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Office over 1st. National Bank. Bloomsburg, Pa

N. U. FUNK,
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Office in Ext's Building. BLOOMSBURG, PA

JOHN M. CLARK,
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Office over Moyer Bros. Drug Store. BLOOMSBURG, PA

C. W. MILLER,
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PAUL E. WIRT,
Attorney-at-Law.
Office in COLUMBIAN BUILDING, Room No. 2, second floor.
BLOOMSBURG, PA.

H. V. WHITE,
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW,
BLOOMSBURG, PA.
Office in Browers' Building, 2nd floor.
may 1-tf

S. KNORR. L. S. WINTERSTEEN.
KNORR & WINTERSTEEN,
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Office in 1st National Bank building, second floor, first door to the left. Corner of Main and Market streets Bloomsburg, Pa.
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Office over Dentler's shoe store, Bloomsburg, Pa. [apr-30.86.

W. H. RHAWN.
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW.
Office, corner of Third and Main Streets. Catawissa, Pa.

MICHAEL F. EYERLY,
Conveyancer, Collector of Claims.
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Office in Dentler's building with F. P. Billmeyer, attorney-at-law, front rooms, 2nd floor Bloomsburg, Pa. [apr-9-86.

W. E. SMITH,
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DR. HONORA A. ROBBINS.
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J. B. McKELVY, M. D., Surgeon and Physician, north side Main street, below Market

DR. J. C. RUTTER,
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	Assets
Ætna Insurance Co., of Hartford, Conn	$7,078,220
Royal of Liverpool	12,500,000
Lancashire	10,000,000
Fire Association, Philadelphia	4,166,716
Phœnix, of London	5,996,370
London & Lancashire, of England	1,709,976
Hartford of Hartford	3,273,050
Springfield Fire and Marine	2,062,586

As the agencies are direct, policies are written or the insured without delay in the office at Bloomsburg. Oct. 28,'81-

WAINWRIGHT & CO.,
WHOLESALE GROCERS,
PHILADELPHIA, PA.
TEAS, SYRUPS, COFFEE, SUGAR, MOLASSES
RICE, SPICES, BICARB SODA, ETC., ETC.
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LEMUEL DRAKE, Prop'r.
This well-known hotel has been re-opened and many improvements made for the accommodation of the traveling public. The bar and table are supplied with the best the market affords. A large and commodious stable is connected with the hotel. Terms always reasonable.
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AGENT FOR THE
KEYSTONE DYNAMITE POWDER CO.,
manufacturers of the celebrated Keystone Dynamite. This explosive is giving universal satisfaction. Quotations cheerfully given. [1mangem*

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THE COLUMBIAN,

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J. E. ELWELL, J. K. BITTENBENDER, } Proprietors.

BLOOMSBURG, PA., FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1887.

THE COLUMBIAN, VOL. XXI. NO 36
COLUMBIA DEMOCRAT, VOL. LI. NO 25

BEST MADE
CLOTHING
IN
PHILADELPHIA,
A. C. YATES & CO.
LEDGER BUILDING,
SIXTH AND CHESTNUT STS.

RAILROAD TIME TABLE

DELAWARE, LACKAWANNA AND WESTERN RAILROAD.

BLOOMSBURG DIVISION.

STATIONS.	P M	P M	NORTH. A. M.	A. M.
NORTHUMBERLAND	5 40	1 35	10 10	6 15
Cameron	5 55	.....	10 25	6 30
Chulasky	6 00	....	10 29	6 34
Danville	6 08	1 56	10 36	6 40
Catawissa	6 25	2 14	10 53	6 58
Rupert	6 30	2 19	11 00	7 05
Bloomsburg	6 36	2 24	11 07	7 12
Espy	6 42	2 29	11 15	7 20
Lime Ridge	6 50	....	11 22	7 27
Willow Grove	6 54	....	11 26	7 31
Briarcreek	6 58	....	11 30	7 35
Berwick	7 05	2 48	11 37	7 42
Beach Haven	7 11	2 54	11 44	7 49
Hick's Ferry	7 18	2 59	11 48	7 55
Shickshinny	7 30	3 09	11 58	8 06
Hunlock's	7 43	3 19	12 08	8 17
Nanticoke	7 50	3 26	12 16	8 22
Avondale	7 54	....	12 20	8 38
Plymouth	7 59	3 35	12 25	8 33
Plymouth Junction	8 03	3 39	12 30	8 38
Kingston	8 08	3 43	12 37	8 45
Bennett	8 12	....	12 41	8 49
Maltby	8 17	....	12 45	8 53
Wyoming	8 22	3 52	12 50	8 58
West Pittston	8 27	3 56	12 55	9 03
Pittston	8 33	4 01	1 03	9 09
Lackawanna	8 40	....	1 11	9 17
Taylorville	8 48	....	1 19	9 25
Bellevue	8 54	....	1 25	9 30
SCRANTON	9 00	4 22	1 30	9 35
	P M	P M	P M	A M

