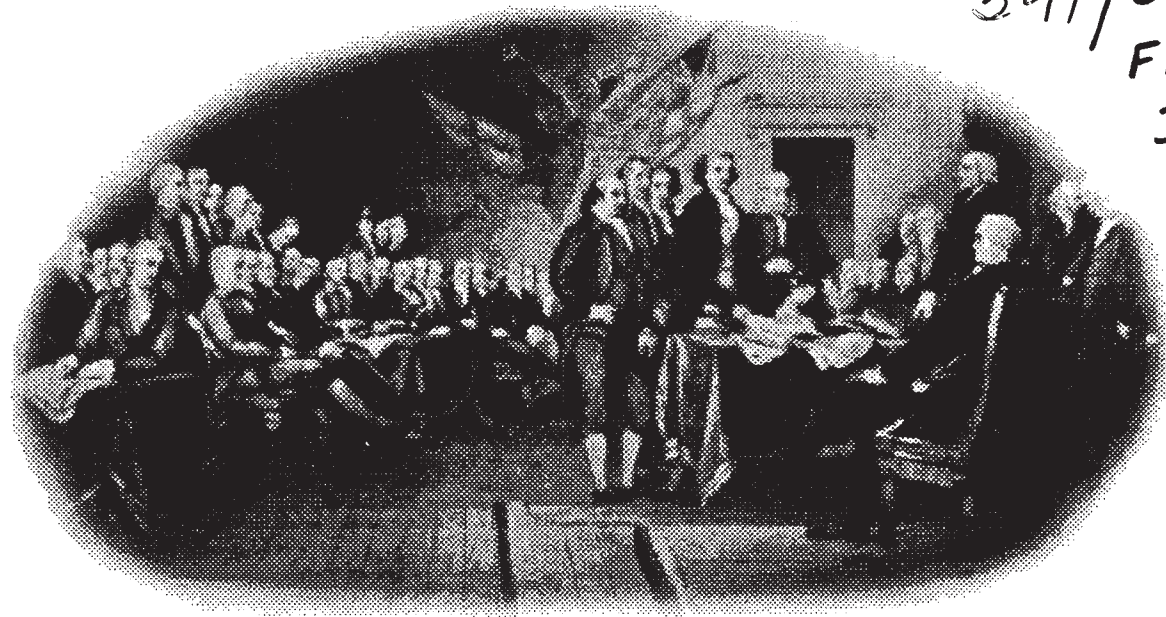


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Independence



“A Multitude of Amendments, Alterations and Additions”:

The Writing and Publicizing of the Declaration of
Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the
Constitution of the United States

John Hancock

Samuel Chase

Wm. Parson

Thos. Stone

Charles Carroll of Carrollton

Robt Morris

Benjamin Rush

Ben² Franklin

John Morton

Geoffrey
Ja^s. Smith
Geo. Taylor

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Chief, Cultural Resources Management

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Dennis R. Rendeloch asst Supt.
for Superintendent

5/1/96
Date

"A Multitude of Amendments, Alterations and Additions":
The Writing and Publicizing of the Declaration of Independence,
the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution of the United
States

Ann Marie Dubé
Associate Curator

May 1996

Karie Diethorn, Chief of Museum Branch
Dr. Doris Devine Fanelli, Chief of Cultural Resources Management
Martha B. Aikens, Superintendent

Independence National Historical Park

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It is the production of four months deliberation. It is now a Child of fortune, to be fostered by some and buffeted by others.¹

During the eighteenth century, America's founding documents provided the framework for a unique form of government; today, these documents continue to influence and inspire people around the world. The founding documents, as objects, play a significant role in the development of American nationalism during the nineteenth and twentieth century. Individuals today identify with the visual representation of the ideas espoused by the founding fathers as well as the ideas embodied in the documents.

Does the textual evolution of these documents reflect their continuing importance as cultural icons? The textual evolution of these documents is best understood in relation to the events surrounding their creation, so an historical account of the development of the founding documents will form the majority of this study. The second portion will evaluate the cultural impact of these founding documents on the lives of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Americans.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

During the spring of 1776, the colonies took important steps

Cover: Paul H. Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1979), IV, 376.

¹ Letter from George Washington to Marquis de Lafayette, 18 September 1787. Cited in John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1939), Vol. 29, 277.

toward independence from Great Britain. On 15 May, a resolution was adopted at the Virginia Convention in Williamsburg that instructed the Virginia delegates in Congress to

propose to that respectable body to declare the United Colonies free and independent States, absolved from all allegiance to, or dependence on, the Crown or Parliament of Great Britain; and that they give the assent of this Colony to such declaration, and to whatever measures may be thought necessary by the Congress for forming foreign alliances, and a Confederation of the Colonies, at such time and in the manner as to them shall seem best: Provided, that the power of forming government for, and the regulation of the internal concerns of each Colony, be left to the respective Colonial legislatures.²

The idea of colonial independence had gained momentum with the circulation of Thomas Paine's pamphlet *Common Sense*. In Philadelphia, the delegates to the Continental Congress were divided on the issues of independence and the establishment of confederated colonies. On 27 May, Congress received the Virginia resolution and the movement toward independence quickened. On 7 June, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia presented to Congress a motion,

Resolved, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.³

² Cited in Julian P. Boyd, *The Declaration of Independence* (Washington: The Library of Congress, 1943), 14.

³ Worthington Chauncey Ford, ed., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906), V, 425. Hereafter referred to as *Journals*.

Although the motion was seconded by Massachusetts delegate John Adams, further debate was postponed until the following day. On 8 and 10 June, the moderates expressed their reluctance to declare independence and secured a postponement of Congress for three weeks by a vote of seven to five. It was apparent to the delegates that Lee's resolution would ultimately pass, so Congress appointed a Committee of Five to prepare a declaration. On 11 June, Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania, Robert R. Livingston of New York, and Roger Sherman of Connecticut, were entrusted with this important task.

The members of the Committee of Five chose the young Thomas Jefferson to draft the document. Jefferson, while only thirty-three years old, had a wealth of experience in political service and writing. In 1774, while a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, Jefferson wrote a political pamphlet entitled *A Summary View of the Rights of British America*. In the spring of 1776, Jefferson composed a draft of a proposed constitution for Virginia. On 27 June, while Jefferson was in Philadelphia, a portion of his draft constitution was adopted as the preamble to the Virginia Constitution. Although *A Summary View* was printed anonymously, the members of the Committee were aware of Jefferson's talent for composition. In preparation for his draft of the Declaration of Independence, Jefferson relied heavily on his draft of the proposed constitution for Virginia; George Mason's Declaration of Rights, adopted by Virginia on 12 June

1776, which was printed in draft form in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* for 6 June; and Richard Henry Lee's resolution proposed to Congress on 7 June.⁴

There are six extant documents, one incomplete, in Thomas Jefferson's hand that help trace the evolution of the Declaration of Independence. First is the rough draft labeled by Jefferson "original Rough draft," and hereafter referred to as Rough Draft. The Rough Draft is located in the Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress. Second is the copy given by Jefferson to Richard Henry Lee which is located in the collection of the American Philosophical Society. Third is the copy in the Emmet Collection of the New York Public Library, purported to be the copy that Jefferson sent to George Wythe. Fourth is an incomplete copy in the Washburn Papers at the Massachusetts Historical Society, which Jefferson may have sent to either John Page or Edmund Pendleton. The previous three documents, here called the "second," "third," and "fourth," were executed sometime after the Committee of Five had completed their work and before the Declaration was altered in Congress.⁵ The fifth Declaration was

⁴ Boyd, *Declaration of Independence*, 19-21. A draft of George Mason's Declaration of Rights appeared also in draft form in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on 12 June 1776.

⁵ These documents help determine the textual evolution of the Declaration because they represent various stages of the process of editing Jefferson's edition of the Declaration. Between 4 July and 10 July 1776, it is known that Jefferson sent copies of the Declaration to Philip Mazzei, John Page, Edmund Pendleton, and George Wythe. Boyd, *Declaration of Independence*, 22. Boyd, "The Declaration of Independence: The Mystery of the Lost Original," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 100 (October 1976): 447.

the copy made for James Madison in 1783 by Jefferson from his notes of the debates in Congress. Last is the draft in Jefferson's notes from which the Madison copy was taken.⁶ Another significant draft of the Declaration, although not in Jefferson's hand, is the fair copy taken by John Adams of Jefferson's draft before it was submitted to Congress and prior to any changes suggested by himself or Franklin, now in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Minor changes were proposed by Adams and Franklin while Jefferson was preparing the Declaration of Independence. After Jefferson completed the Rough Draft, it is believed that he prepared a "fair copy" or revised document to be presented to Congress.⁷ The Rough Draft contains corrections, additions and deletions, primarily in Jefferson's hand, made by Adams and Franklin, the Committee of Five, and later by Congress. Phrases in brackets indicate parts that were stricken out by Congress.

On Friday, 28 June, the Committee of Five presented to Congress the document entitled "A Declaration by the

⁶ Boyd, *Declaration of Independence*, 22-27. Boyd argues that the absence of a preliminary draft previous to the Rough Draft does not negate its existence. Boyd further states that it is unlikely the Rough Draft was Jefferson's first attempt at composition, because it contained so few corrections, additions, and interlineations when presented to John Adams. Boyd argues Jefferson copied the Rough Draft from an earlier draft, in order to present a "fair copy" or finished copy of that document to Adams and Franklin.

⁷ Boyd, *Declaration of Independence*, 29. It is believed that Secretary Charles Thomson may have sent Jefferson's fair copy to Dunlap's shop on July 4, where it was lost or destroyed. For a complete discussion of this argument consult Boyd, "The Declaration of Independence: The Mystery of the Lost Original," 438-467.

