cent.
Tinct. Jamaica ginger.		Camp-stool.
Fluid extract of ergot.		Cotton batting.
Ice.		Scissors.
Monsef's solution.		Carron oil or Sat. Sol. Soda.
Measure-spoon.		Ambulance sign.
Fans.		Ambulance.
Corkscrew.		

VOLUNTEER MEDICAL CORPS FOR SERVICE DURING THE CONSTITUTIONAL CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION.

ORGANIZATION.

The VOLUNTEER MEDICAL and SURGICAL STAFF shall be under the exclusive control of a MEDICAL DIRECTOR, who shall make the necessary detail of officers, and give such instructions as shall best secure prompt aid in case of accident or injury.

The volunteer physicians and surgeons shall report in person (at the committee room, City Hall) to the medical director on the morning of September 15 (and at such times as may be necessary), to receive instructions and assignment to stations.

A "DRESSING STATION," distinguished by a red-cross flag, will be established at each "electrical station" along the route of the procession.

TELEGRAPH.—There are fifteen "electrical stations" on Broad Street, to each of which an operator will be attached, with instructions to co-operate with the medical officer of the station. In case of serious accident or injury requiring additional medical assistance or ambulances, the electrician, upon the application of the medical officer in charge, shall telegraph to other "dressing stations" (or to the hospitals) for aid, if necessary.

POLICE.—A special police force will be detailed at each station, with instructions to co-operate with the medical staff, to preserve order, to pass all persons bearing the "red-cross" badge, to keep

clear a space for the treatment of accidents, and to allow free ingress and egress to the medical officers and ambulances.

DRESSING STATIONS.—Each station shall be under the charge and control of a medical officer, who shall be assisted by one or more aides. Medical officers and their aides must supply themselves with pocket-cases (fully equipped with needles, ligatures, etc.), but an outfit of necessary drugs, stimulants, and surgical appliances will be supplied, sufficient for emergencies and “first dressings.”

Each medical officer in charge of a station will receive a copy of this circular and a list of articles in the medical outfit, for the return of which he will be responsible.

AMBULANCES.—An ambulance or police patrol-wagon will be stationed at or near each “dressing station,” which shall be at the disposal of the medical officer in charge, upon application to the police in attendance.

In case of serious accident or injury, a “first dressing” is to be applied, and the case is to be at once transferred to an ambulance or patrol-wagon, and sent to the nearest hospital, hotel, or police station. No ambulance shall be permitted to go to a residence a farther distance than five squares.

After the parade or procession has passed, each medical officer in charge of a station shall see that the medical outfit (or chest of stores) is taken back to the committee room at the City Hall by one of the patrol-wagons or ambulances, and shall report to the medical director the same afternoon a list of casualties and cases sent to hospital.

C. J. CLEBORNE, M.D.,
Medical Director.

“PHILADELPHIA, September 22, 1887.

“DR. C. J. CLEBORNE,

Chairman of the Medical Committee, Constitutional Centennial Commission :

“DEAR SIR,—In pursuance of instructions received, the committee organized, appointing Dr. Stryker secretary. It was agreed that an inspecting

tour of the entire line on Broad Street be made at an early hour on the morning of the 15th inst. Accordingly, at eight o'clock on that day the members of the committee were driven in carriages to the northern end of the line, and from that point proceeded to inspect the stations in the following order: Drs. Stryker and Andrews inspected the stations on the west side of the street, and Drs. Evans, Taylor, and the chairman inspected those on the east side. Each physician in charge of the station was interviewed, and the instruction previously given him reiterated. He was to be sure of the understanding respecting the manner of telegraphing to headquarters, and to know of the locality of the physicians posted near him. He was to be sure of his position to that of the nearest hospital, and the best means of reaching it. He was to know how to procure ice, and especially to obey the later instructions given him respecting the use of the ambulance.

"At the time the inspection began the relations agreed upon to exist between the police and the physicians did not appear to be understood. Notice of this defect having been communicated to headquarters, the committee found that at stations near the centre of the line the defect was remedied.

"During the remainder of the celebration the committee's duties were advisory.

"Respectfully submitted,

"HARRISON ALLEN,

"*Chairman of the Executive Committee.*

"S. S. STRYKER,

"THOS. H. ANDREWS,

"HORACE Y. EVANS,

"J. HOWARD TAYLOR,

"*Members.*"

"MEDICAL COMMITTEE ROOM,

"CITY HALL, September 22, 1887.

"DR. C. J. CLEBORNE,

"*Chairman of the Medical Committee of the Constitutional Centennial Commission:*

"SIR,—The Committee on Transportation would report that they succeeded in obtaining from the Philadelphia Hospital a supply of stretchers sufficient to meet the needs of the occasion. The excellent system by

which the ambulances were made so promptly available, in cases of illness or accident, rendered further action on the part of the committee unnecessary.

“ Respectfully,

“ J. WILLIAM WHITE,

“ *Chairman.*

“ J. L. LUDLOW,

“ D. HAYES AGNEW,

“ S. S. STRYKER,

“ WM. G. PORTER,

“ *Members.*”

“ PHILADELPHIA, September 21, 1887.

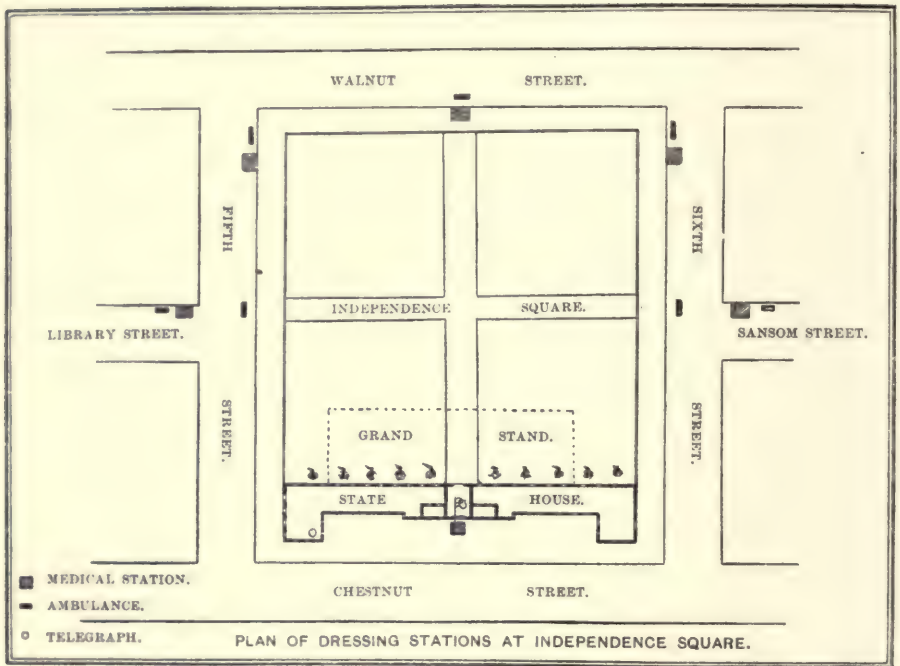
“ DR. C. J. CLEBORNE, *Medical Director:*

“ SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of drugs, surgical instruments, and various supplies from John Wyeth & Sons, Frank Morgan, Moore & Sinnott, Wm. R. Warner & Co., H. Ashmead, Stryker & Ogden, James T. Shinn, J. F. Hayes, George Evans, Seabury & Johnson, George I. McKelway, Bullock & Crenshaw, French, Richards & Co., A. L. Helmbold, H. C. Blair’s Sons, John Wanamaker, William H. Snowden, Sharpless & Sons, Strawbridge & Clothier, J. H. Gemrig & Son, E. A. Yarnall, George Fries & Sons, Jacob Shannon, Murphy & Sons, and W. H. Llewellyn. Ambulances were placed at our disposal through the kindness of George Roney, superintendent of Blockley Almshouse, Mr. Hackenburg, of the Jewish Hospital, and Mr. Walk, superintendent of the Presbyterian Hospital. John Wanamaker, Wm. R. Warner & Co., and the Union Transfer Company kindly sent us wagons, which were used for ambulance service at the various stations.

“ On Thursday, the first day of the celebration, the surgeons, with their aides, ambulances, and supplies, were at their respective stations by eight A.M.; an inspection was begun at 8.30 A.M., and finished by ten o’clock. During the day the stations were inspected as often as was found necessary.

“ On Friday the surgeons were at their stations by nine A.M.; an inspection was made by 9.30, and completed by 10.30.

“ On Saturday the surgeons and ambulances were on duty by 8.30 A.M. There were five ambulances, which were stationed as follows: One at each of the entrances of the Public Buildings and one at the Hotel Lafayette.



The surgeons not attached to ambulances were given roving commissions, and mixed with the crowd, giving aid when and where required. After the President's reception, at the City Hall, the ambulances and stations were removed to the State House, four ambulances being on duty at that point, the remainder at the south entrance of the City Hall. The surgeons with roving commissions were placed at various points on the grand stand and elsewhere.

"My duties as inspector were greatly facilitated by the uniform kindness and courtesy of the Police Department. Mr. Maltby and Captain Baker, of the Hotel Lafayette, were particularly kind in their attention, giving all possible aid in the way of ice, etc., as well as luncheon to the surgeons. I am indebted to Messrs. Moore & Sinnott for the form in which their whiskey was sent, as it greatly aided me in placing it at the various stations.

"During the three days of the celebration I was constantly on duty, visiting and inspecting the stations and keeping them in proper working order, besides rendering personal assistance in several instances. On Friday, after the inspection of the stations, I was on duty at the President's stand during the whole of the parade, to render him assistance in case of an accident. After his reception at the City Hall, on Saturday, I accompanied the President and Mrs. Cleveland to Independence Hall, and remained near them during the exercises, after which I returned with them to the Hotel Lafayette, and then reported at City Hall.

"Thanking you for your courtesy to me and assistance in my work, I am,

"Respectfully,

"WILLIAM E. ASHTON,

"Medical Purveyor."

"PHILADELPHIA, September 21, 1887.

"DR. C. J. CLEBORNE, U.S.N.:

"DEAR SIR,—We take pleasure in transmitting to you a copy of a resolution adopted by the Constitutional Centennial Commission, and cannot allow this opportunity to pass without expressing our appreciation of the great value of the service rendered by you in suggesting and efficiently carrying into execution the details of a most important department, which contributed largely to the comfort and safety of all those who participated,

whether as actors or as spectators, relieving us of the burden of a great anxiety and placing us under many obligations to you.

“We are, sir,

“Most sincerely yours,

“JOHN A. KASSON,

“*President Constitutional Centennial Commission.*

“AMOS R. LITTLE,

“*Chairman Executive Committee.*

“HAMPTON L. CARSON,

“*Secretary Constitutional Centennial Commission.*”

“*Resolved*, That the Constitutional Centennial Commission, recognizing the extraordinary and laborious services rendered in aid of the success of the constitutional celebration by Medical-Inspector C. J. Cleborne, U.S.N., chairman of the Medical Relief Committee, hereby instructs the secretary of this body to communicate to him our high appreciation of his services, together with the thanks of the Commission.”

“PHILADELPHIA, September 22, 1887.

“HON. JOHN A. KASSON, President of the Constitutional Centennial Commission, AMOS R. LITTLE, and HAMPTON L. CARSON, Esquires :

“GENTLEMEN,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your esteemed and very complimentary letter of the 21st inst., enclosing a copy of a resolution adopted by the Constitutional Centennial Commission. It is very gratifying to me to receive from you such a cordial expression of your appreciation of my services, and of the valuable aid afforded by the volunteer medical corps, to whose individual exertions, enthusiasm, and interest is due the success of the organization.

“In conclusion, allow me to congratulate you and the Commission on the happy result of your arduous labors, which insured the success of the grandest celebration of the century.

“Thanking you sincerely for your appreciation, earnest support, and co-operation,

“I am, gentlemen,

“Your most obedient servant,

“C. J. CLEBORNE, M.D.,

“*Medical Director United States Navy, Chairman of Medical Committee.*

“THOS. H. ANDREWS, M.D.,

“*Secretary and Treasurer of Medical Committee.*”

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF RECEPTION OF GUESTS.

“PHILADELPHIA, 1888.

“HON. JOHN A. KASSON, PRESIDENT, AND THE MEMBERS OF THE
CONSTITUTIONAL CENTENNIAL COMMISSION :

“GENTLEMEN,—The chairman of the Reception Committee of
the Constitutional Centennial Celebration was appointed under
the following authorization :

“CONSTITUTIONAL CENTENNIAL COMMISSION,
“907 WALNUT STREET, PHILADELPHIA, August 1, 1887.

“THOMAS M. THOMPSON, ESQ.:

“DEAR SIR,—You are hereby duly appointed and commissioned to act
as chairman of the committee charged with the reception of invited guests
and the providing of hotel accommodations during the ceremonies com-
memorative of the framing and promulgation of the Constitution of the
United States.

“You are also fully empowered to organize your own committee, to call
to your aid all necessary assistants, to arrange all details, and to prepare
estimates of the probable expense, which are to be duly submitted to the
Constitutional Centennial Commission for action.

“We are, with sentiments of respect,

“Your obedient servants,

“JOHN A. KASSON,

“*President of the Constitutional Centennial Commission.*

“AMOS R. LITTLE,

“*Chairman of the Executive Committee.*

“HAMPTON L. CARSON,

“*Secretary.*”

“CONSTITUTIONAL CENTENNIAL COMMISSION,
“907 WALNUT STREET, PHILADELPHIA, August 1, 1887.

“THOMAS M. THOMPSON, ESQ.:

DEAR SIR,—In enclosing your commission as chairman of the com-
mittee upon the reception of invited guests and the providing of hotel

accommodations, it is suggested for your consideration that you should obtain a written assurance from the principal hotels that no other than their ordinary and customary charges shall be exacted during the centennial week from visitors to our city. It is also suggested that you obtain, by advertisement or otherwise, as deemed best, a list of all houses of entertainment, public or private, which will receive guests on that occasion, the number each may entertain, and the rates of charge.

"It is also suggested that your committee shall ascertain that the character of such houses is satisfactory.

"Very respectfully yours,

"AMOS R. LITTLE,

"*Chairman Executive Committee.*

"HAMPTON L. CARSON,

Secretary."

He accepted the appointment in the following letter :

"PHILADELPHIA, August 4, 1887.

"HON. JOHN A. KASSON,

"*President Constitutional Centennial Commission :*

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have received the notice of my appointment as chairman of the Reception Committee of the Constitutional Centennial Celebration, and hereby accept the same. I fully appreciate the responsibilities of the position, and it shall be my pleasure to do my utmost, both in the selection of citizens of a representative character for service upon the committee, and in the exercise of my best judgment in furthering the purposes of your Commission in connection with the labor of this committee. As a citizen I feel an honest pride in the reputation of our beloved city for genuine hospitality, and it shall be my aim, in the execution of the important matters referred to this committee, to see that this reputation is not tarnished by any act of omission or commission on its part. Any mere lavish display, which often offends, should be avoided.

"A hearty greeting will give sincere pleasure and contribute in the highest degree to the enjoyment of our guests. I respectfully submit the names of the gentlemen who have consented to serve upon the committee, and also herewith enclose a draft of the various matters which in the judg-

ment of your committee will properly be within its province, and its proposals in reference thereto.

“Asking your approval of the same, I am,

“Very respectfully, yours,

“THOS. M. THOMPSON.”

Having accepted the position, the chairman, after careful deliberation, selected the following gentlemen as members of the Reception Committee, believing them to be fit representatives of the best business and professional element of the city of Philadelphia, viz. :

George W. Childs,	Alex. P. Brown,	Col. Chas. H. Banes,
George B. Roberts,	John W. Patton,	Wm. Waterall,
Anthony J. Drexel,	Thomas C. Else,	Samuel Lees,
John Baird,	George Watson,	William Wood,
William Massey,	W. T. Carter,	Wm. S. Reyburn,
Henry C. Gibson,	W. E. Garrett,	John W. Woodside,
John T. Lewis,	William J. Lloyd,	F. W. Reeves,
W. W. Frazier,	Andrew Wheeler,	Walter G. Wilson,
Joseph W. Lewis,	David W. Sellers,	William H. Hurley,
D. B. Cummins,	John C. Bullitt,	William H. Staake,
Edward Shippen,	J. B. Sinnott,	Lewis A. Thompson,
B. K. Jamison,	Samuel Dickson,	Mason Hirsh,
R. Dale Benson,	John Cadwalader,	James A. Freeman,
Wharton Barker,	Thomas L. Gillespie,	John C. Kelley,
William Brockie,	Winthrop Smith,	Dr. Da Costa,
Hon. Wm. B. Hanna,	Richard A. Lewis,	Jos. F. Tobias,
Hon. D. Newlin Fell,	Francis W. Kennedy,	W. C. Houston, Jr.
Hon. Michael Arnold,	Wm. H. Lucas,	John Huggard,
Aaron Fries,	Dr. S. Weir Mitchell,	Joseph G. Ditman,
Charles J. Harrah,	George H. Stuart,	P. P. Bowles.

All of the gentlemen thus appointed cheerfully accepted and earnestly co-operated with the chairman in so performing the duties of the committee as to insure the comfort and enjoyment of guests during their stay in the city of Philadelphia.

The committee first met on the ninth day of August, A.D. 1887, at the office of William H. Staake, Esq., No. 229 South Sixth Street, when the following action was taken :

William H. Staake, Esq., was elected secretary of the committee.

It was determined that the division into sub-committees be made as suggested by the chairman ; that the formal part of the chairman's schedule of the committee's duties be approved.

That twenty-five aides for the two evening receptions only should be appointed by the chairman.

That the matter of selecting appropriate badges be referred to Colonel Chas. H. Banes, in connection with the chairman, with power to act.

The chairman was further instructed to secure Parlor C, Continental Hotel, as headquarters for the Reception Committee. Subsequently, Parlor C, Hotel Lafayette, was selected.

The committee recommended that the evening for the President's reception, viz., Thursday, instead of Friday, precede the governor's reception, but this was found impossible, by reason of the engagements of the President.

That all foreign consuls should be invited to the President's reception.

That suitable programmes for guests should be provided.

That invitations to the reception should be sent to the following classes of persons, viz. :

1. Members of the Citizens Committee.
2. Contributors.
3. Committee and sub-committees.
4. Invited guests of Commission.
5. Each and every person, other than citizens of Philadelphia, as directed by the Commission or the Executive Committee.
6. State legislators.
7. Municipal authorities, mayor, and councils.

8. Judges of our courts.
9. Press.
10. Foreign consuls.
11. Official head of every organization in the city of Philadelphia.
12. Prominent strangers visiting the city.

The chair was authorized to appoint such sub-committees as he might deem proper to carry into effect the action of this committee.

An Executive Committee was appointed, as follows :

B. K. Jamison,	James A. Freeman,
William H. Staake,	Thomas L. Gillespie,
Charles H. Baner,	Alexander P. Brown,
John W. Woodside,	Charles J. Harrah,
William H. Hurley,	John Huggard,
Richard A. Lewis.	

The following gentlemen were named by the chairman as aides to the Reception Committee, viz. :

William A. Edwards, M.D., *Chairman.*

Joseph M. Patterson,	Talcott Williams,	Edw. H. Rowley, Jr.,
Wm. H. Klapp, M.D.,	Lincoln L. Eyre,	Frs. Rawle Pemberton,
Sylvester Bonnaffon, Jr.,	Wm. L. Tete,	Chas. H. Howell,
Percy Keating,	Merle Middleton,	Albert Wagner,
Henry T. Dechert,	J. M. Cardeza,	W. H. H. Cline,
Anthony M. Hance,	Frank Campbell,	Fredk. Morton Fox,
Frank McLaughlin, Jr.,	J. Curtis Patterson,	Thomas A. Edwards,
Westcott Bailey,	W. W. Fidler,	Samuel B. Huey,
Frank Snowden,	John S. Fisher,	Wm. Barton Hopkins:
A. Maxwell Sheppard,	Thomas Wetherill,	

After a careful survey of the situation, the chairman of the committee, on August 29, submitted to your honorable body the following preliminary report :

“PHILADELPHIA, August 29, 1887.

“TO THE PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CENTENNIAL COMMISSION :

“GENTLEMEN,—I most respectfully submit for your examination and approval the following synopsis of what I apprehend to be the functions of the committee of which I have the honor of being chairman, and also certain details connected with the President's and the governor's receptions, to which your attention is invited, and for which your approval and confirmation are respectfully requested :

“DUTIES.

“To report to the Commission or its Executive Committee a list of rooms, which have been secured for invited guests. (It is assumed that the Executive Committee will make the respective assignments and advise the guests, the hotel proprietors, and this committee of such assignments.) To keep a record of all specially-invited guests who have accepted the invitation of the Commission and of the places where they are located ; to meet the specially-invited guests on their arrival in Philadelphia and escort them to the hotels assigned them, seeing that they are made comfortable, and doing everything to conduce to their pleasant entertainment while in our city.

“To have all of the specially-invited guests present at the times and places designated in the order of exercises for the different days of the celebration.

“To take charge of the details in connection with the President's and the governor's receptions, and to make all arrangements requisite for a successful holding of the same.

“DETAILS, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1887.

“Should the President of the United States determine to come to Philadelphia on this day, a sub-committee will be appointed to visit Washington and escort him and other prominent guests to our city, secure special cars for their accommodation, and do everything to make their journey pleasant and agreeable.

“Sub-committees from this Reception Committee will be appointed to especially receive the President of the United States, the members of his cabinet, the justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, the governors of the respective States, the ministers and consuls of foreign gov-

ernments, and the cardinal, bishops, and other high ecclesiastical dignitaries, and pay them special attention during the celebration.

“THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1887.

“All of the specially-invited guests will be requested to meet at a hotel or hall to be designated, where an address of welcome will be delivered by his Excellency, Governor Beaver, who will be introduced by his Honor, Mayor Fidler. The guests will then be escorted to the ‘grand stand,’ to view the ‘industrial display.’ (As this procession will take many hours to pass, the committee have secured a location from which the President and Mrs. Cleveland can view the procession, where it will be more pleasant and congenial for them than upon the grand stand.)

“RECEPTION AT THE ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS BY GOVERNOR JAMES A. BEAVER, THURSDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 15, 1887.

“This is intended as a popular reception, and will be for gentlemen only, no tickets of admission being required, the participants complying with the rules and regulations of the Reception Committee.

“The decorations will consist of a tasteful floral display.

“An awning will be provided for the front of the Academy.

“The music will be furnished by an orchestra.

“The doors will open at 8.30 P.M.

“The reception will be from nine until 11.30 P.M.

“A sub-committee from the Reception Committee will escort Governor Beaver to the Academy.

“Provision for the presence of detectives and the safety and comfort of the participants will be made.

“MILITARY DAY, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1887.

“The committee will arrange for the President and other guests to view the parade from the grand stand. The Commercial Exchange, of Philadelphia, in behalf of the business community of the city, desire to pay their respects to his Excellency the President of the United States, and propose that a reception shall be held at the Commercial Exchange on the morning of Friday, September 16, 1887, at 9.30 o'clock, when and where the President will be asked to receive the members of the Exchange and of similar business organizations. This reception will terminate in time to permit the President to be on the grand stand for the review of the military display.

“RECEPTION TENDERED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER, 16, 1887.

“A full-dress reception to the President of the United States of America will be held at the American Academy of Music, Broad and Locust Streets, on the evening of Friday, September 16, 1887.

“Admission to the Academy will be by ticket, to be procured from the Reception Committee. A careful record will be kept of all tickets issued and of persons receiving the same. Tickets will not be transferable.

“Tickets will be sent by the committee to the following persons:

“Members of the cabinet of the President.

“Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States.

“Governors of the respective States and their staffs.

“Commissioner from each State and Territory.

“Senators of the United States.

“Members of the national House of Representatives.

“Members of the diplomatic corps.

“Ministers and ambassadors from foreign governments to the United States.

“Mayors of the principal cities of the United States.

“Members of the Legislature of Pennsylvania.

“Mayor and councils of the city of Philadelphia.

“The judiciary of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

“Each specially-invited guest of the Commission not included in the other classes named.

“Each member of the Citizens Committee.

“Each contributor.

“Each member of the committees authorized by the Commission.