STATIONS.	A M	A M	P M	P M
SCRANTON	6 10	9 50	2 05	6 20
Bellevue	6 15	9 55	....	6 25
Taylorville	6 20	10 00	2 14	6 30
Lackawanna	6 28	10 08	2 21	6 37
Pittston	6 36	10 16	2 28	6 45
West Pittston	6 42	10 22	2 34	6 50
Wyoming	6 47	10 27	2 39	6 55
Maltby	6 51	10 30	....	6 59
Bennett	6 55	10 34	2 47	7 03
Kingston	6 58	10 38	2 50	7 07
Plymouth Junction	7 05	10 42	2 54	7 12
Plymouth	7 10	10 47	2 59	7 16
Avondale	7 14	10 51	3 03	7 21
Nanticoke	7 19	10 55	3 06	7 25
Hunlock's	7 26	11 02	3 19	7 43
Shickshinny	7 47	11 12	3 29	7 51
Hick's Ferry	7 55	11 22	3 39	8 07
Beach Haven	8 01	11 28	3 45	8 13
Berwick	8 07	11 37	3 51	8 20
Briarcreek	8 13	....	3 57	8 27
Willow Grove	8 16	11 48	4 01	8 31
Lime Ridge	8 20	11 52	4 05	8 35
Espy	8 26	11 59	4 12	8 41
Bloomsburg	8 32	12 05	4 18	8 47
Rupert	8 37	12 10	4 24	8 52
Catawissa	8 42	12 15	4 29	8 57
Danville	8 57	12 30	4 46	9 15
Chulasky	9 03	....	4 54	9 23
Cameron	9 07	12 40	5 00	9 28
NORTHUMBERLAND	9 22	12 55	5 15	9 45
	A M	P M	P M	P M

Connections at Rupert with Philadelphia & Reading Railroad for Tamanend, Tamaqua, Williamsport, Sunbury, Pottsville, etc. At Northumberland with P. & E. Div. P. R. R. for Harrisburg, Lock Haven, Emporium, Warren, Corry and Erie.
W. F. HALSTEAD, Gen. Man., Scranton, Pa

Pennsylvania Railroad.

Philadelphia & Erie R. R. Division, and Northern Central Railway.

TIME TABLE.

In effect May 29, 1887. Trains leave Sunbury.

EASTWARD,

9.40 a. m., Sea Shore Express (daily except Sunday), for Harrisburg and intermediate stations, arriving at Philadelphia 3.15 p. m.; New York, 6.20 p. m.; Baltimore, 3.10 p. m.; Washington, 5.50 p. m., connecting at Philadelphia for all Sea Shore points. Through passenger coach to Philadelphia.

1.43 p. m.—Day express daily except Sunday), for Harrisburg and intermediate stations, arriving at Philadelphia 6.50 p. m.; New York, 9.35 p. m.; Baltimore 4.45 p. m.; Washington, 7.45 p. m. Parlor car through to Philadelphia and passenger coaches through to Philadelphia and Baltimore.

7.45 p. m.—Renovo Accommodation (daily for Harrisburg and all intermediate stations, arriving at Philadelphia 4.35 a. m.; New York 7.10 a. m. Baltimore, 4.55 a. m.; Washington 6.05 a. m.; Sleeping car accommodations can be secured at Harrisburg for Philadelphia and New York. On Sundays a through sleeping car will be run; on this train from Williamsp't to Philadelphia. Philadelphia passengers can remain in sleeper undisturbed until 7 a. m.

