

CHRISTIAN LEONHARD & JASON MATTHEWS

# FOUNDING FATHERS

PLANNER'S GUIDE TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION



FROM  
JOLLY ROGER  
GAMES



# USING THE PLANNER'S GUIDE

Pages 1 to 3 are the History and Overview Sections, not crucial to gameplay but bursting with great historical details about this pivotal era in American history.

Pages 4 to 12 are the rules of the game.

Pages 13 to 19 feature yet more bonus historical reading: biographies of all 55 delegates, and some background on our delegation flags.

Throughout the guide, anything in a blue box (like this one) is a rules-related note. Anything in a brown box (like the quote directly below this box) is a bit of information that doesn't directly affect the game.

**"I smelt a rat."**  
~Patrick Henry's response as to why he declined to attend the Convention

**"The conception of such an idea, and the deliberate union of so great and various a people in such a plan, is, without all partiality or prejudice, if not the greatest exertion of human understanding, the greatest single effort of national deliberation that the world has ever seen"**  
~John Adams

## A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

DISTILLED FROM THE WORK OF PROFESSOR GORDON LLOYD AT TEACHINGAMERICANHISTORY.ORG

### RESOLVE TO THE THIRTEEN COLONIES

On May 15, 1776, the Second Continental Congress, meeting in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, issued "A Resolve" to the thirteen colonies: "Adopt such a government as shall, in the opinion of the representatives of the people, best conduce to the safety and happiness of their constituents in particular and America in general." These state constitutions displayed a remarkable uniformity. Seven contained a Declaration of Rights, and all contained the same civil and criminal rights. New York incorporated the entire Declaration of Independence into its constitution.

### LIFE, LIBERTY, PROPERTY, AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS

The primary purpose of these declarations and bills was to outline the objectives of government: to secure the right to life, liberty, property, and the pursuit of happiness. To do so, all of the states except Pennsylvania embraced a two-chamber legislature, and all except Massachusetts installed a weak executive denying the Governor veto power over bills of the legislature. All accepted the notion that the legislative branch should be preeminent, but also realized that the liberty of the people was in danger from the corruption of elected representatives.

The Second Continental Congress also created the first continental-wide system of governance. The Articles of Confederation managed a nation of pre-existing states rather than a government over individuals. At the national level the very idea of a Bill of Rights was irrelevant because the Articles did not entail a government over individuals. The Articles didn't come into operation until the early 1780s because of territorial disputes between two states; all of the states were required to "sign on" before the Articles became operative on any one state and national legislation required approval of all thirteen states to take effect.

### WE HAVE ERRORS TO CORRECT

These two directives produced two opposite and rival situations: a robust and healthy state system and a weak continental arrangement. Several statesmen were concerned that the idea of an American mind that had emerged during the war with Britain was about to disappear; the Articles of Confederation were inadequate to foster the development of an American nation. According to Washington, "we have errors to correct." The problems were not small and ranged from difficulties with interstate commerce to overseas representation in England and France. Others, especially James Madison, were concerned that the state legislatures were passing laws detrimental to the rights of conscience and private property, and nothing could be done since the Articles left matters of religion and commerce to the states. The solution, concluded Madison, was an extended republic with checks and balances and a framework that endorsed a separation of powers between the branches of the general government.

### THE CALL FOR A GRAND CONVENTION

Convincing others of the need took years. Following James Madison's suggestion of January 21, 1786, the Virginia Legislature invited all the states to discuss ways to reduce interstate conflicts at the Annapolis Convention later that year. The convention found no solutions, but led to agreement for a "Grand Convention" of all the states in 1787 to discuss how to improve the Articles of Confederation. The question at hand was: How could they take advantage of the opportunity provided by the Annapolis recommendation? How could such a bold proposal be put into effect?

Madison persuaded the Virginia Legislature to debate the issue and persuaded the Assembly to be the first to elect delegates to the Grand Convention to consider the business "of May next." George Washington was elected as head of delegation. James Madison insisted that he himself be present. Others selected included Governor Randolph and George Mason, though colonial heroes Richard Henry Lee and Patrick Henry refused to attend. Five states followed Virginia's lead: New Jersey, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Delaware, and Georgia.

### SETTING THE STAGE

So, six states acted without waiting for any formal endorsement by the existing government under the Articles of Confederation. Other states were more cautious, and wanted the existing Congress to address the legitimacy of such a gathering. On February 28, 1787, the Confederation Congress endorsed the meeting of the Grand Convention on "the second Monday in May next." Exactly what the Congress authorized was questioned. The recommendatory act of Congress reads: "A convention of delegates should meet for the sole purpose of revising the articles of Confederation and reporting to Congress and the several legislatures such alterations and provisions therein as shall, when agreed to in Congress and confirmed by the States, render the federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of government and the preservation of the Union."

New York was the first state to act after the congressional endorsement, followed by five more states: South Carolina, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maryland, and New Hampshire. Only Rhode Island refused to send delegates to the May gathering. The stage was now set.

## WITHOUT A DROP OF BLOOD SPILLED

Thomas Jefferson characterized the men who showed up in Philadelphia as “demi-gods.” Alexis de Tocqueville marveled at the work of the American Founders: never before in the history of the world had a nation and its leaders declared the existing government to be bankrupt, and calmly elected delegates who proposed a solution—which was in turn debated up and down the country for nearly a year—without a drop of blood spilled. Alexander Hamilton, in *Federalist 1*, suggested that this was a unique event in the history of the world; finally government was going to be established by reflection and choice rather than by force and fraud. So, like the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution was written by delegates immersed in philosophy, science, commerce, and practical politics.

## THE CONVENTION BEGINS

Very few delegations were present at the appointed time for the meeting of the Grand Convention in Philadelphia on May 14, 1787. A quorum wasn't secured until the 25th. The first order of business was to elect a president, and George Washington was the obvious choice. The delegates also agreed that the deliberations should be kept secret, to encourage honest discourse and to permit delegates to speak or change their mind as they saw fit. Thus, despite the hot summer weather in Philadelphia, the windows were closed and heavy drapes drawn.

## THE VIRGINIA PLAN

Governor Randolph introduced the Virginia Plan at the end of May to “revise the Articles of Confederation.” The decisive features of this plan were:

- 1) the complete structural exclusion of the states in terms of both election and representation;
- 2) the complete diminution of the powers of the states and the virtual freedom of Congress to act in those areas for which the states are incompetent;
- 3) the establishment of an extended national republic with institutional separation of powers and the introduction of the possibility that short terms of office and term limits—standard features of traditional republicanism—will be abandoned.