“The official head of various prominent organizations in Philadelphia.

“Prominent strangers in Philadelphia whose names are presented to the Reception Committee.

“To the citizens of Philadelphia, in such measure as the issue of tickets may admit after provision for the foregoing classes.

“TICKETS.

“Each ticket will admit a gentleman and one lady. Separate tickets for ladies may be had upon application. Tickets will be received at both

entrances to the Academy, viz., Broad Street entrance for the parquet, parquet circle, and balcony, and Locust Street for the family circle and amphitheatre.

“DRESS.

“Whilst it is understood and particularly requested that all participating shall appear in full dress, it is not the intention to enforce this regulation to such an extent as to preclude the guests and visitors from being present at the reception.

“GRAND MARCH.

“The grand march will be formed by the Reception Committee, assisted by twenty-five efficient aides. The march will be led by the president of the Commission, the Executive Committee (the President and Mrs. Cleveland being escorted to their private box), and the invited guests in the order hereafter to be arranged. The ladies and gentlemen present will follow the invited guests.

“Immediately after the grand march his Excellency, the President, will take a position at the back of the stage, where, assisted by the president of the Commission, the chairman of the Executive Committee, and the chairman of the Citizens Committee, and others who may be hereafter specially designated, he will receive those who may desire to pay their respects.

“Mrs. Cleveland and other ladies accompanying her will remain in the private boxes specially reserved for them, or appear upon the floor at their pleasure.

“The march or promenade of the participants will continue, the guests and others passing in front of the President from the right to the left of the stage, where they will pass out into the corridor.

“A sub-committee from the Reception Committee will be appointed to escort the army and navy officers from the Union League, where they will hold a meeting, to the Academy.

“All of the specially-invited guests will be requested to meet the members of the Commission and of its Executive Committee in the ‘green room’ of the Academy at 8.30 P.M., on the evening of the reception.

“MUSIC.

“The United States Marine Band and a selected orchestra of forty pieces will render a choice programme of music during the reception. The grand

march will be played by the combined band and orchestra, under the direction of Professor Soussa.

“CALCIUM LIGHTS.

“Arrangements have been concluded to place calcium lights at the rear of the stage, in such manner as to add brilliancy to the scene.

“DECORATIONS.

“The decorations will be confined principally to a handsome floral display.

“The President's box will be handsomely draped in an appropriate style, while the stage will be set with a ball-room scene, with a stairway leading to a terrace, which will be tastefully decorated with plants and flowers.

“The providing of detectives, policemen, ushers, door-tenders, and attendants in cloak-rooms, and like details for the protection and comfort of the guests, have been attended to by the committee.

“The following special committee has been appointed, viz., Colonel Chas. H. Banes, B. K. Jamison, and William H. Staake, who, with the aides, will have the line formed preparatory to the grand march.

“The Reception Committee and aides will be known by a white silk button-badge.

“The special guests, as far as possible, will be escorted to the Academy by sub-committees of the Reception Committee.

“The doors will be opened at eight P.M.

“Grand march at nine P.M.

“Reception closes at 11.30 P.M.

“SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1887.

“The committee will have a stand erected in Independence Square to accommodate at least four thousand eight hundred persons, including the orchestra and chorus. The invited guests will meet in Independence Hall, and proceed from there to seats assigned to them. This being the last day of the celebration, the Reception Committee, after the conclusion of the ceremonies in the square, will consider its duties terminated.

“AIDES.

“The Reception Committee, to enable it to carry out this programme, has provided for the appointment of twenty-five aides to be designated ‘Aides to Reception Committee.’

“BADGES.

“The committee has adopted a small white button-rosette as a badge, and would suggest a small button-badge for the guests. It is understood that this badge will admit the guests to the receptions and stands without tickets.

“HEADQUARTERS.

“The committee will secure suitable and convenient headquarters, and during the celebration will be in constant attendance (Hotel Lafayette, Parlor C).

“The committee will request its members and others to loan their private carriages for the accommodation of the guests.

“EXPENSES.

“An estimate of the expenses of the committee in connection with the celebration and the two receptions will be submitted.

“All of which is respectfully submitted,

“THOMAS M. THOMPSON,

“*Chairman.*”

To carry out this plan a general meeting of the Reception Committee was held on Tuesday, September 6, 1887, in Parlor C, Hotel Lafayette, at two o'clock, and the following sub-committees were appointed by the chairman :

COMMITTEE TO RECEIVE THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Thomas M. Thompson, *Chairman.*

George W. Childs,

George B. Roberts,

A. J. Drexel,

Charles H. Banes,

B. K. Jamison.

COMMITTEE TO RECEIVE THE MEMBERS OF THE CABINET.

John Cadwalader, *Chairman.*

R. Dale Benson,

Wharton Barker,

Henry C. Gibson.

COMMITTEE TO RECEIVE THE MEMBERS OF THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS.

Edward Shippen, *Chairman.*

William Brockie,

W. W. Frazier.

COMMITTEE TO RECEIVE THE GOVERNORS OF THE SEVERAL STATES.

John W. Woodside, *Chairman.*

Alexander P. Brown,	A. K. Wheeler,
George Watson,	Jos. G. Ditman,
Thomas C. Else,	Thomas L. Gillespie,
John Huggard,	Mason Hirsh,
Samuel Lees,	Winthrop Smith,
William J. Lloyd,	Richard A. Lewis,
James A. Freeman,	W. C. Houston, Jr.

COMMITTEE TO RECEIVE THE CHIEF JUSTICE AND THE ASSOCIATE JUSTICES OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES.

John C. Bullitt; *Chairman.*

Samuel Dickson,	Judge Arnold,
Judge Hanna,	William H. Staake,
Judge Fell,	John M. Patton.

COMMITTEE TO RECEIVE ADMIRAL LUCE AND THE OFFICERS OF THE NAVAL SQUADRON.

Walter G. Wilson, *Chairman.*

Aaron Fries,	William S. Reyburn,
	Jos. F. Tobias.

COMMITTEE TO RECEIVE THE HON. RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, EX-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Hon. Thomas Donaldson.

COMMITTEE TO RECEIVE THE HON. HANNIBAL HAMLIN, EX-VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Charles J. Harrah.

COMMITTEE TO RECEIVE CARDINAL GIBBONS AND THE VISITING CLERGY.

William Waterall, *Chairman.*

Archbishop Ryan,	George H. Stuart,
William H. Lucas,	Joseph E. Sinnott.

The headquarters of the Reception Committee were in Parlor C of the Hotel Lafayette. They were selected because of their central location, their proximity to railroad depots, to the Academy of Music, to the Public Buildings, and to the Academy of Fine Arts, where the principal receptions were to be held. In these headquarters the chairman and members of the Executive Committee, with other members of the general committee, held daily and nightly sessions from September 5 to September 17, inclusive. Provision was made for the constant presence of some members of the Reception Committee, for the reception of guests and visitors ; for the imparting of information and the instruction of guests as to the part they were to take in the ceremonies of the celebration ; for the distribution of tickets to the governor's and President's receptions, and to the stands provided by the Commission and the municipality.

The committee, being also charged with the duty of providing accommodations for the specially-invited guests, secured apartments in the Hotel Lafayette for the entertainment of the President of the United States and Mrs. Cleveland, the members of the cabinet, Ex-Vice-President Hannibal Hamlin, his Excellency, Governor James A. Beaver, and a number of the visiting governors. At the Aldine Hotel, Lieutenant-General Sheridan and Admiral Luce, with the members of their respective staffs, were located.

Other guests were located at the Continental, Colonnade, and Aldine Hotels, and the Girard House.

A number of the guests were the recipients of private hospitality, being entertained by several of our prominent citizens in their respective homes.

The guests of the Commission who were present during the celebration were received by the members of the appropriate sub-committees and escorted to their respective places of entertainment, to the various public receptions and grand stands, during the three days of the celebration.

The official and unofficial receptions which took place during the celebration were :

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1887.

A business meeting of the Constitutional Centennial Commission and chairmen of the sub-committees at Parlor C, Continental Hotel, at 8 P.M.

After the adjournment of this meeting a reception was held at the rooms of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, for which special invitations had been issued. The rooms were filled for three hours with a notable company, the number of strangers being unusually large. The reception was preliminary to the more formal events of the celebration proper, and gave ample opportunities for many of the distinguished guests of the Commission and for the members of the Commission from other States to become acquainted with our citizens.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1887.

The members of the Reception Committee assembled at an early hour, for the purpose of receiving guests who were to arrive during the morning and of escorting those who had already been received to the reviewing stand, on Broad Street opposite the Union League, to view the civic and industrial procession. The guests were received by the populace, who crowded the many stands and points of observation on both sides of Broad Street, with many manifestations of courtesy and applause. They were properly seated upon the stand, and the members of the Reception Committee and the "aides" were diligent in their efforts to provide everything requisite for their comfort and enjoyment during their view of the procession.

THE BAR BREAKFAST.

A number of the guests of the Commission attended the breakfast to the justices of the Supreme Court of the United

States, in the American Academy of Music, tendered by the bar of Philadelphia. This event was one of the most brilliant in connection with the celebration. In inviting the aid of the bar, the secretary of the committee stated :

“The event to be commemorated was one of the gravest importance to all of the later generations of men. The convention called for the purpose did its work, which was essentially legal, in Philadelphia. Its deliberations and conclusions were participated in by men who became conspicuous in the jurisprudence of our State. It is very fitting, therefore, that the lawyers of this city should show a proper appreciation of the occasion and of their relations to it by offering their hospitality to the members of the highest judicial tribunal of the country who will be here to participate in the celebration.”

This request met with an earnest response from the members of the legal profession in Philadelphia, a profession proverbial for its public spirit and liberality in connection with a proper appreciation and celebration of all events of historical interest. This breakfast was indeed a notable one from the character of the guests and participants, the profuse and tasteful decorations, and the eloquence of the eminent gentlemen who responded to the very appropriate toasts :

“The Supreme Court of the United States,” Chief Justice Morrison R. Waite.

“The Constitution of 1787,” Hon. J. I. Clark Hare.

“The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania,” Hon. Edward M. Paxson, justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.

“The Origin of the Federal Union,” Hon. W. S. Kirkpatrick, attorney-general of Pennsylvania.

“The American Lawyer,” Hon. John S. Wise, of Virginia.

RECEPTION AT THE CATHOLIC CLUB.

An unofficial reception, to which many of your guests were specially invited, was the magnificent reception of the Catholic

Club to his Eminence, Cardinal Archbishop Gibbons, the head of the Catholic Church in America, at the rooms of the club, No. 217 South Broad Street, from 8.30 to ten P.M. The visitors and guests were not confined to members of the Roman Catholic faith. The Cardinal was accompanied by Archbishop Ryan and Bishops Ryan, of Buffalo, Kane, of Richmond, and O'Farrel, of Trenton. The parlors of the club were handsomely decorated with plants, ferns, and flowers. His Excellency, James A. Beaver, governor of Pennsylvania, was one of the guests, but was compelled to leave early, to be present at his own reception at the Academy of Fine Arts, on the same evening.

His Excellency, the President of the United States, accompanied by Secretary of State Bayard, Secretary of the Treasury Fairchild, and the chairman of the Reception Committee, with Messrs. George B. Roberts, George W. Childs, Charles H. Banes, and B. K. Jamison, arrived at the club a few minutes after ten o'clock. The President was warmly cheered by the large crowd of spectators in front of the club-house, and was hospitably greeted by the many distinguished members and guests of the club who had called to be presented to the Cardinal.

RECEPTION BY THE GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The official reception of his Excellency, James A. Beaver, governor of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in honor of the visiting governors, took place at the Academy of Fine Arts, during the hours from eight to eleven o'clock the same evening. It is estimated that fully fifteen thousand people took part in this reception. Though admission was by ticket, the committee, at the special request of Governor Beaver, distributed its invitations with a liberal hand, and for more than three hours a continuous line of people filed into this beautiful temple of art. The vestibule, staircase, and reception-room were decorated with flowers and tropical plants, and the Germania Orchestra, stationed on the platform in

the foyer, overlooking the stairs, filled the spacious halls with melody. The Academy of Fine Arts, with its valuable collection of pictures, its ornate architecture, and graceful proportions, is, without other decorations, a palace fit for the displays of royalty; but when garnished with flowers and filled with the executives of the States of the Union and the members of their respective personal staffs, in glittering and attractive uniforms, with eminent representatives of the army, navy, judiciary, and the arts, sciences, and manufactures, presented a scene of unusual brilliancy. Governor Beaver was assisted in receiving the guests by John W. Woodside and John Huggard, of the sub-committee on the reception of governors.

THE PRESIDENT'S ARRIVAL.

The sub-committee appointed to receive the President and Mrs. Cleveland and their party, viz., the chairman, George W. Childs, A. J. Drexel, B. K. Jamison, Colonel Charles H. Banes, and President George B. Roberts, of the Pennsylvania Railroad, left Philadelphia on Thursday, the 15th of September, 1887, at 5.08 P.M., for Wilmington, Delaware, to meet the President's train.

Major John M. Carson, of Washington, kindly co-operated with the chairman of the Reception Committee in perfecting the details as to the time of the President's departure from Washington.

President Roberts, of the Pennsylvania Railroad, tendered the use of his private car for the Presidential party, which courteous offer was accepted.

The car was attached to the limited express train, which left the Capital at four P.M.

The members of the Reception Committee, in order to avoid the crowd, which it was rightly conjectured would congregate at the Broad Street Station to see the President on the occasion of his first visit to Philadelphia, were obliged to keep the time of their departure as well as the time of the arrival of

the train a secret. The committee reached Wilmington shortly after six o'clock. A great crowd had gathered, and, as the train lay for five minutes at the station, cheered the President, who viewed the immense throng from the car-window and platform. After a mutual exchange of courtesies and introductions, the party, escorted by the committee, proceeded to Philadelphia. The special car was detached at Gray's Ferry, and attached to an engine which was in waiting to convey it to the depot at Thirty-second and Market Streets, where carriages were in waiting. The First City Troop of Philadelphia, which has acted as special escort or body-guard to every President of the United States who has visited Philadelphia on the occasion of any public celebration, was also in waiting at the right of the entrance to the depot. This famous body of citizen soldiers, with their showy uniforms and spirited horses, made a fine display. They were under the command of Captain E. Burd Grubb. The news had spread that the President was to arrive at the old station, and a large crowd of employes and people were in waiting to greet him on his arrival. To avoid the crowd, it was arranged to run the car on a siding in the yard at Thirty-first and Market Streets, to which place the City Troop and carriages proceeded, and awaited the arrival of the train. At 8.15 P.M. the party arrived. The President was escorted by the chairman of the committee and Colonel Banes; Mrs. Cleveland and Mrs. Lamont by Mr. George W. Childs and Mr. B. K. Jamison; Secretary Bayard and Colonel Lamont were escorted by President Roberts and Mr. A. J. Drexel. The City Troop took the lead, escorting the carriages out Market Street to Thirty-second, thence to Chestnut, and over the Chestnut Street Bridge to the Hotel Lafayette. As the party rode in open carriages, President Cleveland's well-known face was soon recognized, and all the way down Chestnut Street he met with a perfect ovation. After the bridge was crossed the sidewalks, door-steps, and windows became dense with humanity. The City Troop,

with rare skill, led the way and kept the street clear. Cheers, waving of hats and handkerchiefs, and clapping of hands arose all along the line with an effect that was almost deafening. The climax was reached when the party reached Broad Street. The crowds from the Broad Street station had joined the waiting crowd at Broad and Chestnut Streets. From windows and balconies, from door-steps and sidewalks, cheers, yells, and applause arose. The City Troop did its part most successfully. Everybody was escorted into the Hotel Lafayette with ease, though Broad Street probably never before had held such an immense concourse of people. No unpleasant incident happened to mar the President's entry, and the impression made upon him and upon all of the first day of the celebration of the people's Constitution was of the most agreeable character. Secretary and Mrs. Fairchild had arrived at the hotel during the afternoon, and there met the President and his immediate party. Supper was served in Parlor E, pending which service the President, from the balcony communicating with his room, viewed with pleasure and astonishment the immense amphitheatre, with the tasteful decorations, extending on both sides of Broad Street, north and south. The floral decorations of the rooms occupied by the President and Mrs. Cleveland were of an elaborate character, a tribute from the Florists' Club, of Philadelphia. One of the most striking objects was an Egyptian lotus in full bloom, six or eight feet high, with thirty or forty magnificent blossoms. Another was a panel, seven feet high and six feet wide, with a base of ivy, and designs illustrating the Centennial celebration wrought upon it in thousands of variegated flowers. All the mantels and the larger pieces of furniture were covered with plateaux of roses.

At 9.30 P.M., amid another most enthusiastic scene, the President, Secretaries Bayard and Fairchild, and Colonel Lamont, escorted by the chairman of the Reception Committee, proceeded to Governor Beaver's reception at the Academy of Fine Arts.

On the arrival of the President he was cordially greeted by the governor of Pennsylvania, and after many of the visiting governors and others present had paid their respects, at the special invitation of Governor Beaver, he took a position at his side and heartily joined in receiving the many citizens, the governor receiving their greetings first and the President next. The President remained for about half an hour, when, escorted by the Reception Committee, he proceeded to Cardinal Gibbons's reception at the Catholic Club. Governor Beaver continued his reception until near the midnight hour, as it was not until then that the crowd began to diminish. The governor expressed his great satisfaction with the management and the character of the reception, stating that in all its details it was the best he had ever held. General Sheridan, accompanied by his brother, Colonel Michael Sheridan, came in during the evening, and received hearty and cordial greetings from many friends.

RECEPTION AT THE COMMERCIAL EXCHANGE, SEPTEMBER 16, 1887.

On Friday morning the first event was the reception of the Commercial Exchange to President Cleveland, at their building, on Second Street above Walnut. The Exchange had, in former years, extended similar courtesies to Presidents Grant and Hayes, and the same cordiality was now to be bestowed upon the present Chief Magistrate of the nation. The interior of the hall was decorated with the national colors, heavy festoons in red, white, and blue extending all along the walls. At each fold of the drapery was a shield, bearing the arms and name of a State, every State in the Union being thus represented. The rostrum on which the President and his party stood was also profusely decorated with bunting. The First Regiment Band was placed in the northwest corner of the room and furnished spirited music.

Soon after nine o'clock two hundred and fifty members of the Produce Exchange, one hundred members of the Master Builders'

Exchange, one hundred uniformed inspectors from the custom-house, one hundred and eighty-five members from the Grocers' Exchange, and many of our most prominent bankers, merchants, and manufacturers entered, until it was estimated there were over three thousand upon the floor. The President arrived promptly at 9.30 o'clock. He was accompanied by the chairman and members of the Reception Committee and the committee of the Commercial Exchange, headed by Francis M. Brooke. Secretaries Bayard and Fairchild, Ex-President Hayes, Governor Beaver, and Mayor Fitler also accompanied the party.

The Philadelphia City Troop had again rendered most excellent service, as honorary escort to the President, their manly appearance and soldierly bearing eliciting many expressions of admiration and appreciation from the President and others of the guests of the Commission. The drive from the Hotel Lafayette to the Commercial Exchange was a grand ovation, and the President gratefully bowed his acknowledgments of the hearty welcome which everywhere greeted him. On the arrival at the Exchange James B. Canby formally introduced the President, who spoke as follows :

"GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMERCIAL EXCHANGE,—I am glad to have the opportunity of meeting so large a representation of the business men of Philadelphia. It is well for us on this centennial occasion not to forget that, aside from keeping alive the purest sentiments of patriotism and our best ideals of good government, the celebration also tends to advance the prosperity of our most important interests.

"It would be well for us if, in the rush of business, we could see more demonstrations of patriotism. It is good for the country and good for the people. It would be well to pause and consider, also, how closely the country's prosperity is related to good government. The cultivation of a wholesome political sentiment inevitably tends to produce such government, and I would be glad

to see among business men a little more participation in political affairs, even though it might be considered at first a departure that would cause a diminution in personal profit. We should have no selfishness in a matter involving the well-being of the greatest number of people. To take part in politics as citizens, having the greatest good to the greatest number of people at heart, is surely an object worthy the sacrifice of a little time from business and prospect of a little personal profit. We celebrate to-day the triumph of patriotism over selfishness. Can there be any doubt that we, in these times, enjoy benefits from the sacrifices and the patriotic acts of our forefathers one hundred years ago? Surely not; the benefits we enjoy to-day, my countrymen, were not secured by our forefathers until they had broken down the barriers which usurpers sought to erect. All this they accomplished through patriotism and a stern adherence to the noblest political principles. When we cultivate wholesome political sentiments, prompted not by selfish or sordid interests, but by a desire for universal good, we are moved by the loftiest feeling that can inspire mankind. There is no better place to begin than right here among the business men of Philadelphia."

The reception lasted about an hour and a half. The special Reception Committee of the Exchange was composed of

James B. Canby,
F. M. Brooke,

Wm. Brice,
L. K. Passmore,

John Price Wetherill.

Bushrod W. Adams, president of the Stock Exchange.

William J. McCahan, president of the Grocers' and Importers' Exchange.

Dr. R. V. Mattison, president of the Drug Exchange.

William Brockie, president of the Maritime Exchange.

Frederick Fraley, president of the Board of Trade.

John S. Davis, president of the Petroleum Exchange.

Robert C. Lippincott, president of the Lumbermen's Exchange.

John S. Stevens, president of the Master Builders' Exchange.

John J. Habecker, president of the Produce Exchange.

Theodore C. Search, president of the Textile Exchange.

Edward A. Green, president of the Wool Merchants' Exchange.

At the conclusion of this reception, escorted by the Philadelphia City Troop, the President and other guests of the Commission proceeded to the grand reviewing-stand on Broad Street, opposite the Union League building, to review the imposing military pageant, under command of General Philip H. Sheridan.

At five minutes past eleven o'clock the President mounted the steps, which led to the balcony projecting from the grand reviewing-stand. As he reached the platform there was a simultaneous burst of applause from the many crowded stands in sight and ten thousand handkerchiefs fluttered in the breeze. It is not within the province of this report to describe the brilliant spectacle of the day, when, amid the pomp and panoply of war, the citizen soldiery from North, South, East, and West illustrated the devotion of each State to the principles of the Constitution, which established a central government superior to all the States, and made the military power of the nation subordinate to the civil authorities. This imposing display of the soldiers and sailors of the nation and States will be properly chronicled elsewhere. Suffice it to say here that the people gave further proof of the hospitable welcome which Philadelphia has always extended to the Chief Magistrate of the country.

It was after three o'clock when the end of the line marched by and the Philadelphia City Troop rode up to escort the Presidential party to the Hotel Lafayette. The carriages having been prevented by the crowds on the streets from reaching the grand stand in time, the President good-naturedly informed Mr. Kasson that he would walk over to the hotel. Accordingly, taking the arm of Secretary Bayard, and accompanied by Mr. Kasson, Secretary Fairchild, and the chairman of the Reception Committee

he fell in between two detachments of the troop, and, amid the applause and cheers of the multitude of spectators, walked to his rooms in the hotel, where he rested for an hour and a half before again placing himself in the charge of your Reception Committee.

THE DINNER AT THE CLOVER CLUB, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1887,
FIVE P.M.