9.50 a. m.—Erie Mail (daily except Monday, for Harrisburg and intermediate stations, arriving at Philadelphia 8.25 a. m. New York, 11.30 a. m.; Baltimore 6.15 a. m.; Washington, 9.30 a. m. Through Pullman sleeping cars are run on this train to Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington, and through passenger coaches to Philadelphia and Baltimore.

WESTWARD.

5.10 a. m.—Erie Mail (daily except Sunday), for Erie and all intermediate stations and Canandaigua and intermediate stations, Rochester, Buffalo and Niagara Falls, with through Pullman Palace cars and passenger coaches to Erie and Rochester.

9.53—News Express (daily except Sunday) for Lock Haven and intermediate stations.

12.52 p. m.—Niagara Express (daily except Sunday) for Kane and intermediate stations and Canandaigua and principal intermediate stations, Rochester, Buffalo and Niagara Falls with through passenger coaches to Kane and Rochester and Parlor car to Williamsport.

3.30 p. m. Fast Line (daily except Sunday) for Renovo and intermediate stations, and Elmira, Watkins and intermediate stations, with through passenger coaches to Renovo and Watkins.

9.30 a. m.—Sunday mail for Renovo and intermediate stations.

THROUGH TRAINS FOR SUNBURY FROM THE EAST AND SOUTH.

Sunday mail leaves Philadelphia 4.30 a. m Harrisburg 7.40 arriving at Sunbury 9.30 a. m. with through sleeping car from Philadelphia to Williamsport.

News Express leaves Philadelphia 4.30 a. m. Harrisburg, 8.10 a. m. daily except Sunday arriving at Sunbury 9.55. a. m.

Philadelphia, 7.40 a. m.; Baltimore 7.30 a. m. (daily except Sunday arriving at Sunbury, 12.52 p. m., with through Parlor car from Philadelphia and through passenger coaches from Philadelphia and Baltimore.

Fast Line leaves New York 9.00 a. m.; Philadelphia, 11.50 a. m.; Washington, 9.50 a. m.; Baltimore, 10.45 a. m., (daily except sunday) arriving at Sunbury, 3.30 p. m., with through passenger coaches from Philadelphia and Baltimore.

Erie Mail leaves New York 8.00 p. m.; Philadelphia, 11.25 p. m.; Washington, 10.00 p. m.; Baltimore, 11.30 p. m., (daily except Saturday) arriving at Sunbury 5.10 a. m., with through Pullman Sleeping cars from Philadelphia, Washington and Baltimore and through passenger coaches from Philadelphia.

SUNBURY, HAZLETON & WILKESBARRE RAILROAD AND NORTH AND WEST BRANCH RAILWAY.

(Daily except sunday.)

Wilkesbarre Mail leaves Sunbury 9.55 a. m. arriving at Bloom Ferry 10.46 a. m., Wilkes-barre 12.15 p. m.

Wilkes-Barre accom. leaves Sunbury 3.55 p m, arriving at Bloom Ferry 4.46 p m; Wilkes-Barre, 6.00 p m.

Express West leaves Sunbury 5.35 p. m., arriving at Bloom Ferry 6.26 p. m., Wilkes-barre 7.55 p. m

Sunbury Mail leaves Wilkesbarre 10.25 a. m. arriving at Bloom Ferry 11.04 a. m., Sunbury 12.45 p. m

Express West leaves Wilkes-barre 2.50 p. m., arriving at Bloom Ferry 4.19 p. m., Sunbury 5.10 p. m

Catawissa accom. leaves Nescopeck 5.05 p m, arriving at Bloom Ferry 6.30 p m; Sunbury, 6.35 p m.

SUNDAY ONLY.

Sunday mail leaves Sunbury 9.25 a. m., arriving at Bloom Ferry 10.16 a. m., Wilkes-Barre 11.45 a.m.

Sunday accommodation leaves Wilkes-Barre 5.10 p. m., arriving at Bloom Ferry, 6.39 p. m., Sunbury, 7.00 p. m.

CHAS. E. PUGH, Gen. Manager. J. R. WOOD, Gen. Passenger Agent

NO ONE NEED
Remain
A DYSPEPTIC.