## RESISTANCE TO THE PLAN

Madison's Virginia Plan introduced a new understanding of federalism and republicanism. This wholly national republican plan was debated and amended over two weeks, supplanting the state-based New Jersey Plan and the Hamilton Plan (which itself went much further than the Virginia Plan). Far from immediately accepting it, the defenders of the New Jersey Plan—and of the old-style federalism of the Articles—insisted on questioning the validity of the Virginia Plan. They argued that the Convention had exceeded the congressional mandate because the Articles had been scrapped rather than revised. Moreover, the Convention was about to propose a novelty—a large country under one republican form of government—that would never be accepted by the electorate; republican government could only exist in areas of small extent where the people kept close watch over their representatives.

## THE CONNECTICUT COMPROMISE

A breakthrough occurred at the end of June when Oliver Ellsworth suggested a mix of national and federal systems. Several delegates echoed this theme and the Gerry Committee was created to explore the ramifications of this suggestion that the people be represented in the House and the states be represented in the Senate. The recommendation became known as the Connecticut Compromise and was accepted in mid-July.

## SLAVERY

With the Connecticut Compromise in place, the delegates turned from the question of structure to the question of national and state powers. A Committee was created to draft a Constitution—the Committee of Detail—that would address the division of powers between the central and state governments and also the separation of powers between Congress, the president, and the Supreme Court. A key issue that emerged was slavery. What could Congress do to regulate and/or abolish slavery? In August, a draft forbade Congress from ever regulating the slave trade, but in contrast, the final Constitution limited the prohibition on Congress only until 1808 and permitted Congress to discourage the slave trade immediately.

## THE PRESIDENCY

Despite all the progress that had been made on the structural role of the states and the powers of Congress, there was still work to be done on the presidency. The Brearley Committee came up with the idea of an Electoral College as a sensible compromise to the long debates on how to elect the president. It had been clear for four months that until the mode of election was settled, no progress could be made on 1) length of term, 2) the issue of re-eligibility, and 3) the powers of the president. The Electoral College was modeled on the Connecticut Compromise: the president would be elected by a combination of people and states.

*“Should the States reject this excellent Constitution, the probability is, an opportunity will never again offer to cancel another in peace -- the next will be drawn in blood.”*

~George Washington

*“The proposed Constitution is, in strictness, neither a national nor a federal constitution; but a composition of both.”*

~James Madison

*“I have an indifferent opinion on the honesty of this country, and ill forebodings as to the future of its system.”*

~Alexander Hamilton

*“It appears to me, then, little short of a miracle, that the Delegates from so many different States (which States you know are also different from each other in their manners, circumstances and prejudices) should unite in forming a system of national Government, so little liable to well founded objections.”*

~George Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette

*Johnson*  
*Langdon*  
*Sherman*  
*Madison*  
*Hamilton*  
*Livingston*  
*etc.*

## REFINEMENTS AND RESERVATIONS

The Committee of Style wrote the final draft of the Constitution. It included a Preamble and an obligation of contracts clause, both written by Gouverneur Morris, and an enumeration of the powers of Congress in Article I, Section 8. During the last week of the Convention the delegates added a few refinements, raised some serious concerns, and discussed what they had agreed to over the four months of deliberations. Mason expressed his wish that "the plan had been prefaced by a Bill of Rights." Elbridge Gerry supported Mason's unsuccessful attempt to attach a Bill of Rights. Randolph joined Mason and Gerry and declared that he too wouldn't sign the Constitution. Despite these concerns, the delegates pressed ahead to form the final document.

## A CONSTITUTION AT LAST

On the last day of the Convention, September 17, the Constitution was presented and read aloud; several delegates expressed concerns yet restrained their reservations in order to achieve a sense of unity. Finally, the document was signed by all delegates present, with the exception of Randolph, Gerry, and Mason. The business being thus closed, the Members adjourned to the City Tavern, dined together, and shared cordial goodbyes; a serene ending to the impassioned months spent putting to paper the collective ideals of the world's newest nation.

## SIGNERS OF THE CONSTITUTION

### CONNECTICUT

William Samuel Johnson  
 Roger Sherman

### DELAWARE

George Read  
 Gunning Bedford Jr.  
 John Dickinson  
 Richard Bassett  
 Jacob Broom

### GEORGIA

William Few  
 Abraham Baldwin

### MARYLAND

James McHenry  
 Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer  
 Daniel Carroll

### MASSACHUSETTS

Nathaniel Gorham  
 Rufus King

### NEW HAMPSHIRE

John Langdon  
 Nicholas Gilman

### NEW JERSEY

William Livingston  
 David Brearley  
 William Paterson  
 Jonathan Dayton

### NEW YORK

Alexander Hamilton

### NORTH CAROLINA

William Blount  
 Richard Dobbs Spaight  
 Hugh Williamson

### PENNSYLVANIA

Benjamin Franklin  
 Thomas Mifflin  
 Robert Morris  
 George Clymer  
 Thomas Fitzsimons  
 Jared Ingersoll  
 James Wilson  
 Gouverneur Morris

### SOUTH CAROLINA

John Rutledge  
 Charles Cotesworth Pinckney  
 Charles Pinckney  
 Pierce Butler

### VIRGINIA

John Blair  
 James Madison  
 George Washington

"I have often and often, in the course of the session, and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that behind the President, without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; but now at length I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting sun."

~Benjamin Franklin commenting on the sun symbol on the back of Washington's chair

## OVERVIEW

**Number of Players: 3 - 5 • Recommended Ages: 13+ • Approximate Play Time: 1 - 2 hours**

Your goal in Founding Fathers is to emerge from the Philadelphia Convention acknowledged by all as the true Father of the Constitution due to your outstanding contributions to the final document. These contributions are measured by points on the scoring track, so you will want to ensure that you have more of these than anyone else by game's end. You can earn points in a variety of ways, such as by casting state delegations' votes according to your plans in the Assembly Room, or by filling the Committee Room with your own loyal supporters. Points can also be earned by establishing yourself as the most vocal proponent of one of the Convention's powerful political factions, or simply by being the beneficiary of a favorable historical event.

Each turn, you will play one or more cards from your hand. Sometimes, you will play a group of delegates from a particular state in order to persuade their delegation to vote the way you want them to in the Assembly Room. If you can muster enough support for or against a proposal, you can earn significant points in recognition of this influence. Even if the voting goes against you, however, there's no cause for despair -- your embittered supporters might still be able to work out a back room deal in the Committee Room, earning you recognition in a more roundabout manner!

Other times, you might instead play a collection of delegates who share the same political viewpoint and take to the debate floor in support of their cause. The more that the final Constitution ends up favoring that faction, the more points you stand to earn by being that faction's most eloquent spokesman.

