PENNSYLVANIA
AND THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION
1787–1788

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Federal Constitution

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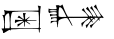
EDITED BY

John Bach McMaster

and Frederick D. Stone



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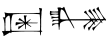

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Printed in the United States of America

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Cover art: "A New and Accurate Map of the Province of Pennsylvania in North America from the Best Authorities," from Universal Magazine (London: J. Hinton, April 1780). Used courtesy of www.mapsofpa.com.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution 1787–1788 / edited by John Bach McMaster and Frederick D. Stone.—A Da Capo Press reprint ed.
p. cm.
"This Da Capo Press edition of Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution, 1787–1788, is an unabridged republication in two volumes of the one-volume first edition published in Philadelphia, in 1888."
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-0-86597-793-8 (hardcover: alk. paper) —
ISBN 978-0-86597-794-5 (pbk.: alk. paper)
1. United States. Constitution. 2. Pennsylvania. Convention (1787)
I. McMaster, John Bach, 1852–1932, ed. II. Stone, Frederick D. (Frederick Dawson), 1841–1897, joint ed. III. Title.
KF4512.P4P45 2011
342.7302'92—dc22

2010031570

LIBERTY FUND, INC.
8335 Allison Pointe Trail, Suite 300
Indianapolis, Indiana 46250-1684

PREFACE.

THE object of this book is to show the circumstances under which the Federal Constitution was ratified by Pennsylvania. She was the first of the large states to accept the plan that gave the states having a small population an equal representation in the Senate with the others, and her prompt action influenced the result. Had this action been less prompt or less decided, it would have opened the way to dissensions and amendments that would in all probability have caused the rejection of the Constitution, or have sunk it to the level of the Articles of Confederation. Preceded only by Delaware in taking final action on the Constitution, she was the first to undertake its consideration.

Twenty hours after the Continental Congress submitted the Constitution to the States, the Assembly of Pennsylvania called a convention to ratify or reject it. When formally sent out to the people of the State, the "New Plan" at once became the subject of a violent contest, which continued almost to the day when Washington was sworn into office.

The history of this contest has never been written. In 1830 Jonathan Elliot published a collection of the debates that took place in some of the state conventions, and in this collection Pennsylvania was given a place. But what is there set forth as a record of the debate is false to history and discreditable to the industry of Mr. Elliot. The Convention sat from November 21 to December 15, the debate was exhaustive, the adverse views were strongly and ably urged. Yet Mr. Elliot gives only the preliminary proceedings, the speeches of James Wilson and a single speech of Thomas McKean, each in defence of the Constitution. He simply reprinted the small volume published by Thomas Lloyd in 1788, in which all the arguments of the opposition were suppressed.

It is true, the majority of the Convention refused to have their verdict weakened by allowing the minority to enter

their reasons of dissent on the Journal; but these reasons with proposed amendments were issued as a broadside, and spread all over the country. They show that the battle was fought out here and conclusions reached that in many cases commended themselves to the majority of the people. The amendments thus unofficially offered were the forerunners of those of Massachusetts and Virginia, and undoubtedly formed the basis of what Mr. Madison laid before the House of Representatives in 1789.

The material for a proper showing of the conduct of the people of Pennsylvania during the struggle over the Federal Constitution in 1787, is plentiful and of two sorts—the official proceedings and debates of the Assembly and the Convention, and the essays, squibs, letters, speeches, etc., that were published from day to day in the Journals and Gazettes.

Of the debates, unhappily, no complete report is in existence. The Convention employed no short-hand reporter to take down what was said, the report begun by Alexander J. Dallas for the Pennsylvania "Herald" was soon suppressed, and from November 30, 1787, the sources of information are some notes by James Wilson, some speeches reported by Thomas Lloyd, and the summaries that appeared in the newspapers. From such material has been constructed the account of the debates in the Convention given in Chapter Fourth, which is probably all that can ever be known. The Journal of the Convention—a bare record of meetings, motions, adjournments, and votes—has not been reprinted for lack of room.