"I have been suffering for over two years with Dyspepsia. For the last year I could not take a drink of cold water nor eat any meat without vomiting it up. My life was a misery. I had had recommended Simmons Liver Regulator, of which I am now taking the second bottle, and the fact is that words cannot express the relief I feel. My appetite is very good, and I digest everything thoroughly. I sleep well now, and I used to be very restless. I am fleshing up fast; good strong food and Simmons Liver Regulator have done it all. I write this in hopes of benefiting some one who has suffered as I did, and would take oath to these statements if desired."

E. S. BALLOU, *Syracuse, Neb.*

SCOTT'S
EMULSION
OF PURE COD LIVER OIL
And Hypophosphites of Lime & Soda
Almost as Palatable as Milk.
The only preparation of COD LIVER OIL that can be taken readily and tolerated for a long time by delicate stomachs.
AND AS A REMEDY FOR CONSUMPTION, SCROFULOUS AFFECTIONS, ANÆMIA, GENERAL DEBILITY, COUGHS AND THROAT AFFECTIONS, and all WASTING DISORDERS OF CHILDREN it is marvellous in its results.
Prescribed and endorsed by the best Physicians in the countries of the world.
FOR SALE BY ALL DRUGGISTS.
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THE BEST BURNING OIL THAT CAN BE MADE FROM PETROLEUM.
It gives a brilliant light.
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It will not explode.
It is pre-eminently a family safety oil.
WE CHALLENGE COMPARISON
With any other illuminating oil made.
We Stake Our Reputation,
As refiners, upon the statement that it is
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WILLIAMSPORT OIL COMPANY.
Trade for Bloomsburg and Vicinity Supplied by
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SLEIGHS, PLATFORM WAGONS &C
First-class work always on hand.
REPAIRING NEATLY DONE.
Prices reduced to suit the times.

BLOOMSBURG PLANING MILL
The undersigned having put his Planing Mill on Railroad Street, in first-class condition, is prepared to do all kinds of work in his line.
FRAMES, SASH, DOORS, BLINDS, MOULDINGS, FLOORING, Etc.
furnished at reasonable prices. All lumber used is well seasoned and none but skilled workmen are employed.
ESTIMATES FOR BUILDINGS
furnished on application. Plans and specifications prepared by an experienced draughtsman
CHARLES KRUG,
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CLOTHING! CLOTHING
G. W. BERTSCH,
THE MERCHANT TAILOR.
Gents' Furnishing Goods, Hats & Caps
OF EVERY DESCRIPTION.
Suits made to order at short notice and a fit always guaranteed or no sale. Call and examine the largest and best selected stock of goods ever shown in Columbia county.
Store—next door to First National Bank, MAIN STREET,
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ORNAMENTAL IRON FENCES
OF CAST OR WROUGHT IRON.
Suitable for
Yards, Cemtery Lots and Public Grounds
The following shows the Picket Gothic, one of the several beautiful styles of Fence manufactured by the undersigned.
For Beauty and Durability they are unsurpassed. Set up by experienced hands and warranted to give satisfaction.
Prices and specimens of other designs sent to any address.
Address
S. M. HESS,
BLOOMSBURG PA.

THE CONSTITUTION.

How, When and by Whom It Was Adopted.

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION

To Be Held in Philadelphia Sept. 15, 16 and 17.

History of the Movement Leading to the Adoption of the Document—Portraits of Some of the Men Who Had a Hand in Its Preparation and Who Took Part in the Adopting Convention.

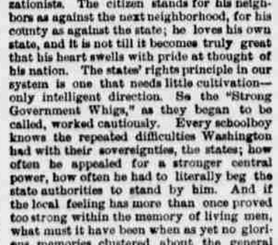
Copyrighted by the American Press Association.

Our readers are already apprised of the fact that it is proposed to hold a centennial celebration of the adoption of the constitution of the United States, in Philadelphia on the 15th, 16th and 17th of September. Not all who know this are familiar with the causes that led up to the adoption of the constitution and the history of the movement.