Representatives of the United States Of America in General Congress assembled." Jefferson's text was presented to the Committee of the Whole for discussion after Lee's resolution was approved by Congress on Monday, 2 July. For three days, Jefferson sat and listened while Congress altered his prepared document. The most significant alteration Congress undertook was the elimination of a paragraph that restricted the slave trade and statements denouncing the people of England for their participation in a war against the colonies. Since the colonists were primarily dissatisfied with the King and his government, the members of Congress chose to eliminate the passage that included the indictment of their British brethren.⁸

On 4 July, the Congress approved the Declaration and it was formally adopted by unanimous vote of all the colonies represented. The Congress voted immediately to authenticate and print the document. The president of Congress, John Hancock, signed the document, thereby authenticating it.⁹ Secretary Charles Thomson attested to it with his signature and the Congress further ordered:

That the committee appointed to prepare the declaration superintend and correct the press. That copies of the declaration be sent to the several assemblies, conventions and committees or councils of safety, and to the several commanding officers of the continental

⁸ Joseph J. Ellis, "Editing the Declaration," *Civilization* (July/August 1995): 62.

⁹ Boyd, *Declaration of Independence*, 35. Boyd, "Declaration of Independence: The Mystery of the Lost Original," 450-451.

troops; that it be proclaimed in each of the United States, and at the head of the Army.¹⁰

There is no record of exactly how the Committee of Five carried out their orders. It is likely that Thomas Jefferson and one, or more, of the committee members took the authenticated copy signed by John Hancock to the print shop of John Dunlap.¹¹ Boyd argues that the document brought to Dunlap's shop would probably not have borne the signatures of John Hancock and Charles Thomson. Boyd contends the document would not have had enough space for official signatures after it was altered by Congress. A separate piece of paper containing the signatures of Hancock and Thomson would have been affixed to the Declaration.¹²

The exact number of broadsides printed at John Dunlap's shop on the evening of 4 July and the morning of 5 July is

¹⁰ *Journals*, V, 516.

¹¹ Dunlap, the official printer for Congress, was located at 48 Market Street, only blocks from the State House. John Dunlap, born in Ireland in 1747, served as an apprentice in the Pennsylvania print shop of his uncle, William Dunlap. William Dunlap, a printer and bookseller, was also postmaster of Philadelphia. In 1766, the senior Dunlap suddenly decided to leave his business in Philadelphia for a calling in the ministry. William Dunlap sailed for England to receive his ordination and John Dunlap was given charge of his uncle's printing business. Two years later, the elder Dunlap was appointed rector of a parish in Stratton and he subsequently sold his business in Philadelphia to his nephew. When John Dunlap purchased his uncle's business, the majority of business concentrated on printing books. In November 1771, John Dunlap expanded his business to include the publication of a newspaper, *The Pennsylvania Packet or The General Advertiser*. Later, he became the official printer to the Congress. Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930), 514-515.

¹² Boyd, *Declaration of Independence*, 35. Boyd, "Declaration of Independence: The Mystery of the Lost Original," 450.

undetermined but estimated to be between one and two hundred copies.¹³ Currently, there are twenty-five known Dunlap broadsides (see Appendix A). One copy of the broadside was delivered to Charles Thomson, who folded it and placed it in the manuscript "Journal of the Continental Congress." John Hancock received numerous copies to dispatch throughout the colonies, a number of which were sent with cover letters in his hand.¹⁴ On 8 July 1776, Colonel John Nixon read the Declaration of Independence in the State House yard. The Dunlap broadside used by Nixon on 8 July is located in the Independence National Historical Park collection. Of the twenty-five extant Dunlap broadsides, two are located in British repositories. Both copies were transmitted to England with correspondence from Vice Admiral Lord Richard Howe dated 28 July and 11 August 1776 from his post aboard the flagship *Eagle*, off Staten Island. One of the letters to accompany the Dunlap broadsides was addressed to Lord George Germain.¹⁵

On 5 July, copies of the Dunlap broadside were sent to the various state assemblies, conventions, and committees of safety and to the commanding officers of the continental troops. The

¹³ Julian P. Boyd, "The Declaration of Independence: The Mystery of the Lost Original," 453.

¹⁴ Frederick R. Goff, *The Dunlap Broadside: The First Printing of the Declaration of Independence* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1976), 7. See Appendix B for a discussion of the extensive technical study conducted by Goff. A similar scientific study has not been conducted for the printed copies of the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution of the United States.

¹⁵ Goff, *The Dunlap Broadside*, 48-51.

distribution of the Dunlap broadside prompted additional printing of the Declaration of Independence from New Hampshire to Virginia. Of the nineteen various editions of broadsides only eighteen have surviving copies.¹⁶ These broadsides of the Declaration, derived from the Dunlap broadside, were printed and distributed throughout the colonies. The Declaration of Independence's first appearance in a newspaper was on 6 July in *The Pennsylvania Evening Post*. Twenty-three other newspapers published the Declaration throughout the colonies before it was ordered to be engrossed on 19 July (see Appendix C). The first appearance of the Declaration in a book was *The Genuine Principles of the Ancient Saxon, or English Constitution, Carefully Collected from the Best Authorities; with Some Observations, on Their Peculiar Fitness for the United Colonies in General, and Pennsylvania in Particular, By Demophilus*, published in 1776 by Robert Bell of Philadelphia.

Sometime between 4 July and 19 July, John Dunlap reset the type in his shop and created a unique broadside printing of the Declaration on parchment.¹⁷ On July 19, the Declaration of

¹⁶ Michael J. Walsh, "Contemporary Broadside Editions of the Declaration of Independence," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 3 (1949): 35-43. Walsh provides a complete description of each edition and lists location of all known extant copies.

¹⁷ Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., *The Declaration of Independence: Four 1776 Versions* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1986), 9. No evidence survives to explain why and for whom Dunlap created this unique version on parchment. Bell contends that Dunlap may have believed the document was significant enough to print on a more permanent and attractive support. Only one extant copy of this printing survives in the collection of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Independence was ordered to be fairly engrossed on parchment and the title changed from *A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America in General Congress assembled to The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America*. The engrossed copy of the Declaration was to be signed by every member of Congress. The document was probably engrossed by Timothy Matlack, a Pennsylvanian who had been an assistant to Charles Thomson, the Secretary of Congress.¹⁸

On 2 August 1776, the members of the Continental Congress assembled and it was recorded in the Journal that "the declaration of independence being engrossed and compared at the table was signed [by the members]."¹⁹ The general public did not know the names of those individuals who signed the Declaration until some months later.

Congress was in session in Baltimore, Maryland from 20 December 1776 to 4 March 1777. On 18 January, after victories at Trenton and Princeton, Congress ordered an authenticated copy of

¹⁸ Boyd, "The Declaration of Independence: The Mystery of the Lost Original," 464. *Declaration of Independence: The Adventures of a Document* (Washington: National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, 1976), 10.

¹⁹ *Journals*, V, 626. The phrase "by the members" was taken from the Secret Journals. Most scholars agree that the engrossed Declaration of Independence was signed on 2 August 1776. For an illustration of an alternative argument to the signing on 2 Aug 1776, consult Wilfred J. Ritz, "The Authentication of the Engrossed Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776," *Law and History Review* 4 (1986): 179-204 and Wilfred J. Ritz, "From the Here of Jefferson's Handwritten Rough Draft of the Declaration of Independence of Independence to the There of the Printed Dunlap Broadside," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 116 (October 1992): 499-512.

the Declaration of Independence printed complete with the names of the signers.²⁰ Mary Katharine Goddard employed the original engrossed copy of the Declaration to set the type in her shop.²¹ A copy of the Goddard printing was ordered to be sent to each state. Currently, there are nine known Goddard broadsides (see Appendix D).²² The printing of the Goddard broadside is significant: the names of those who signed the Declaration were recorded and thus made publicly known for the first time.

During the late-eighteenth century and early-nineteenth century, individual perception of the Declaration of Independence evolved from a view of the document as an instrument for colonial independence to a symbol of American nationalism. Many Americans of the early-nineteenth century had never seen the text of the Declaration of Independence until 1818 when Benjamin Owen Tyler

²⁰ The authenticated copy of the Declaration was printed with the names of the signers in typeface and did not include facsimile signatures.

²¹ In addition to owning a print shop, Mary Katherine Goddard operated *The Maryland Journal*, a successful Baltimore newspaper, and a dry goods, stationery and book store. Leona M. Hudak, *Early American Women Printers and Publishers 1639-1820* (Metuchen, NJ and London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1978), 320-321. During the late-eighteenth century, the appearance of a successful woman printer was extremely rare.

²² John H. Hazelton, *The Declaration of Independence Its History* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), 284. Boyd, "The Declaration of Independence: The Mystery of the Lost Original," 465. John Bidwell, "American History in Image and Text," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 98 (October 1988): 271-272. Walsh, "Contemporary Broadside Editions of the Declaration of Independence," 14. The copies located in the Library of Congress and in the New York Public Library are signed by John Hancock and Charles Thomson authenticating and attesting their text. At least four copies of the Goddard broadside were signed by president of Congress, John Hancock.

published the first engraving of the Declaration of Independence.²³ Therefore, Tyler's engraving and others that soon followed provided a powerful image for most Americans.²⁴ In order to showcase his skill as a writing master, Tyler published political and patriotic prints and facsimile letters copied from the hand of Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson. During the second decade of the nineteenth century, Tyler's business centered in Washington.

Tyler's engraving of the Declaration employed ornamental script supplemented with facsimile signatures copied from the original engrossed copy of the Declaration. Tyler maintained every nuance of the original signatures, preserving the proportions, stress, and weight as made by the original signers.²⁵ Tyler's facsimile signatures were so exact that they were often mistaken for the originals.

Tyler's engraving of the Declaration was published just prior to an engraving designed by John Binns.²⁶ In Philadelphia, Binns was the founder of *The Democratic Press*, a Republican

²³ Tyler was born in 1789 in western Massachusetts. Tyler was a calligrapher and penmanship instructor. He offered a three-week penmanship course in Bennington, Vermont, before moving to New York to instruct more people in the art of handwriting.

²⁴ Philip F. Detweiler, "The Changing Reputation of the Declaration of Independence: The First Fifty Years," *William and Mary Quarterly* 19 (1962): 572.

²⁵ Bidwell, "American History in Image and Text," 246.