From the squibs and essays, many exceedingly unwise and dry, but all showing forth the popular views of the Constitution, such a selection has been made as seems to fairly represent both the Federal and Antifederal side. Much has been omitted, but whatever has been omitted has generally been said somewhere else in better form.

To preserve the memoirs of the men who were thought fit to represent the people on this occasion, a series of biographical sketches have been added.

Philadelphia, June 9th, 1888.

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CHAPTER I.

THE STRUGGLE OVER THE CONSTITUTION.

THE constitution of the United States, as is well known, was framed during the summer of 1787, by a convention of delegates from twelve States. The convention sat in the old State House at Philadelphia, and after a stormy session of four months, ended its labors on September 17th, 1787. On the afternoon of that day, the constitution duly signed by thirty-nine of the members, some resolutions, and a letter from Washington, were ordered to be sent to Congress, to be by it transmitted to the States.

While these things were taking place in a lower room of the State House, the Legislature of Pennsylvania was in session in a room above, and to it, on the morning of September 18th, the constitution was read. Copies were then given to the press, and the next day the people of Philadelphia were reading the new plan in the "Packet," the "Journal," and the "Gazetteer." For a few days nothing but praise was heard. But, before a week was gone, a writer made bold to attack it in the "Freeman's Journal;" answers were made to him in the "Gazetteer;" more attacks followed, the community was split into two great parties, the names Federal and Antifederal were formally assumed, and a struggle, the most interesting in the early history of the constitution, was commenced.

The new frame of government meanwhile had been presented to Congress, and there, too, had been strongly opposed. Led on by Melanchthon Smith, the New York delegates opposed it to a man. William Grayson, of Virginia, denounced it as too weak. Richard Henry Lee hated it for being too strong, and with him went Nathan Dane, of Massachusetts. To submit such a document to Congress, they held, was absurd. Congress could give it no countenance whatever.

The proposed constitution was a plan for a new government; a new government could not be set up till the old had been pulled down, and to pull down the old was out of the power of Congress. They were reminded that Congress had sanctioned the meeting of the convention, and told that, if Congress could approve the convention, it could approve the work the convention did. But they would not be convinced, and on September 26th, Lee moved a bill of rights and a long list of amendments. He would have no Vice-President, a council of state to be joined with the President in making appointments, more representatives, and more than a majority to pass an act for the regulation of commerce. His bill and his amendments were not considered, and the next day Lee came forward with a new resolution. This was, that the acts of the convention should be sent to the executives of the States, to be by them laid before their legislatures. Instantly a member from Delaware moved to add the words: "In order to be by them submitted to conventions of delegates to be chosen agreeably to the said resolutions of the convention." The question was taken, and of the twelve States on the floor, all were for the motion save New York, and all save New York and Virginia were so unanimously. It was then moved to urge the legislatures to call state conventions with all the speed they could; but Congress rose, and the matter went over to the next day.

It was now quite clear that neither party could have its own way. The Federalists wished to send the new plan to the States by the undivided vote of Congress. But this they could not do while the New York delegates held out. Lee and his followers wished to send it, if sent at all, without one word of approval. But this they could not do unless the Federalists were willing. When, therefore, Congress again assembled at noon on the 28th, each party gave up something. The Federalists agreed to withhold all words of approval. The Antifederalists agree to unanimity. The amendments offered by Lee on the 26th, and the vote on the 27th, were then expunged from the journal, and the constitution, the resolutions of the convention, and the letter of Washington, were formally sent to the States.