One hundred years ago there was no United States of America. There was no nation on this continent—only English, French, Spanish and Portuguese colonies from Hudson's bay to the Rio de La Plata. There was in this country no president, no cabinet, no senate and no national treasury; there was no public credit, no power to create a national revenue, no authority to secure union at home and respect abroad. Even the piratical Barbary states sneered at the talk of American power. The contribution box was passed Sunday after Sunday in New England churches for means to ransom American sailors in Algerian captivity. The last—the definitive—treaty of peace had been signed at Versailles on Sept. 3, 1783, and the army had been disbanded with a mere fraction of its pay. None of the treaties recognized the existence of a new nation—the independence and sovereignty of thirteen colonies, each by name, were separately acknowledged. The public securities were steadily declining, the worn soldier of liberty sought his desolated home with only wounds and glory for his pay. Not because the country was poor—it was admittedly rich in resources that could soon be converted into cash—but there was no central power; there were thirteen separately independent sovereignties bound together only by a vague something which could not be called a charter of union, was illy defined as a confederation, and scarcely merited even the title of a league or compact.

Each state had its own army, its own currency and banking system, its own commercial marine, its own system of administration, and, above all, its own system of customs duties, one state tariffing against another. In short, each state held in itself the complete power of the sword and the purse, and only obeyed the mandate of the confederation congress so far and at such time as the state chose. The adverse vote of one state could defeat an important law. The plan was in imitation of that of the united provinces of the Netherlands in the preceding century—a very poor model indeed, and very badly imitated. The system almost ruined the united provinces, and was utterly unsuited to a confederation in which the area of a single state was greater than that of the Netherlands.

There had been three governments—Colonial, Revolutionary or Continental, and Confederated. The Colonial had ended in revolution, the royal governors flying to British ships and the people seizing the power; the Continental began to take form in the first congress at Philadelphia, September, 1774, but could not be called complete (if it all) till a few weeks after the Declaration of Independence; and it expired peaceably in March, 1781, when the last state (Maryland) acceded to the Articles of Confederation, and the congress then in session at once proceeded to act under its new powers. The Colonial had expired in revolution and the Continental had grown slowly into the Confederated; and now the Confederation was dying of dry rot. It only had power to "request" of the states; such successive requisition was met with more indifference until, on Nov. 1, 1784, Robert Morris announced that he could pay no interest on any foreign loans and a very small fraction of the domestic claims, and that he saw no way of securing a revenue under the Confederation—then resigned his post as superintendent of the finances in a tone that seemed like a wail of despair.



INDEPENDENCE HALL

All these years, however, the spirit of union was growing fast. There had been from the first a few who could "think continentally," as the phrase was. They saw in patriotic fancy a time when all this country should form "an empire of free republics indissolubly united." Most active among these were Washington, Hamilton, Madison, Gouverneur Morris and Gen. Philip Schuyler. They had many ardent supporters; but the mass of mankind are naturally decentralizationists. The citizen stands for his neighbors as against the next neighborhood, for his county as against the state; he loves his own state, and it is not till it becomes truly great that his heart swells with pride at thought of his nation. The states' rights principle in our system is one that needs little cultivation—only intelligent direction. So the "Strong Government Whigs," as they began to be called, worked cautiously. Every schoolboy knows the repeated difficulties Washington had with their sovereignties, the states; how often he appealed for a stronger central power, how often he had to literally beg the state authorities to stand by him. And if the local feeling has more than once proved too strong within the memory of living men, what must it have been when as yet no glorious memories clustered about the general government, when there was but a vague promise of union, but an ideal nation!

Nevertheless, there were a few conditions which made Americans one people. Though planted in adverse interests at intervals stretching over 126 years, with forms of government varying from the extreme of proprietaryship to the extreme Democracy of Connecticut and Rhode Island, representing at least six great branches of Christianity, and extremely diverse social and industrial conditions, the colonies still had many more points of resemblance than of difference. They all had the same language and substantially the same literature; they all claimed the liberties of Englishmen and judged cases upon the principles of the English common law; they were all planted by men who longed for a larger liberty, and were all swayed by the same necessities as against wild nature and the Indians, and most of all, perhaps, the native born Americans were similarly transformed from the European type by breathing the air and seizing upon the opportunities of a new continent. The result was apparent in this: the animosities of the Seventeenth century between Puritan and Quaker, and Yankee and Dutchman, Protestant and Catholic had yielded so rapidly that in the middle of the Eighteenth century but a trace remained; Catholic Charles Carroll, Liberal Stephen Hopkins and Free Thinking Puritan Franklin joined in the public devotions without hesitation, and the new comer from Europe remarked with amazement that there was already the one American type, with local variations less than marked the counties of England, from Boston to Savannah. While the Lincolnshireman still laughed at the "babble" of the Cornishman, and both of them regarded the Yorkshireman as an "outlanguldged varrmer," it was but barely possible (and seldom that) in the continental congress to distinguish the accents of the Georgian and the Bostonian. The written language was absolutely one; the most acute critic cannot decide by the internal evidence in which colony any document of that time was produced. The same books were read, and often exchanged the length of a continent, and at the foot of the Blue Ridge as at the head of the Hudson were many men like Madison and Jefferson, of powerful intellects and of vast and varied reading. The Americans were one far more truly than the English of that day and more than the English and Scotch now are.