²⁶ John Binns was born in Dublin, Ireland in 1772. Before he emigrated to America in 1801, he spent time in and out of English jails for his support of the republican cause.

newspaper. In June 1816, Binns began a list of subscriptions for his publication of "a splendid and correct copy of the Declaration of Independence, with fac-similes of all the signatures, the whole to be encircled with the arms of the thirteen States and of the United States."²⁷

Although Binns promised his copy of the Declaration in one year, the enormous scale of its design delayed publication until 1819. Binns employed as many as five artists at one time to assist him with the design. Time was taken to borrow portraits, obtain models for the state seals, and paint the American eagle from life. The finished document was a collaborative effort among designer, artist, engraver, and printer. The overall design was assembled by John Binns.²⁸ In response to Tyler's dedication to Thomas Jefferson, Binns dedicated his print to the

²⁷ John Binns, *Recollections of the Life of John Binns: Twenty-Nine Years in Europe and Fifty-Three in the United States. Written by Himself, With Anecdotes, Political, Historical, and Miscellaneous* (Philadelphia: Printed and for Sale by the Author, and by Parry and M'Millan, 1854), 234.

²⁸ The engravings of George Washington, John Hancock, and Thomas Jefferson, based on life portraits, were executed by J.B. Longacre. Longacre used Gilbert Stuart's 1795 portrait of George Washington. The image of John Hancock was copied from a portrait done by John Singleton Copley in 1765 and that of Thomas Jefferson painted by Bass Otis in 1816. The ornamental component of the document was drawn by George Bridport and engraved by George Murray. The arms of the United States and the thirteen states were drawn from official documents by Thomas Sully and engraved on the copperplate by George Murray. The text of the Declaration of Independence were designed and engraved by C.H. Parker. The collection at Independence National Historical Park contains a John Binns' engraving of the Declaration, INDE 15702.

people of the United States. In 1819, Binns' Declaration was printed in Philadelphia by James Porter.²⁹

In the Binns' engraving, the state seals form an oval surrounding the text of the Declaration in a symbolic representation of national unity. Binns and other artists filled their engravings with images, designs, and portraits not only to appear aesthetically pleasing but to appeal to American patriotic and political sentiments. In 1819, with the spirit of nationalism rising, Americans began to focus on the ideas espoused in the Declaration rather than simply viewing the document as an act proclaiming separation from Great Britain.

A few months prior to Binns' publication, William Woodruff, a journeyman engraver, published an engraving of the Declaration almost identical to Binns' work. According to Binns in an unsuccessful lawsuit against his competitor, Woodruff stole his design while working as a journeyman in the shop of George Murray, an employee of Binns'. Woodruff's engraving of the Declaration contained signatures in a uniform round hand, not facsimiles, and replaced the portrait of John Hancock with one of John Adams. Later, Woodruff issued a separate published document with facsimile signatures. Why Woodruff originally issued the engraving without facsimile signatures is unclear. It is possible that the signatures on the Binns' engraving had not been completed or that Woodruff was apprehensive about copying Binns'

²⁹ Binns, *Recollections of the Life of John Binns*, 234-236. Bidwell, "American History in Image and Text," 260-262, 288-289.

facsimile signatures, an act that would have made his document identical to Binns' engraving.³⁰ Following John Binns' announcement of his intent to publish the Declaration of Independence, Benjamin Owen Tyler reprinted his own Declaration at a lower price. Tyler's engraving cost five dollars on paper and seven on parchment, while Binns charged ten dollars plain and thirteen if colored. The battle between the two men was waged in the newspapers and in the marketplace. The controversy provided both advertising for their engravings and spurred interest in the Declaration as a important document.³¹

In response to Tyler's jump on the market, Binns sought recognition from the government. Binns wanted his Declaration displayed in both houses of Congress. In 1820, Binns' plan for government sponsorship was thwarted when Secretary of State John Quincy Adams commissioned William J. Stone, a political friend, to create an official facsimile of the engrossed version of the Declaration, with signatures as well as text.³² The engrossed

³⁰ Bidwell, "American History in Image and Text," 288. In the collection of Independence National Historical Park is a later edition of the Woodruff engraving. INDE 12497, circa 1837-1843, a lithographic broadside printed by H. Brunet on silk. The text is slightly rearranged from the original and the dedication is signed "Woodruff" instead of "W^m. Woodruff"

³¹ John C. Fitzpatrick, *The Spirit of the Revolution: New Light from Some of the Original Sources of American History* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1924), 16-18. Bidwell, "American History in Image and Text," 262.

³² William J. Stone (1798-1865), engraver and printer, was born in London and arrived in the United States in 1804. He was educated in Pennsylvania and studied engraving under Peter Maverick. Stone settled in the capital city in 1815 and lived

copy of the Declaration had been rolled and unrolled numerous times to be examined by printers and engravers and to exhibit for dignitaries. As a result, it was becoming fragile and a replacement was needed. Thus, the Stone facsimile would serve as the official document for the United States government.³³

Stone's facsimile of the Declaration was engraved on copperplate and printed on parchment. On 26 May 1824, Congress ordered two hundred copies of the Stone facsimile distributed. The surviving three signers of the Declaration, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and Charles Carroll of Carrollton, each received two copies. Two copies each were also sent to President James Monroe, Vice-President Daniel D. Thompson, former President James Madison, and the Marquis de Lafayette. Both the House of Representatives and the Senate received twenty copies of the Stone facsimile. The various departments of Government received twelve copies apiece. Two copies were sent to the President's house and to the Supreme Court chamber. The remaining copies were sent to the governors and legislatures of the states and territories, and various universities and colleges in the United States (see Appendix E for a list of extant Stone facsimiles).

there until his death in 1865.

³³ Bidwell argues that John Quincy Adams disliked Binns and was motivated to order an official facsimile of the Declaration to deny Binns government patronage. Bidwell, "American History in Image and Text," 264. Boyd and Coleman contend that Adams commissioned the Stone facsimile in an effort to preserve the engrossed copy. Boyd, "The Declaration of Independence: The Mystery of the Lost Original," 466. William R. Coleman, "Counting the Stones: A Census of the Stone Facsimiles of the Declaration of Independence," *Manuscripts* 43 (Spring 1991): 97.

There is considerable debate over the process Stone used to replicate the engrossed copy of the Declaration. Did Stone employ a wet-press process that involved the actual engrossed copy of the Declaration or did he painstakingly trace the original during the three years it was in his shop?³⁴ The Stone facsimile is distinguished by the legend in the upper left corner, "ENGRAVED BY W.I. STONE for the Dept. of State by order," and the upper right corner, "Of J.Q. Adams, Sec. of State July 4, 1823." Later editions of the Stone facsimile were struck from the plate after the official two hundred were struck but do not include the legend in the top left and right portion of the document. Rather, these later copies bear the legend "W.J. Stone SC. Washn." in the bottom left corner.³⁵

³⁴ For alternative theories consult: Bidwell, "American History in Image and Text," 64. Boyd, "The Declaration of Independence: The Mystery of the Lost Original," 466. Coleman, "Counting the Stones," 97. *Declaration of Independence: The Adventures of a Document* (Washington: National Archives and Records Service): 17.

³⁵ Several thousand copies were struck from the altered plate. In the collection at Independence National Historical Park are two later editions of the Stone facsimile on paper that contain the legend "W.J. Stone SC. Wahsn." in the bottom left corner. The first, INDE 51655 circa 1840-1890, is one of thousands of paper copies struck from the altered plate during the nineteenth century. The other, INDE 11314, is one of six paper copies struck from the altered copper plate for the bicentennial of the Declaration. In order for Stone to print thousands of copies of the facsimile, it is believed that an additional copper plate would have been created. Whether the National Archives holds the original 1823 copper plate engraved by Stone, or a later copy, is undetermined. Bidwell, "American History as Image and Text," 290. Coleman, "Counting the Stones," 98-102. Leonard Rapport, "Fakes and Facsimiles: Problems of Identification," *The American Archivist* 42 (January 1979): 26. Interpretive Bulletin #82, Independence National Historical Park.

As the nineteenth century progressed, artists created editions of the Declaration of Independence ornamented with portraits, monuments, emblems, scenes of historic sites, and allegorical figures. Although it is difficult to determine cause and effect, it is likely that printers, engravers, and artists decorated the Declaration with these images in an effort to sell their products. Financial rewards, not a spirit of nationalism, patriotism and liberty, probably motivated most of those who published nineteenth-century facsimiles of the Declaration of Independence.³⁶

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

At the same time that Jefferson was drafting the Declaration, members of the Continental Congress were developing a new form of government for the confederated colonies. On 7 June 1776, in addition to the resolution for independence, Richard Henry Lee moved that "a plan of confederation be prepared and transmitted to the respective Colonies for their consideration and approbation."³⁷ On 12 June, one delegate from each colony was chosen to sit on a committee "to prepare and digest the form of confederation."³⁸ The committee members were: Samuel Adams, Josiah Bartlett, John Dickinson (chairman), Button Gwinnett, Joseph Hewes, Stephen Hopkins, Robert R. Livingston, Thomas McKean, Thomas Nelson, Edward Rutledge, Roger Sherman, and

³⁶ Bidwell, "American History as Image and Text," 250-253.

³⁷ *Journals*, V, 425.

³⁸ *Journals*, V, 433.

Thomas Stone. Francis Hopkinson was added to the committee on 28 June.