William Bingham of Pennsylvania at once sent off an express to Philadelphia with the news. But the rider had not crossed the ferry to Paulus Hook when the Legislature of Pennsylvania began to act. The Assembly had resolved to adjourn *sine die* on Saturday, September 29th. But the Federalists had determined that before adjournment a state convention to consider the constitution should be called. When, therefore, the day drew near, and no word of approval came from Congress, they took the matter into their own hands, and on Friday morning George Clymer rose in his place, and moved that a state convention of deputies be called, that they meet at Philadelphia, and that they be chosen in the same manner and on the same day as the members of the next General Assembly. Mr. Whitehill, who sat for Cumberland, objected, moved to put off consideration of the matter till afternoon, and provoked a long and bitter debate. The people, it was said, in the State at large knew nothing about the new plan. To inform them before election would be impossible. The matter should be left to the next Assembly. Congress besides had taken no action, and till Congress did, no State could act: the articles of confederation forbade them; they must keep on federal ground. The motion again was unparliamentary. The custom of the Assembly had always been, when important business was to be brought on, to give notice beforehand, have the matter made the order of the day, and have the bill read three times. To now bring on business so important by surprise, and hurry it through without debate, was clearly to serve some bad end.

Such argument, however, could not bring over a single Federalist, and the first of the resolutions,* that calling the convention to meet at Philadelphia, was carried by a vote of forty-three to nineteen. The Assembly then adjourned till four in the afternoon.

Not a few of the minority lodged in the house of Major Boyd, on Sixth street, and there it is likely a plan was laid that came very near being successful. The Assembly consisted of sixty-nine members. Forty-six made a quorum. If, there-

*Chap. II., p. 28.

fore, nineteen kept away there would be no quorum, and if there was no quorum the house would be forced to adjourn with the day for the election of delegates unfixed, and the manner of choosing the members unsettled. It was accordingly arranged that not one of the nineteen should go to the afternoon session, and not one did.

At four o'clock the Assembly met, with the Speaker and every federal member in his place. But all told, they counted only forty-four, and the business could not go on. After waiting a while and no more coming in, the Speaker sent out the sergeant-at-arms to summon the absentees. None would obey, and the house was forced to adjourn to 9 o'clock on Saturday morning.

Meanwhile, the rider sent on by Mr. Bingham came spurring into town with the resolution of Congress submitting the constitution to the States. This, when the Speaker had taken the chair on Saturday, was read to the house. Hoping that the opposition of the minority would now be removed, the sergeant-at-arms and the assistant clerk were dispatched to hunt up the malcontents, show them the resolution, and summon them to attend. The two officers went first to Major Boyd's, where were James M'Calmont, who sat for Franklin, and Jacob Miley, from Dauphin. They were shown the resolution, and stoutly said they would not go. The people, however, decided that they should; broke into their lodgings, seized them, dragged them through the streets to the State House, and thrust them into the assembly room, with clothes torn and faces white with rage. The quorum was now complete.

When the roll had been called and a petition praying for a convention presented and read, Mr. M'Calmont rose, complained of his treatment, and asked to be excused. Some debate followed, in the course of which the rules touching the matter were read. It then appeared that every member who did not answer at roll-call was to be fined 2s. 6d. But when a quorum could not be formed without him, a fine of 5s. was to be imposed. Thereupon Mr. M'Calmont rose, and, taking some silver from his pocket, said, "Well, sir, here is your 5s.

to let me go." The gallery broke into a laugh, the Speaker refused the money, and the debate went on till the vote was about to be taken, when Mr. M'Calmont left his seat and made for the door. Instantly the gallery* cried out, "Stop him." The crowd about the door did so; Mr. M'Calmont returned to his seat; the house refused to excuse him, and appointed the first Tuesday in November for the election of delegates.

While these things were happening in the Assembly, the minority were busy preparing an address to the people, which sixteen of the nineteen signed.

The objections of these men were ten in number. The new plan was offensive because it was too costly, because it was to be a government of three branches, because it would ruin state governments or reduce them to corporations, because power of taxation was vested in Congress, because liberty of the press was not assured, because trial by jury was abolished in civil cases, and because the federal judiciary was so formed as to destroy the judiciary of the States. There ought to have been rotation in office, in place of which representatives were to be chosen for two years and senators for six. There ought to have been a declaration of rights, and provision against a standing army. They were at once answered in verse, in squibs, in mock protests, in serious and carefully drawn replies. One such reply came from six of the majority. Another, the longest and the most elaborate of all, was written by Pelatiah Webster. Webster was born at Lebanon, Connecticut, in 1725, and seems to have possessed the traditional versatility of the New England people. At twenty-one he was graduated from Yale college, studied theology, and for two years preached in the town of Greenwich. Wearying of this he turned business man, and went to Philadelphia in 1755. Either the profits were small or the business not to his taste, for in 1763 he accepted the place of