MOVEMENT FOR A GENERAL GOVERNMENT.

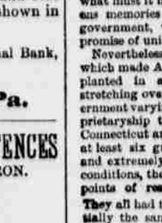
It is not possible to assign an exact date to the movement for a general government—it was in the air. In 1643 the three New England colonies joined in a short lived confederacy against the Indians and the Dutch. In 1684 a common movement against the six nations of Indians united all the colonies but South Carolina. The attempt of James II to restrict colonial liberties led to temporary unions, but the British revolution of 1688 brought in William and Mary, who restored the colonial charters. John Locke then drew up a plan for a captain general and one assembly for all the colonies, but parliament refused to consider it. In 1697 William Penn (in England) proposed a congress of two members from each colony, but the ministry of that day refused it. In 1754 Benjamin Franklin drew up a very good plan of confederation, but could not get it considered. In 1765 nine colonies were represented in a conference at New York. Finally, on the 5th of September, 1774, the first Continental congress met at Philadelphia, and thereafter the tendency toward union was irresistible till the declaration of independence, July 4, 1776.

BEN. FRANKLIN.

It is not easy to define the powers of the Continental congress, they were so augmented by necessity and so supplemented by the colonial legislatures and local committees of safety, which exercised almost despotic powers. The movement for a better organized government was already in progress. Tom Paine issued his brilliant pamphlet in favor of a national government, and Alexander Hamilton warmly seconded Paine's argument in many letters and addresses. Paine was a revolutionist, Hamilton an organizer; Washington followed as the moderator. He first ventured to use the word "empire," meaning, as subsequent letters show, an "empire of republics." After taking command of the army he often urged the members to consider "that power and weight which ought of right to belong only to the whole." Four years he continued to urge a stronger central power, and in March, 1779, wrote to George Mason, of Virginia: "I lament the fatal policy of the states employing their ablest men at home. How useless to put in fine order the smallest parts of a clock unless the great spring which is to set the whole in motion is well attended to. Let this voice call forth you, Jefferson and others to save their country." Yet it took the congress two years to complete the articles of confederation and nearly two more to get them sanctioned by all the states, only to find them inefficient within six months after their adoption.

On the 1st of March, 1781, the delegates from Maryland subscribed the articles; on the second it was taken for granted that the new government was in force, and within the month several members complained of the want of sufficient powers. On the 16th, James Madison introduced a new clause, that the states should give congress the power to compel a recalcitrant state to perform its obligations. On the 21st of May it was referred to a committee of one from each state; on the 20th of July they reported a substitute, that congress might in time of war lay an embargo for sixty days and name receivers of public money, after it had been collected by state officers. On the same day Edmund Randolph presented the resolutions of the Virginia legislature, that congress "ought to have more power." In July and August Hamilton issued a series of papers called "The Continentalist," in which he vigorously urged a more complete union, a central executive and a national revenue. But all in vain. Soon after Cornwallis surrendered, the British hastily concentrated in two or three ports, ready for embarking; every one went wild in expectation of an immediate close of the war, and the "more perfect union" was ignored. Philip Schuyler, Alexander Hamilton and others had just before this persuaded the great state of New York to agree that duties should be collected in such manner and by such officers as congress should direct," and Virginia had consented to a similar measure; but the other states were so slow that the opposition had time to rally, and both concessions were revoked or ignored. New York, however, for the first, proposed a convention to form a new constitution. Hamilton drafted the resolutions, his father-in-law, Schuyler, urged them vigorously, and they passed both houses of the legislature by unanimous vote. Thereafter they were the platform, the store house of texts and arguments for the "Strong Government Whigs." Finally all the states but Rhode Island consented to a national revenue from customs duties; the negative of the one state ruined the scheme, and thus the weary seesaw went on four years longer, till the confederation was without cash at home or credit abroad, and was fast sinking into contempt. In Virginia the issue was debated almost incessantly for six years, Washington and Madison leading the nationalists, Richard Henry Lee contending for separation and state sovereignty, Patrick Henry advocating only a strengthening of the existing confederation.