On other occasions, you might choose to play a single card featuring an auspicious event. These events can have wide-ranging effects, earning you points immediately or improving your situation in a way which you hope will earn you points later.

As you can see, there are many avenues available for gaining recognition at the Convention and earning the points you need to win the game. The trick is to exploit these more effectively than your rivals, and to frustrate their efforts to do the same!

# COMPONENTS

## 1 GAME BOARD



## 5 PLAYER REFERENCE BOARDS



THIS CHART SHOWS THE 12 DELEGATIONS AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF FACTION LOYALTIES FOUND AMONGST THEIR DELEGATES. THE BACK SIDE OF EACH BOARD HAS A RULES SUMMARY FOR QUICK REFERENCE.

## 12 ARTICLES



## 55 DELEGATE CARDS



5 OF THE 55 DELEGATE CARDS REPRESENT THE DELEGATES KNOWN AS "PLANNERS". THEY ARE DISTINGUISHABLE BY THEIR ORNATE SILVER FRAMES AND QUILL SYMBOL, PLUS THEY HAVE THEIR PLANNER'S PORTRAIT ON THE BACK SIDE.

## 12 VOTING CHITS



YEA SIDE



NAY SIDE

## 5 SCORING MARKERS



## 16 DEBATE TOKENS



## 40 INFLUENCE MARKERS

(PLEASE APPLY THE PROVIDED LABELS TO THE WOODEN BLOCKS AS SHOWN BELOW BEFORE YOUR FIRST PLAY.)



# SETUP

- A** Shuffle the appropriate set of **player reference boards** based on the number of players and deal one at random to each player to determine which of the *Planners* they will be playing:



with 3 players use Madison,  
Paterson, and Sherman



with 4 players  
add Pinckney



with 5 players  
add Hamilton

- B** Give each player the **delegate card** and **3 influence markers** for their Planner. Place the remaining influence markers in a stockpile near the board. Put each player's **scoring marker** near the **score track**. *The influence markers, scoring markers, and reference boards for Planners not being represented by any player are returned to the box, as they will not be needed.*
- C** Shuffle the remaining **delegate cards**, including those for any **Planners** which are not being represented by a player in the current game. The player to the dealer's **right** should then **cut the deck** by picking up approximately half the deck from the top, placing it to one side, and then placing the remaining half of the deck on top of that. The deck is then placed near the **draw pool**.

## SHUFFLING THE DECK

*Whenever the delegate deck is depleted, the discard pile should be reshuffled to form a new deck. Any time the deck is shuffled, the player to the dealer's right should cut the deck.*

- D** Deal **4 delegate cards** face-down to each player, starting to the dealer's **left** and proceeding **clockwise**. Of these, each player should **keep 2 cards, discarding the others** into a shared face-up discard pile near the draw pool. The 2 cards each player keeps, plus his Planner card, make up that player's 3-card starting hand. Throughout the game, each player's hand is called their *caucus*.

## CAUCUS SEMI-SECRECACY

*Players may keep the front sides of the delegate cards in their caucus hidden from other players, but the back of each card displays the state and faction icons of that delegate; this information should remain visible to the other players.*

- E** Draw **3 cards** from the deck and place them face-down in the **draw pool** where they will be available for selection when players need to refill their hands.
- F** Place the **vote chits** on the board near the **voting tracker**.
- G** Shuffle the **articles**, again allowing the player to the dealer's right to cut. Stack the articles in their reserved spot on the board. Draw **4 articles** and place them to one side with their **historical side up**. (*The historical side is the side that does NOT have a red ring around the faction icon.*) These articles are considered *resolved*. Resolved articles should be spread such that the faction icon on each is visible to all players.

## THE VIRGINIA PLAN

*The delegates to the Constitutional Convention did not begin their deliberations with a blank slate. Rather, the Virginia delegation presented a plan for the organization of government drafted largely by James Madison. The four articles resolved at the start of the game simulate the role of the Virginia Plan on the future of the Constitution.*



ORIGINAL PAGES OF THE  
VIRGINIA PLAN  
(HELD AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES  
AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION,  
RECORDS OF THE CONTINENTAL  
AND CONFEDERATION CONGRESSES  
AND THE CONSTITUTIONAL  
CONVENTION)

- H** Draw 2 articles, placing the first in the **Assembly Room** and the second in the **Committee Room**. Place these articles with their **historical side up**.
- I** Separate the **debate tokens** by faction icon and stack them on their matching spots near the **Debate Floor**.



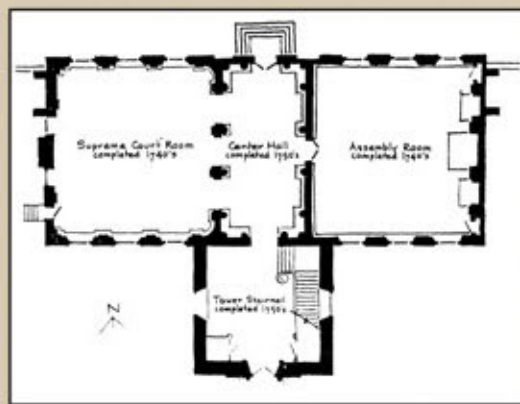
**THE GAME BOARD**

The *Founding Fathers* game board is modeled after a large cutaway section of Philadelphia's Independence Hall, the building wherein the Declaration of Independence was approved in 1776, and where the Founding Fathers met in 1787 to draft and complete the Constitution of the United States; the latter is the historic setting of our game. We have taken some liberties with the layout and functions of the various areas of the Hall for the benefit of gameplay.

The large Assembly Room has had its tables rearranged and recolored, but keeps its basic layout and décor with two hearths and the dais still bearing Washington's famous Rising Sun chair and silver inkwell.

The long Center Hall has been split into our Committee Room (The real Committee Room is located on the second story of the building) and the Debate Floor. In truth the delegates engaged in lively debate throughout the Hall and offsite as well, often in the nearby Indian Queen Tavern.

At the bottom left, our scoring track is a re-imagined spiral staircase leading up to the legendary Liberty Bell, which did indeed hang in the Hall's second story at the time of the Convention—although it had not yet acquired its famous name. Outside near the draw pool, venerable Ben Franklin's sedan sits on the lawn, indicative of delegates arriving at the Hall to engage in their important work.