John Dickinson was chosen to draft the document outlining a plan for confederation. It had been almost a decade since the publication of his *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies*. Although Dickinson was not ready to support colonial independence, his knowledge of the institutions of government made him the appropriate choice to draft the plan of union. On 12 July, a draft of the "Articles of confederation and perpetual union" in Dickinson's hand was presented and read before Congress. Dickinson was absent from Congress on 12 July as he was called into temporary service for the Continental Army.³⁹

The previous July, Benjamin Franklin presented to the Committee of the Whole a sketch of a plan for a permanent union of the colonies. Franklin's plan was endorsed by Charles Thomson: "Sketch of Articles of Confederation. July '75." Although Franklin's plan for a confederation was at first rejected, a large part of his plan was used by Dickinson and the

³⁹ Smith, *Letters of Delegates to Congress*, IV, 251. John Dickinson's handwritten draft of the Articles of Confederation is located in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Smith contends that the surviving draft in the hand of John Dickinson presented in Congress on 12 July is a copy of an earlier Dickinson draft, which no longer exists. A clean copy of one of Dickinson's drafts, in the hand of Josiah Bartlett, is in the collection of the New Hampshire State Library.

committee chosen to draft the Articles of Confederation.⁴⁰

After Dickinson's rough draft of the Articles was read on 12 July 1776, it was resolved that "eighty copies, and no more, of the confederation, as brought in by the committee, be immediately printed, and deposited with the secretary, who shall deliver one copy to each member."⁴¹ The printers, Philadelphians John Dunlap and David C. Claypoole, and all members of Congress were instructed not to share with anyone the contents of the plan of confederation.⁴²

Beginning on 22 July, the Articles were discussed in the Committee of the Whole. A part of every day for the next twenty days was devoted to consideration of the Articles. Secretary Charles Thomson annotated and amended John Dickinson's manuscript draft during the latter's absence from the discussions of the Articles in Congress.⁴³

⁴⁰ Smith, *Letters of Delegates to Congress*, I, 643-644. Edmund Cody Burnett, *The Continental Congress* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1941), 90-93, 218-219. Burnett examines the influence of Franklin's sketch on Dickinson's draft of the Articles of Confederation. Although Congress postponed action on Franklin's proposal, Burnett discusses the distribution and discussion of Franklin's plan among colonial leaders and the Provincial Congresses. The manuscript copy of Franklin's plan for Confederation is located in the Papers of the Continental Congress, National Archives, Washington, DC.

⁴¹ *Journals*, Vol. 5, 555.

⁴² The oath of secrecy signed by John Dunlap and David C. Claypoole and dated 13 July 1776 located among the Papers of the Continental Congress, National Archives. Rapport, "Printing the Constitution," 71.

⁴³ *Journals*, Vol. 5, 546.

The debates concerning the Articles were prolonged over questions regarding representation in Congress, western land boundaries, and apportionment of taxation. On 20 August, after a week of neglect, the Articles were once again taken up in the Committee of the Whole. With the preliminary modifications made to the Articles, Congress ordered that

eighty copies of the Articles of Confederation, as reported from the committee of the whole, be printed under the same injunctions as the former articles were printed, and delivered to the members under the like restrictions as formerly.⁴⁴

Dunlap and Claypoole printed the revised Articles to include all notations and changes made since the 12 July printing.⁴⁵

Military concerns associated with the Revolutionary War, lack of representatives attending Congress, and the relocation of Congress from Philadelphia to Baltimore commanded the attention of the Continental Congress and prevented continual debate on the Articles. Subsequently, consideration of the Articles was tabled until 8 April 1777, when it was decided that two days a week would be devoted to discussion of the Articles. Debate over the

⁴⁴ *Journals*, Vol. 5, 689.

⁴⁵ In the collection of Independence National Historical Park is one of the eighty documents that represent the second printing of the Articles of Confederation, INDE 3111. The document was used by Elbridge Gerry, Massachusetts delegate to the second Continental Congress, during consideration of the Articles. The document bears marginal notations and Gerry's signature on the reverse of the last page. The Papers of the Continental Congress in the National Archives includes two copies of the 20 August printing. One copy contains manuscript notes by Charles Thomson, Secretary of Congress, and the second copy bears manuscript notations in the hands of John Hancock and Henry Laurens, presidents of Congress in 1776 and 1777 respectively.

Articles continued as the members of Congress discussed each issue separately. In an effort to settle all issues in a timely manner, a motion was made to consider the Articles as a part of each day's business. On 2 September, the motion was voted down and Congress continued to devote two days a week to matters of confederation.

With the continued threat of British occupation of Philadelphia, Congress was once again forced to relocate. On 19 September, members of Congress departed Philadelphia and nine days later reconvened in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and then moved the following day to York. On 8 October, Congress resumed discussion on the Articles and the members debated the details of confederation daily during October and November.

On 10 November, a committee of three was appointed to consider the Articles as they existed and report any additional amendments. James Duane, Richard Law, and Richard Henry Lee were selected for this task. The following day, the three men suggested seven additions, of which only a few were incorporated into the final document.⁴⁶

On 13 November, James Duane, Richard Henry Lee, and James Lovell were appointed to revise and arrange the Articles. Lee was employed to create a circular letter to be dispatched to the states with the Articles. On 15 November, the revised Articles of Confederation was recorded in the "Journal of the Continental Congress." At the conclusion of the day, it was ordered that

⁴⁶ Burnett, *The Continental Congress*, 254.

"the committee appointed to revise and arrange the articles of confederation, have three hundred copies printed and lodged with the secretary."⁴⁷ The Articles of Confederation were printed by Francis Bailey in Lancaster, Pennsylvania (see Appendix F for a list of extant printed copies of the Articles of Confederation).

The committee appointed to arrange the Articles and prepare a circular letter presented the letter in Congress on 17 November. In an effort to secure ratification, Richard Henry Lee offered an apology to the states for the delay of this plan for confederation and wrote, "after the most careful enquiry and the fullest information, this is proposed as the best which could be adapted to the circumstances of all."⁴⁸

The printed copies of the Articles of Confederation, in the form of a twenty-six page pamphlet, were delivered to the president of Congress on 28 November. Henry Laurens allocated eighteen copies to the delegates of each State and reserved the rest for himself.⁴⁹ With each state receiving only eighteen copies of the Articles of Confederation, printers in many states were prompted to create their own copies of the document. In the fall of 1777, the Articles were printed in New London, Connecticut; Annapolis, Maryland; Boston, Massachusetts; Exeter, New Hampshire; Providence, Rhode Island; Williamsburg, Virginia

⁴⁷ *Journals*, IX, 928.

⁴⁸ *Journals*, IX, 933.

⁴⁹ *Journals*, IX, 928. According to a footnote by Charles Thomson, no copy of the Articles of Confederation was deposited in the office of the Secretary of Congress.

and Newbern, North Carolina. In the Park collection is a copy of the Articles of Confederation printed in 1777 by Boston printer, John Gill.⁵⁰

In the circular letter accompanying the Articles, Congress asked the states to take action on the Articles by 10 March 1778. The Articles were not approved until 1 March 1781, when Maryland gave its assent. The Articles of Confederation were ordered to be engrossed on 26 June 1778. The following day, the engrossed copy was laid before Congress and found incorrect, and a second engrossed copy was ordered. On 9 July, the second engrossed copy was presented before Congress and signed by all those present. The signed Articles are untitled with the heading endorsed on the outside of the document.⁵¹

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

In September 1786, delegates from five states met in Annapolis, Maryland, to discuss the lack of uniform trade regulations under the Articles of Confederation. These delegates passed a resolution calling for delegates from all thirteen states to meet in May 1787, "to devise such other provisions as shall appear to them necessary to render the constitution of the Federal Government adequate to the exigencies of the Union."⁵²

⁵⁰ INDE 3515. Another copy of this document is in the collection of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

⁵¹ The engrossed copy of the Articles of Confederation is located in the collection of the National Archives.

⁵² Cited in Burnett, *The Continental Congress*, 668.

On Friday, 25 May 1787, the Federal Convention convened in the Assembly Room at the Pennsylvania State House on Chestnut Street, now known as Independence Hall. The Convention was scheduled to commence on the 14 May, but only delegates from Virginia and Pennsylvania were present on that day and the opening was postponed until 25 May.

The delegates to the Federal Convention were sent to the State House to redress the deficiencies of the then current government under the Articles of Confederation. Many of the delegates maintained that a strong national government was needed to replace the weak central government that existed under the Articles.

On Tuesday, 29 May, Edmund Randolph of Virginia presented to the Convention fifteen resolutions recommending changes to the government, commonly referred to as the Randolph Resolutions but formally titled the Virginia Plan. Randolph's own handwritten copy of the Virginia Plan does not survive. In the early stages of the Convention, delegates made their own copies of documents presented in Convention. During the final months of the Convention, important documents were printed and copies were furnished to each delegate. There are a four extant manuscript versions of the Virginia Plan, they include copies in the hand of James Madison, George Washington, David Brearly, and James McHenry (see Appendix G).⁵³ For the following two weeks, the

⁵³ Max Farrand, ed., *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1911), III, 593. Hereafter referred to as *Records*. The various handwritten copies of the

convention met in a Committee of the Whole house reviewing and modifying the Virginia Plan.⁵⁴

On 13 June, the amended Virginia Plan was presented to the delegates in Convention.⁵⁵ The resulting fifteen resolutions contained in the Virginia Plan outlined the structure and powers of all three branches of government. This plan called for a bicameral legislature, the upper house elected by the people while the members of the lower house would be chosen by the upper house. The executive, according to the plan, would be chosen by the legislature. Lastly, the plan outlined a national judiciary, of supreme and inferior courts, selected by the legislative branch. The judiciary had authoritative power in all questions involving the peace and harmony of the nation.

On 29 May, in addition to the Virginia Plan, the Convention received a draft of a federal government written by Charles

Virginia Plan are distinct. The documents vary in wording, spelling, and punctuation. More importantly, the text in a number of the resolutions differs. Farrand argues that the Madison text of the Virginia Plan is the most accurate copy of the lost original.

⁵⁴ Discussion in the committee of the whole enabled the full assembly to give detailed consideration to a matter in the informal manner of being in a committee. The results of votes taken while meeting in committee are not considered final decisions but are recorded and are viewed as recommendations for the final vote in assembly. A chairman of the committee is appointed and the regular presiding officer, i.e. George Washington, vacates his chair. For all rules governing the committee of the whole consult: General Henry M. Robert, *Robert's Rules of Order* (Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1970), 442-453.

⁵⁵ The resolutions presented to the Convention on 13 June were in William Jackson's handwriting. The document is located in the collection of the National Archives, Washington, DC. Jensen, *Documentary History*, 250.

Pinckney of South Carolina. Although the document, in Pinckney's hand, presented to the Convention on 29 May has never been located, there exists a summary outline and a document of abstracts from the original Pinckney Plan in the hand of James Wilson.⁵⁶ The Pinckney Plan did not receive the same consideration in the Committee of the Whole house as the resolutions offered by Randolph.