Pressure from without had kept Americans united during the war; a renewal of that pressure was needed to force a more perfect union, and it came exactly at the right time. When the British parliament met after the peace of Versailles the liberal element proposed a renewal of close intercourse with America and "free trade on liberal principles." When asked what guarantees they could secure, they were forced to reply that they knew of no power to bind the separate colonies; a reaction set in and ceased not till Great Britain had adopted the most stringent navigation laws and every practical method of crippling the trade of Americans. When this was known in the states, the number of those who could "think continentally" increased suddenly and rapidly. Virginia especially advanced toward extreme national views. Jefferson said that his first choice would be no navigation laws, no distinction between ports and the freest possible commerce; but as Great Britain had chosen otherwise, we must have a government that could meet her in the same spirit. Rhode Island, as usual, resolved that each state should do its own retaliating; but almost everywhere else there was a movement toward union. The states began measures to surrender their western lands to the general government, and the movement progressed so rapidly that it was completed before the constitution.



ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

Congress had already established a mint and Federal coin. The Bank of North America had been set up. Settlements in the western territory were in rapid progress, and the settlers were impatient for exact statements of their relations to government. Already Spain was harassing the border with unfriendly legislation. Treaties with the Indians were imperative and wars probable. Kentucky and her neighbors were demanding, in daily louder tones, free navigation of the Mississippi, or—! On all sides foreign and domestic questions pressed the demand for a stronger central government; yet a few states held back and the others delayed out of deference to them. Meanwhile Pitt was enforcing the British navigation acts against the United States with the utmost severity, and the "Strong Government Whigs" were making converts. The powers of established churches in the several states were greatly curtailed; religious freedom became general, and by local acts the rights of a citizen in any state were freely accorded to immigrants from other states. And the clause on this subject in the constitution is the only one more obscure, at any rate more awkwardly worded, than the laws it superseded. Commerce between the states was being better systematized. In short, the country was traveling slowly toward a sort of unity. But the war between debtor and creditor was raging with great severity; the "soft money men" of many localities dreaded a general government which would abolish legal tender paper; there were riots in divers places, and Capt. Daniel Shay's rebellion in Massachusetts. Commerce, finances and foreign affairs demanded a stronger government.

On March 28, 1785, commissioners from the two states of Virginia and Maryland met at Mount Vernon to form a plan for the joint navigation of the Potomac—George Mason and Alexander Henderson for Virginia, Daniel-of-St.-Thomas Jenifer, Thomas Stone and Samuel Chase for Maryland, all assisted by Washington. Their special work was quickly done, so they discussed general politics, and ended by drawing up a plan of union for the two states involving uniform money and taxes. Maryland promptly acceded and asked that Delaware and Pennsylvania might be added. Virginia argued these matters till Jan. 21, 1786, then by large majorities in both branches invited all the other states to meet her in convention at Annapolis, Md., on the first Monday of the next September. The sixth congress was in session, and South Carolina, by Charles Pinckney, led the movement for a new government. He proposed a number of amendments to the articles giving the central government more power, but was defeated by the extremists. Those who wanted no change and those who wanted an entirely new system were alike opposed to reform. The Annapolis convention met, but three states sent no delegates and others arrived so late that the short sitting was over before they could act. The few present united in an able appeal to congress to order a national convention. Even this action excited violent criticism. The Nationalists were in despair, when Madison, of Virginia, raised them again to hope. On his motion the general assembly unanimously resolved on a Federal convention, to meet at Philadelphia, May 2, 1787, and draft an entire constitution to be presented to the states. As soon as the news reached New Jersey that state, on the 23d of November, acceded and chose its delegates. Pennsylvania followed in December, North Carolina in January and Delaware in February. Congress next approved the measure, and then the states followed one by one—all but Rhode Island, which refused to act as usual. But Maryland, distracted by a fight over paper money, did not elect till near the end of May, and New Hampshire was a few days later.