That famous social organization of Philadelphia, the "Clover Club," known throughout the land as the host of statesmen, generals, judges, orators, financiers, journalists, and actors, eclipsed its former entertainments. Brilliant gatherings it had had before, but never had the army, the navy, and the press been so well represented as at this dinner. The banqueting-tables were on the second floor of the Hotel Bellevue. The tables on the outside were in the form of a horseshoe, while an inside ring assumed the shape of a clover-leaf. Two rams, woven out of evergreens and flowers, hung at the east and west ends of the banquet-hall. The decorations of the clover-leaf table were magnificent and unique. Among trailing smilax and festooned grape-leaves were boughs of chestnut-burs. Groups of fairy-lamps, which had mingled their delicate hues at the Queen's Jubilee in London, were scattered among the greens, and added, by their soft lights, a picturesqueness to the scene. Governor Beaver's staff were present in military uniform. The general himself was privileged to retire on account of his engagement to attend the reception by the President at the Academy of Music, but not before he had made a speech, congratulating Philadelphia on its hospitality and expressing the conviction that it would be well administered during his absence. Governor Foraker, of Ohio, made some appropriate remarks, which met with applause. After a happy speech by Senator Evarts, Governor Gordon, of Georgia, delivered a touching and patriotic address. Ex-President Hayes, Mr. Justice Harlan, Admiral Luce, Ex-Governor Hoyt, of Pennsylvania, Gov-

ernor Green, of New Jersey, and Governor Sawyer, of New Hampshire, spoke when called upon by the president of the club. Then came the arrival of the President, accompanied by Colonel A. K. McClure, Wm. M. Singerly, and E. S. Stuart, a committee appointed for that purpose. He was received with enthusiasm, and his happy remarks were greeted with much applause. Governor Fitzhugh Lee, of Virginia, followed. Short addresses were made by William Wirt Henry and John S. Wise, of Virginia; Colonel A. Loudon Snowden, of Pennsylvania; Charles W. Brooke, of New York; Isaac H. Bromley, of Buffalo, N. Y.; Dr. Bedloe, of Philadelphia; Senator Hawley, of Connecticut; and Colonel F. B. Mussey, of Cincinnati, Ohio.

THE MILITARY AND NAVAL RECEPTION.

The Military and Naval reception at the Union League was held from eight until twelve o'clock P.M., the admission being by card for those who had been specially invited. A local chronicler, speaking of this event, styled it "a parade, which took an half-hour to pass a given point," that point being General Philip H. Sheridan. The Union League was crowded with brilliant and showy uniforms, worn by officers of the army, the navy, and of the national guard of the different States of the Union who had participated in the imposing display of the morning. Never before had there been such a mingling of the military element from every section of the nation. Men who had faced each other in battle now joined in grateful appreciation of the result, which had preserved the Union.

As good soldiers, the participants remembered that their commander-in-chief, a civilian, but the nation's President, was holding a reception at the Academy of Music, assisted by Mrs. Cleveland. At a given signal they fell into line, led by General Sheridan, and proceeded to the stage of the Academy, where they paid their compliments to the President and Mrs. Cleveland, and again forming into line, returned to the Union League.

RECEPTION TO THE GOVERNORS BY THE PRESIDENT.

A reception not upon the roster of the Commission took place in parlor E of the Hotel Lafayette, between the hours of six and seven o'clock in the evening of Friday, September 16, 1887. His Excellency, the President, desired to pay the visiting governors of the several States the compliment of a special reception. The governors and the members of their staffs accepted the invitation of the President. Colonel Daniel Lamont acted as marshal, ably assisted by Mr. L. Q. Maltby, the host of the Lafayette. The following governors were presented :

James A. Beaver, of Pennsylvania; David B. Hill, of New York; J. R. Bodwell, of Maine; Alfred M. Scales, of North Carolina; J. P. Richardson, of South Carolina; P. C. Lounsbury, of Connecticut; Joseph B. Foraker, of Ohio; John W. Davis, of Rhode Island; E. Willis Wilson, of West Virginia; J. B. Gordon, of Georgia; Charles H. Sawyer, of New Hampshire; R. S. Green, of New Jersey; S. Pennoyer, of Oregon; John M. Thayer, of Nebraska.

All of the governors with the exception of the two last named were accompanied by the members of their staffs.

This reception was entirely informal, and very few persons, other than the gentlemen named, were introduced. The visitors entered from the corridor by the door at the north end of the room, and as fast as they were introduced to and shook hands with the President, passed out the door at the south end. All of the participants expressed their appreciation of the thoughtfulness of the President in providing for their special reception.

THE JOURNALISTS' RECEPTION.

The journalists of the Quaker City especially pride themselves upon the reputation of the craft for genuine hospitality. At the Journalists' Club they reversed the usual order of exercises by beginning late and ending early. It was nearly midnight when the

exercises of the evening began. The affair was planned for the entertainment of the out-of-town newspaper men, who were temporarily sojourning in Philadelphia. There were three to four hundred journalists present, besides a number of actors. An elaborate dinner was set in the banqueting-room of the club, to which ample justice was done by the participants. Mr. M. P. Handy welcomed the guests in the name of the club. The best of feeling prevailed, and the hours passed only too soon, amid the charms of song, story, and jest, for which these journalistic gatherings are noted.

THE RECEPTION OF THE PRESIDENT AT THE ACADEMY OF MUSIC.

Friday evening, September 16, 1887, between the hours of nine and eleven o'clock, at the American Academy of Music, Broad and Locust Streets, Philadelphia, was the occasion of the crowning social event of the Constitutional Centennial celebration. The executive officers of the Commission and the members of its Reception Committee had given much anxious thought and conscientious labor to make this event the most brilliant gathering of the kind ever held in Philadelphia. The President of the United States and Mrs. Cleveland, assisted by the cabinet and ladies of the cabinet, were to receive the many distinguished guests of the Commission, the visitors to the centennial, and the ladies and gentlemen of Philadelphia, who had been invited by the Commission to be present. The cards of invitation to this reception were exquisite productions of the engraver's art, and well worthy of being preserved as souvenirs of the occasion. There were two cards tied together by a silken cord of twined red, white, and blue. The face of the first card had in the upper corners the dates:

1787.

1887.

Beneath these, in overlapping medallions, forming an arch, were the coats of arms of the thirteen original States, Pennsylvania,

the keystone, being in the centre, with Rhode Island, New York, New Hampshire, Maryland, Connecticut, and New Jersey to the left, and Delaware, Georgia, Massachusetts, South Carolina, Virginia, and North Carolina to the right. Under this arch was a well-executed picture of the capitol building at Washington. Beneath the capitol was the national coat of arms, to the right of which was a picture of Independence Hall, and to the left a picture of Carpenters' Hall. On the face of the second card were the words :

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CENTENNIAL COMMISSION

Request the pleasure of your company at a reception tendered to the
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
Friday Evening, September 16, 1887, American Academy of Music,
Philadelphia.

Had the spacious Academy of Music been as commodious as the greatest of the centennial buildings of 1876, the Reception Committee could not have accommodated the half of those who were desirous of being present at this reception. Patriotic public spirit commanded each citizen to assist, according to his ability and opportunity, in making the Constitutional Centennial a success. The committee desire to testify to the hospitable and self-sacrificing spirit of so many of Philadelphia's best people, who, recognizing that the guests of your Commission, distinguished visitors and strangers in the city, should first be the recipients of the invitations, cheerfully accepted personal disappointment that others might be pleased. It is this spirit which gives the impulse of success to all the celebrations held in Philadelphia ; that has given it its name of "the City of Brotherly Love;" that has made that name loved in the earthquake and fever-stricken districts of the South, and wherever pestilence, fire, or storm have made havoc and scenes of suffering and desolation.

The distribution of these cards of invitation gave your committee much concern. The plan of distribution originally approved by the Commission was strictly followed, but still the request for cards from those clearly entitled to receive them could not be responded to. At this juncture the committee, with the approval of the Commission, issued a second series of cards for admission to the reception at a later hour, viz., after ten P.M. The holders of these cards were not admitted until several thousands of the guests had left the building. It is estimated that ten thousand people were present during the evening. Everybody seemed to have been moved by the desire to be first, so that crowds gathered in front of the Academy as early as half-past seven o'clock, and at once, upon the opening of the doors, the vast building seemed to be filled. It is a problem how to accommodate ten thousand people in a building with capacity for five thousand. Your committee believe they solved the problem with a tolerable measure of success, and believe that this measure would have been greater had not their plans been somewhat encroached upon and turned aside by a succession of events over which they had no control and which could not possibly have been foreseen. The special sub-committee—Colonel Chas. H. Banes, B. K. Jamison, and William H. Staake—were ably assisted by the gentlemanly and efficient “aides” of the committee under the direction of Dr. William A. Edwards. A small card had been issued to the guests containing the request:

“Guests will please form in the main corridor, first floor, facing north, at nine o'clock, in the rear of the army and navy, in order to be presented to the President and Mrs. Cleveland.”

The specially-invited guests of the Commission, such as Ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes, Ex-Vice-President Hannibal Hamlin, the Chief Justice and associate justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, the members of the cabinet of the President,

the governors of the various States, distinguished ecclesiastics, the representatives of foreign powers, and others, were invited to meet in the "greenroom," and from there proceed to the floor of the Academy, to be presented to the President and Mrs. Cleveland. The "greenroom," perhaps, had never before held such an eminent gathering, with so many representatives of the beauty, genius, talents, statecraft, and diplomacy of the nation. Here were men of great intellectual force, kings and queens of society, cardinal and bishops, financiers and statesmen, governors of the independent States of the Union, and the titled ambassadors and *attachés* of foreign governments, with thousands of the good people of Philadelphia and elsewhere, all waiting to do honor to the nation's chief.

About nine o'clock a great cheer from without announced the coming of the President and his immediate party. A moment afterwards the President and Mrs. Cleveland passed through the "greenroom." They bowed to friends, whom they recognized, as they passed to the proscenium boxes, which had been reserved for the Presidential party, consisting of Secretary Bayard, Secretary and Mrs. Fairchild, and Colonel and Mrs. Lamont. The chairman of the Reception Committee was in charge of the party, while the other members of the committee and the "aides" were exerting themselves to the utmost to marshal the guests for the grand march to the stage of the Academy. The President and Mrs. Cleveland, when conducted to the box, sat out of view of the multitude, which was patiently waiting to break into cheers when aware of their presence. When the sub-committee had formed the line with all due regard for the order of precedence, which prevails at the nation's capital on similar occasions, the President and Mrs. Cleveland returned to the "greenroom."

The president of the Commission took the head of the line with President Cleveland at his side, while Mrs. Cleveland was escorted by Ex-President Hayes. Secretary Bayard and Mrs.

Fairchild, Secretary Fairchild and Mrs. Lamont immediately followed, the chairman of the Reception Committee directing the march into the Academy. The curtain, which had shut out the stage from those in front of it, was now raised, when the American Band, of Providence, Rhode Island, under the leadership of D. W. Reeves, which was on duty with the band of the First Regiment of Infantry, of Massachusetts Volunteer Militia, struck the opening notes of a spirited march, and the procession marched from the "greenroom." Cheer upon cheer arose as soon as the President and his wife were recognized. They both acknowledged the plaudits of the audience with bows and smiles. The President and Mrs. Cleveland took places at the back of the stage, the receiving party being arranged in the following order: First, President Kasson, then Chairman Thompson, of the Reception Committee, and then the President. Mrs. Cleveland stood next, and with her were Mrs. Amos R. Little, Mrs. Fairchild, and Mrs. Lamont. Mr. Amos Little, chairman of the Executive Committee, and Mr. Hampton L. Carson, the secretary of the Commission, also assisted the President and Mrs. Cleveland in the reception of the guests. When Justice and Mrs. Miller came up, Mrs. Miller stopped, and, at the special request of the other ladies, joined with them in the reception. Just beyond the ladies stood Ex-President Hayes and the venerable Ex-Vice-President Hannibal Hamlin.

Governor Beaver was also to have assisted in the reception, but as he had been at the military and naval reception at the Union League he did not arrive until late, but he was very cordially received when he did arrive, both by the Presidential party and the vast concourse of people filling the Academy.

Equally enthusiastic was the reception tendered to General Philip H. Sheridan, when, at the head of the officers of the army, navy, and militia of the several States, he marched into the Academy. After those who had entered with the President had formally paid their *devoirs*, the reception really began. The official

and other distinguished visitors came at the head of the enormous procession, walking two by two. For nearly an hour they alone, with those who attended from the military and naval reception, made a most brilliant display. From all parts of the earth they came. Justices of the United States Supreme Court, and of the State courts, governors and their staffs, the Chinese embassy in their quaint garments, Cardinal Gibbons in silk of ruddy hue, a Japanese delegation, partisans and diplomats, noblemen and heroes of many battle-fields gay with ribbons, glittering with decorations, imposing in showy uniforms, with epaulets, braid, and buttons of golden brightness. They came and passed in gorgeous array, followed line upon line by those who had been patiently waiting in the corridors for presentation. Mrs. Cleveland greeted every one as cordially as the President, and extended her hand.

Mrs. Cleveland, after some two hours, retired with the ladies of her party to the Prince of Wales proscenium box, where they remained under the escort of Secretary Bayard.

President Cleveland remained until the last visitor had taken him by the hand, and then rejoined Mrs. Cleveland and the others in the box, when the party took the carriages at the Locust Street entrance, and were driven back to the Lafayette. It had been a popular reception, the sturdiest Republican jostling the most ardent Democrat for admission. The judge, the lawyer, the physician, manufacturer, merchant, broker, banker, politician, and mechanic were all there, and all with the self-same object of responding cheerily to the opportunity afforded them of honoring the President of the United States, the head of that government of the people, by the people, through a Constitution, which had stood the trials of a century and fostered a material growth more than fabulous to the older world. The floral decorations of the stage were most beautiful. Groups of palms and flowering plants extended round the sides and back of the stage. Hanging from the ceiling was a huge bell of white carnations, with the word

"Liberty," in pink, running across it. Above this was a floral shield in the national colors, on which an eagle perched, supporting a scroll, containing the inscription, "Virtue and Independence." Two immense trophies of roses stood in front of the Presidential party: one contained four pieces, emblematical of wisdom, art, merchandise, and agriculture, and the other, four designs representing the seasons. The fronts of the lower proscenium boxes were banked with ferns and palms. At appropriate places a tasteful display of bunting was also made. On the whole the reception was a splendid social event, and a fit climax of the social side of the constitutional centennial celebration. Among so many thousands present, your committee will not pretend to give names. Suffice it to say that all of the eminent and honored guests of the Commission, the hundreds, if not thousands, of distinguished visitors to the city, and the best representatives of all classes of our own citizens were present and joined eagerly in making the event a success. It had been expected and announced that the United States Marine Band would take a prominent part in the exercises of the reception, but at almost the last moment it became necessary to make other arrangements. It was at this juncture that the American Band, of Providence, Rhode Island, offered its services gratuitously, which generous offer was accepted by the Committee. This large, efficient, and well-organized band, with the Germania Orchestra, of Philadelphia, Professor Charles M. Schmitz, conductor, furnished all the music on this occasion. The thanks of the committee were subsequently formally tendered to the American Band.

THE GENERAL RECEPTION TO THE CITIZENS OF PHILADELPHIA IN THE
PUBLIC BUILDINGS, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 17.

The scene of this reception was the meeting-room of the commissioners of the Public Buildings. Chairman Thompson and Secretary Staake, of the Reception Committee, accompanied President

Cleveland; Colonel Charles H. Banes and Mr. B. K. Jamison accompanying Secretary of State Bayard and Secretary of the Treasury Fairchild. The carriages drove from the "Lafayette," through a dense mass of people, to the southern entrance of the Public Buildings, when, alighting from the carriages, the party was soon ushered into the reception-room, where they met President Samuel C. Perkins, of the Building Commission, and others, who had assembled to witness the reception. President Cleveland stood with his back towards the west wall of the room, under a canopy of bunting bearing the national colors. On the other side stood Secretary Bayard and Secretary Fairchild, and arranged in a semicircle were the members of the Reception Committee. Passing in front of the President were thousands of people of all classes and conditions. The crowd had gathered under the south pavilion of the building as early as six o'clock A.M., and by eight o'clock the officers, under the command of Captains Edgar and Quirk, had the line of approach formed, extending around the southwest corner of the hall. But the people paid no attention to the police arrangement. When the President's carriage arrived at the southern entrance from Broad Street, it was only with the greatest difficulty that a passage-way was made for it. It was not a homogeneous crowd, although its enthusiasm was spontaneous and universal. The street laborer, with the marks of the clay and the tar of the Belgian pavement only partially removed, shouted his "hurrah," while the well-to-do merchant at his side swung his hat high in the air. It was a crowd of people whose varied nativity was lost sight of in the consciousness of present allegiance; whose personality was sunk in the act of respect to the President. There were two lines of approach. In front of the building had been built a stand from which to view the parade. The line was made to move along the face of this from the west to the entrance. In order to establish a line which would be in single file, the policemen on duty began to press the crowd back

towards the west, leaving room between their line and the face of the stand for only one person to pass. Everybody was ordered to fall in behind. Hundreds availed themselves of this to fall in, until the line extended down the centre of the pavement, around the Public Buildings, while the rear reached around on the north front beyond the entrance there. When the police had reached the western limit of the stand, they established a new line along the extreme western face of the building, with a turn at the western end of the stand. The two streams of people converged at the corner of the stand, and the confusion was such as had never been experienced before; but the police had it their own way, and every vigorous kicker, if a man, was escorted to the edge of the crowd; if a woman, the line would be stopped long enough to place her in the march upon the President.

The line filed under the archway and turned to the left in the room of the Commission. Passing at a rate which varied from fifty-one to sixty-seven in a minute, it was estimated that between five thousand five hundred and six thousand people stepped in front of the President and were rewarded by a grasp of his hand.

When the hour for closing the reception had arrived, the iron gates were closed in the faces of more than ten thousand people, who were unable to obtain admittance. Mr. Cleveland was greatly exhausted, and retired to the headquarters of the Centennial Medical Committee, which were in the rear of the room in which he rested for a few minutes before entering his carriage. His appearance at the entrance was the signal for a mighty shout from the throng, which seemed to have increased with the gathering minutes, and it was as much as the force of policemen could do to make a passage-way through the cheering and hat-waving crowd, which packed Broad Street all the way to Walnut Street, and below. From the reception the President drove to the Lafayette, where Mrs. Cleveland joined him. Together they proceeded through Walnut Street to Eighth, to Chestnut, and to the old State

House, the chairman of the Reception Committee escorting the President and Mrs. Cleveland, Secretary Staake escorting Secretary Bayard, Secretary and Mrs. Fairchild, and Mr. B. K. Jamison Colonel and Mrs. Lamont.

The ride from the Lafayette to Independence Hall, through the crowded thoroughfares, was amid huzzas, cheers, clapping of hands, and waving of handkerchiefs by the multitudes assembled on both sides of the Street. Director of Public Works General Louis Wagner met the party in the vestibule of Independence Hall and conducted them into the Hall, where, remaining but a moment, they proceeded to the grand stand to take part in the ceremonies in Independence Square.

At the close of the ceremonies in the square the Presidential party was escorted back to the Lafayette amid the same enthusiastic demonstrations of respect and welcome which had greeted their approach to Independence Hall.

THE DINNER OF THE HIBERNIAN SOCIETY.

President Cleveland was the central figure at the Hibernian Society's Constitutional Banquet, on Saturday afternoon, at St. George's Hall. The dinner was attended by nearly all the distinguished Centennial guests and many well-known Philadelphians, and proved to be one of the most successful affairs of the kind ever given under the auspices of the society. The guests had been seated only a few minutes when the President entered the hall, escorted by William M. Singerly and Edwin S. Stuart, followed by Secretary Fairchild with Mr. B. K. Jamison. All the gentlemen immediately arose, and as the President walked up the aisle to the first table he was accorded one of the heartiest ovations that had been given him since his visit to Philadelphia. His speech, though brief, won hearty applause and the unbounded admiration of all present. The President retired soon after the speaking, in order to keep another engagement at the Academy

of Music, and as he moved down the long aisle to the door his passage was blocked every inch of the way by enthusiastic admirers, who warmly shook him by the hand.

The decorations were very elaborate. The stairway leading to the banquet-hall was lined with palms, other growing plants, and rose-bushes in full bloom. Four long tables, capable of seating seventy-five persons each, ran the length of the hall. At the head of the room, and running at right angles with the others, was the table at which the chairman and distinguished guests were seated. The latter was filled with choice flowers and plants, around which were twined row after row of smilax. In front of the chairman was a huge bouquet of Maréchal Niel roses. The snow-white linen, the flash of colored lights, the glistening glasses, and the flowers and ferns scattered over the tables made a charming picture. From each of the eight chandeliers were suspended great balls of roses held by strings of smilax. Immediately behind the chairman was an American shield made of red, white, and blue immortelles. Above this was suspended the venerable green banner of the Hibernian Society, bearing upon its face a picture of the American eagle, the head and bust of the Maid of Erin, and the Irish harp. Hassler's orchestra was located in the gallery, and rendered sweet music at frequent intervals during the banquet.

RECEPTION TO MRS. CLEVELAND BY MR. AND MRS. CHILDS.

It was quite certain, three or four days before this reception, that if the day should be fair the reception at "Wootton" would be a great success. The day could not have been more charming. The entertainment was a social triumph, and one of the most beautiful ever seen even at Mr. and Mrs. George W. Childs's delightful country-seat, the scene of so much splendid hospitality. The fact that Mrs. Cleveland would leave on a special train for Wootton at three o'clock was generally known, and brought a

large crowd around the station at Broad Street. It had been arranged that Mrs. Cleveland and other of Mr. Childs's guests should pass into the station by a private entrance on Filbert Street, and a corps of officers were busy in keeping the way clear. Mrs. Cleveland drove over in an open carriage from her hotel, accompanied by Secretary Bayard, Mrs. Fairchild, Mrs. Lamont, Colonel Lamont, and the chairman of the Reception Committee. She was recognized by every one, and received a cordial greeting from the waiting crowd.

Mrs. Cleveland was met by Mr. Childs and assisted into President Roberts's private car, the last on the train, and the remainder of her party, with one or two other specially-favored guests, followed. The car, which is daintily furnished, was gay with flowers, and a vase of particularly fine Pearl roses stood on a table near Mrs. Cleveland.

At the station at Bryn Mawr there was another throng—most of them country people—waiting to catch a glimpse of the President's wife. Carriages and omnibuses were waiting in line to take over most of the guests. "The lady of the White House," however, was to go over in more regal style. William Struthers's "tally-ho," drawn by four splendid and spirited horses, was awaiting her commands. Mr. Struthers himself was on the box.

Mr. Childs, with Mrs. Cleveland on his arm, came out of the car and walked over to the coach with a troop of country people behind them. Mrs. Fairchild, General and Mrs. Sheridan, Secretary Bayard, and Mr. Childs, took places on the coach behind Mrs. Cleveland. The party made a detour so as to allow the guests generally an opportunity to reach "Wootton" and greet Mrs. Cleveland on her arrival there, and also to give the special guest of the day a look at the lovely country around Bryn Mawr.

The reception took place in the hall of the house, which was superbly decorated with cut flowers. Mrs. Cleveland stood between Mr. and Mrs. Childs, just at the foot of the winding stairway.

Mrs. Childs was assisted in receiving and introducing guests to Mrs. Cleveland by Mrs. Bishop Potter, of New York; Mrs. Laughton, of Washington; Mrs. S. J. Randall, Mrs. General Sheridan, Mrs. Colonel F. D. Grant, Mrs. Joseph Pullitzer, of New York; Mrs. J. Dundas Lippincott, Mrs. Richard L. Ashhurst, Mrs. Richard M. Cadwalader, Miss Patterson, and the Misses Smith.

BANQUET AT THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF MUSIC.