SKETCH OF THE HALL'S LAYOUT (FROM ITS WORLD HERITAGE SITE NOMINATION DOCUMENT)



PHOTO OF THE ASSEMBLY ROOM

# SEQUENCE OF PLAY

In the first round of the game, the **Madison** player begins play by taking the first turn. Play proceeds clockwise in turn until voting causes the Assembly Room to score, ending the round. Subsequent rounds begin with the next player in turn after the one who caused the previous round to end. On his turn, a player performs **one** of the following actions:

- **DECLARE A VOTE**
- **SPEAK IN DEBATE**
- **ENACT AN EVENT**
- **SNUB DELEGATES**

After taking his action the player **replenishes his caucus to 3 cards** by taking cards of his choice from the draw pool. Once he has done so, new cards are drawn from the deck and placed face-down to bring the draw pool back up to **3 cards**.

## USING INFLUENCE MARKERS

Each player begins the game with **3 influence markers** available to him; additional influence markers may be gained during the game by enacting the event featured on any **Planner** card. These markers are used in several ways:

- When **declaring a vote**, to identify a delegation's controlling player.
- When **speaking in debate**, to advance a player along a faction's debate track.
- At the end of each round, when influence markers are sent to the **Committee Room**.

If a player wishes to perform an action which requires placing an influence marker, but has no markers available, he may freely remove one which is currently in use, reclaiming it and using it for the new action. If a player removes his influence marker from a state delegation he controls, that delegation's cards remain in place and its vote will count normally at the end of the round; it no longer has a controlling player, however, and no one will score points for it.

Whenever a player's influence markers are removed from play for any reason, they are reclaimed immediately by their owner.



## DECLARE A VOTE

A player may **declare a vote** by selecting **one or more delegates of the same state delegation** from his caucus and voting them collectively either **for** or **against** the article currently under consideration in the **Assembly Room**, placing these cards on the appropriate side of the Assembly Room to indicate the way they have voted (votes **for** the article going on the **Yea** side and votes **against** on the **Nay** side) and marking them with one of his **influence markers** to identify himself as that delegation's **controlling player**. If multiple cards are played together, they should be spread such that the number of cards played and the faction icon of each is visible, but **only one influence marker** is placed on them regardless of the number of cards played.

To aid all players in quick assessment of the overall voting, place a **vote chit** from the supply on the corresponding box of the **voting tracker**, marking that state's vote with a **checkmark** if the delegation voted **for**, or an **x** if the delegation voted **against**. Remember to update the voting tracker if any course of events causes a delegation's vote to switch sides or be canceled.

**Example:** It is Madison's turn and he wants to declare a vote. He has his planner card (which he wants to save for later use) and two delegates from Pennsylvania in his hand: Ingersoll (an Antifederalist) and Mifflin (a Large States supporter). The article in the Assembly Room has an Antifederalist bias, so Madison decides to support the article by declaring Pennsylvania's vote **for** it. (**more on that reasoning in the Faction Bias Restrictions section, below.**) He places his two delegates together on a table on the **Yea** side of the Assembly Room, and marks it with one of his own influence markers. Finally he puts a vote chit from the supply in the Pennsylvania box of the voting tracker, with the **checkmark** side up.





All delegates played when declaring a vote **must be eligible to declare their vote on the intended side of the article**. There are two restrictions on how delegates may declare their vote; **Faction Bias** and **Overriding**:

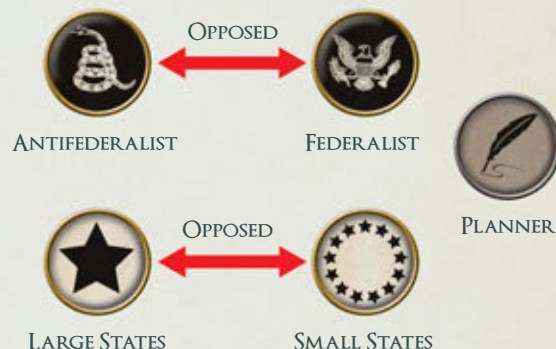
### 1. FACTION BIAS RESTRICTIONS

Every article features a **faction icon** reflecting that article's *bias*—the faction which will benefit most should that article be adopted in its current form. Delegates are bound by their own faction loyalties (as indicated by the **faction icons** featured on their cards) and may not vote **against** an article of their own **faction** or **for** one of the opposing **faction**.

#### FACTIONS

The *Federalist* and *Antifederalist* factions are **opposed**, so a *Federalist* delegate may not vote **for** an *Antifederalist* article (or, conversely, **against** a *Federalist* one). The reverse is true of an *Antifederalist* delegate. The same applies equally to the *Large States* and *Small States* factions, which are opposed as well. On the other hand, a *Federalist* or *Antifederalist* is free to vote on **either side** of a *Large States* or *Small States* article, or vice versa.

Note that the *Planner* cards do not feature a faction icon (they feature the *Planner* icon in its place). *Planners* are therefore free to vote for or against **any** article regardless of its *bias*.



*Example: It is the same scenario as in the above example; the Madison player wants to declare Pennsylvania's vote. The article in the Assembly Room has an **Antifederalist** bias. Mifflin (Large States supporter) is free to vote on either side of this article. Ingersoll (an Antifederalist), however, is **not** permitted to vote against an article featuring his faction's bias.*

*If he votes **Nay**, Madison could only play Mifflin to the table and would have to retain Ingersoll in his caucus. If he votes **Yea**, Madison could play either or both delegates to the table.*

*There are many reasons why the Madison player might choose one option over the other; in this case (as seen in the above example) he decides to vote **Yea** and play both delegates to the table.*



### 2. OVERRIDING RESTRICTIONS

Once a particular **state delegation** has declared its vote on an article, that delegation **may not have additional delegate cards added to it by any player**. The only way that state's position can change is if it is **overridden** by a different player (i.e., not the delegation's controlling player). To override a delegation which has already declared its vote, a player must declare the votes of a **larger number of delegate cards** from the **same state** onto the **opposite side** of the article. In this case, the delegates which had previously declared their votes on the original side of the article are discarded (with their controlling player reclaiming his influence marker), and the new cards are placed on the other side of the article and marked with an influence marker from the overriding player.

*Example: Later in the round, it's Paterson's turn and he has managed to gather a caucus featuring three delegates from Pennsylvania that are eligible (by faction bias) to vote **Nay** to this article. He declares the vote, and Paterson's three delegates **override** Madison's two. Madison reclaims his influence marker and discards his delegates. Paterson places his three delegates at a table on the **Nay** side with one of his own influence markers, and flips Pennsylvania's vote chit to reveal the **x**.*



#### ONE STATE, ONE VOTE

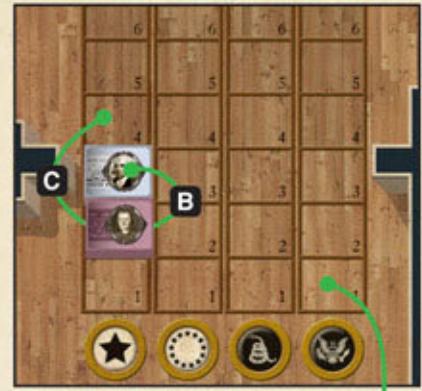
Each state may only have **one voting delegation at a time** (composed of one or more delegates) in the Assembly Room for each article, either for or against it. While this position may be overridden if enough delegates from the same state can be mustered on the opposing side, it may not be "reinforced" by adding additional delegates after it has already declared its vote.