In convention on 14 June, William Paterson of New Jersey asked for a one-day adjournment. Paterson and the small state contingent needed time to complete their plan of government distinguished from the proposed Virginia Plan. On the following day, the Paterson Resolutions or New Jersey Plan were laid before the convention (see Appendix F).⁵⁷ Fearful of a strong central

⁵⁶ These documents in James Wilson's hand are located in the Wilson Papers at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The outline is an unnumbered folio volume entitled, "Second Draft of Constitution." *Records*, II, 134. Merrill Jensen, ed., *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution* (Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1976), 1:245-247. The abstract was identified by John Franklin Jameson, "Studies in the History of the Federal Convention of 1787," in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1902* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903): I, 111-132.

⁵⁷ Although the original text of the New Jersey Plan does not exist, there are six extant handwritten texts related to the New Jersey Plan. The documents are associated with David Brearly, James Madison, Luther Martin, George Washington and two documents in the hand of William Paterson. The two documents in Paterson's hand are located in a book in which he copied the Virginia Plan and the Hamilton Plan. The two documents were preliminary sketches for the New Jersey Plan. Farrand argues that the document in Madison's hand most clearly resembles the original plan presented by Paterson on 15 June. There is some question concerning the provenance of the Martin and Washington copies. Jameson, "Studies in the History of the Federal Convention of 1787," 133-143. *Records*, III, 611-615.

government, Paterson presented his plan which consisted of nine resolutions that called for a unicameral legislature and an equal vote in Congress for each state. Instead of presenting a unique plan of government, Paterson's Resolutions were a series of amendments to the existing government under the Articles of Confederation. On 18 June, Alexander Hamilton rose to make a lengthy speech to the Convention that outlined his views on a plan for government and suggested amendments to the Virginia Plan. Although Hamilton's ideas were not formally considered in Convention, several of the delegates made notes of his four to five hour discourse (see Appendix F).⁵⁸ The following day, the delegates voted seven to three rejecting the New Jersey Plan in favor of the Virginia Plan. The rejection of the New Jersey Plan did not quiet the efforts of the small states. In convention over the next month, the fifteen resolutions defined in the Virginia Plan were taken up one at a time. With the adoption of the Great Compromise on 16 July, the small states achieved an equal vote in one branch of the legislature. Consideration of the original fifteen resolutions contained in the Virginia Plan

⁵⁸ In addition to Hamilton's notes, there exist five different copies of notes taken of Hamilton's speech by delegates in Convention. According to Jameson, the five versions, other than Hamilton's, are in the hand of David Brearly, George Read, James Madison, William Paterson and Robert Yates. Jameson, "Studies in the History of the Federal Convention of 1787," 143-150. In his analysis of the Hamilton Plan, Jensen lists notes executed by only four delegates besides Hamilton himself. The delegates include Rufus King, John Lansing, Jr., James Madison, and Robert Yates. Jensen, *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the United States*, 253. Max Farrand considers the Madison copy to be most accurate version of the original Hamilton Plan. *Records*, III, 617-619.

concluded on 26 July. The same day, a five-man Committee of Detail was chosen to prepare a report using the modified Virginia Plan consisting of twenty-three resolutions, the Pinckney Plan and the New Jersey Plan. The Committee consisted of Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut, Nathaniel Gorham of Massachusetts, Edmund Randolph of Virginia, John Rutledge of South Carolina, and James Wilson of Pennsylvania. The Convention adjourned until August 6th, when the Committee of Detail would submit their report, which would ultimately be used as a guide for the final draft of the Constitution. There is no historical account of the workings of the Committee during the ten-day adjournment of the Convention. Only documents, such as James Wilson's drafts of the Constitution, have survived though they allow valuable insight into the operations of the Committee of Detail.

Max Farrand, editor of *The Records of the Federal Convention*, suggests that one individual on the Committee was selected to draft a preliminary outline of the Constitution. The outline, in turn, was used as a working copy for the remaining Committee members to pore over and discuss. Edmund Randolph, author of the Virginia Plan, was chosen to prepare the preliminary outline. Randolph's sketch, found in the papers of George Mason, outlined the resolutions discussed in the Convention and provided a brief introduction and conclusion to them. Next, Farrand suggests that the sketch was submitted to the entire Committee for discussion and revision. Concurrent with Randolph's work, Farrand believes Wilson had been working

independently on his draft of the Constitution. Wilson's draft employed not only Randolph's Virginia Plan, but other plans discussed in Convention and existing state constitutions, as well as the Articles of Confederation. Wilson's draft was presented as a complete, readable document, unlike Randolph's plan which was introduced in outline form.⁵⁹

At this point, Wilson's draft was examined by the Committee members, not in order to make stylistic changes but to verify the accuracy of its content. A small number of modifications were made to Wilson's draft by the chairman of the Committee, John Rutledge. The Committee, praised by the Convention delegates for their work, did take some creative license beyond what was agreed upon in Convention. One of the additions made by the Committee declared that

no tax or duty shall be laid by the Legislature on articles exported from any State; nor on the migration or importation of such persons as the several States shall think proper to admit; nor shall migration or importation be prohibited.⁶⁰

Prior to 6 August, Wilson created a second draft of the Constitution incorporating Rutledge's notations made on the first

⁵⁹ Max Farrand, *The Framing of the Constitution of the United States* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1913), 125-127. James Wilson's manuscript drafts of the Constitution are located at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁶⁰ *Notes*, 390. This clause demonstrates the influence of Randolph and Rutledge, the Southerners on the Committee of Detail. "Such persons" was a polite reference to slaves. Governmental regulation of slavery had not yet been decided in Convention and this issue was subject to continued debate among the Northern and Southern delegations. Clinton Rossiter, 1787 *The Grand Convention* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1966), 209-210. Farrand, *The Framing of the Constitution*, 132.

draft. Wilson's second draft with emendations (called a fair copy) was brought to the printers Dunlap and Claypoole on Market Street. A fair copy is a readable draft to be used by the printer to set the type at his shop. There exists in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania the first known printed version of the Committee's report that precedes the document handed to the delegates on 6 August. The seven numbered leaves and one blank leaf are entitled, "Rough Dr^t fed^d Constitution." These leaves are believed to be the printer's proof sheets given to the Committee of Detail by Dunlap and Claypoole around 1 August 1787. Corrections on the copy are in the hand of committee member Edmund Randolph.⁶¹

On Monday 6 August, John Rutledge handed each of the delegates present at the Convention a printed copy of the committee's report. This printed report consisted of seven folio pages with wide margins, ample space for delegates to make notations. Approximately sixty copies of the Committee's report

⁶¹ The document in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, precedes the printed report of the Committee of Detail. The corrections made in Edmund Randolph's hand were incorporated into the Committee's printed report distributed in Convention on 6 August. No other copy of this document is known to exist. *The Constitution of the United States: Its Origin, Formation, and Adoption, As set forth in an EXHIBIT of Books, Pamphlets, and Documents from the Collections of THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY of PENNSYLVANIA, Display'd in COMMEMORATION of the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of its Signing on September 17, 1787* (Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1937), 22. Leonard Rapport, "Printing the Constitution: The Convention and Newspaper Imprints, August-November 1787." *Prologue* (Fall 1970): 72.

were printed.⁶² This printed document incorporated the changes made by Edmund Randolph on the proof copy in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. There are sixteen extant copies of the printed report furnished to the Convention delegates by the Committee of Detail (see Appendix H).⁶³

The draft Constitution appears in twenty-three sections numbered with roman numerals. A motion was made to adjourn until Wednesday, to provide delegates with time to thoroughly examine the report. The motion was defeated, the delegates adjourned for the day and reassembled the next morning. The report by the Committee of Detail was followed by arduous debate and compromise that ended on Saturday, 8 September with the appointment of a Committee of Style and Arrangement.

Madison's notes on the debates in the Federal Convention indicate that the Committee of Style's five members were chosen by ballot to "revise the stile of and arrange the articles which had been agreed to by the House."⁶⁴ The members of the Committee of Style and Arrangement were: Alexander Hamilton of New York,

⁶² *Notes of the Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787 Reported by James Madison* (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1987), 385. Hereafter referred to as *Notes*. Madison reported that on August 6, "a printed copy...furnished to each member." Rapport, "Printing the Constitution," 79. Sixty copies is a common figure of printed reports for Congress.

⁶³ Henry L. Stern, Henry L. Stern, Ltd. Antiquarian Books to John C. Milley, Independence National Historical Park, 1 October 1984, and corresponding typed documents in Accession folder INDE 1529, Independence National Historical Park, Philadelphia, PA.

⁶⁴ *Notes*, 608.

William Samuel Johnson of Connecticut, Rufus King of Massachusetts, James Madison of Virginia, and Gouverneur Morris of Pennsylvania. The Committee of Style and Arrangement was probably furnished with Convention president George Washington's annotated copy of the printed draft constitution of 6 August.⁶⁵

Committee member William Samuel Johnson presented a report of the Committee of Style to the Convention on 12 September. The document was presented at the Secretary's table to be reviewed. The copy of the Committee's report presented in Convention on 12 September does not survive. On that same day, printed copies of the Committee's plan were ordered to be furnished to the delegates. The next day, the delegates were presented a four-page printed broadside of the draft Constitution. Approximately sixty copies of the document were printed by Dunlap and Claypoole on 12 September. The draft Constitution consisted of seven articles and twenty-one sections. The Committee incorporated all the changes discussed in Convention and the delegates debated each paragraph of the revised draft over the next three days. There are fifteen extant copies of the printed document presented to the delegates by the Committee (see Appendix H).⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Jensen, *Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution*, 270. Washington's copy of the printed draft constitution contains notations and word changes in Washington's and Secretary William Jackson's handwriting. The document is one of the sixteen known copies of the Committee of Detail's report presented in Convention on 6 August. The notations on the document reflect the changes made during the debates between 6 August and 8 September. The document is located in the collection of the National Archives, Washington, DC.

⁶⁶ INDE accession folder 1529.