At the close of the dinner of the Hibernian Society, the President returned to the Hotel Lafayette, and was subsequently escorted by the members of the Reception Committee to the American Academy of Music, to participate in the banquet given by the following learned societies of Philadelphia: the University of Pennsylvania, the Pennsylvania Historical Society, the Academy of Fine Arts, the Academy of Natural Sciences, the Franklin Institute, the Law Academy of Philadelphia, the American Philosophical Society, and the College of Physicians. The President arrived at the Academy promptly on the stroke of six. At about half-past six o'clock, to the familiar music of "Hail to the Chief," the President, escorted by Provost Pepper of the University of Pennsylvania, proceeded to the floor of the Academy, and was most heartily received, both upon his entrance and after his response to the first toast of the evening,—“The President of the United States.” While the banquet was in progress on the floor of the Academy, a most interesting and beautiful scene was taking place in the foyer and in the corridors immediately adjoining. This was the reception given by Mrs. Cleveland to the ladies of Philadelphia, many of them the wives of those who were taking part in the banquet. Mrs. Cleveland stood in the centre of the foyer, and for nearly an hour shook hands with all of the ladies who came up to her. The guests were presented by Mrs. J. Dundas Lippincott. This affair was almost exclusively a ladies' reception, but few gentlemen participating in it. When the responses to the

toasts were about to be made at the banquet, Mrs. Cleveland, escorted by Mrs. Waite, wife of the Chief Justice, Mrs. Miller, wife of Mr. Justice Miller, Mrs. Fairchild, Mrs. Daniel Lamont, and Mrs. J. Dundas Lippincott, proceeded to the balcony box on the south side of the house, from which position she could survey the whole of the active scene on the floor of the Academy. As the Lady of the White House made her appearance, the committee of ladies were ushered into their seats in the front row of the balcony, extending from the box in which Mrs. Cleveland sat. The committee was composed as follows :

Mrs. J. Dundas Lippincott,	Mrs. Clarence H. Clark,
Mrs. Edwin H. Fitler,	Mrs. A. Loudon Snowden,
Mrs. Chas. Henry Hart,	Mrs. Louis Starr,
Mrs. Samuel Dickson,	Mrs. John R. Fell,
Mrs. Henry Whelen,	Mrs. William Pepper,
Mrs. Thomas M. Thompson,	Mrs. John Cadwalader,
Mrs. R. L. Ashhurst,	Mrs. C. H. C. Brock,
Mrs. Geo. W. Childs,	Mrs. W. Rotch Wister,
Mrs. J. Granville Leach,	Mrs. George Meade,
Mrs. Geo. H. Fisher,	Mrs. C. C. Harrison,
Mrs. Amos R. Little,	Mrs. S. Weir Mitchell,
Mrs. E. D. Gillespie,	Mrs. Chas. H. Banes,
Mrs. Morton McMichael,	Mrs. William Sellers,
Mrs. Geo. B. Roberts,	Mrs. Henry C. Gibson,
Mrs. Frank M. Dick,	Mrs. Alex. B. Coxe.

After these had been seated, the doors were thrown open to the entrance of the ladies who had received invitations to be present. These, with their escorts, soon filled the balcony, nearly every seat being taken.

The presence of the ladies during the speech-making was an innovation, not more appreciated by them than by the gentlemen participating in the banquet, and added brilliancy to the scene.

Shortly before ten o'clock, President Cleveland, with most of the governors and ex-governors gathered about him, retired from the banquet, but so quietly that but little confusion was occasioned by his withdrawal. At the same moment, Mrs. Cleveland and the committee of ladies accompanying her, also withdrew from the balcony box to join the President prior to their departure for Washington.

After attending the President and Mrs. Cleveland to the depot, the labors of your committee were formally terminated.

One of the most gratifying results of this celebration was found in the universal and unstinted praise of the spirit and hospitality shown by the people of the city. This praise was not given merely as a compliment, but because it was thoroughly deserved. During the whole week the city had been crowded with strangers from all parts of the country. Transportation companies, hotels, and almost all public places had been taxed to their utmost. Our own citizens were necessarily subjected to some inconvenience, but with that spirit and enthusiasm which is characteristic of Philadelphia under such circumstances, and which has made it a world-wide reputation for its achievements, they entered into the celebration with an earnestness and unity of feeling which could only eventuate in entire success. To the members of your Commission, and most especially to the president of the Commission, the chairman of the Executive Committee, and the secretary, your Reception Committee is indebted for cordial support and co-operation in the performance of the responsible duties intrusted to it. The committee discharged the work committed to it to the best of its ability, and it believes and hopes to the satisfaction of the Constitutional Centennial Commission. On the 21st of September, 1887, the chairman of the committee received the following graceful note of congratulation from your Commission and the executive officers of the same, which was most heartily appreciated, not only by the chairman but by the members of

the Reception Committee who so earnestly co-operated with him, and which is included in this report as a record of the approval of the committee's labors by the Commission.

The reception which most pleased the President during his visit to Philadelphia was the popular greeting on Saturday morning, in the commissioners' room, at the new Public Buildings. He frequently referred to it as the most gratifying event of the celebration. He said the deportment, the faces, the earnest and honest manner and the hearty enthusiasm of the throng, impressed him with the fact that the loyalty of the people to their government was being expressed by those best able to maintain and defend it. In leaving the city the President and Mrs. Cleveland expressed their deep feelings of appreciation of the skilful and kindly manner in which they had been conducted through all the stages and phases of the three days' celebration. They were not only gratified at the manner of their reception and the warm hospitality of the people of Philadelphia, but they were highly delighted with the complete success of the celebration. Your committee believes that they but echoed the sentiments and the feeling of appreciation of all of the guests of the Constitutional Centennial Commission. The committee is indebted to their secretary, Mr. Wm. H. Staake, for the preparation and compilation of this report. With the earnest hope that the success which has so deservedly greeted the efforts of your honorable body may be auspicious of a new century of liberty, blessing, progress, and prosperity for our beloved country,

I am, most respectfully, your obedient servant,

THOMAS M. THOMPSON,

Chairman of Reception Committee.

“PHILADELPHIA, September 21, 1887.

“THOMAS M. THOMPSON, ESQ.:

“DEAR SIR,—We have the honor to send you a copy of a resolution of thanks adopted by the Constitutional Centennial Commission at their final meeting.

"Will you allow us to add our appreciative acknowledgments of the excellent judgment which has characterized your arrangements and of the skill with which they were executed. We are under many personal obligations to you for the manner in which you discharged the duties of your department, and the general satisfaction of our many guests but echoes our own sentiments in regard to your conduct of a most difficult and arduous duty. Believe us to be,

"Very sincerely, yours,

"JOHN A. KASSON,

"*President Constitutional Centennial Commission.*

"AMOS R. LITTLE,

"*Chairman Executive Committee.*

"HAMPTON L. CARSON,

"*Secretary Constitutional Centennial Commission.*"

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON MUSIC.

PHILADELPHIA, October 13, 1887.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CENTENNIAL COMMISSION:

GENTLEMEN,—The Committee on Music appointed by your honorable body beg leave most respectfully to report: That they organized promptly, and proceeded to make arrangements for the musical features of the celebration, which were to take place in Independence Square on Saturday, September 17.

By the kind permission and orders of the United States government, the Marine Band of Washington, under the able leadership of Professor Soussa, was placed at our disposal to furnish the instrumental portion of the music, and also to furnish the accompaniments to the singing.

After a careful consideration of the character of the programme, and the intended purpose of the celebration on September 17, the Committee on Music decided to have vocal music rendered by two choruses, one a chorus of two thousand voices of the children of the public schools of Philadelphia, and the other a chorus of the male singers selected from the various societies.

An application was made to the Board of Education for permission to have the children sing, which they kindly and promptly granted.

A contract was thereupon made with Professor A. H. Rosewig, who agreed to have the children properly trained, to furnish the requisite number of assistant music teachers, to conduct the final general rehearsal, to furnish badges of admission for each of the children, and all of the music necessary.

The assistant teachers were thereafter appointed, and, under

the personal supervision of Professor Rosewig, rehearsals were had at a number of public schools, in different sections of the city, of two or three hundred voices at a time.

On Wednesday, September 14, two thousand boys assembled in Musical Fund Hall, at ten o'clock in the morning, at which time a general rehearsal was successfully conducted by Prof. Rosewig. The boys subsequently met in Washington Square on the morning of Saturday, September 17, and marched in good order to Independence Square, where they were assigned to their places on the platform, which had been provided for them.

The official programme shows the number and character of the pieces which they rendered.

We desire to make a special mention of the singing of the new "Hail Columbia," the words of which seemed to inspire the boys to the extent that they gladly committed it to memory, thus giving it a better musical effect than otherwise would have been the case.

The committee elected Professor Samuel L. Hermann to conduct the rehearsals and lead the chorus of men's voices.

Through the courtesy of the presidents and officers of the following-named musical societies, notices were sent to the male members of those organizations, together with a postal-card, which they were to return to the committee, and on which they were to state whether they would be able to sing at the celebration on September 17 or not.

Mænnerchor.

Young Mænnerchor.

Harmonie.

Philadelphia Quartet Club.

Orpheus Club.

Young Germania.

Germtown Choral Society.

The Cecilian.

The Philadelphia Chorus.

The Mendelssohn Society.

A large number of favorable responses were received from the male members of these organizations, and the result was a chorus of three hundred accomplished singers. They attended two re-

hearsals, held in Musical Fund Hall on the evenings of September 9 and 12, and it is generally admitted that, through the energy of Professor Hermann and the hearty co-operation of the members of the chorus, the three pieces rendered by them were decided musical features of the programme.

They sang the celebrated cantata, written by Mendelssohn to the "Sons of Art," the "Star-Spangled Banner," and the musical portion of the new National Hymn, the words of which were written by Mr. F. Marion Crawford. Each verse of this hymn closes with a grand and inspiring chorus, and it was thought advisable in every way, if possible, to have suitable music composed for the words of the chorus, and to have the same rendered by the male voices, in conjunction with the Marine Band.

Mr. W. W. Gilchrist, a noted musician of this city, was requested to undertake the task, which he accomplished in a highly successful manner, the result being a musical composition of a high order, well suited to the words and the spirit of the poem, well adapted to men's voices, and which produced a telling musical effect in Independence Square.

Mr. Gilchrist rendered his services gratuitously, and as an offering on his part towards the success of the celebration.

The Marine Band, of Washington, gave most valuable assistance, and performed several selections, to the evident gratification of the large audience.

While the expenses of the committee were estimated at two thousand dollars, they were confined to a sum less than thirteen hundred dollars.

Your committee desire to thank most heartily the officers and members of the Constitutional Centennial Commission for many valuable suggestions and their hearty co-operation.

All of which is respectfully submitted by

WM. HENRY LEX,

Chairman Music Committee, Constitutional Centennial Commission.

SELECTIONS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE OF THE COMMISSION.

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 1, 1887.

DEAR MR. KASSON,—I thank you very much for your kind invitation to be present on the 17th of this month, to deliver an address to your meeting celebrating the centennial of the Constitution; but pray remember that the burden of nearly eighty-eight years weighs heavily upon me and prevents my being with you.

The event you celebrate has not its parallel in the world's history. These hundred years of our republic have proved that "a government of the people, by the people, for the people," which hitherto has been thought possible only in a single city and its environs, is still better suited for the government of a continent; and that a federal republic excels all other forms of government in strength and durability. Every nation in Europe has in that period undergone a revolution or a violent change of dynasty, while our federal union remains firm and unshaken.

The thirteen original States possessed over three hundred and twenty-five thousand square miles, and now our States and Territories cover an area of over three and a quarter millions of them.

It was at first feared that the vast extent of the American territory would endanger the republic; but it was soon found that the larger its area the more safe is its union, for inter-citizenship, with all its blessings, is free from end to end of its domain; so that however far a citizen journeys within its almost boundless extent, he arrives not as a foreigner but as a fellow of those to whom he may come.

In spirit I shall join your gathering of lovers of their country, and am ever,

Most truly, yours,

GEO. BANCROFT.

LONDON, July 20, 1887.

GENTLEMEN,—I have had the great honor to receive your invitation to attend the approaching celebration of the centenary of the American Constitution.

The attractions of this invitation are enhanced to me by the circumstance that I have always regarded that Constitution as the most remarkable work known to me in modern times to have been produced by the human intellect, at a single stroke (so to speak), in its application to political affairs.

The invitation has also been accompanied with every accessory which even American hospitality could devise.

Had I real option in the case, I could not but accept it; but the limitations of my strength and time, and the incessant pressure of my engagements from day to day make me too well aware that I have none.

So far as I am able to foresee, or free to decide, the whole of the small residue of activity which remains at my command in connection with State affairs is dedicated to the prosecution of a great work at home. I regard the Irish question as the most urgent in its demands, and as the most full of the promise of widely beneficial results for my country in which I have ever been engaged. I have therefore no remaining fund of time or capacity for public exertion on which to draw. I ought, perhaps, to add that, viewing the jealousies prevalent at this time in England, I am doubtful whether those jealousies might not for the moment be stimulated were I to accept the distinction you offer me, not less signal than undeserved.

The first of these reasons, however, is that which removes from me freedom of moral choice in this matter, and compels me to decline the most flattering proposal I ever have received.

I shall watch, gentlemen, with a profound interest the proceedings at your celebration, when you will have to look back upon a century of national advancement without a parallel in history,

and to look forward to its probable continuance upon a still larger scale, with an accumulation of high duties and responsibilities proportioned to an ever-growing power. That you and your children may be enabled by the Almighty worthily to meet them is and will be, I am confident, the prayer of your kinsmen on this side the water; who hope, nay, who believe, that the moral relations of the several portions of our race are wisely destined to acquire, with the lapse of time, an increasing harmony and closeness.

I beg to remain, gentlemen,

Your obliged and faithful servant,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

To the Hon. JOHN A. KASSON, AMOS R. LITTLE, HAMPTON L. CARSON,
and THOMAS COCHRAN.

RICHFIELD SPRINGS, N. Y., August 28, 1887.

HAMPTON L. CARSON, ESQ.,

Secretary of the Constitutional Centennial Commission, Philadelphia.

DEAR SIR,—I have received the official card, requesting my presence at the celebration of the centennial anniversary of the framing and adoption of the Constitution of the United States, at Philadelphia, on the 15th, 16th, and 17th days of September next.

I regret that it will not be in my power to be present on either of the days of the celebration. I regret it the more because the study of the Constitution and its history has been almost the chief occupation of my whole life.

Although you propose to celebrate the centennial anniversary of the "*framing and promulgation* of the Constitution of the United States," I presume you will not omit the celebration of its amendments, especially those which followed immediately after the adoption of the Constitution by the requisite number of States. The first ten amendments should be regarded as incorporated into and engrafted upon the text of the original Constitution by the generation which established it, in order to prevent misconstruc-

tion and abuse of its powers, by adding further declaratory and restrictive clauses, thus extending the ground of public confidence in the proposed government and insuring the beneficent ends of its institution. These were expressly declared to be the purposes of the amendments by the Congress which assembled in New York on the 4th of March, 1789, and which prepared and submitted them for ratification by the State legislatures. It is therefore a most interesting and important study to note wherein these ten amendments supplemented the Constitution, why they were deemed necessary, and how they have furnished guides to the sound interpretation and successful administration of the Federal powers. It would require volumes to explain these declaratory and restrictive clauses in all their details; and I do not propose in this letter to write a Constitutional treatise, but I shall select from the topics included in these amendments two of them, which, as it seems to me, demand at the present day special attention. One of these relates to religious liberty; the other concerns the State sovereignties and their preservation. For what reason did the people of the United States demand the incorporation into the Constitution of the following clause in the first amendment?

“Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or abridging the free exercise thereof.”

When the Constitution was first promulgated, in 1787, it was everywhere seen that it proposed to create a government of enumerated powers, but that each of these powers would be in itself complete; and it was further seen that the whole mass of these powers would constitute a government of great strength.

Although the original Constitution embraced some clauses which would control the exercise of its granted powers in many important respects, it contained no expressed security of religious liberty. This was regarded as a serious defect. It was believed that religious liberty—“the right to the free exercise of religion”—was too important to be left thus unguarded in the creation of

such a government as that which the Constitution was to establish. It was believed, too, that it should be made entirely impracticable for Congress to establish any religion by law, or to make a national religion, or to favor any system of religion. We may suppose at the present day that there was no great danger of this kind to be obviated ; but the people of that day did not think so. They chose to make a restriction that would operate through all time ; and the history of the proceedings which led to this restriction is of the utmost consequence.

The three States which gave the greatest emphasis to the demand for an amendment on the subject of religion were New Hampshire, Virginia, and North Carolina. New Hampshire expressed it as follows :

“The Congress shall make no laws touching religion, or to infringe the rights of conscience.”

Virginia and North Carolina employed a greater amplitude of expression. Both of them said, in the same words,—

“That religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conscience, not by force or violence ; and therefore all men have an equal natural and inalienable right to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience, and that no particular religious sect or society ought to be favored or established in preference to others.”

I suppose it will be conceded by all students of our constitutional history that the political doctrine and philosophy of religious freedom owes more to Mr. Jefferson than to any other man in our history. I believe that he drafted, or, at least, influenced, the paper in which Virginia and North Carolina expressed their idea of true religious liberty. We know that he was the author of the bill which established religious liberty in Virginia ; and in his autobiography he has said that in it he “meant to comprehend within the mantle of its protection the Jew, the Gentile, and Christian,

and the Mohammedan, the Hindoo, and infidel of every description." Madison and Patrick Henry, when, in the Virginia Assembly, in 1776, they framed the Virginia Bill of Rights, made the broad scope of religious freedom perfectly clear; and when the First Amendment of the Federal Constitution was under consideration in Congress, in 1789, the debate in the House of Representatives shows with great distinctness what was meant by "the free exercise of religion." In our constitutional sense it does not comprehend solely all modes of public worship. It comprehends the right of holding and avowing religious beliefs, whatever they may be; and the only possible limitation of this right is that it shall not be made a shield for individual conduct that the legislative power sees fit to prohibit as injurious to the welfare of society. How the restriction against the establishment of any national religion, and the perfect religious liberty which the First Amendment guarantees to every man against the Federal powers of legislation, have operated to the advantage of religion and morality, have excluded the rivalry and hostility of churches and sects from the field of political action and controversy, and saved* the voluntary system in the support of the institutions of religion, I need not point out. This salutary restriction, imposed nearly a century ago upon the legislative authority of the Federal government, is as important to-day as it was when it was created; for the more numerous and the more powerful any church or any body of religionists becomes, the more necessary is it for the people to see that it can under no circumstances short of revolution attain to any preference in the action of government.

The other topic on which I proposed to touch in this letter is that suggested by the Ninth and Tenth Amendments. This topic has lost nothing of its importance by the lapse of time; on the contrary, it is of great practical consequence now, and we cannot foresee the time when it will not continue to be. We have gone through a civil war, in which the principal controversy that had to

be submitted to the arbitrament of arms was the relations between the State sovereignties and the sovereignty that is constituted by the Federal Constitution. But the result of that contest has not displaced or in any way lessened the importance, authority, and binding force of the Ninth and Tenth Amendments.

ARTICLE IX.

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

ARTICLE X.

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

Doubtless it might have been said in 1789 that, inasmuch as the Constitution granted to the proposed government only certain enumerated powers of a special character, all those powers of government which it had not delegated to the United States, nor forbidden the States to exercise, were to be presumed to be retained by the States or by the people. But the people of the several States did not choose to trust this matter to implication. They preferred to declare their will expressly and positively, so as to leave no possible doubt of the mode in which the Constitution was to be operated and interpreted. The fact that the Federal government put down by its military power the assertion of a State right of secession from the Union has in no way and in no degree changed the normal relation of the State sovereignties to the Federal government. Nothing could have done this but a revolution that would have swept the Ninth and Tenth Amendments out of the national charter. If the Federal government prosecuted the war under the authority of the Constitution with any decent purpose to preserve it, that government could not institute or conduct a revolution that would change the essential

character of the system. It did not intend to do so. To have done so would have been to commit a treason as palpable as that which the government undertook to prevent. The period of "reconstruction" which followed the war was one in which it appeared for a time to be doubtful what would become of the State sovereignties; but all reasonable men, after much tribulation, began to see that the alternatives were to suppress them entirely or to recognize them as still subsisting. Happily, the latter became the predominant feeling and conviction. So much of diminution of the State sovereignties as was sustained by the adoption of the XIIIth, XIVth, and XVth Amendments left those sovereignties in all other respects just as they were before the war. It was by reason of the recognition of this necessity that we came out of the turmoil of that period with the Constitution preserved, so that it could with truth continue to be said that "liberty and union" are "one and inseparable."

And now let any one estimate, if he can, with what probability we should have expanded into the greatest nation that we are, should have experienced the happiness and obtained the development and enjoyed the renown which our first century under the Constitution has witnessed, if all the elements of political power had been fused into one mass in the hands of a central government and the States had not guarded their respective sovereignties as they did. It is to this mixed system of Federal and State powers, each acting in its appropriate sphere, going hand in hand across this continent and carrying our civilization from ocean to ocean, that we owe our national greatness. It should be our utmost care at all times to draw accurately and carefully the line that separates the Federal and the State powers; and the success with which this is done will in any age of our national existence mark the intellectual and moral ability of that age to appreciate and preserve the system that it has inherited.

I trust that from all quarters of the Union there will come to

this celebration an ample representation of the now united American people; that men of the South will join with men of the North in honoring the framers of that government which, in the true spirit of its administration, knows no North, no South, no East, and no West, and by its appropriate and beneficent functions makes for us one country and one destiny.

Thanking the committee for the honor of the invitation to be present at the coming anniversary, and again regretting my inability to attend,

I am, very respectfully,

Their obedient servant,

GEO. TICKNOR CURTIS.

HAMBURG, GERMANY, September 2, 1887.

HONS. JOHN A. KASSON, AMOS R. LITTLE, HAMPTON L. CARSON:

GENTLEMEN,—It is with sincere regret that I find myself unable to accept your invitation to be present at the celebration of the centennial anniversary of the promulgation of the Constitution of the United States, September 17, 1787.

Next to the Declaration of Independence the ordaining of the Constitution is the great event to be celebrated for all time by the American people. As years roll by and the nation grows in numbers, in power, in prestige, our admiration and appreciation of the men who framed our organic law are steadily strengthened. It was assuredly a work of genius to construct for thirteen feeble States, with an aggregate of three and a half millions of people, a Constitution which one hundred years later is found perfectly adapted to the needs and wishes of a powerful nation, expanded fourfold in its territorial area, with thirty-eight States and more than sixty millions of people.

Perhaps in no country, and at no period of the world's history, has the conception of free government, firmly secured by the checks and balances of a permanent and conservative Constitu-

tion, been more profoundly studied and comprehended than by our forefathers. They effectually organized a revolution against the foolish tyranny of an English king and against the arrogant wrong of an English Parliament. After victory in the field they completed their work by laying broad and deep the foundations of a popular government,—in which the people are rulers and the officials are servants.

The extraordinary proportion of men who in that patriotic generation were fitted by long study and training for the highest duties of statesmanship is shown by the fact that of the fifty-five (55) members of the Congress of 1776 who signed the Declaration of Independence only six (6) were included in the thirty-nine (39) members of the Convention of 1787 who signed the Constitution.

The reverence and affection which we feel towards those great men will be best shown by cherishing their work, and assuring to our descendants as many and as grateful reasons for a national celebration of the establishment of the Constitution as those which influence us to-day.

With great respect,

Faithfully yours,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

ONE ASH, ROCHDALE, September 9, 1887.

DEAR SIR,—I am much indebted to you and to your colleagues for the invitation with which you have favored me to be present at the first centennial anniversary of the framing of the Constitution of the United States, to be celebrated during the present month in the city of Philadelphia.

It is not a pleasant thing to have to decline such an invitation, and yet I must ask you to excuse me if I am unable to accept it. I do not look upon two voyages with pleasure, and I have always been disposed to avoid great assemblies and great ceremonies.

I need not say how much sympathy I feel with the gathering to which you are looking forward with so great interest. All the civilized world, or all who love freedom in it, must regard the event which you are about to commemorate as one of the most important in the annals of men.

In the great struggle of twenty-five years ago the strength of your country was shown and its unity was secured. My voice was raised at that time in favor of that unity, which I hope may never again be endangered or impaired. And now I would look forward with hope and faith.

As you advance in the second century of your national life, may we not ask that your country and mine may march in line in the direction of freedom and the policy which the moral law will sustain?

May we not comfort ourselves with the belief that your country, under a succession of noble Presidents, with their ministers and your Congress, and my country, under a succession of patriot sovereigns, with their ministers and Parliaments, may assist and guide the growing millions for whom they act to nobler ends than have hitherto been reached?

May we not ask that our two nations may be one people, and that in years to come, and years not very remote, the millions with you and the millions with us, which, growing in numbers and in strength, may grow in wisdom, and may enter more fully into the enjoyment of the boundless blessings which are offered to the nations, in and by the perfect freedom of human industry, and in the establishment of a perpetual peace?

I am grateful to you, and to those associated with you, for your most kind invitation, and subscribe myself, with every sentiment of respect,

Yours very sincerely,

To JOHN A. KASSON, Esq.,
Philadelphia, U. S. America.

JOHN BRIGHT.

BANGOR, ME., August 22, 1887.

DEAR SIR,—I was in due receipt of your invitation to attend the “ceremonies in commemoration of the promulgation of the Constitution of the United States,” to be held at Philadelphia the 15th, 16th, and 17th of September, 1887, and I am also in receipt of your renewed invitation of the 16th inst.