* This word occurs in the newspapers of the day. But the Assembly room contained no gallery. The term, therefore, must be understood in a parliamentary sense, and as referring to the people who stood in a crowd along the wall and around the door.

second English master in the Germantown academy, on a salary of one hundred pounds, proclamation money, a year. This he gave up in 1766, after which time nothing is known concerning him till, in 1776, he published an essay in favor of taxation for the purpose of redeeming the continental bills of credit. The British in 1778 threw him into jail, where he staid six months. As soon as he was free he once more took up the study of continental finance, and began a series of seven essays on "Free Trade and Finance," of which the first appeared in 1779 and the last in 1785. "A Dissertation on the Political Union and Constitution of the Thirteen United States of North America," one of the early efforts towards a more perfect union, appeared in 1783. In 1795 Webster died.

But an answer more decisive than that of Mr. Webster was made by the people at the polls, when the day came for choosing the members of the new Assembly and Council. Then Robert Whitehill, who signed the address as one of the sixteen, and had, in return, been put up for a seat in the Council, was thrown out by the voters of Cumberland county. Samuel Dale, whose name likewise appeared at the foot of the address, and Frederick Antis, who, having voted for the convention in the memorable morning session, went out with the nineteen in the afternoon, each met a like fate in Northumberland.

The election, however, to which the factions looked forward with most concern was that of delegates to the convention. Four weeks were to come and go before this took place, and during these weeks the Antifederalists were all activity. A friend was early found in Eleazer Oswald, who then owned the "Independent Gazetteer, or Chronicle of Freedom," and a champion in the unknown author of the letters of "Centinel."

Who "Centinel" was cannot be known. His letters in their day were ascribed to Oswald, to George Bryan, to almost every Antifederalist of note. But it seems not unlikely that the writer was Samuel Bryan.* Be this as it may, the

*This statement is made on the authority of Mr. Paul Leicester Ford, who

letters deserve the same rank in the list of pieces opposing the constitution, that has been given to the "Federalist" in the list of pieces supporting the constitution.

Eleazer Oswald was a native of Great Britian, and came to this country just at the outbreak of the Revolutionary war. Young, romantic, deeply impressed with the rights of man, he instantly took the part of the colonies, joined their army and fought for them during half the war. He was with Ethen Allen when Ticonderoga was taken, marched with Benedict Arnold to the siege of Quebec, led the forlorn hope on the day Montgomery fell, and took part under Washington in the battle of Monmouth. Of war he now seems to have had enough, for he resigned his commission in 1778, went to Philadelphia, and there, after casting about for something to do, turned tavern keeper and printer, re-opened the London Coffee House, and began the publication of the "Independent Gazetteer." Like most Whigs, he firmly believed the articles of confederation needed to be improved; but the constitution he considered no improvement at all, pronounced it monarchical, and made his paper the receptacle of the fiercest attacks on the new plan and its supporters. It was to the "Gazetteer" that Columbus and Gouvero, Tom Peep and Bye-Stander contributed their squibs, that "Philadelphiensis" sent his observations, and that "Centinel" contributed his twenty-four letters.