## SPEAK IN DEBATE

A player may **speak in debate** by discarding **one or more delegates of the same faction** from his caucus and either placing one of his **influence markers** on the appropriate space on that faction's **debate track** to reflect the number of delegates discarded (if this is the first time that player has spoken for that faction in the current round) or advancing his existing influence marker farther along that faction's debate track the corresponding number of spaces (if he has already done so).

*Example: It's Sherman's turn and he wants to speak in debate. His caucus is composed of a single Federalist and two Large States supporters. Sherman could do any **one** of the following:*

- A** Discard his single **Federalist** and place an influence marker from his supply on the "1" space of the Federalist debate track.
- B** Discard **one** of his **Large States** supporters (either one) and move his marker that's already on the Large States track up **one** to the "3" space, stacking it on Madison's marker.
- C** Discard **both** of his **Large States** supporters and move his marker that's already on the Large States track up **two** spaces to the "4" space, just ahead of Madison's marker.



## ENACT AN EVENT

A player may **enact an event** by discarding **one** card from his caucus to resolve that card's **event text**. A few conditions apply:

- If the event features the **rising sun** icon, it is a **persistent event** which remains in effect until the **end of the round**. The card should be placed face-up in front of the person who played it so that it is visible to all players.
- Some events allow a player to **declare a delegate's vote** as part of the event. This is handled in exactly the same way as the standard "**declare a vote**" action, meaning **additional delegates of the same state delegation may be voted along with it**, and the normal rules regarding Faction Bias and Overriding are in effect.
- Some events allow a player to **discard one or more delegates which have already declared their vote** as part of the event. If this results in the **last** delegate card of a particular delegation being removed from the Assembly Room, the controlling player's influence marker is returned to him and that state becomes eligible to be voted again; remember to clear that state's vote chit off the voting track in that case.



Events often break the game's rules in a variety of ways. In all cases, the **text of an event supersedes the normal rules of play**.

## SNUB DELEGATES

A player may **snub delegates** by discarding **any number** of cards from his caucus. These cards are discarded without effect and simply allow the player to replace them with new cards from the draw pool when he replenishes his caucus at the end of his turn.

## REPLENISHING THE CAUCUS

After performing one of the above actions (but **before** moving on to Ending the Round, in the case that the action triggered it), a player **replenishes his caucus to 3 cards** by taking delegate cards from the draw pool. Once he has done so, new cards are drawn from the delegate deck and placed face-down to fill the draw pool back up to **3 cards**. Note that after playing certain events a player may be left with 3 or more cards remaining in his caucus, and would therefore **not** draw any new cards that turn.



### RECLAIMING A PLANNER

Whenever a player's **Planner** card is revealed at the top of the delegate deck after the deck is cut or a card is drawn, that player may **immediately** reclaim it and add it back into his caucus, even if it is not currently his turn.



# ENDING THE ROUND

A round ends when the article in the Assembly Room *passes* or *fails* as a result of the various state delegations declaring their votes. **Passing** an article requires that a majority of the states (at least 7 out of the 12 present at the Convention) vote in its favor. If at any time **7 different state delegations (not delegates) have declared their votes on the Yea side** of the article in the Assembly Room, a majority has been achieved and the article **passes**. Conversely, if at any time **6 different state delegations have declared their votes on the Nay side**, a majority has been blocked and the article has **failed**. Either outcome ends the round.

When a round ends, the following steps are taken, in order:

1. RESOLVING THE ASSEMBLY ROOM
2. RESOLVING THE COMMITTEE ROOM
3. RESOLVING THE DEBATES
4. RESUMING PLAY

## 1. RESOLVING THE ASSEMBLY ROOM

If the article in the Assembly Room **passed**, the delegates who voted **for** it are on the *winning side*, while those who voted **against** it are on the *losing side*; if it **failed**, the **opposite** is true.

Any player who controls (has an influence marker on) one or more state delegations on the **winning side** gains points for each delegate card in those delegations: **2 points for each delegate whose faction icon matches the currently-showing faction bias of the article**, and **1 point for each delegate featuring any other icon**. All delegate cards on the winning side may then be discarded, with all influence markers being returned to their players.

Any player who controls one or more state delegations on the **losing side** removes his **influence markers** from those delegations and places them in the **Committee Room**. All delegate cards on the losing side may then be discarded.

If the article in the Assembly Room **failed**, it should now be **flipped over to its reverse side** (reversing its faction bias); if it **passed**, it is left as it is. It is then placed with the other articles which have already been resolved.

*Example:* A player has just cast the **sixth** delegation's vote on the **Nay side**, which blocks the majority and triggers the end of the round by causing the article to **fail**. Therefore the **Nay side** is the **winning side**, and the **Yea side** is the **losing side**.

First we look at the **winning side**. Any delegate whose faction icon matches the article's currently-showing faction bias will score **2 points** for its controller. Of course, since this is the **Nay side** of the room, no delegates can possibly feature that icon. (The 2-point bonus can thus only normally be earned by delegates that voted **Yea** when the article has **passed**.)

Delegates featuring other icons will each earn **1 point** for their controllers. In this case, Sherman earns **1 point** for his delegate from New Hampshire, and Paterson earns a total of **4 points** for his two from Pennsylvania and his two from North Carolina. (Notice that there are other delegations on the winning side as well, but since they don't have influence markers on them, nobody scores points from them.) Sherman and Paterson both adjust their scores accordingly by moving their **scoring tokens** on the **score track**, then reclaim their influence markers from that side of the room. All delegate cards on the **Nay side** are discarded.

Next we look at the **losing side**. All of the influence markers there (two from Madison, one from Sherman) are moved to the **Committee Room**, and all of the delegates there are discarded.

Finally, we look at the article. Since it **failed**, we **flip it over** to reveal the other side (so that it now shows the **Large States icon**), and place it with the other resolved articles near the board.