I delayed a reply to your invitation, as I was unable to inform you whether it would be possible for me to be present at said ceremonies or not. Nor am I now able to determine. I will attend, if I possibly can, but owing to certain conditions of my affairs, I cannot determine until about the 10th of September. I will then know what I will be able to do, and will advise you.

Very truly yours,

HANNIBAL HAMLIN.

To HAMPTON L. CARSON,

Secretary Constitutional Centennial Commission,
Philadelphia, Pa.

BANGOR, September 3, 1887.

MY DEAR MR. KASSON,—I was in due receipt of your favor of the 24th ult., and I am now able to advise you that I will be present at the ceremonies in commemoration of the promulgation of the Constitution of the United States in Philadelphia, the 15th, 16th, and 17th inst. Expect to reach Philadelphia on the 14th.

Yours truly,

HANNIBAL HAMLIN.

To Hon. JOHN A. KASSON,

President, etc., etc.,
Philadelphia, Pa.

NEW DEREEN, NEW RICHMOND, P. Q., August 8, 1887.

SIR,—I have the honor, by direction of his Excellency the Governor-General, to acknowledge, with his best thanks, the receipt of the kind invitation which you have sent to Lady Lansdowne and himself, on behalf of the Constitutional Centennial Commission.

It would have given his Excellency the greatest pleasure to be present at the commemoration of the promulgation of the Constitution of the United States in 1787, which is to be held in Philadelphia in September next, and Lord Lansdowne desires me to add that he fully apprehends the courteous intentions of the commissioners. He regrets, however, that his engagements in Canada during the month of September must prevent Lady Lansdowne and himself from being present on this interesting occasion.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

HENRY STREATFIELD,
Captain, Governor-General's Secretary.

To H. L. CARSON, Esq.,
907 Walnut Street, Philadelphia.

NEW YORK, ARMY BUILDING, July 31, 1887.

HAMPTON L. CARSON,
Secretary of Constitutional Centennial Commission.
Philadelphia, Pa.:

DEAR SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the kind invitation of the above Commission, extended to myself and Mrs. Sherman, to be present on the occasion of the ceremonies in commemoration of the promulgation of the Constitution of the United States, to be held in your city on the 15th, 16th, and 17th of September, 1887.

In consequence of the annual meeting of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee, to be held at Detroit about this time, to which I now stand committed, I regret to say it will be impossible to be present on this most auspicious occasion.

With hearty assurances of our appreciation of the compliment,

I am, with great respect,

Yours very truly,

W. T. SHERMAN,
General.

WASHINGTON, September 5, 1887.

HON. J. A. KASSON, Philadelphia :

MY DEAR SIR,—Your last was duly received, but my answer has been delayed, in the hope that such arrangements might be made as would enable me to accept the invitation of your Commission, and attend the centennial at least one day. I regret to say, however, that it now seems impossible to do so, and as the time is so short, I fear it will not be in my power to change the existing situation. Under the circumstances, the only safe course for me to take is to decline, which I do with sincere regret, as the visit would certainly be a most agreeable one in every respect. If I were actually Speaker of the House, I certainly would not permit any other engagement to interfere with the performance of such a pleasant duty, but my presence now would not add anything to the official representation, and I feel that it can be dispensed with without affecting the character of the proceedings.

Yours truly,

J. G. CARLISLE.

UPLANDS, BROOKLINE, MASS., August 27, 1887.

HONS. JOHN A. KASSON, AMOS R. LITTLE, HAMPTON L. CARSON :

GENTLEMEN,—I am highly honored in being included among the invited guests for the great celebration of the 17th of September, and I thank you sincerely for the compliment. No more memorable event is to be found in our American annals than that which Philadelphia was privileged to witness on the 17th of September a hundred years ago. The promulgation of the Constitution by Washington, as President of the Convention which had framed it, with the signatures of Franklin and Madison and Hamilton, and the rest of the thirty-eight deputies from twelve States, gave assurance that not independence only, but union and liberty, were to be secured to the American people.

I would gladly assist in the celebration of this great anni-

versary, and listen to the oration of my friend, Mr. Justice Miller, but I am compelled to deny myself, and can only offer you my grateful acknowledgments and sincere regrets.

Believe me, gentlemen, with great respect,

Your obedient fellow-citizen,

ROBERT C. WINTHROP.

DONEGAL FARM, LANCASTER COUNTY, PA.,

September 9, 1887.

HAMPTON L. CARSON, Esq.,

Secretary Constitutional Centennial Commission:

DEAR SIR,—I am in receipt of yours of the 8th inst., and also the special invitation of the 16th ult., inviting me to be the special guest of the Commission during the centennial celebration. My absence has prevented an earlier response, and I embrace the first opportunity to tender my acknowledgments to the Commission, and to accept with pleasure their invitation to be present at a celebration which recalls all that is great and glorious in the history of our country.

I expect to be in Philadelphia on the morning of the 15th, and will proceed at once to the Girard House.

Very truly yours,

SIMON CAMERON.

2 WALL STREET, NEW YORK, September 10, 1887.

SIR,—Absence from the city has belated the receipt of the invitation with which you honor me, to witness the observance of the centennial of the Constitution of the United States.

It would, of course, be a privilege to be present at an occasion so historic and interesting, and it is matter of regret that I am not free to go.

Your obedient servant,

ROSCOE CONKLING.

To the Honorable JOHN A. KASSON.

LEXINGTON, VA., August 8, 1887.

HON. JOHN A. KASSON,

President, etc. :

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your invitation to the ceremonies in celebration of the centennial anniversary of the closing days of the Federal Convention which met in Philadelphia in May, 1787, and proposed the Federal Constitution, which it adopted on the 17th of September, 1787, to the States for their several assent and ratification.

The celebration is appropriate to the great event,—the greatest in constitutional history,—and in the effort by every means to conserve the principles of the Constitution proposed and adopted by the Convention and ratified by the States, and to perpetuate the constitutional union thereby established, you have my hearty sympathy.

It will afford me great pleasure to be present at the celebration, and I accept the invitation with great satisfaction.

I have the honor to be, with high regard,

Yours truly,

J. R. TUCKER.

ST. JOHN, NEW BRUNSWICK, August 24, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR,—Will you be pleased to communicate to the Constitutional Centennial Commission my warmest thanks for the honor they have done Lady Ritchie and myself in inviting us to be present as the guests of the Commission at the ceremonies in commemoration of the promulgation of the Constitution of the United States, in 1787, to be held at Philadelphia, on the 15th, 16th, and 17th of September next.

I am very sorry to say that it will not be in our power to avail ourselves of the kind invitation, judicial duties, most unfortunately, requiring my presence in Ottawa on the days named.

I assure you that both Lady Ritchie and I regret extremely being compelled to forego the great pleasure it would have

afforded us of being present on so interesting an occasion, and of enjoying the hospitality of the Commission.

Your letter reached Ottawa while I was absent at the seaside, and I have just received it at St. John, N. B., to which place it has been forwarded to me. This is my apology for the apparent neglect in not sooner replying.

I remain, my dear sir,

Very faithfully, yours,

JOHN RITCHIE.

To Hon. JOHN A. KASSON.

EARNSCLIFFE, OTTAWA, August 8, 1887.

Sir John Macdonald greatly regrets that his official engagements deprive him of the pleasure of accepting the kind invitation of the Constitutional Centennial Commission to be their guest at the ceremonies in commemoration of the promulgation of the Constitution of the United States in 1787.

DUBUQUE, IOWA, August 12, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR,—Thanks for your invitation to be present at the centennial of the Constitution. I regret that I am so situated that I cannot be present to participate in the commemoration of this great event. This will strengthen our appreciation of the work achieved by the men of one hundred years ago, in establishing a government based on the popular will, enduring in its character and nature, and at the same time conferring the greatest blessings upon those whose privilege it is to dwell in our country.

Sincerely yours,

W. B. ALLISON.

BURLINGTON, VT., September 5, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR,—I duly received your card of invitation to attend the celebration of the centennial anniversary of the framing and promulgation of the Constitution of the United States at

Philadelphia on the 15th inst. I had delayed replying, in the hope that I might be able to accept the invitation, and have the honor of being present on that most interesting historic occasion, and unite with other lovers of their country in celebrating this great and most auspicious event; but I find it quite impossible for me to do so in view of pressing professional engagements, in respect of which it would be unjust to neglect the interests of those whose affairs have been intrusted to my charge. I wish for you all every felicity that can belong to such an occasion, and I unite with you all in hoping that many more centuries will be witnesses to the preservation of the principles of the national and local government embodied in that sacred instrument. In haste,

Very sincerely yours,

GEO. F. EDMUNDS.

To Hon. JOHN A. KASSON,

President, etc.,

Care of HAMPTON L. CARSON, Esq.,

907 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

UTICA, N. Y., September 14, 1887.

HON. JOHN A. KASSON,

President, etc.:

MY DEAR SIR,—I greatly regret that I am unable to be present at Philadelphia at the celebration of the centennial anniversary of the framing and promulgation of the Constitution of the United States. I have delayed answering your invitation, in hopes that I could be present, but I now find that other engagements will prevent me from attending.

I rejoice that the people of this country are going to celebrate the birth of a Constitution which has brought so many blessings to these States. Such a celebration will revive glorious Revolutionary memories, and will aid to keep alive the sentiments of respect and veneration with which we should regard the Constitution of the United States. To that great instrument, so wisely and

wonderfully drafted, we owe much of our prosperity as a people, and it should be our aim to perpetuate it unimpaired to our children.

I remain, very truly, yours,

FRANCIS KERNAN.

NEVIS, IRVINGTON, WESTCHESTER Co., N. Y.,

August 25, 1887.

HON. JOHN A. KASSON,

President, etc.

SIR,—I have been honored by an invitation to attend the centennial of the formation of the Constitution, on the 17th of September next.

As an answer was requested, I wrote at once to the secretary that I should be glad to attend unless prevented by gout and old age. It has occurred to me that this may be inconvenient to the Commission, and in that case I would withdraw my qualified acceptance and send a letter of regret.

At the same time, for many reasons, it would give me pleasure to attend a celebration at which it is almost a duty for me to be present.

As you are aware, the Convention, on September 17, 1787, treated Mr. Hamilton as assenting to and adopting the Constitution as an individual, and authorized him to sign the instrument as such, with the addition of the words of description, "from New York." They evidently wished the influence of his name, as an ardent and prominent unionist, and at the same time could not and would not recognize the State of New York after its secession by a majority of its delegates on July 10, 1887.

It was hoped and expected that this act might operate to break up the Convention, and indeed its effect is shown in a letter of Washington to Hamilton, temporarily absent in New York, written in great despondency on that 10th of July, in which he says, "I almost despair of seeing a favorable issue to the proceedings of

the Convention, and do therefore repent having any agency in the business."

In the concluding paragraph Washington adds, "I am sorry you went away; I wish you were back," and urges Hamilton not to give up his efforts at the crisis, "equally important and alarming." That crisis was the defection of New York.

Mr. Hamilton did return, as he intended doing, and remained to the end, speaking and acting on prominent committees, but without a vote of course.

It is clear, then, from the record, that the State of New York, as a State, had nothing to do with the formation of the Constitution, and, therefore, for the State to take part in the centennial is to celebrate an event in which she not only had no share, but did her best to defeat,—a mortifying position for a great State.

I will not add to this letter, already too long, by doing more than referring to Mr. Hamilton's desperate efforts through two or three years to defeat Governor Clinton's determined attempt, with the aid of his official position, to prevent, in the words of the "Federalist," referring to Governor Clinton, "the formation of a general national committee in every possible shape."

As it happens that I am the representative of General Hamilton in my generation, it would seem my duty, as above referred to, which no other person can historically perform, to represent the prominent part assigned to him as an individual delegate in the Convention in assenting to and adopting the great organic law.

The object of this letter is to assure you, as president of the Commission, that, if unable to attend on the 17th of September next, I am neither indifferent to the claims upon me nor insensible of the courtesy of the Commission in extending to me an invitation to be present.

Occupied as you are, I neither expect and indeed can hardly

wish an answer to this letter which I shall forward to you to the care of Mr. Carson, the secretary.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

A. HAMILTON.

NEW YORK, August 25, 1887.

HAMPTON L. CARSON,

Secretary of Committee on Centennial Celebration,

907 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. :

DEAR SIR,—Agreeably with the request contained in the card of invitation, to be present at the forthcoming commemoration of the national Constitution at Philadelphia on the 15th of September, I write to say that it would afford me great pleasure to join the assembled company in the ceremony ; but I fear that an accumulation of pressing duties will prevent.

I regret this unavoidable absence all the more, because I recognize, of late, in the extraordinary mental and material pursuits a disposition among many of my compatriots, whose minds have not been disciplined by either thoughtful habit, historical research, observation of other countries, or by long experience in commercial or handicraft affairs, to overlook the blessings of the fundamental ordinance under which we have, as a people, prospered. It will be a real service to the country at this time to remind all classes, and more especially that class which seeks to mould public opinion, and to crystallize it into statutory enactments, that we are living under a written charter, so flexible as to be changeable, after due deliberation and formality, but yet so stable as not to be overturned by every gust of ignorant clamor or vagary of the professional agitator. It is to-day a pertinent query whether the solemn provisions of the Constitution of 1787 are more operative on the younger minds than the prejudices of an unscrupulous editor or the demagoguery of the average seeker after public office?

The love of approbation—that most powerful and persistent

of human passions—is, by our great freedom of political thought, speech, and action, liable to become the dominating passion, greatly to the detriment of individual character and the worth of personal conviction. This extreme will no doubt bring its own cure; and among the agencies for its rectification, as of all other abnormalities, is the cultivation of a scrupulous regard for the instrument which underlies our social and political fabric. We stand in need of its steadying and moderating influence, yielding to every substantial progressive reform, and at the same time rigid enough to withstand the craze of the hour.

The agreeable and transcendent privilege of emphasizing the blessings of our form of government has, I perceive, fallen into able hands, and I shall watch with interest the proceedings of your meeting.

Yours, very respectfully,

C. P. HUNTINGTON.

EQUITABLE BUILDING, 120 BROADWAY,
NEW YORK CITY, August 19, 1887.

HAMPTON L. CARSON, ESQ.,

Secretary of Constitutional Centennial Commission,
Philadelphia, Pa.:

DEAR SIR,—I am in receipt of your polite invitation to attend the centennial anniversary of the framing and promulgation of the Constitution of the United States at Philadelphia on the 15th, 16th, and 17th days of September, 1887. I very much regret that engagements requiring my presence elsewhere on those days will prevent my having the pleasure of taking part in these interesting and patriotic ceremonies.

Now that the abolition of slavery—acquiesced in not grudgingly, but heartily, by the South—has removed all existing cause of dissension, it seems an appropriate occasion to celebrate the anniversary of the framing of our Constitution, strict obedience to which will remove the greatest difficulty to which our country is

now exposed, namely, the tendency to centralization, increased by the exercise of war powers which the rebellion rendered necessary, but which seem much more difficult to disuse in peace than to adopt in war.

Very respectfully and gratefully yours,

GEO. HOADLY.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF COMPTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY,
WASHINGTON, D. C., August 11, 1887.

MESSRS. JOHN A. KASSON, *President*; AMOS R. LITTLE, *Chairman Executive Committee*; and HAMPTON L. CARSON, *Secretary Constitutional Centennial Commission*, Philadelphia, Pa.:

GENTLEMEN,—I have had the honor to receive from you, in behalf of the Constitutional Centennial Commission, an invitation to attend the celebration in Philadelphia of the hundredth anniversary of the framing and promulgation of the Constitution of the United States.

The authors of the Constitution deserve the grateful remembrance of all mankind, because they first realized that the supreme sovereignty of the people could be permanently established only by providing for the constitutional exercise of its prerogatives through two channels, the Federal authority and the authority of the separate States.

It is thus that personal liberty, local self-government, and national unity have found room to grow side by side, so that their blended blessings now daily descend upon our sixty millions of people.

The deeper meanings of the Constitution could be wrought into practical rules of government only by time, discussion, and, unhappily, even by conflict; but all seriously disputed questions are now at rest, and the universally accepted interpretation of this sacred instrument is held by the people under seal of the best blood of the land.

There will come a time in the future of our country when the generation that battled in order that the Constitution might be perfected will be held next in honor to the generation by which it was framed and promulgated ; for in a few years every American pulse that is quickened by patriotic emotion will throb with the mingled blood of ancestors who on opposite sides gained equal renown and whose memories are held in equal esteem.

I regret that it will be impossible for me to be present, but I beg that you will receive my cordial wishes for the success of the celebration.

Your obedient servant,

W. L. TRENHOLM.

August 18, 1887.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CENTENNIAL COMMISSION :

GENTLEMEN,—It is with regret that I am constrained to decline your polite invitation to attend the celebration to be held at Philadelphia in September ; but I beg you to believe that I am very sincerely sensible of the honor conferred by your summons, and heartily desirous of seeing a grand demonstration in honor of such a cardinal event.

I am, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

J. Q. ADAMS.

BEAVER C. H., August 10, 1887.

GENTLEMEN,—I take pleasure in acknowledging and accepting your kind invitation, on behalf of your constituents, to the centennial anniversary of the framing and promulgation of the Constitution of the United States.

No great event of a nation deserves remembrance more than this plan of government, which ever develops and yet governs

wisely a people of widening millions, over a continent increasing in marvellous production and power.

Thanking you for the honor,

I am truly yours, etc.,

DANIEL AGNEW.

To JOHN A. KASSON, *President*; AMOS R. LITTLE, *Chairman, etc.*; HAMPTON L. CARSON, *Secretary*.

PABLO BEACH, FLORIDA, August 17, 1887.

DEAR SIR,—The invitation to be present at the celebration of the centennial anniversary of the framing and promulgation of the Constitution of the United States at Philadelphia has been received.

Recollecting the great enjoyment derived from my attendance on the celebration of the centennial anniversary of the Declaration of American Independence in your city in 1876, I feel a strong desire to accept your very kind invitation. The fact that I have lately had a shock of paralysis, and had a surgical operation performed on my face, which still requires the care of a surgeon, admonish me, at the age of nearly eighty-six years, to take care of myself.

Therefore, while I am in full sympathy with the object of your coming celebration, yet, for the reasons given, I must most reluctantly and very respectfully, with thanks, decline the invitation that you so very kindly tendered to me.

Very truly yours,

F. E. SPINNER.

To HAMPTON L. CARSON, Esq.,
Secretary, etc.,
Philadelphia, Pa.

CRAWFORDSVILLE, August 24, 1887.

DEAR SIR,—I beg to acknowledge receipt of the invitation to be a guest of the Constitutional Centennial Commission. Answer

would have been sooner forwarded, but that I delayed, thinking it might be possible to accept,—something I very much desired on account of my high appreciation of the object of the celebration. At last, however, it becomes apparent that I must decline the honor. The parties to whom I engaged myself for the period covered by your programme will not let me free. I can only thank the committee for remembering me so kindly, and wish the projectors of the movement commensurate success.

Very truly,

LEW WALLACE.

To Mr. H. L. CARSON,
Secretary.

AMESBURY, MASS., 8 Mo. 23, 1887.

HAMPTON L. CARSON, ESQ.,
Secretary :

DEAR FRIEND,—I regret that the condition of my health makes it impossible for me to be present at the centennial celebration of the framing of the Constitution of the United States. Under other circumstances it would give me pleasure to be with you on an occasion of such interest to an American citizen.

I am, truly, thy friend,

JOHN G. WHITTIER.

MATUNUCK, R. I., September 13, 1887.

DEAR SIR,—I regret to find, at the last moment, that I must decline the courteous invitation of your committee, and lose the pleasure I had anticipated in attending the centennial celebration.

The Constitution has served, as it well may, for a central study for all nations which have tried to make constitutions for a hundred years. With one great exception, which resulted in its great improvement, it has kept the peace between what were thirteen States and are now three times that number; between which there seemed to be a thousand rivalries and occasions for contest. We have been the one successful peace society in history.

Let us hope that such success may call nations now divided to study the possibilities of union for the purposes which all mankind hold in common, while each maintains the advantages of ruling itself at home. Our Constitution may thus suggest the methods for the "federation of the world."

I have the honor to be, dear sir, with great respect,

Yours truly,

EDWARD E. HALE.

VILLA CRAWFORD, SANT' AGNELLO DI SORRENTO,

August 27, 1887.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CENTENNIAL COMMISSION,

Philadelphia:

GENTLEMEN,—I greatly regret that, owing to my unavoidable absence from the United States, I am unable to profit by your courteous invitation, for which I beg you to accept my most hearty thanks.

I have the honor to be, gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

F. MARION CRAWFORD.

August 12, 1887.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CENTENNIAL COMMISSION:

GENTLEMEN,—Thanking you for the honor of your invitation, I am obliged reluctantly to say that it will be *impossible* for me to accept it.

May the success attend your celebration which ought to attend it in a nation who have such increasing reason to rejoice in the event you celebrate.

With high respect and esteem,

I am yours ever,

H. B. STOWE.

MANCHESTER, MASS., August 12, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR,—I thank your committee very much for doing me the honor of bidding me to the anniversary of the framing of the Constitution, and am truly sorry that circumstances will prevent my attendance. The occasion will be a most important, interesting, and brilliant one. A great many distinguished people will be present, and the sentiment of national dignity will be increased. The meaning of such an event cannot be mistaken.

Cordially yours,

O. B. FROTHINGHAM.

KEEP ROCK, NEW CASTLE, N. H., August 18, 1887.

HAMPTON L. CARSON, ESQ.,

Secretary Constitutional Centennial Commission :

DEAR SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge your very kind invitation, extended in behalf of your Commission, that I should be one of your special guests on the 15th–17th proximo. And I must apologize for not replying to your special card, having supposed that my enforced declination of the honor of acting as your poet had covered the other invitation.

It would give me real pleasure to avail myself of your official invitation. But, unluckily, I am here for health, under medical orders, and shall not be able to curtail my vacation, even to participate in the ceremonies of an occasion so important to every citizen of the United States, and to enjoy the hospitality for which Philadelphia is proverbial.

Very faithfully,

EDMUND C. STEDMAN.

WALNUT STREET, August 30, 1887.

HAMPTON L. CARSON, ESQ.,

Secretary, etc. :

DEAR SIR,—It will give me great pleasure to be present at the centennial celebration of the framing and promulgation of the

Constitution of the United States, and to give the little aid in my power towards what we may now regard as its assured and brilliant success.

I regret that it was not possible for me to comply with the invitation contained in Mr. Kasson's and your own kind letters, to write a poem for the occasion ; but the time allotted for the work was too brief for my slow-paced muse, so that, much against my inclination, I was obliged to decline what I consider to be a great honor.

With my best wishes, I am,

Sincerely, yours,

GEORGE H. BOKER.

NASHVILLE, TENN., August 20, 1887.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CENTENNIAL COMMISSION, to celebrate the Centennial Anniversary at Philadelphia, on the 15th, 16th, and 17th of September, MR. JOHN A. KASSON, *President*, AND OTHERS.

DEAR SIRs,—I acknowledge with pleasure your invitation, in behalf of the Centennial Commission, to attend the anniversary in Philadelphia.

Be assured, gentlemen, that I appreciate the compliment, and regret that feeble health at my advanced age (eighty-four) will prevent my presence on that interesting occasion.

With sentiments of much consideration,

I am, most respectfully,

MRS. JAMES K. POLK,

"Polk Place."

ELBERON, N. J., August 9, 1887.

JOHN A. KASSON, AMOS R. LITTLE, HAMPTON L. CARSON:

GENTLEMEN,—Mrs. U. S. Grant, my mother, regrets that she will not be able to attend the celebration of the centennial anni-

versary of the framing and promulgation of the Constitution of the United States on the 15th, 16th, and 17th of September.

My wife and I accept your kind invitation, and will be present in Philadelphia at that time.

I am, gentlemen,

Very truly yours,

F. D. GRANT.

MENTOR, OHIO, August 19, 1887.

Mrs. Garfield regrets that she cannot arrange to attend the celebration in September of the Constitutional Centennial Commission, and wishes that her compliments and thanks be accepted for the invitation to be a guest of the Commission on that occasion.

NEW YORK, August 2, 1887.

Bishop Potter has much pleasure in accepting the courteous invitation of the Constitutional Centennial Commission for September 17.