After all the sections of the Committee's plan had been debated and agreed upon, the final text of the Constitution was ordered to be engrossed on 15 September 1787. In his diary entry for 15 September, James McHenry stated, "The question being taken on the system agreed to unanimously-Ordered to be engrossed and 500 copies struck-Adjourned till monday the 17th."⁶⁷

On 17 September, the final day of the Convention, Secretary William Jackson did not enter the proceedings in the official journal. The events of the day rely on the accounts of James Madison and James McHenry. The engrossed copy, prepared by Jacob Sallus, assistant clerk of the Pennsylvania Assembly, was read in Convention. Just prior to the final vote of adoption of the Constitution, Nathaniel Gorham of Massachusetts asked if the ratio of representation in the lower house of Congress could be changed from one for every forty-thousand inhabitants to one for every thirty-thousand. Gorham's proposal was unanimously agreed upon and the engrossed Constitution was then signed by all the members present except for Elbridge Gerry, George Mason, and Edmund Randolph who refused to give their consent. At four o'clock the Convention adjourned and Secretary Jackson was ordered to carry the Constitution to Congress in New York. As a result, Dunlap and Claypoole needed to complete the final

⁶⁷ Diary of James McHenry, James McHenry Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Rapport, "Printing the Constitution," 74, 79.

printing of the Constitution by the 10:00am departure of the New York stagecoach on 18 September.⁶⁸

On 20 September, Jackson delivered the engrossed copy of the Constitution to Congress assembled in New York. On the same day, Jackson read the Constitution before Congress. It is not known whether the Constitution was read from the engrossed or a printed copy. Immediately after the Constitution was signed and the injunction on secrecy lifted, Convention delegates sent copies of the document to friends and fellow statesman. The Constitution appeared in five Philadelphia newspapers on the morning of 19 September. Dunlap and Claypooles' *Pennsylvania Packet* is recognized for the first public printing of the Constitution.⁶⁹

CULTURAL IMPACT: NINETEENTH CENTURY EVOLUTION OF THE FOUNDING DOCUMENTS AS SYMBOLS

Today, the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution of the United States

⁶⁸ Rapport, "Printing the Constitution," 75. In the collection of Independence National Historical Park is a printed copy of the Constitution. There is one manuscript correction on page four said to have been made by George Washington. The document is purported to be the proof copy of the final printing of the Constitution. INDE 4847.

⁶⁹ Other Philadelphia newspapers to publish the Constitution on the morning of 19 September were: *The Pennsylvania Journal*, *Freeman's Journal*, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, and *Independent Gazetteer*. Two other Philadelphia newspapers followed suit on 20 and 21 September, the *Pennsylvania Herald* and the *Pennsylvania Mercury* respectively. On 21 September, the Constitution appeared in a city newspaper other than Philadelphia. In New York, the *Daily Advertiser* and the *New-York Packet* printed the Constitution. Rapport, "Printing the Constitution," 80-83.

represent three distinct phases in the process of establishing a unique system of American government. In simple terms, at the time of their creation each document was written to remedy a particular situation. The Declaration to separate from Great Britain, the Articles to raise money for the Continental Army, and the Constitution to address the weaknesses of the previous system. Although significantly different, these documents are each revered today for their unique contributions to American history. How did Americans' perception of these documents evolve during the nineteenth century? Why is it that the printed versions of these three documents are not widely recognized as being historic or directly related to the engrossed versions? Lastly, how did events of the nineteenth century shape our contemporary perception of these great documents? These questions highlight issues related to the nineteenth- and twentieth-century evolution of America's founding documents.

After its adoption, and throughout the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the Declaration of Independence was viewed primarily as a pronouncement of separation from Great Britain and not as the sacred political document it is today.⁷⁰ Beginning in 1777, celebrations were held to commemorate the adoption of the Declaration and the American colonies' separation from Britain. Elizabeth Drinker, wife of a wealthy Philadelphia Quaker

⁷⁰ Philip F. Detweiler, "The Changing Reputation of the Declaration of Independence," 564. John Bidwell, "American History in Image and Text," 265. Carl L. Becker, *The Declaration of Independence: A Study in the History of Political Ideas* (New York: Vintage Books, 1922), 226.

merchant, wrote almost annually in her diary about the raucous "Anniversary of Independence" celebrations in the city. The celebrations on July 4th included fireworks, parades, bell ringing, breaking windows, firing guns, mustering troops, and drunkenness. In Drinker's July 4th account for 1795, she stated

Anniversary of Independence, 19 Years.-General Orders in News-paper this forenoon, for a fuss and to do,-I think, orders for peace and quietness, would be more commendable and consistant, in a well regulated Government or State,-those days seldom pass over without some melancholy accident occuring from riotous doings-⁷¹

Drinker wrote again in 1801, "there has been guns firing, Drums beating from day break, rejoycing for Independance."⁷² While some eighteenth-century citizens regarded July 4th celebrations as troublesome, others participated in all aspects of commemoration.

Beginning in the 1790s, the Federalists and Anti-Federalists expressed their divergent views of the Declaration of Independence. The Anti-Federalists, opponents of the newly created Constitution of the United States, regarded the Declaration as representative of their beliefs and ideologies. When Thomas Jefferson was elected President, he was publicly recognized for his authorship of the Declaration and the

⁷¹ Elaine Forman Crane, ed., *The Diary of Elizabeth Drinker* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1991), I, 699.

⁷² Crane, ed., *The Diary of Elizabeth Drinker*, II, 1424. Similar entries are made in Drinker's diary on 4 July between 1777 and 1807. In most of Drinker's diary entries for July 4th she records the aggravating noise and boisterous celebrations.

Jeffersonian Republicans embraced its political sentiments as their own. The Federalists, on the other hand, did not honor Jefferson for his contribution to what they considered a radical document advocating revolution.⁷³

During the early-nineteenth century, the prevailing perception of the Declaration changed with the development and growth of American nationalism. In 1801, the influence of the Federalist party faded when the Jeffersonian Republicans obtained control of American government and shaped American political ideology. Also, after the end of the War of 1812, Americans had a renewed interest in the Declaration and the Revolution as they reminisced about their past. As they looked back, Americans accumulated mementoes from the Revolutionary period in order to prevent the memory of it from fading.⁷⁴ The emotional and political climate in America at this time created an appropriate environment for publishers and artists to provide visual evocations of the venerable past, like historical images and facsimile signatures of important eighteenth-century statesmen.⁷⁵

During the nineteenth century, the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution of the United States, as physical artifacts, were not celebrated or revered in the same manner as the

⁷³ Bidwell, "American History as Image and Text," 265. Detweiler, "The Changing Reputation of the Declaration of Independence," 564-570.

⁷⁴ Bidwell, "American History as Image and Text," 265.

⁷⁵ Bidwell, "American History as Image and Text," 257. Detweiler, "The Changing Reputation of the Declaration of Independence," 572.

Declaration. The ideas contained in these two documents, unlike the Declaration, outlined the structure and powers of the Government in legal terms, making them more difficult to read and understand. With respect to the Constitution, during the first half of the nineteenth-century, political statesmen argued not only over the issue of constitutional interpretation, but also over the nature of that interpretation. Should the document be taken at face value or were other events and documents needed to understand the intent of the founding fathers?⁷⁶ However, by the mid-nineteenth century, the perception of the Constitution as a powerful symbol of American nationalism developed and Americans began to worship this founding document previously obscured from public consciousness.⁷⁷

The engrossed copy of the Constitution was in storage for most of the nineteenth century, making it difficult for Americans to identify with that document. In 1885, while conducting

⁷⁶ Michael Kammen, *A Machine That Would Go Of Itself* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987): 72-75, 128-129. Kammen argues that during the early-nineteenth century the Constitution was an ambiguous national symbol. Kammen contends that most politicians and government officials did not know where the Constitution was stored, thereby enhancing its relative obscurity during the nineteenth century. Also, he addresses the lack of nineteenth-century commemoration of the Constitution. Unlike the Declaration, the celebration of the Constitution did not awaken the patriotic spirit of people. An anniversary celebration for the Constitution never developed, in part because there was no clear day to commemorate. Significant events occurred throughout the creation and ratification of the document, making it difficult to choose one specific day.

⁷⁷ In her diary, Elizabeth Drinker does not record any significant events related to the adoption of the Articles of Confederation or the United States Constitution.

research in the library of the State Department, J. Franklin Jameson noticed

the Constitution of the United States was kept folded up in a little tin box in the lower part of a closet, while the Declaration of Independence, mounted with all elegance, was exposed to the view of all in the central room of the library. It was evident that the former document was an object of interest to very few of the visitors to Washington.⁷⁸

The Bill of Rights, a document similar in nature to the Declaration, was adopted in 1791. The first ten amendments to the Constitution address personal liberties and freedoms. These rights or liberties, not addressed in the Constitution, provided a safeguard against dictatorial activities by the recently formed government.⁷⁹ Most Americans in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries did not have a chance to become familiar with the Bill of Rights because the document remained in storage, like the engrossed versions of the Articles and the Constitution.⁸⁰

Americans became familiar with these documents through engravings, newspapers, pamphlets, and books. Many Americans

⁷⁸ J. Franklin Jameson, *Introduction to the Study of the Constitutional and Political History of the States* (Baltimore, 1886), 5.

⁷⁹ Robert Allen Rutland, *The Birth of the Bill of Rights, 1776-1791* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1955), 229.

⁸⁰ Kammen, *A Machine That Would Go Of Itself*, 73. In a discussion of sesquicentennial celebration of the adoption of the Constitution, Kammen discusses President Franklin D. Roosevelt's speech calling for the "re-discovery" of the Bill of Rights. And, Kammen outlined various surveys taken in the twentieth century that reveal a startling unawareness of the Bill of Rights and its contents.

knew that when the three founding documents were approved, they were signed by their creators, so the public responded enthusiastically to facsimile handwritten documents with signatures, as opposed to the printed ones. These signatures represent the personal connection to the men who acted in the momentous events that shaped America's early history. Americans relive history through objects and places and, through these connections, identify with historical events. Even today, Americans look for handwritten signatures, actual or facsimile, as evidence of a document's age and validity. Nineteenth-century publishers copied the facsimile signatures from the Tyler and Binns prints because the Stone facsimile was not as readily accessible as the Tyler and Binns. Historic founding documents, like the Dunlap Broadside, that contain only the printed word and no signatures are not perceived as historic or old and, by extension, real.