Stripped of all bitterness, the arguments of the two parties may be briefly stated. The new plan, said the Antifederalists, is not only a confederation of States, which it ought to be; but a government over individuals, which it ought not to be. Not only may Congress overawe the States, but it can go

has kindly furnished the following piece of information: "At the time of their publication, George Bryan, of Pennsylvania, was charged with the authorship of the letters of Centinel, and as such was the subject of many attacks from the Federalist newspapers; but his son, Samuel Bryan, writing to George Clinton, says: 'I have not the honor of being personally known to your Excellency, but * * * I flatter myself that in the character of Centinel I have been honored with your approbation and esteem.' It appears, however, from the Belknap Papers (II. 24, 35), that Eleazer Oswald, printer of the 'Independent Gazetteer,' was the author of some of the shorter squibs over that pseudonym."

down and lay hold on the life, liberty and property of the meanest citizen in the land. Where powers so extensive are bestowed on a government, the limits of the powers and the rights of the people ought to be clearly defined. Does the constitution do this? Far from it. No safeguards whatever are provided. There is no bill of rights, while trial by jury, that great bulwark of liberty, is carefully done away with in civil cases. Liberty of the press is not secured. Religious toleration is not provided for. There are to be general search warrants, excise laws, a standing army which the constitution does not forbid being quartered on the people. This is serious. For, by one article the "constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof," are to be "the supreme law of the land." They are, moreover, to be binding on the judges of each State, anything in the constitution or laws of that State to the contrary notwithstanding. Now, the state constitutions provide for liberty of the press, of speech, and of worship. The constitution of the United States does not. A law by Congress abolishing any of these would therefore be in pursuance of the constitution, would be "the supreme law of the land," and would be binding on every state judge in the union.

By another article Congress is to have power to lay taxes, imposts and duties. But so have the States power to lay taxes. How long will it be before all taxation is in the hands of Congress? For, is it not clear that when two powers are given equal command over the purses of the people, they will fight for the spoils? And is it not clear that the weaker will be found to yield to the stronger? And will not Congress be stronger? State sovereignty, so carefully preserved in the articles, is well nigh destroyed in the constitution. The people, not the States, are to be represented in the house, and there every delegate is to vote as a man. Lest the people should derive any benefit from this change, annual elections and rotation in office are to be swept away. A republican form of government is indeed guaranteed, but whoever will take the pains to look will see that it is the form, and not the substance. Innumerable acts of sovereignty are to be

taken from the States. They can coin no money, nor regulate their trade, nor derive one shilling from impost duty.

Indeed, there was hardly a provision in the whole constitution of which the Antifederalists could approve. The number of representatives was too small. The Senate was too aristocratic. The jurisdiction of the supreme court was too extensive. The President had powers which, when joined with those of the Senate, were utterly incompatible with liberty.

To strictures such as these a number of replies were made by the Federalists. Some were sarcastic or foolish, and intended merely to provoke a laugh. Some were temperate, and well considered, and of such the best were the speech of James Wilson at the State House, and the essays of "A Federalist," and "Plain Truth."

The occasion of Mr. Wilson's speech was a public meeting in the State House yard, to nominate delegates to the next General Assembly. As it was well known that the business of the meeting would bring a great crowd, the Federalists induced Mr. Wilson to make an address by way of answer to the many charges the Antifederalists had brought against the constitution.

He began by calling on his hearers to recollect that the constitutions of the States were very different instruments from the constitution proposed for the United States. When the people set up their state governments, they gave to their legislatures every right and every power which they did not expressly withhold. But in giving powers to the federal government this principle had been reversed, and the authority of Congress would be determined not by tacit implication, but by positive grant expressed in the constitution. In the case of the state governments, every power not expressly reserved was given. In the case of the proposed federal government, every power not expressly given was reserved.

This distinction being recognized, the objection of those who wished for a bill of rights was answered. A bill of rights was prefixed to the constitution of Pennsylvania, be-

cause in such an instrument the reserved powers must be specified, and this specification was done in the bill of rights. No bill of rights had been added to the proposed constitution of the United States, because it was not necessary to sum up the reserved powers, because no power was given unless expressly given, and the collection of express powers was the constitution.

Another objection was that trial by jury in civil cases would be abolished. This was a mistake. The business of the convention that framed the constitution was not local, but general. Its duty was not to meet the views and usages of any one State, but the views and usages of thirteen States. These usages were not common. When, therefore, the federal convention was considering the matter of jury trial, the members found themselves beset with difficulties on every hand. Cases open to a jury in one State were not open to a jury in another. Nowhere were admiralty cases, and such as came up in courts of equity, sent to a panel of twelve. To lay down a general rule was therefore impossible, and the convention wisely gave up the task, and left the matter as it stood, feeling sure no danger could arise.