To Hon. J. A. KASSON, etc.

ELBERON, N. J., August 6, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR,—Owing to my absence from home, your letter has just reached me.

I shall be very glad to render the service you ask, on the 17th prox., and shall be obliged to you if, in due time, you will furnish me with further details in regard to it.

I am, dear sir, sincerely, yours,

H. C. POTTER,

96 Trenton Avenue, N. Y.

To H. L. CARSON, Esq.

August 23, 1887.

RESPECTED DEAR SIR,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 8th inst., informing me that I am invited to offer the closing prayer on the seventeenth day of September next.

I gratefully accept the invitation, and shall cheerfully comply with the request of the committee by performing the sacred duty assigned to me.

In common with my fellow-citizens I heartily rejoice in the forthcoming commemorative celebration. The Constitution of the United States is worthy of being written in letters of gold. It is a charter by which the liberties of sixty millions of people are secured, and by which, under Providence, the temporal happiness of countless millions yet unborn will be perpetuated.

I am yours, very sincerely,

JAMES CARD. GIBBONS,

Archbishop of Baltimore.

To H. L. CARSON, Esq.,
Secretary.

NASHVILLE, TENN., September 9, 1887.

HON. JOHN A. KASSON,
907 Walnut Street:

DEAR SIR,—I accept with thanks your invitation to Philadelphia, and will perform the part assigned me in the ceremonies of the 17th of September.

JERRY WITHERSPOON.

GLEN SUMMIT, PA., September 7, 1887.

DEAR SIR,—A second invitation to attend, on the evenings of the 15th, 16th, and 17th of September, the celebration of the Centennial anniversary of the framing and promulgation of the Constitution of the United States having reached me, I write to express the satisfaction it will give me to do so.

The occasion will be so remarkable that every lover of his country cannot but deem it a privilege to be present. The experiment of 1787 has become an enduring success. For a century our Federal Constitution has been tried and tested and not found wanting. It has not only survived, but been made even more perfect by a civil convulsion unprecedented in the annals of

the world. Under its *ægis* "the government of the people, by the people, and for the people," has gone on developing until it has become a wonder in the sight of all nations.

Nor can I help referring to that absolute separation of Church and State which our Constitution tacitly maintains, recognizing no State Church, but allowing each citizen to worship God as conscience dictates. The result has been a century of marvellous Christian energy, liberty, and progress.

It is therefore eminently proper that the representatives of the Church should recognize and commend to the blessing of Almighty God the coming celebration.

With great respect,

Yours sincerely,

EDMUND DE SCHWEINITZ,

Bishop of the Moravian Church.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, September 8, 1887.

MR. HAMPTON L. CARSON,

Secretary of Constitutional Centennial Commission :

DEAR SIR,—I take great pleasure in accepting your kind invitation to take part with my fellow-citizens in the appropriate ceremonies to be held on the 15th, 16th, and 17th inst. in commemoration of the framing and promulgation of the Constitution of the United States one hundred years ago.

It was an event fraught with mighty consequences to us as a people and to the world at large. Here, in an almost trackless forest and measureless continent, we undertook to frame a Constitution and establish a government by which the people were to govern themselves. As a result, freedom and restraint have been so wisely balanced that ambition has been encouraged, disorder restrained, and the better elements of our common nature urged to their highest development, ending in wealth and unheard-of prosperity. But, better still, we have taught the world that freedom can exist without license, and authority without tyranny.

For this we rejoice, and for this we have good cause to rejoice, we and the untold millions yet to come, whose duty it will be to guard the solemn trust bequeathed to us. Let no rude hand be placed upon it; let no man dare to break it, let its letter and spirit be engraven on the hearts of the people, that while the old rejoice the young shall learn the treasure they inherit.

Let the celebration be without distinction of race or creed, but find its motive in a common gratitude and a common citizenship.

Yours truly and sincerely,

R. GILMOUR,

Bishop of Cleveland.

CAPON SPRINGS, WEST VA., August 25, 1887.

HAMPTON L. CARSON, ESQ. :

DEAR SIR,—Your invitation to attend the centennial anniversary of the framing and promulgation of the Constitution of the United States has just reached me at this place, for which please accept my grateful acknowledgment. I expect to be at my home in Philadelphia to share in the national festivity with patriotic joy. As a chaplain in the army from Pennsylvania, I rejoice profoundly in the peace, prosperity, and perpetuity of our great nation; and especially so, that the people of our undivided country can commemorate the centennial of our constitutional bond as a Federal Union in the midst of abounding benedictions.

Yours very respectfully,

B. L. AGNEW,

Pastor of Bethlehem Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia.

August 15, 1887.

THE COMMITTEE OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CENTENNIAL COMMISSION :

GENTLEMEN,—The receipt of your esteemed favor, covering an invitation to be present at the ceremonies in September, is hereby acknowledged. I shall feel honored in making a unit in the vast sum of patriotic humanity which will then be gathered in the place where the pen utilized and preserved the victories of the sword.

It is no small privilege to stand in the "so great a cloud of witnesses" to the results won by the valor of the men and the loyalty, patience, and fortitude of the women who live in American history. Not less is our testimony due to the wisdom of our political fathers who devised, in the name of the people, "a more perfect union." Above all, we witness and confess our duty to the beneficent Ruler of Nations, who wrought in them and has crowned their work.

Respectfully,
H. HASTINGS WELD.

PHILADELPHIA, August 21, 1887.

GENTLEMEN,—It gives me great pleasure to accept and thank you for your kind invitation to attend the celebration of the centennial anniversary of the framing and promulgation of the Constitution of the United States. I shall be glad to be able to avail myself of your kindness, and hope no official engagements or other circumstances beyond my control will prevent me from witnessing a celebration as unique as the grand and successful experiment of political government which it commemorates.

Accept again my sincerest thanks for the honor you deemed fit to confer on me, and believe me to be

Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,

M. JASTROW.

To Messrs. JOHN A. KASSON, *President*; AMOS R. LITTLE, *Chairman of Executive Committee*; HAMPTON L. CARSON, *Secretary of the Constitutional Centennial Commission*.

CITY, 767 SOUTH SEVENTEENTH STREET,

August 20, 1887.

CONSTITUTIONAL CENTENNIAL COMMISSION,

HAMPTON L. CARSON, *Secretary* :

DEAR SIR,—Allow me, in acceptance of the kind invitation to be present at the ceremonies of the 15th, 16th, and 17th of September next, not only to express my personal thanks, but to

acknowledge, in behalf of the colored race, whose condition and progress have been so marvellously changed in those one hundred years, the spirit of justice and citizenship involved in the invitation to be represented in a national celebration.

Very respectfully,

THEO. DOUGHTY MILLER,
Pastor First African (Cherry Street) Baptist Church.

SCRANTON, September 12, 1887.

HAMPTON L. CARSON, ESQ.,

Secretary Centennial Anniversary, etc.:

DEAR SIR,—Pardon my delay. I have been very busy, and did not see your invitation until to-day.

I gladly accept the kind invitation to be present during the centennial exercises, and esteem it a proud honor to be called upon to assist in celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of our country's Constitution.

I have the honor to be,

Yours very truly,

T. V. POWDERLY.

MILLS BUILDING, NEW YORK, August 17, 1887.

GENTLEMEN,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your invitation, in behalf of the Constitutional Centennial Commission, to take part in the anniversary ceremonies in Philadelphia, September 15th, 16th, and 17th next.

It gives me pleasure to accept. It appears to me that it is the duty, and should be the pleasure, of every patriotic citizen of this country to step aside from the business whirl whenever occasion like this is offered, and give tribute to the great men who founded our nation and made our glorious opportunities possible. We are travelling at so rapid a pace nowadays that we are very apt to pass by with too little notice the days in the calendar which

mark the periods of our national growth. The one in point is in remembrance of the first movement of the infant that has, with one hundred years' growth, become the greatest nation on the earth.

I thank you, gentlemen, for your courtesy, and esteem it a pleasure to participate.

Very truly yours,

HENRY CLEWS.

TO MESSRS. JOHN A. KASSON, AMOS R. LITTLE, and HAMPTON L. CARSON,
Committee.

BOYCE POST-OFFICE, CLARKE COUNTY, VA.,

August 28, 1887.

GENTLEMEN,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your invitation to attend at Philadelphia, on the 15th, 16th, and 17th of September next, the celebration of the centennial anniversary of the framing and promulgation of the Constitution of the United States.

I regret that it will not be in my power to be present on that occasion.

I trust that those of our people who may be present with you, as they witness the illustrations of the material growth and power of our country since 1787, will not forget that what they see and hear is, under the guidance of an all-wise God, mainly due to the wisdom and patriotism of those statesmen who framed and promulgated the Federal Constitution of 1787; and that not only those present at Philadelphia, but all of our people, may swear a new allegiance to the principles of that instrument, so that our great charter may be handed down to future generations as the palladium of our American liberty.

Your obedient servant,

R. H. LEE.

TO HON. JOHN A. KASSON, *President, etc.*; HON. AMOS R. LITTLE, *Chairman, etc.*; HON. HAMPTON L. CARSON, *Secretary, etc.*, Philadelphia.

126 SOUTH TWENTY-SECOND STREET, August 17, 1887.

MESSRS. JOHN A. KASSON, *President*; AMOS R. LITTLE, *Chairman Executive Committee*; HAMPTON L. CARSON, *Secretary*:

DEAR SIRs,—I accept with unusual pleasure your very courteous invitation to be present at the celebration of the centennial anniversary of the framing and promulgation of the Constitution of the United States.

That Constitution, which cemented the Union, gave us a government, and guaranteed our national existence, is indeed our most precious heritage, and I cannot but hope that the coming celebration may tend to impress upon our fellow-citizens a deeper sense of its value, and of the sacredness of its obligations.

I have the honor to be yours, respectfully,

GEORGE I. RICHE.

“THE FLETCHERS,” HENDERSON COUNTY, N. C.,

August 29, 1887.

HON. HAMPTON L. CARSON,

Secretary Constitutional Centennial Commission,

907 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.:

DEAR SIR,—I have received your invitation to be present at the centennial ceremonies commemorative of the framing and promulgation of the Constitution of the United States on the 15th of September next.

Absence from the city of Charleston will account for, and I hope excuse, my delay in acknowledging the high consideration extended to me.

My ancestors were intimately associated with the Revolutionary struggle from its earliest inception to its triumphant close; and with the progress of American institutions until they were crystallized, and became a noted fixture in the world's history by the adoption of the Constitution and the organization under it of the government of the United States. Their descendants are prepared now and always to support and defend the government

of the United States, and the principles it represents under the Constitution, as faithfully and earnestly as their antecedents did an hundred years ago.

I regret extremely that I will not be able to testify, by personal participation in the interesting and august ceremonies, my sympathy with their intent and concurrence in their purpose.

I have the honor to be yours, very respectfully,

B. H. RUTLEDGE.

BOSTON, August 10, 1887.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CENTENNIAL COMMISSION :

GENTLEMEN,—I have the honor to acknowledge your courteous invitation. My lengthened years must forbid its acceptance, pleasing as it would otherwise be.

With earnest wishes that the celebration may be attended with enjoyment and instruction,

I am, respectfully, yours,

S. BARTLETT.

GENERAL WAYNE, DELAWARE COUNTY, PA.,

August 9, 1887.

MR. HAMPTON L. CARSON,

Secretary of the Constitutional Centennial Commission :

DEAR SIR,—My father, Samuel W. Mifflin, to whom you addressed (at Columbia) an invitation to be present at the ceremonies of the 15th, 16th, and 17th of September, died at this place two years ago.

I, his eldest son, have been requested by his family to thank you for this considerate invitation, and to assure you that my father, with his full, rounded character and comprehensive intellect, would have experienced something akin to great joy in being with you on this memorable occasion.

His own father, Jonathan Mifflin, was a personal friend of Lafayette and of Washington, and, until the "Conway Cabal,"

was a crony of his somewhat hot-headed, impatient, yet withal exceedingly brilliant kinsman, Thomas Mifflin, chairman of the First Constitutional Convention.

Very respectfully,

GEO. B. MIFFLIN.

ALASSIO, ITALY, September 13, 1887.

SIR,—In thanking most sincerely the Constitutional Centennial Commission for the honor done me by inviting me to be present at the celebration of the centennial anniversary of the framing and promulgation of the Constitution of the United States at Philadelphia on the 15th, 16th, and 17th of September, I must express my great regret that my absence in Europe does not allow me to accept the invitation to take part in a celebration with which I so thoroughly sympathize.

Believe me, sir, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

EUGENE SCHUYLER.

To HAMPTON L. CARSON, Esq.,

Secretary of the Executive Committee.

DOVER, DEL., August 19, 1887.

MESSRS. JOHN A. KASSON, *President*; AMOS R. LITTLE, *Chairman of Executive Committee*; HAMPTON L. CARSON, *Secretary*:

GENTLEMEN,—I have had the honor to receive your invitation to the celebration of the centennial anniversary of the framing and promulgation of the Federal Constitution, to be held at Philadelphia on the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth days of next month, and accept, with pleasure and gratefulness to yourselves for having favored me with it. I know the ceremonies will be every way worthy of the event and of those who have projected them.

To us, as citizens of the United States, the Constitution is of priceless value, giving us the science of political government and a sure guarantee that the liberties secured to us by the valor of

those who made it will never be in peril so long as we keep it faithfully as our guide in public affairs. May not the hope be indulged that in the beginning of a new century of national life all good men may feel inspired by a purpose of subordinating the desire for party success to the claims of the general welfare?

I have the honor to be, gentlemen,

Your very humble servant,

J. P. COMEGYS.

FORT WAYNE, IND., August 15, 1887.

GENTLEMEN,—I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your invitation, in behalf of the Constitutional Centennial Commission, to be present at the celebration at Philadelphia, on the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth days of September next, of the centennial anniversary of the framing and promulgation of the Constitution of the United States.

Every good citizen will commend the purpose of this celebration and earnestly desire its eminent success.

In view of prospective duties at home, it may not be possible for me to attend the celebration, but I am not without hope of being present.

Pardon me if the occasion suggests some other words than those of formal acknowledgment of your invitation.

Few events of political history have been of greater moment than the adoption of the Constitution of 1787. It has been an inspiration and a lesson to mankind. Its framers believed that political self-government is the right of all people, and that hereditary or dynastic rule, being without foundation in natural right, is not essential to good government nor to human happiness. The Constitution came from their hands as the work of the people of the United States, and it forever discarded and prohibited the title and rank of king and all orders of nobility, and opened to merit the places and powers of government, which hereditary rank and wealth had been accustomed to claim or usurp.

The highest evidence of the practical wisdom embodied in our Constitution is the existence and history of the United States of America during the century now closing. Under this organic law, this benign authority, self-imposed, and resting solely upon the public will, three millions of people have been multiplied to more than fifty-five millions, and a confederation of thirteen feeble English colonies, united for self-government and the general welfare, has grown to a united republic, a nation of thirty-eight States, holding the first place among the powers of the earth.

The Constitution has borne and passed in safety the cruel test of civil war. All know what that fearful strain was. The sinews, the vital powers of the Constitution, made strong by the love of a brave and free people, were stronger than the angry forces which strove to rend them, stronger than the passionate zeal which sought to override and pervert it, under pretence of its defence; and it is questionable whether to-day there are citizens, subject to the Constitution, who love and respect it more, or who would more earnestly and faithfully defend it in any future peril that may befall it, than the wisest and bravest of those who at one time risked their all in a desperate effort to destroy it. It is a pleasure to every patriotic citizen to believe that, among those who will unite in commemorating the adoption of the Constitution in 1787, none will more cordially rejoice in its preservation and power in 1887 than the representative men who will speak for the people of the States who, with the courage of self-sacrifice, submitted their theory of the Constitution to the trial of war and justly failed of success.

The Constitution we love and honor was, as Washington said of it, "the result of a spirit of amity and of that mutual deference and concession which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable." It bore in its bosom the benign influence of peace. It carried within itself the capability of adaptation to the present and the future, the self-regulating power of

amendment by consent, expressed in constitutional peaceful forms. The latent danger in the Constitution was that sectional or partisan interest or passion, or the prejudice of opinion become intolerant, might at some time disturb "the spirit of amity," its true conservator, and under the excitement and invitation of supposed grievances evoke, in its place, the spirit of force,—the war power. The result of the war power, once evoked and carried to its final logical issue, could be no other than the victory of the stronger material power over the weaker. The peril and the trial came, and the result has become a fact of history,—a lesson teaching all the people, whose common property and protection the Constitution is, that its surest safeguard is the spirit of peace, the unity of consent and mutual interest, which first breathed into it the breath of life, and its worst foe the imperious demand of sectional interest, greedy of wealth and power beyond its rightful due, and the intolerance of party or sectional opinion. In union, fortified by public virtue, is our glory and strength as a people, and in fidelity to the Constitution is the hope and strength of the Union.

In 1887, as in 1787, we are still the people of the United States of America, and may God grant that we may never have other title or name among the nations of the earth.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

JOSEPH K. EDGERTON.

To Hon. JOHN A. KASSON, *President*; AMOS R. LITTLE, *Chairman Executive Committee*; HAMPTON L. CARSON, *Secretary*, 907 Walnut Street, Philadelphia.

SUMMERVILLE, August 10, 1887.

MESSRS. KASSON, LITTLE, and CARSON:

DEAR SIRS,—Your invitation to the constitutional centennial anniversary received and highly appreciated.

With deep regret, I must say that, owing to circumstances which I cannot control, I shall not have the pleasure of partici-

pating in your celebration. My regret is increased by the remembrance of the hospitality of your city as it was exhibited to me when a wounded soldier (in Camac's Woods Officers' Hospital) in 1863. Also, when Mrs. Kelso and I attended the Centennial Exposition in 1876.

Those two brief sojourns in the "City of Brotherly Love" are to my memory as oases in the desert of this world of selfishness and sin.

A city which did as much as yours for the defenders of liberty and union, and then again so hospitably and comfortably entertained the ten millions of visitors to the birthplace of freedom, should be held dear to the heart of every American citizen.

Hoping that you may have a gathering which will cause the old State House to swell and the hearts of the old soldiers to rejoice, I remain

Yours, respectfully,

J. C. KELSO.

To the CONSTITUTIONAL CENTENNIAL COMMISSION.

NEW ORLEANS, August 18, 1887.

MESSRS. JOHN A. KASSON, *President*; AMOS R. LITTLE, *Chairman Executive Committee*; HAMPTON L. CARSON, *Secretary*, 907 Walnut Street, Philadelphia:

GENTLEMEN,—I have the honor to tender my acknowledgments for your invitation, in behalf of the Constitutional Centennial Commission, to participate by my presence in celebrating the centennial anniversary of the framing and promulgation of the Constitution of the United States at Philadelphia, on the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth days of September next, by suitable ceremonies, including military and industrial displays and the delivery of an oration and a poem.

It is the duty of every American to cherish and honor forever that great charter of our rights and liberties which indissolubly binds together these United States, and therefore I would have

cheerfully signified my readiness to attend, if possible, the celebration which is the subject of your communication to me, the more so because Philadelphia is to me a city of pleasant souvenirs, where I studied law several years in the office of William Rawle, the author, by the bye, of a much esteemed work on the Constitution of the United States,—and where I was admitted to the bar in the latter part of 1828; but old age and other circumstances stand in the way, and it is with much regret that I beg you to accept this apology for my non-attendance.

With the highest respect, I remain

Your obedient servant,

CHARLES GAYARRÉ.

JACKSONVILLE, FLA., August 17, 1887.

HAMPTON L. CARSON, ESQ.,

Secretary Constitutional Centennial Commission:

DEAR SIR,—I have the pleasure to acknowledge receipt of invitation to the centennial anniversary of the framing and promulgation of the Constitution of the United States, at Philadelphia, on the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth days of September next.

During a number of years past I have not participated in any public celebration, and my presence at this festival at the time indicated would be of serious inconvenience.

I regret, therefore, that I shall not be able to accept the invitation in person, and beg, through you, to express the proper acknowledgment to the president and chairman of the committee.

After a century of trial, by the severest tests, of its capacity to meet all the requirements anticipated by the unequalled wisdom and foresight of its framers, and its flexible adaptation to new and complex relations incident to changed conditions, and contrary to serious and grave predictions, the Constitution in its fundamental features has proven the same clear, infallible guide and prominent landmark that its framers intended it to be. It still lives, a

monument of the wisdom and felicitous foresight of its framers. They had all the experience of the Old World; traditions from the earliest existence of organized governments to guide them; there had been some relaxation in the exercise of absolute power; but everywhere the ruler was almost irresponsible. The king was everything, the people nothing.

The American Constitution affirmed the existence of ultimate sovereignty in the people, recognized resulting individualism, personal liberty in all things not inconsistent with the like rights of others.

These primordial individual rights are secured by the great written charter and consecrated by the attachment of the American people.

No time and place more appropriate could have been chosen to express the extent of the devotion of the people, whose numbers, and a country whose magnitude, is the best evidence of the wisdom of those who made it.

I have the honor to be, with high regard,

Your obedient servant,

JAMES A. PEDEN.

In reply to an invitation sent to the Rt. Rev. Kilian C. Flasch, Bishop of La Crosse, that gentleman wrote:

"I hereby gratefully acknowledge the receipt of your card, kindly inviting me to attend the celebration of the centennial anniversary of the framing and promulgation of the Constitution of the United States, to be held at Philadelphia on the 15th, 16th, and 17th of September next.

"While I appreciate most highly the honor your invitation implies, I regret that the fact of my having made indispensable diocesan engagements for the month of September now ensuing will render it impossible for me to be with you personally on that notable occasion.

"Yet shall I be present in spirit. My heart will be with the

deservedly elaborate ceremonies you are instituting, as it is with the event and the immortal document which so justly calls for those ceremonies. They are designed to commemorate the epoch of the legal birth of the freest nation on earth, that after a century of its existence, notwithstanding the occasional jars and strains and mishaps incident to all human struggles, has solved the problem, realized the experiment of popular self-government on the largest scale; and what citizen of the United States—nay, what lover of his kind—may stand aloof or be indifferent and unsympathetic in the presence of so grand a scene?

“I confidently trust that the very observance of this centenary will but all the more emphasize to the citizens of our glorious republic the importance, the necessity of that respect for authority and that obedience to law which alone can maintain true liberty, ever controlled and regulated by law; dispositions, indeed, which the Constitution itself presupposes, as it offers itself to be the broad sheet-anchor, the safe guarantee, and the secure guardian of their rights and liberties. *Cives Liberi estis propter Leges vestras*, as the great Cicero reminded the Romans of his day. And again, ‘Liberty consists in the power of doing that which is permitted by law.’

“Thus, too, with their hopes resting in God, the source of all authority and the Father of all nations; with fraternal love strong in union with their ‘Elder Brother,’ Christ; with the every law of their respective sovereign States in consonance and harmony with the Federal Constitution; with justice exercised towards all peoples, and with a due and jealous appreciation of their own dear rights and liberties, ‘as free, and not making liberty a cloak for malice, but as the servants of God,’ they will ever preserve the precious boons bequeathed to the framers of our great charter, and surely merit from heaven the greater national blessings; for ‘justice exalteth a nation,’ and ‘blessed is that nation whose God is the Lord.’”

THE CELEBRATION OF THE ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY
OF
THE FRAMING OF THE CONSTITUTION
OF
THE UNITED STATES.

AT PHILADELPHIA, SEPTEMBER, 1887.

BY A FRENCH SPECTATOR.

I.

OF all the cities of the American Union, Philadelphia was certainly the most worthy, from all points of view, to be the seat of the resplendent festival by which the Americans have just celebrated the centenary of their Constitution. In fact, one encounters here at each step mementos of the colonial period and of the War of Independence, and of the creation of the American Union. The descendants of the old Philadelphia families—the Coxes, Wistars, Morrises, Rawles, Meades, Burds, Shippens, Biddles, Pennypackers, Cadwaladers, and so many others, of which the members distinguished themselves in those eventful epochs in the councils and on the battle-field—have guarded preciously the glorious heritage which their ancestors have transmitted to them, and in no part of America is patriotism more ardent and glowing than in this great city, which was the veritable cradle of the modern United States. In the other cities of the Union, especially in the West, patriotism and attachment to the Constitution are also pure and sincere; but no direct bond attaches the inhabitants to this

glorious past, which they know only through lessons of history, and not by family traditions, and in which the absorbing occupations in the daily struggle for existence prevent them from interesting themselves with the same ardor, while in Philadelphia this past is a direct heritage, and the souvenirs of the heroic epoch are preserved in all their freshness.