On the 14th of May, 1787, the day finally set, only Pennsylvania and Virginia were represented; but their delegates repaired to the state house, organized and were soon joined by others. On the 17th came South Carolina, on the 18th New York, on the 21st Delaware, on the 22d North Carolina. On the 25th William Churchill Houston, of New Jersey, previously detained by illness, arrived, and so the seven states needed for a quorum were represented—from the south, four states, with nineteen members; from the north, three states, with ten members. On motion of Benjamin Franklin Washington was unanimously chosen president of the convention. On the 28th the delegates from Massachusetts and Maryland arrived. It was a convention of learned men. There were nine graduates of Princeton, four of Yale and six of other colleges; at least seven were of some eminence in literature; one, a native of Scotland, had taught in her first universities; a very large proportion were well read lawyers, and nearly all had had long and valuable training in the state legislatures or congress. And to these men was submitted this problem: How shall we combine these sovereignty into one sovereignty! How shall we take just enough power from the thirteen to form a government sufficient for all general concerns, especially commerce and foreign affairs, and yet leave all other powers unimpaired in each state!

THE CONVENTION.

Their work may be detailed historically or analyzed by themes. For many reasons the second plan is the better, chiefly because it avoids detail and makes the conclusion clearer.

Four general schemes were suggested:

First—The extreme Federalist or Nationalist plan: That the states should be practically abolished; reduced to mere departments, and on their ruins one strong government established—"on the British model," added Hamilton. The convention took one good look at this plan and rejected it—unanimously. It does not appear that they did more than merely listen to its presentation.

Second—The extreme states' rights plan: That the Confederation should be strengthened a little, so far as to have an independent revenue and exercise some control over commerce, each state to retain its absolute sovereignty as before. The convention considered this at some length and rejected it, not quite unanimously.

Third—The moderate Nationalist plan.

Fourth—The moderate states' rights plan.

Out of the last two, by compromise, the convention evolved the present constitution, with the understanding that it was to be construed according to the plain meaning of the words on these three basis principles:

First—That the power of the flag, the sword and the national purse (and these constitute sovereignty) should be vested exclusively in the national government.

Second—That as to these, the public property, especially the land, certain general functions, and all foreign affairs, the people of the United States should constitute one nation.

Third—That just enough—and no more—powers should be taken from the states to constitute a government for these general purposes, and all other powers remain in the states as before.

James Madison came with the outline of a constitution already formed and employed the days of waiting in urging its main points upon the delegates who first arrived. Edmund Randolph had elaborated certain principles in addition to those of Madison. Washington had drawn up the heads of these constitutions. Paterson, of New Jersey, had a plan which was merely to strengthen the confederation. And it was known that Connecticut was coming with still another. "The New Jersey system," said those who spoke first, "is federal, the Virginia system national; in the first the powers flow from the state governments, but in the latter they derive authority from the people of the states." And even before the convention met, the extreme states' rights party had sounded an alarm about the Virginia plan. William Jones, of North Carolina, refused to serve, as he understood the convention was designed to subordinate the states, and was replaced by Hugh Williamson, an "original free soiler," who wanted slavery excluded from all new states. Patrick Henry, Thomas Nelson and Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, refused to accept their appointments, as they would not act under the Virginia resolutions, and were replaced by men of much less note but ardent nationalists. Edmund Randolph wavered. His first intent was to vote for a mere strengthening of the confederation, but his personal record pointed to nationalism as his final position. Though but 33 years old, he had borne a very active part in the revolution and was now governor of Virginia. To him, therefore, was intrusted the duty of presenting the "Virginia plan" to the convention, which he did May 29 in a preamble and fifteen resolutions.

They declared for a national legislature of two branches, with specific powers over national concerns; a national executive to be chosen by the legislature and eligible for but one term; a council of revision to examine and approve the acts of the legislature before they should go into force; a national judiciary, substantially such as we now have; a national revenue to be collected from the states by quotas, and the right of suffrage in each state should be the basis of enumeration for