The charge that the constitution would destroy the state governments was, Mr. Wilson held, refuted by the constitution itself. Was not the President to be chosen by electors? and was not the manner of choosing the electors to be determined by the legislatures of the States? Were not the senators to be elected by the state legislatures? Were not the qualifications of an elector of representatives to be the same as "the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature?" Did it not follow then that if the legislatures were destroyed no President could be chosen, no senators elected, no represenatives voted for?

Mr. Wilson then went on to refute the charges of "a standing army in time of peace," and of "the baleful aristocracy in the United States Senate." He ended his speech with the statement that the men who opposed the constitution did so from personal, not patriotic motives. They were, he said, placemen, tax collectors and excisemen, who, should the

new plan go into effect, would be turned out of office by the abolition, or transfer to the federal government of the places they held under the State.*

The speech was hailed by the Federalists as final, and provoked the Antifederalists to make innumerable replies. "Centinel" devoted a whole letter to answering it. From New York came a series of long letters in reply. "A Democratic Federalist" labored hard to refute him.

Others, who could not answer, began to call names. "An officer of the late Continental army" described the speech as a "train of pitiful sophistries, unworthy of the man who uttered them." One bitter lampooner nick-named him "James de Caledonia." Another vilified him as "Jimmy." A third summed up his objections to the constitution with the remark that such a haughty aristocrat as Mr. Wilson having approved the new plan, was the best reason in the world why the people should reject it.

This, it was said, might possibly be so, if Mr. Wilson were the only signer of the constitution. But he was not. His was but one name in a long list of great names. Had it not been signed by a Washington, and did there live a villain so black-hearted as to assert that the American Fabius was now seeking to destroy the liberties he had done so much to secure? Had not Franklin signed it, and did any one suppose that he would close a long and splendid career by recommending to his countrymen an infamous constitution? Had it not been signed by a Morris and a Sherman? The Antifederalists admitted that it had, but warned the people not to be blinded by the glamour of great names. Were there not names, as great as any at the foot of the constitution, to be seen at the foot of the articles of confederation articles

*Gouverneur Morris in a letter to Washington makes the same statement. There had, he wrote, been reason to "dread the cold and sour temper of the back counties, and still more the wicked industry of those who have long habituated themselves to live on the public, and cannot bear the idea of being removed from the power and profit of State government, which has been and still is the means of supporting themselves, their families and dependents, and (which perhaps is equally grateful) of depressing and humbling their political adversaries."

now declared to be thoroughly bad? Nay, had not some of the very men who put their hands to the one, put their hands to the other? Had not Roger Sherman, and Robert Morris, and Gouverneur Morris, recommended the confederation? What, then, was the value of these boasted great names? If these patriots had erred once, what was to hinder them from erring twice? "Centinel" went so far as to make some remarks on Washington and Franklin, which the Federalists interpreted to mean that Washington was a fool from nature and Franklin a fool from old age. The abuse of the "great names" once begun, no one was spared. The whole list of signers was gone through with. Robert Morris was "Bobby the Cofferer," and was said to be for the constitution because he hoped the new government would wipe out the debts he owed the old. Thomas Mifflin was "Tommy the Quartermaster General," and gave his support because his accounts were 400,000 dollars short. Gouverneur Morris was "Gouvero the cunning man." Few was sneered at as a bricklayer. Telfair was accused of having been a Tory. Baldwin was twitted with having once been steward of Princeton college, which was false. To the convention was given the nickname of the dark conclave.

The hatred was most bitter, however, toward the eight who signed for Pennsylvania. Indeed, so loud was the outcry against them, that when the time came to nominate delegates to the state convention, it was thought best that James Wilson should be the only one put up. The precaution was unnecessary, for in Philadelphia the Federalists carried everything.