AFTER SCORING, ALL DELEGATES ON THE WINNING SIDE ARE DISCARDED AND ALL INFLUENCE MARKERS THERE ARE RECLAIMED



AFTER MOVING INFLUENCE MARKERS TO THE COMMITTEE ROOM, ALL DELEGATES ON THE LOSING SIDE ARE DISCARDED

## 2. RESOLVING THE COMMITTEE ROOM

Whichever player has the **highest number of influence markers in the Committee Room** scores points equal to **that number** and then **reclaims all of his markers**. No one else scores points for their influence markers in the Committee Room, and these markers **remain in place**. If multiple players are **tied** for having the most influence markers in the Committee Room, **no one** scores points for them and all these markers **remain in place**.

If anyone scored points for the Committee Room, **that player** has the option of **flipping the article in the Committee Room over to its reverse side** (reversing its faction bias) or **leaving it as it is**; if no one scored points, it is left as it is. It is then placed with the other articles which have already been resolved.

*Example: Madison has the highest number of influence markers in the Committee Room, so he scores 2 points (one per marker), adjusts his scoring marker on the score track, and reclaims his two influence markers. Sherman's single marker stays where it is. Madison has won the option to flip the article if he wants, and after weighing his options he decides it will be a good idea to do so. He flips it from the currently-showing Antifederalist side so that it shows the Federalist icon, and places it with the other resolved articles.*



## 3. RESOLVING THE DEBATES

Whichever player has **advanced his influence marker the farthest along each faction's debate track** receives a **debate token** for that faction from the stacks near the Debate Floor. If multiple players are **tied** for having advanced the farthest along a particular debate track (or if no one spoke for that faction), **no one** receives a debate token for that faction this round. After resolving the debates, **all influence markers on the Debate Floor are returned to their owners**.

*Example: Let's look at the debate tracks one by one from left to right. For the Large States track, Sherman and Madison are tied for highest, so **no one** gets that token. For the Small States track, Paterson is way out in the lead so he gets the Small States debate token. Nobody debated in favor of the Antifederalists this round, so **nobody** gets that token. And finally, Madison just edged out Sherman on the Federalist track, so **Madison** gets the Federalist token. Everyone then gets their influence markers back.*



## 4. RESUMING PLAY

The following actions should be performed before resuming play:

- Discard any persistent events that are currently in effect.
- Draw 2 articles from the top of the article stack, placing the **first** in the **Assembly Room** and the **second** in the **Committee Room**. Place both with their **historical side** up.
- Clear all vote chits off the voting tracker, placing them back into the supply.

Play resumes with the **next player in turn** after the one who caused the previous round to end.



# ENDING THE GAME

The game ends after **four rounds**, at which point **all 12 articles will have been resolved**, including the 4 initial articles resolved at the start of the game.

At the end of the game, players score **bonus points** for having the most **debate tokens** for each faction. If multiple players are **tied** for having the most debate tokens for a particular faction, all tied players get the **full bonus** for that faction.

The bonus for each faction depends on how many of the **resolved articles** display that faction. The faction that appears the most on the resolved articles is the 1st-place faction, the faction that appears next-most is the 2nd-place faction, and so on.

If multiple factions are **tied** for the number of articles displaying that faction, all tied factions are worth their **full bonus**. For example, if two factions were tied for 1st place, both would be worth 5 points to whichever player(s) had the most debate tokens of either faction. The next-highest faction would receive the normal 3 point bonus for 3rd place.

*Example:* At the end of the game, there are five articles showing the Federalist icon, which makes the 1st-place faction Federalist. Both Small States and Large States are showing on three articles, so they both count as the 2nd-place faction. Trailing with only one article, the Antifederalist faction is the 4th-place faction.

So, when we look at the debate tokens owned by each player, we get:

**1st-place faction (Federalist):** Madison owns the most Federalist tokens, so he earns 5 points.

**(Tied) 2nd-place faction (Small States):** Paterson and Sherman are tied for most Small States tokens, so they each earn 4 points.

**(Tied) 2nd-place faction (Large States):** Paterson owns the most Large states tokens, so he earns 4 points.

**4th-place faction (Antifederalist):** Madison and Paterson are tied for most Antifederalist tokens, so they each earn 2 points.



<b>1st-place faction: 5 points</b>
<b>2nd-place faction: 4 points</b>
<b>3rd-place faction: 3 points</b>
<b>4th-place faction: 2 points</b>



After calculating the bonus points, each player updates their position on the score track accordingly.

## THE SCORE TRACK

During the game players will be moving their scoring markers up the track every time they earn points. Points can be earned when the **Assembly Room** is resolved, when the **Committee Room** is resolved, when certain **Events** are enacted, and at the game's end when **debate tokens** are counted. It is possible that players' scores will pass 30, which is the score track's highest number. In this case, simply start those markers again at the beginning of the track and remember to add 30 when tabulating their final scores.



# WINNING THE GAME

Whichever player has accumulated the most points over the course of the game is the winner! In the event of a tie, all tied players should revel in their successful creation of a more perfect union.

*"Well Doctor, what have we got, a republic or a monarchy?"*

*"A republic, madam. If you can keep it."*


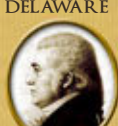
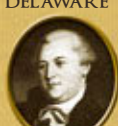
*~Benjamin Franklin, in response to the Mayor of Philadelphia's wife upon emerging from the Convention*

# FLAGS OF THE DELEGATIONS

In reality, each state delegation did not have a specific flag to represent itself. There are a number of historical flags associated with each of the states for the broad era leading up to the Convention, so we have selected interesting and distinct flags to help identify the delegations in our game. In some cases we made some shape or color alterations to the originals in order to serve game purposes more effectively, but they are presented here unaltered.