As a way of preserving and reliving the past, Americans of the early-nineteenth century desired facsimile signatures of the founding fathers and important statesmen from the previous generation. Benjamin Owen Tyler and John Binns were among those who sought to exploit such public demand with their elaborate and decorative engravings of the Declaration. Tyler and Binns knew that, with accurate facsimile signatures of the signers, their engravings would appeal to more nineteenth-century Americans.

The competition between Tyler and Binns prompted other engravers, painters and writers to consider the Declaration as a

means to market their talent.⁸¹ During the thirty years after Tyler and Binns published their engravings, there was an average of five different editions of the Declaration published during each decade. In almost equal numbers, other editions were engraved and then printed on letterpresses. These letterpress editions, most often copied from the Tyler or Binns designs, were ornamented with portraits, monuments, emblems, scenes of historic sites, and allegorical figures. Whatever the chosen design or layout, the inclusion of the signers' names was almost universally employed. The signers' names, more often than not, were copied from Tyler's engraving. A few nineteenth-century publications include the signers' names in typeface, making them less historically vivid to consumers.⁸²

The 1823 William J. Stone facsimile, produced as the official edition of the Declaration and based on the engrossed Declaration on parchment, did not include ornamentation. Since the Stone facsimile was not offered for sale, it was not readily available for early nineteenth-century printers to use as a guide for their designs or facsimile signatures.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, the walls of most American homes were bare and inventories found less than one in

⁸¹ Detweiler, "The Changing Reputation of the Declaration of Independence," 572.

⁸² Bidwell, "American History in Image and Text," 272, 285-299. Bidwell lists well known, influential and obscure examples of nineteenth-century editions of the Declaration. The list includes title, publisher, place and date of publication, size, a complete description of the document, and information on variations of a particular edition.

ten households in possession of a painting, print, or engraving.⁸³ Households who could afford to purchase an engraving of the Declaration might display it in a parlor or drawing room. The engravings executed by Tyler and Binns were offered at five and ten dollars respectively. By the 1830s, engravers and booksellers had increased their volume but the cost of the prints still reserved them for a small minority of the population.⁸⁴

Early nineteenth-century engravers and publishers believed that their versions of the Declaration deserved a place of honor in the households of their subscribers. Tyler and Binns hoped individuals would revere the Declaration as they would an oil painting or an historical print. Americans responded to objects that were distinctly American in nature, such as the flag, images of George Washington, and the Declaration, which evoked feelings of patriotism. Households celebrated their American identity and the cultural and patriotic significance of emerging nationalism through display and acquisition of such objects.⁸⁵ In France, the Marquis de Lafayette received two copies of the Stone facsimile and a Binns engraving of the Declaration, one of which

⁸³ Jack Larkin, *The Reshaping of Everyday Life: 1790-1840* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 137.

⁸⁴ Jack Larkin, *The Reshaping of Everyday Life*, 137. Before 1840, no more than one Massachusetts household in five had a painting or engraving on its walls.

⁸⁵ Wendy C. Wick, *George Washington: An American Icon, The Eighteenth-Century Graphic Portraits* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1982), xix.

he hung on his bedroom wall. Lafayette's copy of the Declaration was exhibited with a framed copy of France's Declaration of the Rights of Man, which was based partly on theories contained in the Declaration.⁸⁶

By the 1850s, there was a proliferation of editions of the Declaration of Independence available for purchase. In antebellum America, interest in the Declaration accelerated as the issue of slavery gained attention. Individuals in northern and southern states sought to reconcile and define the relationship between the principles outlined in the Declaration and the institution of slavery. Reprintings of the Declaration reached a high level in the 1850s with the appearance of eight different editions.

Later, the Centennial commemoration of the adoption of the Declaration also inspired numerous editions of that document. In 1876, at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, visitors could purchase numerous printed copies of the Declaration of Independence. A copy of Jefferson's rough draft printed in pamphlet form sold thirty-five thousand copies. Some of the souvenir Declarations offered for sale contained advertisements while others were hastily produced from a handpress for quick profit. The printers at the Exposition capitalized on society's prevailing interest in the past.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Bidwell, "American History in Image and Text," 274.

⁸⁷ Bidwell, "American History in Image and Text," 259, 270. Bidwell states that printers offered to sell copies of the Declaration without advertisements for fifty cents to one dollar.

The emergence and appearance of early nineteenth-century engraved copies of the Declaration of Independence influenced the twentieth-century perception of that document. Although the Declaration was printed in most states after its adoption and many Americans were aware of its existence, the physical appearance of the document remained a mystery. Most Americans of the post-Revolutionary generation were introduced to the Declaration through the engravings executed by Benjamin Owen Tyler and John Binns.⁸⁸

Today, individuals observe the tradition of July 4th, 1776 in ways similar to those of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Americans. Celebrations commemorating the adoption of the Declaration continue each year with fireworks, parades, and barbecues. In 1941, after more than one hundred and fifty years of commemorating independence, Congress officially declared July 4th a national holiday.

In addition to Independence Day festivities, visitors to Independence National Historical Park honor the founding documents by purchasing modern copies similar to the historic engrossed versions. Although most visitors view the twentieth-century facsimile documents as souvenirs rather than art, those facsimile documents are significant because they represent a desire to preserve and acquire a piece of American history. The

⁸⁸ Detweiler, "The Changing Reputation of the Declaration of Independence," 572.

inclusion of facsimile signatures on the twentieth-century copies of the founding documents provides authentication and association to these great documents that shaped American history.

Appendix A

Extant copies of the 4 & 5 July 1776 Dunlap Broadside

Institutions

1. Harvard University, Houghton Library
2. Massachusetts Historical Society
3. Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library
4. New York Historical Society
5. New York Public Library
6. American Philosophical Society
7. Historical Society of Pennsylvania
8. Independence National Historical Park
9. Maryland Historical Society
10. Library of Congress, Rare Book and Special Collections Division
11. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division
12. National Archives and Records Service
13. Indiana University, Lilly Library
14. University of Virginia, Alderman Library
15. Public Record Office, London, England (Admiralty Records)
16. Public Record Office, London, England (Colonial Office 5)
17. Chicago Historical Society
18. Maine Historical Society

Private Owners

19. William H. Scheide, Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey
20. Ira G. Corn, Jr., and Joseph P. Driscoll, Dallas, Texas
21. Anonymous, New York, New York
22. Chew Family, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
23. John Gilliam Wood, Edenton, North Carolina
24. Anonymous, purchased at Southeby's, December 1990
25. Visual Equities, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia

Appendix B

Scientific Study of the Physical Components of the
Dunlap Broadside

In May of 1975, Frederick R. Goff conducted a study of all the extant Declarations printed at Dunlap's shop on the evening of 4 July and the early morning of 5 July. Consequently, new information has been discovered to shed light on the first printing of the Declaration of Independence, more commonly referred to as the Dunlap Broadside. Goff examined all the broadsides both visually and scientifically using photography, beta-radiography, and the use of a Hinman collator. Seventeen of the twenty-one broadsides then known were assembled at the Library of Congress in Washington, DC for this study.

Through an examination of the imprint, Goff discovered that there were two distinct states of printing, not including the printer's proof copy that was found to be unique in punctuation and the insertion of the article a not found in the other broadsides. The printer's proof copy, of which half survives, is located in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Goff argues that whoever examined the printer's proof noticed the mistakes and directed that a correction be made. As a result, the broadsides printed on 4 and 5 July contain open spaces.

In the first state of printing, the "P" of Philadelphia is located directly beneath the comma following Charles Thomson's name. In subsequent copies the P is located beneath the n in

Thomson's name.¹ During this examination, Goff observed that in the course of the printing process, the type pieces for eleven letters were damaged. As a result, Goff concluded that the order in which the extant documents were printed was represented by the earlier printing having fewer damaged type face letters.

Also, Goff noticed that in at least eleven copies the type was offset, the result of folding a document in half horizontally before the ink was dry. Both states of printing showed evidence of offsetting. Goff argues that this reflects the hectic nature of business at Dunlap's shop on 4 and 5 July.

Watermarks were identified on twelve of the seventeen copies. All the watermarks identified were of Dutch origin and Goff concluded the paper was probably imported from England. Goff noted that Dunlap used the best quality paper he had in his shop on Market Street. He also determined that the watermarks on the Dunlap broadside in the collection of Independence National Historical Park differed from all the others in the study.² The broadside at Independence contains a watermark subscribed "D & C BLAUW," and a crown and post horn within a shield with a fleur-de-lis pendant. According to Goff, the paper was manufactured by a distinguished family of papermakers. Dirk and Cornelis Blauw

¹ The bottom line of the imprint is cut off on the copy located at Independence National Historical Park, therefore it cannot be determined whether it was part of the first or second state of printing.

² Although the watermarks on the broadside at INDE are unique, Goff does not attribute any particular significance to this finding.

began papermaking in 1621 and their firm survived under many different names for 250 years.

All the broadsides examined contained horizontal chain lines. Chain lines, vertical or horizontal, are incidental to the papermaking process and appear on all types of laid paper. The number of chain lines varied from sixteen to nineteen on the broadsides examined. Goff ascertained that in no single copy were the chain lines parallel to the text, a detail that indicates the form may have been placed in the coffin of the press at an angle. Once again, he attributes this evidence to the urgency in Dunlap's shop on 4 and 5 July.

A similar scientific study for the printed versions of the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution of the United States has not been conducted.

Source: Goff, Frederick R. *The John Dunlap Broadside: The First Printing of the Declaration of Independence*. Washington: Library of Congress, 1976.