The first thing, in fact, they show to a stranger is Independence Hall, where the Declaration of Independence was signed in 1776, and the Constitution of the United States in 1787. The venerable red brick building, with its tower and its two annexes, remains exactly as it was then; the central rooms have been preserved intact. In the one to the left, on entering from Chestnut Street, may be seen the chair and desk used by Washington, the seats of the members of Congress, and, on the walls, the portraits of statesmen, great lawyers, soldiers, and patriots, who, after their successful struggle for independence, gave to the thirteen States that admirable Constitution which suffices yet to-day, with a few rare amendments suggested by experience, to the happiness and prosperity of sixty millions of human beings. For it is with reason that Mr. Gladstone, in his eloquent letter to the Honorable John A. Kasson, president of the Centennial Commission, expressed himself in these terms: "I think the Constitution of the United States represents the most admirable creation that has ever been produced by one effort of human intelligence." These words were reproduced in letters of gold on one of the triumphal arches raised on Chestnut Street.

To the right of the entrance and opposite to the first, a second room contains relics of the Revolution, letters of Franklin and of Washington, specimens of coins, seals, commissions, projectiles brought from the battle-field, as well as arms and equipments of soldiers, among which the Frenchman discovers, not without emotion, the sword and epaulets of Lafayette, and several letters of ministers of the king of France. A picture representing the

tomb of Lafayette in France has been placed in the midst of these national relics, which proves, better than everything else, that in spite of the colossal development of the country, and the changes which have taken place, in spite of the arrival of masses of foreigners who have no historic bond with the past, prosperity has not engendered ingratitude, and that the true American preserves preciously the memory of services rendered. The Philadelphia Commission had asked that the frigate *Minerve* might join the American squadron during the celebration, and unanimous regrets were expressed when they learned that the fisheries' service retained her at Newfoundland. At the banquet, which terminated the *fêtes*, one of the first toasts proposed in that festival, so exclusively American, was: "To France—to our old ally." No! America forgets not services rendered, and the name of France is venerated in the United States.

Between the two rooms of which I have just spoken, and which are continually crowded with visitors, may be seen suspended from the ceiling the famous bell—to-day all cracked—which called the people to arms in 1776. There are many houses in Philadelphia where one may see two pieces of bronze, one representing Washington, the other a bell-ringer, with bare arms, his hat and coat beside him, with a pitcher of water and a glass, and ringing, with all his might, a bell which bears this simple date,—"1776." The two wings annexed to the hall are occupied to-day, one by the mayor, the other by the city and county courts. In front of the Chestnut Street entrance stands a statue of Washington in marble; in the rear of the building, looking on Walnut Street, has been made a magnificent square, planted with trees more than a hundred years old, and covered with grass and masses of flowers, called Independence Square.

From a historic point of view, Philadelphia is a hundred times more interesting than New York. Souvenirs abound here. At the corner of Seventh and Market Streets stands a house, oc-

cupied by a bank,—Penn National Bank ; an inscription in gold letters, on black marble, recalls to the passer-by that it was there, on a little varnished oak desk, preciously preserved, that the immortal Thomas Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence.

At No. 239 Arch Street stands a little house, the lower story of which—to-day a simple tavern—was occupied by Mrs. Elizabeth Ross, the milliner in renown with the Quaker ladies of that epoch. In the modest front window—which remains just as it was then—were displayed the wide-rimmed hats, simply ornamented with lace, and the large cloaks of drab-colored silk, destined for the beautiful customers of the house. It was there that Washington went with a committee, one evening in 1777, to employ the milliner to make a model of the flag which was to serve as a rallying sign for the confederated States. The subject had been discussed in Congress ; but before going further, it was necessary to have a model made, of which Washington himself took charge. The scene is charming. Madam Elizabeth displayed the goods in the back shop. There she cut seven red and six white strips,—a blue square for the upper corner with thirteen stars. Here arose a discussion ; the General wanted the stars made with six points ; Madam Elizabeth demonstrated to him that they ought to have only five, that they appeared so in the heavens. Finally the pretty Quakeress carried the point. They agreed to make it so, provisionally, and Washington returned to Congress to give an account to his friends of his proceedings. Some days afterwards the model was taken to Carpenters' Hall, and unanimously adopted. Such was the origin of that illustrious flag, of which the stars increase in proportion as new States are born, and which is truly the banner of liberty. More than a hundred thousand persons visited, during the centennial, the house in which was thus conceived and executed the first American flag.

At last, they show to the visitor, not far from the square which

bears his name, the tomb of Benjamin Franklin, the eminent savant and patriot, interred in the heart of the city he loved so well. The presence of all these relics, which recall the birth of the Union and the days of struggle, has made of Philadelphia not only the most patriotic city of the Union,—which was proven to the world at the time of the great exhibition of 1876,—but has given to her an original character entirely different from New York, which is a city essentially cosmopolitan, and as little American as possible. The city numbers to-day more than a million one hundred thousand inhabitants; her wealth is immense; her manufactories are as numerous as powerful; she covers an area of one hundred and thirty square miles. Her institutions, consecrated to science and the arts and to benevolence are innumerable. More than three thousand street-cars thread their way through the city, night and day. The masses come from all directions to visit her monuments and points of interest. If Washington is the political, and New York the commercial metropolis, Philadelphia is the historical and truly national metropolis of the United States.

Last year the governors of the thirteen original States met in this city to arrange for the celebration of the great anniversary, and selected a committee for that purpose. These *fêtes*—the unheard of splendor of which, as will be seen further on, was worthy of the great event which they celebrated—occupied three days. The first day was to be devoted to an immense industrial and civic parade, demonstrating by a sort of object-lesson the wonderful progress of the American people in the past hundred years. The second day to a grand military parade, which was of a nature to arouse the most enthusiastic interest; a detachment from each corps of the regular army, and detachments of the militia from nearly all the Northern and Southern States, each one with its special uniform, were to march under the supreme command of General Sheridan, commander-in-chief of the army. The militia, representing their different States, were to be led by

their respective governors and staffs. The procession was to be reviewed by the President, his cabinet, ex-Presidents, members of the Supreme Court, members of Congress, the president of the Senate, foreign ministers, delegates from all the States, and many citizens distinguished in politics, law, art, science, industry, and commerce. The third day was to be reserved for the veritable *fête*—the culminating point of the Centennial—in Independence Square, in the shadow of the very cradle of liberty and of American nationality. The admirable programme was followed out from point to point. It was through the amiability of Mr. Edward Shippen—a descendant of one of the old Revolutionary families—I was enabled to see advantageously all these grand *fêtes*. A recital in detail of all I have seen would lead me too far; I only desire to give in part to French readers this never-to-be-forgotten spectacle.

II.

All nations have been accustomed to celebrate by appropriate festivals the great dates of their national history; but never, in the light of our sixty centuries of history, has any nation celebrated a grander anniversary than did the United States in these three days. There can be nothing to compare with it in majesty but perhaps that which France will celebrate in 1889, namely, the French Revolution.

After eight years of a desperate war with the mother country, the loose bonds which held the States in confederation were not sufficient to establish a stable government; to bring order out of chaos, to avert imminent bankruptcy, and to be ready for future emergencies, a solid union was necessary. We know that it was only after long and painful deliberations that the Convention succeeded in completing and signing the Constitution, and then it required two years to obtain the ratification of the thirteen States. The result surpassed the hope of the founders,—of Washington, Madison, Hamilton, Morris, Franklin, and others, who had not one

hour of weakness in the midst of the most terrible difficulties ; and now that slavery has disappeared, and the great crisis of the secession war is past, the future opens brilliantly for America ; and if liberty was to disappear from the rest of the world, she would find again in this noble country a sacred asylum.

When the Constitution was signed, in 1787, the United States were tributaries of Europe for everything except the primitive products of the soil ; to-day America supports herself, and feeds part of the Old World. She reigns from the Atlantic to the Pacific ; her population has grown from three millions to sixty millions of souls ; all her debt redeemable is redeemed ; the remainder will be, or nearly, before the end of the century ; and the only financial difficulty that she encounters is to know what to do with the surplus which accumulates in her treasury at the rate of over a hundred million dollars per annum.

The object of the parade was to show to the eyes, by a real speaking lesson, the progress made in the past century. How striking was the difference between the recent *fêtes* of the jubilee of Queen Victoria and those of the centenary of the American Constitution ! On the one side, unheard-of luxury, a rigid etiquette, an overwhelming display of long lines of nobles and princes ; on the other, a popular festival, the image of liberty in equality, and, instead of useless pomp, an industrial parade, having at the same time a practical and patriotic character. It was an original idea, to show in a tangible fashion, in each branch of industry, by a series of living pictures and a sort of rolling exposition, the difference—what say I? the gulf—which exists between then and now. Statistics are dry, and speak but little to the imagination. On account of the immense dimensions of the floats or platforms destined to carry the various pieces of the long exposition, the parade was limited to one street,—Broad Street,—the width of which permitted the passage of all the carriages. The street is about fourteen miles in length. The procession started

from a point three miles north of the Public Buildings, passed three miles to the south of them, and returned by countermarch to the place of starting, covering thus twelve miles.

Both sides of Broad Street from north to south were lined with immense stands capable of seating two hundred thousand persons. More than six hundred thousand visitors came here from all parts of the Union. These figures are not imaginary; they are those given officially by the different lines of railroads leading to Philadelphia,—the Pennsylvania Railroad, the Wilmington and Baltimore, the Philadelphia and Reading, and the Baltimore and Ohio. They were obliged to establish two temporary stations to prevent the central station from being overcrowded. As the normal population is one million one hundred thousand, there were then in Philadelphia during the centennial celebration four-fifths of the population of Paris. The windows, the side streets, the roofs, the carriages, the stands, all were black with people. It was estimated that more than a million and a half of spectators saw this enormous parade, which included one hundred and fifty bands of music, placed at the head of the various divisions and subdivisions.

Never, even in America,—country of marvels,—has a similar spectacle been offered to the people. The Federal authorities (except the President, who could not arrive until evening), the governors of the States and Territories, members of the Supreme Court, the invited strangers, the officers of the troops from the different States, and many of America's illustrious sons in the different branches of human activity, were crowded on the central stand, which was decorated with the flags of all nations. France was represented by the Marquis of Chambrun, and Monsieur Jules Bœufvé, of the French legation at Washington.

Precisely at ten o'clock a salute of one hundred guns, fired by the North Atlantic Squadron, anchored in the Delaware, announced the opening of the grand ceremony. The Königin

Emma, the only foreign man-of-war present, responded with the same number of guns. The head of the column, starting at ten o'clock, was two hours reaching the grand stand erected in front of the Union League and Bellevue Hotel, the central point of the procession. At the Union League many of the best society of Philadelphia had assembled. On the Bellevue stand, the great American philanthropist, George W. Childs, entertained General Sheridan, Colonel Grant, the Chinese ambassador, and other distinguished personages. Richer than many kings, generous, benevolent, George W. Childs certainly merits the title, which his compatriots have bestowed upon him,—“The first citizen of Philadelphia.” One notices, with the Chinese ambassador, shining in his blue robes, Mr. Wharton Barker, chief of the Philadelphia syndicate, which has just obtained from Li-Hung-Chang the colossal concession concerning the establishment of the telegraph and telephone lines, and the Chinese bank, which will be a State bank, and which our authorities in Tonquin should very often have occasion to use, if the concession is confirmed by the Tsung-li-Yamen, as I fear, for my part, it risks not to be. But there is the sound of trumpets; a cordon of mounted policemen turn the corner of the Public Buildings, and are engaged in clearing the way in the southern part of Broad Street. Each one is ready to look, and anxious to lose no detail of this spectacle, which can be seen but once in a lifetime.

As I said in the commencement, I will be very brief,—it would require a folio to note all the details of this unequalled parade,—I will touch only the points the most interesting for the French readers. At the head of the column, behind Colonel A. Loudon Snowden, grand marshal, was an immense allegorical banner, representing Columbia, standing, with one hand pointing to the past, represented by sailing galleys, ox-wagons, carts, and thatched cabins, and with the other to the present, with its railroads, telegraphs, steamboats, telephones, mechanics, and per-

fect agricultural implements. Then a series of *tableaux vivants*, representing the battle of Lexington, the Declaration of Independence, the winter quarters of General Washington at Valley Forge, with the sentinels in the Continental uniform, the capitulation of Yorktown, a group of horsemen representing Washington followed by his generals. The memory of this great man is recalled several times in the parade. It is not astonishing. Is he not the father of this country?

On a carriage drawn by six horses are shown the representatives of all the foreign nations, from which came the first settlers of America, each one in the costume of his country, holding in his hand his distinctive banner. Farther on, "Uncle Sam," with his red and white striped trousers, his starry vest, and his face shaved except the long chin whiskers; near him is sitting the "Goddess of Liberty," and, in the centre of the car, thirteen pleasing young girls, chosen from the most beautiful (and one knows they abound in Philadelphia), dressed in white, with tri-colored scarfs, representing the thirteen original States of the Union. At the side of a model school of a hundred years ago is a modern one, with a group of children about the doors, and their teacher in the yard with a book in his hand. Everywhere the past is put in contrast with the present.

Of all the labor organizations of Philadelphia, the oldest is that of the Master Carpenters, which was incorporated in 1724. This was the only one which took part in the great parade of 1788, celebrating the adoption of the Constitution. The same banner which was carried on that occasion was again carried by them one hundred years afterwards; but the venerable piece of silk, which constitutes for the corporation a precious relic, was protected by a double glass. Behind the heralds and bands of music, a round Greek temple with a cupola, supported by thirteen columns, presenting the *fac-simile* of the model which had figured in the procession of 1788. Behind it came an enormous temple

of the Doric order, thirty-three feet long, with thirty-eight columns, on each of which was a blue escutcheon bearing the names of the thirty-eight States of the Union. The comparison between the delicate little construction with thirteen columns and the enormous temple spoke to the eyes and showed the wonderful progress during the century.

At the head of the agricultural division, a farmer in knee-breeches, green coat, and maroon vest carried on his neck a bag filled with wheat, making, as he walks along, the gesture of sowing; behind him a rude cart and primitive tools. The progress is represented by an immense array of modern agricultural implements. Next in order, a boy wearing the costume of the olden time, going to the mill on horseback with a bag of wheat before him; in the rear a mill of 1760, another of 1814, the millstones, and the metallic mills, followed by a *fac-simile* of the immense modern mill of the Millbourne Mill Company.

The division of printing and typography was preceded by a car on which was reproduced, in *tableau vivant*, the famous engraving of Gutenberg examining a printed leaf which has just come from a hand-press, of which his assistant holds the lever; naturally following, side by side, the old Washington hand-press, the modern press, a set of compositors, their cases, and a *fac-simile* of the enormous rotary presses; also, the engraving and lithography. All the different kinds of paper had their special wagons, preceded and followed by horsemen and bands of music.

It is well known what *rôle* public instruction plays in America. In a country where the citizen is king, and governs himself by vote, it is of primary importance that he should be enlightened: therefore schools abound. The fifth division was devoted entirely to the institutions of education. The University of Pennsylvania, which had taken part in the parade of 1788, participated in this one, with the College of Physicians and the representatives of the

different public schools of the State. Everywhere the comparison between the past and present is striking to the eye.

One of the parts which excited, and justly, the most interest, was that devoted to the Indian schools. This race has succumbed to the fate of the inexorable and fatal ban of natural selection ; it is disappearing before the white man. In spite of good treatment it is dying, and civilization can do nothing to prevent its disappearance. Nevertheless, it is necessary to render this justice to the American people, that they do not forget the duties of guardianship over the three hundred thousand Indians distributed through the Territories of the United States. Schools for them—male and female—exist everywhere. There are two very flourishing ones in Pennsylvania,—one in Carlisle, the other the Lincoln Institute in Philadelphia. On a series of richly-draped cars were seen the Indians of 1787 ; then, the Indians of to-day, sending their children to the government schools, and the children themselves—after six months of schooling ; we see the girls learning needlework, millinery, cooking, washing, ironing, and a young girl of the Sioux employed as nurse in the University Hospital ; the boys making shoes, carpets, harness, whips, bread, brushes ; and last, the agricultural car, where the young Indians displayed the fruits and vegetables cultivated by them in the gardens at Carlisle. Next came the classes of Indians, young boys marching by platoons of twenty-five like soldiers, dressed in gray uniforms with silver buttons, and carrying, by way of arms, their slates, pencils, and books. The young girls, grouped in wagons drawn by four horses, sang patriotic choruses. The applause burst out frantically at this rather theatrical spectacle, but the disinterested observer could not prevent himself from reflecting that the Americans, who send abroad a great number of missionaries to Europe, Africa, and Asia, to the Burmans, to the Chinese, do well to reserve a part of these funds and these efforts for the Indians whom they have with them on their territory. At the head of the

cortege, a dozen Indian warriors on horseback, who had arrived the evening before from the Western plains, to participate, covered with their gaudy-colored feathers, their long-feathered head-dresses, necklaces, and leather leggings, seemed rather to be captives following the triumphal chariot of a conqueror, than free participants in a public festival. They belonged to the Sioux, Osages, Cheyennes, Kiowas, and Comanches; their gloomy, melancholy looks were not feigned, and when they returned to the railroad to be sent back to their reserve, they carried away, on the whole, a sorrowful memory; in an ethnological and historical point of view, their presence was interesting, but it is not to be mistaken to affirm that, if Philadelphia celebrates the same anniversary in 1987, the Indians will not be there to fulfil their part in the programme framed by the descendants of this generation.

The Spring Garden Institute, the largest school of industrial art in Philadelphia, with its models in plaster and scientific instruments, and the Girard College closed the march of that division. This last college was founded—thanks to the liberality of a Frenchman—by Stephen Girard, who died in 1831, leaving about forty millions of francs to the city. Next in line came the building industries, master masons, carpenters, plumbers, plasterers, painters, and brickmakers. Among the latter the firm of Bergnier & Brien displayed a flag on which were these words: “1787, one million bricks; 1887, three hundred and ninety million bricks.” Simple figures, more eloquent than a long discourse; everywhere the comparison between that which was, and that which is.

In the rear of the immense wagons of the exposition of Hamilton Disston, the principal saw-maker in the United States, were seen two pictures, one representing a sailing-vessel crossing the ocean,—over it this inscription: “1787, *returning to America loaded with saws*”; on the other, a magnificent steamer cutting the waves, with the inscription: “1887, *loaded with saws for*

Europe." The spirit animating the manifestation from beginning to end is expressed in these few words.

A division of more than six thousand volunteer firemen from every State of the Union, drawing the old hand-pumps and their trucks of the past with their little silvery bells, while behind came the firemen of the present, with their steam-engines under pressure, their carbonic acid gas-engines, their hinged ladders, and all the admirable modern appliances for the battle with fire.

The brewers had one of the richest exhibits, with a crowd of allegorical cars and of horsemen in the costume of the Middle Ages. One banner bore the famous words attributed to Luther, "He who loves not wine, woman, and song, will be but a fool all his life." Following a brewery of a hundred years ago came a modern brewery, with its steam-engines and ice-houses. Here could be seen the arrival of the grain and hops, the workmen at work about the vats, and the beer running out of the tubes.

The most important mint in the United States is located in Philadelphia. This great establishment, along with the post-office, took part in the parade—a special stamp striking off commemorative medals, which were thrown to the crowd. Behind a post-boy of "ye olden time," riding across the country on horseback, with his leather saddle-bags slung over his shoulders, marched a battalion of eight hundred letter-carriers of Philadelphia; on a wagon some employés assorting, classing, and stamping letters. The contrast was very striking.

A division of more than eight thousand members of the different Commanderies of the Knights of the Golden Eagle (in black and gold uniforms, helmets ornamented with white plumes, and swords with the hilts forming a cross) symbolized the spirit of association and mutual assistance so powerful in America.

Carpet and textile fabrics occupied a considerable place in the parade. The carpet industry, especially, has assumed a colossal

importance in Philadelphia. Beside the loom of a hundred years ago was seen the modern loom, ready to work.

In a country so profoundly imbued with protectionist ideas as Pennsylvania, they could not allow to pass such a good opportunity without caressing and flattering the favorite hobby of the inhabitants. On a banner planted in the middle of the woollen exhibit of Folwell, Brother & Co. one read these words: "A protective tariff signifies abundance of work for the American workman, abundance of money in circulation, and cheap merchandise for the people, thanks to competition,"—so many words, so many errors; at least we think so. The tariff has never profited any but the manufacturers and the monopolists; it augments for the mass of the people the price of all the indispensable articles, and has accumulated in the vaults of the treasury a surplus so considerable that a crisis is actually feared in the financial market, and that the reduction of the tariff will be forced before many weeks. But it is out of place to discuss here this grave question. On one banner of the same firm we read, "We pay five thousand dollars per week in salaries, we can produce more than five million yards of goods per year, and we use more than three million pounds of wool. Is it surprising that the workman gives his vote for protection?" It would be difficult to compress into four lines an economic sophism more complete. But never mind. There were many voters in the million and a half of spectators who were compelled to read those lines in passing, and how many among them would be capable of discussing thoroughly these subtle assertions?

The firm of Arthur Wrightson exhibited on a car the first knitting-machine, on which a workman could knit three pairs of socks per day; behind came one which would knit three hundred dozen shirts in twelve hours. In opposition to the making of suspenders by hand was seen the modern machine for their manufacture, attended by fourteen workmen.

In the division devoted to the means of transportation they showed an old wagon dragged by six horses, covered with a miserable old canvas cover, supported by two long crossed sticks, on which we read, "From Pittsburgh to Philadelphia in twenty days;" then a sort of open carriage, drawn by two horses, "Passage in eight days;" then followed the first steam-engine built in the United States, in 1847, at Albany, N. Y., for the use of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company; and at last the *fac-simile*, weighing fifty-two thousand pounds, of a modern railroad engine, followed by a postal car, baggage car, sleeping car, dining-room car, drawing-room car, freight car, oil car, and coal car. Nothing more appropriate to show the progress made during the century; something like the old omnibus Lafitte and Caillard in France at the side of a lightning train of the Paris-Lyon Méditerranée Company.

The Baldwin Locomotive Works, of Philadelphia, had in line twelve hundred workmen and a series of cars showing, piece by piece, all the details of the construction of a locomotive. One can judge of the importance of this firm by the following figures: They employ three thousand workmen and build six hundred and fifty locomotives per year; on the day of the parade they sent out from their shops the eight-thousand-seven-hundred-and-eightieth locomotive. Their head draughtsman is a pupil of our Central School of Arts and Manufactures at Paris. There are over a dozen or more of them in Philadelphia, each at the head of an industry, or of a considerable service. The firm exhibited the last locomotive built in their shops, under full steam, with its engineer and fireman, and drawn by thirty horses.

The sixteenth division was devoted to naval architecture. The great ship-builders of the Delaware, William Cramp & Sons, exhibited a model of the first steamboat (the John Fitch) which floated on the Delaware in 1786. The Federal government sent a model of the first steamer that crossed the Atlantic, in 1819. A

glance at that peaked prow, immense wheels, and heavy rigging is sufficient to show the incredible progress made since then; following, came different models of guns and of modern men-of-war, and an exact reproduction of the frigate *Antietam*, now used as a naval school at Annapolis; at last, after a whale-boat, and a complete modern life-boat, came a model of the great cruiser *Charleston*, actually in construction in San Francisco, and which will be the last work of naval progress.

Innumerable cars carried in line the ceramic exhibits, the chemical products, the sewing-machines, the admirable modern creations for heating and lighting, the trucks and scales, the metallurgic industries, furniture, photographs, mirrors, and carriages; among these was Washington's family carriage, which belongs now to Captain Benjamin Richardson, of New York. This venerable carriage was drawn by six white horses, with two coachmen and two footmen in the uniform of the epoch.