<p><b>CONNECTICUT</b></p>  <p><b>Colors of the 2nd Connecticut Regiment.</b> Given to the Regiment in 1776 upon its entry to the Continental Army. The remaining original specimen is believed to be one of no more than 30 flags that have survived since the Revolutionary War.</p>	<p><b>DELAWARE</b></p>  <p><b>The Delaware Militia Flag.</b> Flown by Samuel Patterson's unit in 1777 during the Battle of Cooch's Bridge, notable for being the only battle during the Revolutionary War that was fought on Delaware soil.</p>	<p><b>GEORGIA</b></p>  <p><b>The First U.S. National Flag.</b> This arrangement is usually called the Betsy Ross Flag and was prescribed (among other variants) for national usage by the passing of the Flag Resolution in 1777.</p>	<p><b>MARYLAND</b></p>  <p><b>Calvert Arms/King's Colors.</b> The Maryland Militia fought under this flag in the Revolutionary War, and it is possibly the earliest flag used exclusively by American soldiers.</p>
<p><b>MASSACHUSETTS</b></p>  <p><b>Washington's Cruisers Flag.</b> A naval flag designed for easy recognition, flown from several floating artillery batteries and other military vessels patrolling Massachusetts Bay and the Charles River in the mid-1770s.</p>	<p><b>NEW HAMPSHIRE</b></p>  <p><b>Green Mountain Boys Flag.</b> Used in the 1770s by the Green Mountain Boys of the New Hampshire Militia, a guerilla unit remembered for its important capture of Fort Ticonderoga. This flag design is still used today by the Vermont National Guard.</p>	<p><b>NEW JERSEY</b></p>  <p><b>Fort Mercer Flag.</b> Flown in 1777 at Fort Mercer, New Jersey. The fort was one of several built along the Delaware River to block the approach to Philadelphia. This flag is thought by some to be the earliest flag displayed using the stars-and-stripes motif, despite the reversal of the normal red and blue colors.</p>	<p><b>NEW YORK</b></p>  <p><b>Colors of the Third New York Regiment.</b> Presented to the Regiment in 1779 to recognize their service at the siege of Fort Schuyler in 1777. This flag is the only regimental flag of New York of which a physical specimen survives to this day.</p>
<p><b>NORTH CAROLINA</b></p>  <p><b>Guilford Courthouse Flag.</b> This flag was reportedly flown during the Battle of Guilford Courthouse in 1781. It is considered to be the oldest surviving example of an American flag featuring eight-pointed stars.</p>	<p><b>PENNSYLVANIA</b></p>  <p><b>Philadelphia Light Horse Flag.</b> Given in 1775 to the First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry, which often served as George Washington's personal bodyguard during the Revolution.</p>	<p><b>SOUTH CAROLINA</b></p>  <p><b>Moultrie Flag.</b> Flown by Colonel Moultrie's troops in the 1770s, claimed to be the first distinctive American flag displayed in the South. Colonel Moultrie had the flag made for his troops, as they displayed silver crescents on their caps with the motto "Liberty or Death."</p>	<p><b>VIRGINIA</b></p>  <p><b>The Culpeper Flag.</b> Used during the Revolution by soldiers from Culpeper County, Virginia. It features Patrick Henry's famous "Liberty or Death" motto, and it uses the rattlesnake as a symbol of colonial America; this custom began with a 1754 political cartoon by Ben Franklin.</p>

# THE DELEGATES

<p><b>ABRAHAM BALDWIN</b> GEORGIA</p>  <p>AGE AT CONVENTION: 32 REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: YES OCCUPATION: LAWYER, MINISTER, EDUCATOR EDUCATION: YALE</p>	<p>The former chaplain of the Continental Army, Baldwin sat on the Committee of Postponed Matters and was involved in the Connecticut Compromise. Initially, he supported representation in the Senate on the basis of property, but was won over to the small state position by his friends in the Connecticut delegation. William Pierce opined: "Mr. Baldwin is a Gentleman of superior abilities and joins in a public debate with great art and eloquence."</p>
<p><b>RICHARD BASSETT</b> DELAWARE</p>  <p>AGE AT CONVENTION: 42 REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: YES OCCUPATION: LAWYER, INVESTOR EDUCATION: READ FOR LAW IN PHILADELPHIA</p>	<p>Bassett attended the Convention, but left the bulk of the work to others. While he was present for almost the entire Convention, there is no record of him giving any speeches. He served on no committees, and was never a deciding vote. While he attended the earlier Annapolis Convention, that experience does not seem to have given him any particularly strong opinions about the direction of the new government. William Pierce wrote: "he is a religious enthusiast, lately turned Methodist, and serves his Country because it is the will of the people."</p>
<p><b>GUNNING BEDFORD JR.</b> DELAWARE</p>  <p>AGE AT CONVENTION: 40 REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: YES OCCUPATION: LAWYER EDUCATION: PRINCETON</p>	<p>While other small-state delegates supported a strong central government as a check upon their more populous and powerful neighbors, Bedford worried that the small states might be swallowed whole. He famously threatened the Convention with the spectre of foreign alliances, stating: "the small ones would find some foreign ally of more honor and good faith, who will take them by the hand and do them justice." Bedford ultimately moderated his stance and participated in the committee that drafted the Great Compromise. William Pierce characterized Bedford as: "warm and impetuous in his temper, and precipitate in his judgment... and very corpulent."</p>

**JOHN BLAIR**  
VIRGINIA



AGE AT CONVENTION: 55  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: NO  
OCCUPATION: LAWYER  
EDUCATION: COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY, MIDDLE TEMPLE (LONDON)

*Already a judge of considerable note by the time of the Convention, Blair was a quiet member of the Virginia delegation. At the Constitutional Convention, Blair never served on a committee, and most famously split the Virginia delegation over the method for electing the president. When he realized this had brought progress to a halt, he supported his friends Washington and Madison and brought the question to a resolution. Thereafter, he faithfully supported the positions of Washington and Madison. After the acceptance of the Constitution, Blair was appointed as an Associate Justice of the US Supreme Court, resigning for health reasons six years later. In addition to his national service, Blair was a Grand Master of Freemasons. William Pierce remarked: "he is one of the Judges of the Supreme Court in Virginia, and acknowledged to have a very extensive knowledge of the Laws."*

**WILLIAM BLOUNT**  
NORTH CAROLINA



AGE AT CONVENTION: 38  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: YES  
OCCUPATION: PLANTER, MERCHANT, EDUCATOR  
EDUCATION: UNKNOWN

*Blount was an inactive member of the Convention, splitting his time with the Continental Congress. Though he had reservations, he reluctantly signed the Constitution because he felt that the document represented the will of the people. Later, he strongly supported the document during the North Carolina ratification convention. William Pierce wrote of him: "Mr. Blount is a character strongly marked for integrity and honor. [H]e is plain, honest, and sincere."*

**DAVID BREARLEY**  
NEW JERSEY



AGE AT CONVENTION: 42  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: YES  
OCCUPATION: LAWYER  
EDUCATION: PRINCETON

*Brearley chaired the Committee on Leftovers, but otherwise followed William Paterson's lead at the Convention. Like Paterson, he argued against proportional representation, preferring a system of one state, one vote. His most substantive contribution was developing the Electoral College. William Pierce said of him: "[A]s an Orator he has little to boast of, but as a Man he has every virtue to recommend him."*

**JACOB BROOM**  
DELAWARE



AGE AT CONVENTION: 35  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: YES  
OCCUPATION: BUSINESSMAN, MERCHANT  
EDUCATION: NO FORMAL COLLEGE