Election day was the sixth of November. Five delegates were to be chosen from the city of Philadelphia, and when the polls were closed at the State House, it appeared that the Antifederalists had suffered a crushing defeat. The name standing highest on the federal ticket received twelve hundred and fifteen votes, and the name that stood lowest, eleven hundred and fifty-seven votes. For Pettit, who headed the antifederal ticket, one hundred and fifty votes were cast, while Irvine, who stood at the bottom, was given one hundred and

thirty-two. Franklin, it is true, ran far ahead of Pettit; but he was in no sense an Antifederalist, and was well known to have little sympathy for the party that used his name. He had not been nominated by the Federalists, partly, as was explained, because he was old and feeble, but chiefly because he was still president of the commonwealth, and it was not thought fit that any officer of the State should sit in the convention. The Antifederalists accordingly used his great name in the hope of drawing votes. But the ruse was detected, and though some votes were drawn, they were for him and not for the ticket. He received two hundred and thirty-five.

The Federalists were greatly elated over their victory, and after midnight on election day a score or so of tipsy revellers went to the house of Major Boyd, where lived John Smilie, John Baird, Abraham Smith, James M'Calmont, James McLean, John Piper and William Findley, members of the legislature and noted Antifederalists, every one of them. Four had signed the address of the sixteen dissenting assemblymen. All had strongly opposed the calling of a state convention; all were detested by the mob which gathered before the house, broke the door, flung stones through the windows, and went off reviling the inmates by name. Enraged at the insult, they complained to the legislature. The Assembly asked the "Executive Council" to offer a reward. The council did so, and Franklin promptly issued a proclamation offering three hundred dollars for the capture and punishment of the offenders. The proclamation was mere matter of form. No search was made, no rioter was arrested, and the delegates chosen to the convention met at the State House on Wednesday, the twenty-first of November, when sixty of the sixty-nine members were present.

The sixty who, on that day, answered to their names, made up a body as characteristic of the State as has ever been gathered. Scarcely a sect, or creed, or nationality in the commonwealth, but had at least one representative on the floor of the convention. Some were Moravians; some were Lutherans; some Episcopalians; some Quakers; most were Presbyterians. Some were of German descent. The ances-

tors of others had but a generation or two before come over from Scotland or England, or Ireland, or that part of Ireland made famous by the Scotch. One had sat in the "Council of Censors." Three had been members of Assembly. Eleven had been judges, or justices of the peace. As many more had been Revolutionary officers. Scarce one but had taken some part in the struggle for Independence. One had received subscriptions to the continental loan. Others had served on committees of observation, or had been members of the "Flying Camp." One had served with Washington and Braddock. Another had been turned out of meeting for taking arms in the good cause. Five in time acquired national fame. From the city of Philadelphia came Benjamin Rush, and James Wilson, and Thomas M'Kean. Chester sent Anthony Wayne. From Luzerne came Timothy Pickering, postmaster general, secretary of war, and secretary of state under Washington, secretary of state under Adams, senator from Massachusetts, and to the day of his death the bitterest, the most implacable of Federalists.

Of the proceedings of the convention no full and satisfactory record is known to exist. For our knowledge of what was said and done we are indebted to the journal kept by the secretary of the convention, to the report of a few speeches taken down in shorthand by Thomas Lloyd, to the reports and summaries of the debates that appeared in the newspapers, and to the notes jotted down by Wilson and intended to be used by him as the subjects of replies and speeches. The minutes are exceedingly meagre; but from them it appears that Thomas Lloyd applied to the convention for the place of assistant clerk. Lloyd was a shorthand writer of considerable note, and, when the convention refused his request, determined to report the debates and print them on his own account. His advertisement promised that the debates should be accurateiy taken in shorthand, and published in one volume octavo at the rate of one dollar the hundred pages. These fine promises, however, were never fulfilled. Only one thin volume ever came out, and that contains merely the speeches of Wilson and a few of those of Thomas M'Kean. The reason is not