Appendix C

Newspaper Publications of the Declaration of Independence
Prior to 19 July 1776

6 July	Philadelphia, <i>Pennsylvania Evening Post</i>
8 July	Philadelphia, <i>Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet</i>
9 July	Philadelphia, <i>Pennsylvanischer Staatsbote</i>
9 July	Baltimore, <i>Dunlap's Maryland Gazette</i>
10 July	Philadelphia, <i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i>
10 July	Philadelphia, <i>Pennsylvania Journal</i>
10 July	Baltimore, <i>Maryland Journal</i>
10 July	New York, <i>Constitutional Gazette</i>
11 July	New York <i>Packet</i>
11 July	New York <i>Journal</i>
11 July	Annapolis, <i>Maryland Gazette</i>
12 July	New London, <i>Connecticut Gazette</i>
13 July	Philadelphia, <i>Pennsylvania Ledger</i>
13 July	<i>Providence Gazette</i>
15 July	New York <i>Gazette</i>
15 July	Hartford, <i>Connecticut Courant</i>
15 July	Norwich <i>Packet</i>
16 July	Exeter, <i>New Hampshire Gazette, Extraordinary</i>
16 July	Salem, <i>American Gazette</i>
17 July	Worcester, <i>Massachusetts Spy</i>
17 July	New Haven, <i>Connecticut Journal</i>
18 July	Boston, <i>Continental Journal</i>
18 July	Boston, <i>New England Chronicle</i>
18 July	Newport <i>Mercury, Extraordinary</i>

This list outlines all the publications of the Declaration in colonial newspapers prior to the order for an engrossed copy. Information compiled from Michael J. Walsh, "Contemporary Broadside Editions of the Declaration of Independence." *Harvard Library Bulletin* 3 (1949): 33-34.

Appendix D

Extant Copies of the January 1777 Goddard Broadside

1. Library of Congress
2. Connecticut State Library
3. Library of the late John W. Garrett
4. Maryland Hall of Records
5. Maryland Historical Society
6. Massachusetts Archives
7. New York Public Library
8. Library Company of Philadelphia
9. Rhode Island State Archives

This list was compiled from information contained in Michael J. Walsh, "Contemporary Broadside Editions of the Declaration of Independence." *Harvard Library Bulletin* 3 (1949): 41.

Appendix E

Extant Copies of the 1823 Stone Facsimile

1. American Philosophical Society
2. Boston Public Library*
3. Carroll Foundation
4. Henry Ford Museum and Greenfield Village
5. Harvard University, Houghton Library
6. Indiana University, Lilly Library
7. Jefferson County Court House, Kentucky
8. Library of Congress [2 copies]
9. Maryland Historical Society*
10. Massachusetts Historical Society, Adams Papers [2 copies]
11. New Hampshire Archives [2 copies]
12. New Haven Historical Society
13. New York Public Library
14. Rhode Island State Archives
15. Tennessee State Archives
16. Smithsonian Institution
17. Sweet Briar College
18. Virginia State Library Archives*
19. The White House

Private collections [12 copies]

Information compiled from William R. Coleman, "Counting the Stones: A Census of the Stone Facsimiles of the Declaration of Independence," *Manuscripts* 43 (Spring 1991): 103.

*Additional documents located through survey conducted by Independence National Historical Park, Spring 1995.

Appendix F

Extant Printed Copies of the Articles of Confederation

12 July 1776

1. Library of Congress, Washington, DC

20 August 1776

1. National Archives, Washington, DC [2 copies]
 - notations in the hand of Secretary Charles Thomson
 - notations in the hand of John Hancock and Henry Laurens
(Presidents of Congress 1776 and 1777 respectively)
2. Independence National Historical Park, Philadelphia, PA
 - Elbridge Gerry
3. New Hampshire Historical Society

15 November 1777

1. Library of Congress, Washington, DC
 - Henry Laurens

Appendix G

*Extant Handwritten Documents Produced during the Constitutional Convention - Prior to the first Printing

1. Randolph Plan or Virginia Plan

-Handwritten copies exist from:

- i. David Brearly
- ii. James Madison
- iii. James McHenry
- iv. George Washington

2. Pinckney Plan

Summary Outline and Document containing abstracts from the original Pinckney Plan in James Wilson's hand, Pennsylvania Historical Society

3. New Jersey Plan

- i. David Brearly
- ii. James Madison
- iii. Luther Martin
- iv. George Washington
- v. William Paterson [2 distinct documents]

4. Hamilton Plan

According to Jameson:

- i. Alexander Hamilton
- ii. David Brearly
- iii. George Read
- iv. James Madison
- v. William Paterson
- vi. Robert Yates

According to Jensen

- i. Rufus King
- ii. John Lansing, Jr.
- iii. James Madison
- iv. Robert Yates

5. Drafts of the Constitution

James Wilson's first and second draft of the Constitution are located at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania

* Independence National Historical Park is compiling a list of locations for all extant handwritten documents

Appendix H

Printed copies of the Constitution and their Association to
Convention Delegates

Unique Printing prior to 6 August 1787 (possibly 1 August)

Only known copy of this document is located in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. Probably proof sheets printed by Dunlap and Claypoole for the Committee of Detail. The document has corrections in the hand of Edmund Randolph.

6 August 1787

1. Library of Congress, Washington, DC [5 copies]
 - i. David Brearly
 - ii. William Samuel Johnson (includes notes in the hand of Secretary William Jackson)
 - iii. James Madison
 - iv. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney
2. National Archives, Washington, DC [2 copies]
 - George Washington
3. Huntington Library, San Marino, California [2 copies]
 - George Mason
4. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, New York
 - Abraham Baldwin
5. The Library Company, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
 - Pierce Butler
6. Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
7. Society of the Cincinnati, New Hampshire
8. Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts
 - Elbridge Gerry
9. Private Collection, Chicago, Illinois
10. Lilly Library, Bloomington, Indiana

12 September 1787

1. Library of Congress, Washington, DC [5 copies]
 - Rufus King
2. National Archives, Washington, DC
3. Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, Georgia
 - Abraham Baldwin

4. The Library Company, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
-John Dickinson
5. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia,
Pennsylvania
6. Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey
7. New York Historical Society, New York, New York
8. Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts
9. Society of the Cincinnati, New Hampshire
10. Private Collection, Chicago, Illinois

17 September 1787

1. Library of Congress, Washington, DC [2 copies]
2. Delaware Hall of Records, Delaware
3. New Jersey State Library, New Jersey
4. Independence National Historical Park, Philadelphia, PA
5. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia,
Pennsylvania
6. American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

19 September 1787 (1st public printing)

1. Library of Congress, Washington, DC
2. University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
3. The Library Company, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
4. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia,
Pennsylvania
5. Pennsylvania State Library, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania
6. Rutgers University, New Jersey
7. New York Public Library, New York, New York
8. New York Historical Society, New York, New York
9. Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut
10. Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts
11. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts
12. University of Michigan, Michigan
13. University of Wisconsin, Wisconsin
14. Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, Illinois
15. University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois
16. Lilly Library, Bloomington, Indiana
17. Harry L. Stern, Chicago, Illinois
18. John Jenkins, Texas

Sources: *The Constitution of the United States: Its Origin, Formation, and Adoption, As set forth in an Exhibit of Books, Pamphlets, and Documents from the Collections of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Display'd in Commemoration of the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of its Signing on September 17, 1787.* Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1937.

Appendix I

Founding Documents and their various editions in the Collection
of Independence National Historical Park

A. Declaration of Independence

1. INDE 1071. *In Congress, July 4, 1776. A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America, In General Congress Assembled.* Broadside. [Philadelphia: John Dunlap, 1776].
2. INDE 15702. *Declaration of Independence. In Congress. July 4th. 1776. The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America.* Engraving. [Philadelphia: John Binns, 1819].
3. INDE 2217. *The Declaration of Independence, with Facsimilies of the Signatures and Likenesses of the Signers: the Arms of the States and of the United States, and Portraits of the Presidents.* Engraving. [Boston: Franklin Print Company, 1838].
4. INDE 12497. *In Congress, July 4th. 1776. The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America.* Lithograph printed on silk. [H. Brunet, ca. 1837-43]. Adaptation of a design published by William Woodruff in 1819.
5. INDE 2094. *Declaration of Independence. July 4 1776.* Engraving on card. [Philadelphia: Charles Toppan, 1840].
6. INDE 7186. *Fac Simile of the Signatures to the Declaration of Independence.* Engraving. [New York? ca. 1855].
7. INDE 4194. *The Declaration of Independence, and Portraits of the Presidents.* Engraving. [Philadelphia: Illman & Sons, ca. 1859].
8. INDE 909. *The Declaration of Independence.* Pamphlet. [New York: Seaver & Company, and H.G. Lawrence, 1860].
9. INDE 697. *The Declaration of Independence.* Lithograph. [Philadelphia: Art Publishing Association, Swander Bishop & Co., ca. 1865].
10. INDE 15729. *In Congress, July 4, 1776. The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America.* Facsimile Print. [ca. 1870s].
11. INDE 51846. *Centennial Memorial of American Independence.* Engraving. [Philadelphia: Joseph Leeds, ca. 1873].

12. INDE 51655. *In Congress, July 4, 1776. The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America.* Facsimile Print. [ca. 1840-1890].

13. INDE 11314. *In Congress, July 4, 1776. The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America.* Facsimile Print. [Washington: National Archives, 1976].

B. Articles of Confederation

1. INDE 3111. *Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union.* [Philadelphia: Dunlap and Claypoole, 1776]. Document used by Elbridge Gerry during discussions over the Articles. The document bears marginal notations in Gerry's hand.

2. INDE 3515. *Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union.* [Boston: John Gill, 1777].

C. The Constitution of the United States

1. INDE 4847. *The Constitution of the United States.* [Philadelphia: Dunlap and Claypoole, 1787]. Purported to be George Washington's proof copy of the Constitution, the final printing prior to the first official edition of the Constitution. There is one manuscript correction on the document, 1787.

2. INDE 6815. *The Constitution of the United States in The Columbian.* [Philadelphia: T. Seddon, W. Spotswood, C. Cist, & J. Trenchard, 1787]. The first printing of the Constitution in a magazine.

3. INDE 587. *The Constitution of the United States.* [Philadelphia: 1787?].

4. INDE 4207. *Constitution of the United States.* Broadside. c.1830.

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