Closing the procession came the house-furnishing industries, the alimentary industries, the making of bread, chocolate, and bonbons; a grocery of a hundred years ago, and a modern one, all glittering and crowded with goods; the wagons of the different ice companies; the manufacturers of cigars; in fact, everything capable of showing to the crowd the incredible progress of industry and commerce, and, upon the whole, the comforts which the people of 1887 possess over their ancestors of a hundred years ago.

The parade commenced at ten o'clock and was not ended until half-past six. When the long file terminated, when the last horseman had passed, and the last bugle resounded, each one awoke as from a dream. A hundred years of history had just passed in review before our eyes. In the evening the city was brilliantly illuminated, and on the following day the military parade took place.

III.

Since the great review of the Army of the Potomac by President Lincoln, at Washington, after the surrender of General Lee, no more solemn review had been seen in America than that which was about to take place. Twenty-five thousand troops, commanded by General Philip H. Sheridan, lieutenant-general of the army, were to pass in review before the President of the United States. In spite of its eminently picturesque side, it was not the review in itself that was the most interesting: it was all the great memories called up by the meeting, under the same flag, of conquerors and conquered, united in fraternal harmony; it was that subordination, without reserve, of the States to the Federal power in national questions; and the solidity, the fine appearance of the militia, which clearly proved that, in case of danger, America could raise an enormous and efficient army in a very short time.

To give an idea of that complete union of old enemies of the war of secession, one of the corps in line, the Butler Guard, of South Carolina, carried a white flag, bearing on one side an eagle, and on the other a palmetto-tree, with this device: "We offer peace, but are ready for war." The flag had been given to the corps in 1857; it was pierced by two balls, and all torn, in consequence of much service. At the head of the column, Sheridan, the hero of Winchester, had, in the centre of his staff, the red and white guidon which he carried in that battle. It was now but the emblem of *American* valor, without distinction of party. The same crowd of the day before—that is to say, about a million and a half of people—witnessed this review. They were, if that is possible, even more enthusiastic still. The spectacle spoke more to the eyes, and responded better to that instinctive love of the masses for color and sound. The obstacle which confined yesterday's parade to Broad Street exists no longer. The troops, after

marching up Broad to Chestnut, will pass down Chestnut and out Market, the two central arteries of the city, covered with flags and banners. At the head of the column, behind the general-in-chief, came the troops of the three arms of the regular army, the officers and sailors of the North Atlantic Squadron, and the splendid battalion of marines. In spite of a little roll in the ranks of the brave old salts, the file was excellent. Then came the troops of the different States which took part in the ceremony, in the order in which they ratified the Constitution, or were admitted to the Union. First came the little State of Delaware (the Diamond State), with her governor and a fine brigade of militia.

Second came Pennsylvania, with an admirable division of fifteen regiments, among which the crowd saluted with repeated applause the Second Regiment, the finest of the State, commanded by Colonel R. P. Dechert; then two battalions of light infantry, one of which, the "Gray Invincibles," was formed of colored men; three batteries of artillery, among which was one of Gatling guns; and at last the splendid squadron of cavalry,—the glory of Philadelphia,—the City Troop, which, except for the cuirass, are uniformed almost like the splendid Centgardes of Napoleon III. At the head of the Pennsylvania troops rode the sympathetic Governor Beaver, with one leg amputated, and mounted on horseback, like a centaur. The crowd covered with applause the chief executive power of the State. New Jersey sent a solid brigade of four regiments, with her governor and his staff. Governor Gordon, of Georgia, is a philanthropist, well known by his efforts for the reform of the penitentiary system. He saluted gracefully the crowd, which applauded him vigorously. Massachusetts was represented by the First Regiment of National Guards, the Boston Cadets, and the Governor's Body-Guard.

Suddenly is heard in the distance a rather slow march, with sad accents, like a lamentation, the sound of which approaches, little by little. It is the sweet song so popular, "Maryland, my Mary-

land." These are, in fact, the troops of that beautiful State which are passing, having at their head Governor Henry Lloyd, with a numerous staff. After the troops of South Carolina, New Hampshire, and Virginia marched four magnificent regiments from the State of New York, having at their head David B. Hill, governor of the "Empire State," and among them the Twenty-third Regiment, which passes for the first militia regiment of the United States, although I prefer any one of the Pennsylvania regiments.

North Carolina and Rhode Island have sent equally choice detachments of troops. Ohio was represented by her governor, Joseph B. Foraker, and the Fourteenth Regiment of the State. Maine, Iowa, and West Virginia were represented by detachments which marched with extreme precision. The District of Columbia put in line her Washington City Guards and three fine battalions of the National Guard.

During the review the President remained standing and covered, saluting the chiefs of corps and the flags. The veterans of the "Grand Army of the Republic" closed the procession. The President stood uncovered, as was fitting, before this maimed and battle-scarred remnant of the heroes who made it possible for this great event to be celebrated by a united people; five thousand of them from the different States, some old, gray, and bowed down, and some with limbs amputated, filed before the President, organized by posts, preceded by military bands, and inclining before the Chief Magistrate the old flags intrusted to their care. The ceremony commenced at ten o'clock, and ended at half-past two. The column was five miles long. The marching, which was by companies the entire distance, was excellent.

Three times the popular emotion was at its height, and a thunder of applause and hurrahs resounded from the ranks of the innumerable crowd,—first when Lieutenant-General Sheridan lowered his sword, with supreme dignity, before the President of the United States, who saluted gravely: this was a living representa-

tion of the "*Cedant arma togæ*," force inclining before the elected of the people, to-day supreme chief, to-morrow, simple citizen; a second time when Governor Joseph B. Foraker, of Ohio, exchanged salutes with President Cleveland. A rather lively quarrel had lately broken out between these two men *à propos* of the flags taken during the war, which the administration proposed to return to their respective corps. The governor opposed this in rather violent terms, which had been made public. On this solemn day all was forgotten, and the State of Ohio saluted the supreme chief of the Union. The Constitution had the power to break down every resistance and appease every anger. The crowd applauded frantically this significant exchange of courtesies. Finally, the third time, when in the midst of the veterans of the war, the old, tattered flags, mutilated by shot, and black with powder, passed, and were dipped before the President, who, with head bare, bowed profoundly before these emblems of the terrible struggle, from which the Union came out regenerated, brilliant, and stronger than ever. At this moment the popular emotion was extreme. I remember but one review in my life where I have seen the crowd so profoundly moved: this was the review of Longchamps, where the solemn distribution of the new flags to our young French army was made. Then, as to-day, more than one silent tear stole o'er the cheek.

Some of the troops—the Rhode Island regiment, the bodyguards of the governors, especially of Massachusetts—had brilliant costumes, but rather old-fashioned.

The Hartford Foot Guards of Connecticut, organized in 1771, wore a uniform which recalled that of the English Grenadiers. All these uniforms are only for parade, and would be perfectly impracticable in a campaign. The militia, on the contrary, were in full regulation uniform, with knapsacks, the fatigue cap, tunic and blankets packed, and carrying Remington rifles, double cartridge-boxes, and canteens. These are not troops for parade, but troops

ready for the field on short notice. It is the militia who maintain order in the States; the governors have the right to call them out in case of any disturbance which the police are not able to quell.

And *à propos* of this, a very striking coincidence occurred during the *fête*. On the evening of the day on which the celebration commenced, a despatch arrived announcing the fact that the Supreme Court of Illinois had rejected the appeal of the eight anarchists condemned to death for throwing dynamite last year, and in behalf of whom the municipal council of Paris addressed to the governor of the State a petition, which showed more sensibility than acquaintance with American laws. In America, liberty will never be license or lawlessness, and repression will always be adequate to the crime.

The militia of each State are perfectly able and ready to cope with any event, and assure the reign of law and order. In America a foreign war is out of the question; in this respect the serenity is complete, and they dream here—for the old countries of Europe—only of disarming and arbitration. At the final banquet, Sheridan, responding to the toast, "The Army," pronounced precisely these words: "The progress which is being daily made in artillery, and explosive substances, will make war no longer possible. What will happen then? With one accord the nations will resort to arbitration for the settlement of all international difficulties, and I sincerely believe that our children, who will witness the celebration of the second century of our Constitution, will see the recourse to arbitration adopted by the entire world." And the audience applauded. It is, indeed, a beautiful dream, but we, for our part, are far from sharing the hopes of the valiant American general.

IV.

At last, the third day arrives. The ceremonies are to commence at eleven o'clock; but first, from half-past nine, the President, with his cabinet and the Hon. Edwin H. Fitler, mayor of

the city, held a public reception in the new City Hall. This building is the glory of the city. The architectural design of the pavilions is an exact reproduction of those of the Louvre. It has already cost about fourteen million dollars, and is not yet finished. It will cost, when finished, about twenty million dollars. The central tower, which will be the highest on the globe, is to be surmounted with a statue of William Penn, watching over his old city, now become one of the largest cities of the world. This magnificent structure stands in the centre of the city, at the intersection of Broad and Market Streets. The streets parallel to Market Street, on the north and south, bear names such as Chestnut Street, Walnut Street, etc. Those which run north and south, parallel to Broad, are numbered, Broad itself being Fourteenth Street, and equally distant from the Delaware and its tributary, the Schuylkill, whose waters bathe the city. From the right bank of the Schuylkill the city extends over an immense space, and the streets parallel to Market Street preserve the same names as on the left bank. When the Constitution was signed, in 1787, the city formed a rectangle comprised between the two rivers, and between Vine Street on the north, and South Street on the south,—that is, from north to south it was but little more than a mile in length; to-day its length exceeds fourteen miles.

At precisely half-past nine the crowd, which has waited since early morning, is admitted to the presence of Mr. Cleveland; in rushes, pell-mell, a motley crowd of workmen, merchants, women, clerks, veterans, soldiers, artisans, and colored people; all march in Indian file at the rate of sixty or eighty per minute, and to all, especially to the women and children and the humblest, the President gives a cordial shake of the hand, accompanied by an amiable word. One mother, holding a pretty curly-headed child in her arms, wanted him to kiss it; "I have not time to kiss the babies now," said he, with good humor. Behind her a work-woman,

when the President took her hand, darted forward to kiss him ; he recoiled instinctively ; the kiss intended for his lips reached his chin and he laughed heartily. Nothing short of death would have induced our gallant King of France, Henry IV., to recoil under similar circumstances. One good countrywoman, taking exclusively to herself the "How-do-you-do" which the President repeated, for form, once a minute, planted herself before him and cried, "I am pretty well, thank you, but I had a very bad cold last week." The rest of her little speech was lost in the coat of the policeman in charge of the circulation.

At last, towards eleven o'clock, as the moment fixed for the solemn ceremony advanced, they closed the doors. More than twenty thousand persons were thus prevented from seeing the President ; but all retired in good humor, knowing that he was called elsewhere to continue the celebration. An American crowd ! What is one able to dream of more amiable or more tranquil !

An hour of such hand-shaking is horribly fatiguing. The President was obliged to rest a moment in a chair, and take a cordial of extract of beef and iron before going out again. To be President of the United States it is necessary to be not only a man of head and heart, but also a Hercules, and they ought to find a means for the elected of the people to avoid these interminable hand-shakings, which, upon the whole, signify no great thing. As the people are naturally anxious to see their President face to face, certain journals propose, with reason, that in order to satisfy this desire they should make the public pass before a barrier, behind which he should be seated with his ministers and the authorities of the city in which he might be, responding by a gesture and smile to the compliments and salutations of his fellow-citizens.

But that long ceremony of shaking hands "*ad infinitum*" which I have witnessed, if it has its touching side, constitutes none the less a veritable torture for him who is the hero of it. When the

President's wife is obliged to take part in it, as she had done the evening before at the Academy of Music, for the six thousand guests provided with cards, it becomes a cruelty, pure and simple, a custom wholly barbarous.

At last, at eleven o'clock, the President and his ministers entered their carriages, to proceed to the place appointed for the grand ceremony of the day. This morning, as on the preceding days, the sun rose radiantly. It was no longer a question, on this day, of noisy parades and solemn processions: it was a grand memory which was to be quietly celebrated. Never since the time of the Revolution—not even at the time of the Universal Exposition of 1876—had Philadelphia seen a reunion so imposing and so picturesque as that which the principal stand presented. In 1876 they celebrated the centennial of the Declaration of Independence and the commencement of the heroic period; in 1887 that which they celebrated was still greater,—it was the centennial of the Constitution; of that solemn act which had given life to the United States, in the shelter of which these States had grown and prospered to an extent that has not been equalled by any other nation in the history of the world.

A semicircular stand had been erected in Independence Square, against the south side of the old hall, capable of seating over eight thousand people. In front, the century-old trees, contemporaneous with the event to be celebrated, threw their heavy shadows on the ground, making a verdant picture full of grace and beauty; in the rear, overlooking the crowd, the clock-tower with its old clock, which had sounded the hours to the members of the Convention in 1787 during their long and sometimes painful deliberations. In the centre of the amphitheatre, on a low platform draped with starry flags, stood Washington's old arm-chair, which had been brought from the old Independence Hall, and against the back leaned a framed copy of the Constitution, reproduced from the original document deposited in the archives at

Washington. The President, surrounded by his cabinet, the members of the Supreme Court, and the officers of the army and navy, was seated with his wife near this platform; on the seats of the amphitheatre were the invited guests from Philadelphia and the different States of the Union; in the square, and in all the adjacent streets as far as the eye could reach, an immense crowd,—a veritable human sea; on a special platform two thousand children from the city schools sang patriotic choruses after each speech. The sky was of a celestial blue, and a brilliant sun lighted with his rays this magnificent scene. The music of the Marine Band of Washington lent its assistance to the impressive ceremonies. This band is, in America, almost what that of our Republican Guard is in France,—without a rival.

On a bench, near the President, were seated side by side, and chatting fraternally, Bishop Potter, of the Protestant Episcopal Church of New York, and Cardinal Gibbons, of Baltimore. This was the first time the Cardinal had appeared in a public ceremony dressed in the Roman purple. Not far from these two dignitaries, sat the Rev. Dr. de Schweinitz, Bishop of the Moravian Church of Philadelphia, and Dr. Witherspoon, of the Presbyterian Church of Nashville, Tennessee, who was also to offer one of the prayers composed for the occasion. One had there, under his eyes, in the reunion of these representatives of dogmas so strangely diverse, the living image of that great conquest of the Constitution: free churches in a free State, without subsidy from the national treasury, but also without any possible intervention from the State, except to guarantee to all the same liberty. After a short but eloquent speech by Mr. John A. Kasson, president of the Centennial Commission, who spoke the language of a free man to his equals, the President of the United States advanced towards the platform and began his speech. He first saluted the crowd, and then pronounced his discourse in a strong voice which carried a great distance. This was the moment waited for by all with impatience.

I will not resist the desire to cite for the benefit of my countrymen the eloquent peroration of this speech, which produced a profound impression :

“ We shall fail to be duly thankful for all that was done for us a hundred years ago, unless we realize the difficulties of the work then in hand and the dangers avoided in the task of forming ‘ a more perfect union ’ between disjointed and inharmonious States, with interests and opinions radically diverse and stubbornly maintained. The perplexities which met the Convention which undertook to form our Constitution may best be realized by these words of one of its most illustrious members :

“ ‘ The small progress we have made after four or five weeks of close attendance and continued reasonings with each other, our different sentiments on almost every question—several of the last producing as many noes as yeas—is, methinks, a melancholy proof of the imperfection of the human understanding. We, indeed, seem to feel our own want of political wisdom, since we have been running about in search of it. We have gone back to ancient history for models of government, and examined the different forms of those republics which, having been formed with the seeds of their own dissolution, now no longer exist. In this situation of this assembly, groping as it were in the dark to find political truth and scarce able to distinguish it when presented to us, how has it happened, sir, that we have not heretofore once thought of humbly applying to the Father of Light to illuminate our understandings ! ’

“ And this wise man, proposing to his fellows that the aid and blessing to God should be invoked in their extremity, declared :

“ ‘ I have lived for many years, and the longer I live the more convincing proofs I see that God governs in the affairs of men, and if a sparrow cannot fall without His notice, is it possible that an empire can rise without His aid? We are told in the sacred writings that except the Lord build a house, they labor in vain that build it. This I firmly believe, and I believe that without His concurring aid, we shall succeed no better in this political building of ours than did the builders of Babel. We shall be divided by our little partial, local interests, our projects will be concluded, and we ourselves shall become a reproach and by-word down to future ages ; and what is worse, mankind may hereafter, from this unfortunate instance, despair of

establishing governments by human wisdom and leave it to chance, war, and conquest.'

"In the face of all discouragements the fathers of the republic labored on for four long, weary months, in alternate hope and fear, but always with rugged resolve, never faltering in a sturdy endeavor sanctified by a prophetic sense of the value to posterity of their success, and always with unflinching faith in the principles which make the foundation of a government by the people. At last their task was done. It is related that on the wall back of the chair occupied by Washington as the president of the Convention a sun was painted, and that as the delegates were signing the completed Constitution one of them said: 'I have often and often in the course of the session, and in the solicitude of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that sun behind the president, without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting. But now at length I know that it is a rising and not a setting sun.'

"We stand to-day on the spot where this rising sun emerged from political night and darkness, and in its own bright meridian light we mark its glorious way. Clouds have sometimes obscured its rays, and dreadful storms have made us fear; but God has held it in its course, and through its life-giving warmth has performed His latest miracle in the creation of this wondrous land and people.

"When we look down one hundred years and see the origin of our Constitution, when we contemplate all its trials and triumphs, when we realize how completely the principles upon which it is based have met every national need and every national peril, how devoutly should we say with Franklin, 'God governs in the affairs of men,' and how solemn should be the thought that to us is delivered this ark of the people's covenant, and to us is given the duty to shield it from impious hands. It comes to us sealed with the test of a century. It has been found sufficient in the past, and it will be found sufficient in all the years to come, if the American people are true to their sacred trust. Another centennial day will come, and millions yet unborn will inquire concerning our stewardship and the safety of their Constitution. God grant they may find it unimpaired; and as we rejoice to-day in the patriotism and devotion of those who lived one hundred years ago, so may those who follow us rejoice in our fidelity and love for constitutional liberty."

When the applause had ceased, the two thousand children sang a national chorus. Then Mr. Samuel F. Miller, member of the Supreme Court, and the first jurisconsult of the United States, addressed the people. He gave an admirable history of the Constitution, as patriotic as eloquent. While he was speaking the rays of the sun penetrated the trees and fell plumb upon his head. One of the colored ushers opened an umbrella and held it over him; and it was in that posture, full of simplicity, the good servant following with his parasol the movements of the sun, that he delivered a long piece of eloquence, the reading of which lasted more than an hour and a half. I will repeat only the very important passage relating to France :

“Our ancient ally,—the French nation,—following rapidly in our footsteps, abolished the monarchical form of government, and, in attempting the establishment of a representative republic, has found the governments so established up to the present time very unstable and of short duration. It is impossible for an American, familiar with the principles of his government and the operation of its Constitution, to hesitate to attribute these failures of the French people very largely to the defects in their various constitutions in points where they have differed from ours. Their first step, upon the overthrow of the monarchy, was to consolidate into one the three representative estates of nobles, clergy, and commons, which had always, when called together by the king, acted separately. After a little experience in governing by committees, this body selected seven of their number, called the directors, to whom the executive powers were committed. It is sufficient to say of this body that, though tolerated for a while as an improvement on Robespierre and his Committee of Public Safety, it was easily overturned by Napoleon, who in rapid succession established an executive of three consuls, of which he was chief, then of consul for life in himself, and finally the empire, of which he was the head, and was at the same time the executive, the legislature, and the fountain of justice. It is needless to recount the history of the second republic and the second empire. For a third time France now has a republican government. This has a President, a Senate, and a House of Deputies, as our Constitution has; but its Presi-

dent is a cipher, elected by the assembly for seven years. It was supposed that the length of the term would give stability to the government and efficiency to the office. It has in practice turned out that the President is but a public show, the puppet of the prevailing faction (it can hardly be called a party) in the House of Deputies. His main function—a very disagreeable one—is to reconstruct perpetually dissolving cabinets, in which he has no influence, and whose executive policy is controlled by the deputies on whose demand they are appointed, all of them acting under constantly impending dread of a Parisian mob. The Senate of this system, like the House of Lords of Great Britain, is without any actual influence on the government, and is unlike our Senate, the members of which represent States, and have both the power and the courage, when they deem it necessary, to resist the President or the House of Representatives or both.

“The present government of France has existed longer than any republic ever set up in that country. The sentiment of the people is essentially republican. The strongest sympathies, the ardent wishes of every lover of liberty and of republicanism in the world, are with that gallant people; and commemorating, as we do to-day, the events of a hundred years ago,—the successful establishment of the grandest republic the world has ever known,—our hearts, filled with grateful remembrance of their valuable aid, are warm with ardent wishes that they may share the blessings we enjoy.”

These words borrow a particular importance from the solemn circumstances in which they were pronounced. They are worthy of the meditation of our statesmen.

After this eloquent discourse, the children sang “Hail Columbia,” their fresh voices rising pure and silvery in the air, and carrying afar torrents of harmony. Noble addresses, alternating with melodious choruses, gave to the ceremony a character of grandeur and grace that I have never encountered elsewhere. The first stanza of “Hail Columbia” was that of the old song by Joseph Hopkinson, 1798. The three others were composed for the occasion by Oliver Wendell Holmes, the poet of Boston. F. Marion Crawford, the well-known author of *Dr. Isaacs* and *Zoroaster*, and as celebrated in Paris as in Philadelphia, had sent a

national hymn, the stanzas of which Professor Murdoch recited with a sonorous voice; the refrain was sung by a choir of three hundred male voices. This alternation of poetry and song produced the most graceful effect; one could imagine himself, at certain moments, in Greece, in a theatre of Athens, in the time of Pericles.

When the last accents had died away, Cardinal Gibbons, whose glittering purple robe made a bright mark in the midst of the sombre vestments, approached the platform and read in a strong voice a long and eloquent prayer. The orchestra and choirs gave the "Star-Spangled Banner," in the singing of which the crowd joined. The Rev. Dr. Witherspoon, of Tennessee, arose and gave to the assembled crowd the final benediction. Then the President retired, followed by the hurrahs of the immense multitude. The ceremony was ended; a new century opens henceforth for the Constitution; the crowd disperses slowly by the stairs of the venerable edifice which has just received a second solemn dedication.

Descending with the crowd, step by step, the stairs of this noble Independence Hall, in the noise of the volleys of artillery fired by the vessels of the American squadron anchored in the waters of the Delaware, the heart still moved by the strange and magnificent spectacle which I had just witnessed, my thoughts flew invincibly towards the old country over there, far off over the sea; towards that country whose sons of old rendered possible the birth of this people to independence,—the country of Lafayette,—and I could not prevent myself from regretting that a great number of our compatriots of France, deputies, statesmen, and thinkers, had not been able to assist, lost in the crowd, at this great spectacle. They would have seen as I did, I have no doubt, like a new and radiant vision, that liberty based on the love of justice, respect for the work of the forefathers and mutual tolerance, that France knows not yet in its plenitude. Closing my eyes.

and isolating myself from the crowd which surrounded me, I could imagine at certain moments, like Laboulaye, that I could see in a dream Paris transported to America. The accents full of patriotism, of true nobility, and love of liberty, all those eloquent voices which had just now resounded,—they were Frenchmen, were they not, to whom I had been listening? Ah! how great was France, and what a brilliant future opens before her genius! But I had dreamed; I was indeed in America. Over my head, in the passage between the two rooms where the Constitution was signed, was suspended from the ceiling the same old bell which in 1776 called this great people to independence; in the distance, the joyous clamors of the crowd announcing the passage of President Cleveland seated with his young wife in an open carriage, a rose in his buttonhole, and saluting his fellow-citizens with a charming smile; and as far as eye could see, everywhere floated the starry banner of the United States of America. I had, at least, in that instant, the clear vision, that those were not the idle dreams of a visionary which hoped one day for France, under the *agis* of the republic one and indivisible, the absolute, close, invincible union of all her children in tolerance, patriotism, and liberty.*

L. VOSSION.

PHILADELPHIA, 21st September, 1887.

* The foregoing paper appeared in the *Nouvelle Revue* of November, 1887. The author is the French Consul at Philadelphia; the translator is Mrs. Caroline Waugh, of the same city; both of whom kindly consented to its re-publication.

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