*Broom was a fervent believer in a robust central government. He spoke several times and advocated for nine-year terms for senators and a life term for the president. He also advocated for congressional pay to be absorbed by the state legislatures. In turn, he supported a congressional veto over the acts of state legislatures. William Pierce went further in his impressions of Broom to call him: "silent in public, but cheerful and conversible in private."*

**PIERCE BUTLER**  
SOUTH CAROLINA



AGE AT CONVENTION: 43  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: YES  
OCCUPATION: PLANTER  
EDUCATION: UNKNOWN

*Butler was typical of southern participation at the Convention. He was a staunch nationalist, but insisted on protections for slavery to secure his delegation's participation in the new federal system. He was the author of the fugitive slave clause and also sat as a member of the Committee on Postponed Matters. William Pierce stated: "Mr. Butler is a character much respected for the many excellent virtues which he possesses, but as a politician or an Orator, he has no pretensions to either."*

**DANIEL CARROLL**  
MARYLAND



AGE AT CONVENTION: 57  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: YES  
OCCUPATION: MERCHANT, PLANTER  
EDUCATION: COLLEGE OF ST.OMER (NETHERLANDS)

*Carroll arrived late in Philadelphia due to illness, but played a decisive role in encouraging Maryland's delegation to support the Constitution. Carroll joined Wilson in advocating the election of a president by "the people" rather than by Congress. William Pierce described Carroll as: "A Man of large fortune, and influence in his State. He possesses plain good sense, and is full confidence of his Countrymen."*

**GEORGE CLYMER**  
PENNSYLVANIA



AGE AT CONVENTION: 48  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: NO  
OCCUPATION: MERCHANT, BANKER, EDUCATOR  
EDUCATION: NO FORMAL COLLEGE

*Clymer was one of the five delegates who also signed the Declaration of Independence. As a delegate, Clymer served on the Committee of Assumption of State Debt and on the Committee of Slave Trade. He was a noted ally of the federalist position throughout the convention. William Pierce said of him: "He is a respectable Man, and much esteemed."*

**WILLIAM RICHARDSON DAVIE**  
NORTH CAROLINA



AGE AT CONVENTION: 30  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: YES  
OCCUPATION: LAWYER, PLANTER, EDUCATOR  
EDUCATION: PRINCETON

*Davie supported a stronger central government, and served on the First Committee on Representation. His advocacy moved North Carolina in favor of the Great Compromise though he insisted slaves should count for purposes of representation. Davie also favored a scheme of electing the president and senators via state legislatures. A colleague described Davie as: "a tall, elegant man in his person, graceful and commanding in his manners."*

**JONATHAN DAYTON**  
NEW JERSEY



AGE AT CONVENTION: 26  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: YES  
OCCUPATION: LAWYER, BUSINESSMAN  
EDUCATION: PRINCETON

*Dayton was the youngest attendee and remained quiet during the proceedings, except for his support of the New Jersey Plan. Afterwards, Dayton pushed for expanding American frontiers westward (Dayton, Ohio is named for him). William Pierce explained: "there is an impetuosity in his temper that is injurious to him; but there is an honest rectitude about him that makes him a valuable Member of Society."*

**JOHN DICKINSON**  
DELAWARE



AGE AT CONVENTION: 54  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: YES  
OCCUPATION: INVESTOR, LAWYER  
EDUCATION: MIDDLE TEMPLE (LONDON)

*Once the wealthiest man in British North America, Dickinson famously refused to sign the Declaration of Independence. At the Convention, Dickinson turned his support towards a strong central government once the Great Compromise was reached though he thought Madison pushed too hard for democratic representation. While Dickinson is a signatory to the Constitution, the signature is not his own. He returned home, and had his friend and fellow delegate, George Read, sign for him. William Pierce remembers him: "Mr. Dickinson has been famed through all America, for his Farmer Letters; he is a Scholar, and said to be a Man of very extensive information. ... I had often heard that he was a great Orator; but I found him an indifferent Speaker."*

**OLIVER ELLSWORTH**  
CONNECTICUT



AGE AT CONVENTION: 42  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: NO  
OCCUPATION: LAWYER  
EDUCATION: PRINCETON

*Ellsworth introduced the resolution which became the "Great Compromise." He also changed the word "national" to "United States" in a resolution; thereafter, "United States" was the title used in the Convention to designate the government. Ellsworth served on the Committee of Five that prepared the first draft of the Constitution. Though he left the Convention near the end of August and did not sign the final document, he urged its adoption upon his return to Connecticut and wrote the Letters of a Landholder to promote its ratification. William Pierce described Ellsworth as "a Gentleman of a clear, deep, and copious understanding; eloquent and connected in public debate; and always attentive to his duty."*

**WILLIAM FEW**  
GEORGIA



AGE AT CONVENTION: 39  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: YES  
OCCUPATION: REAL ESTATE  
SPECULATOR, FARMER, LAWYER  
EDUCATION: NO FORMAL COLLEGE

*Few played a minor role at the Convention. He was absent during July to attend the Continental Congress. Nevertheless, he cast several critical votes for the federalist cause, and shepherded the proposed Constitution through the Continental Congress. William Pierce believed "Mr. Few possesses a strong natural Genius, and from application has acquired some knowledge of legal matters."*

**THOMAS FITZSIMONS**  
PENNSYLVANIA



AGE AT CONVENTION: 46  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: YES  
OCCUPATION: MANUFACTURING,  
SHIPPING, EDUCATOR  
EDUCATION: UNKNOWN

*One of several delegates born abroad, Fitzsimons was a dedicated patriot who commanded militia and dedicated considerable personal resources to the cause. His role at the Convention was low-key, but he served on the Committee on Trade. He is remembered as an ardent federalist. William Pierce remarked: "Mr. Fitzsimons is a Merchant of considerable talents and speaks very well I am told, in the Legislature of Pennsylvania."*

**BENJAMIN FRANKLIN**  
PENNSYLVANIA



AGE AT CONVENTION: 81  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: NO  
OCCUPATION: INVENTOR, AUTHOR,  
PUBLISHER  
EDUCATION: NO FORMAL COLLEGE

*Within the States, Franklin's prestige was paralleled only by George Washington's. As the Convention's oldest delegate, Franklin played a lesser role than he did at the Continental Congress which resulted in the Declaration of Independence. His main contribution was serving as "the grand mediator", soothing passions, counseling consensus, and generally lending his public esteem to advance the Convention's work. Often, he was unable to deliver his own speeches, and relied on other members of Pennsylvania's delegation to deliver them instead. Franklin died in the first year of the new government. His final public act was to memorialize to Congress advocating for the abolition of slavery, a cause he championed from the 1730s onwards. William Pierce said of the great man: "[T]he very heavens obey him, and the Clouds yield up their Lighting to be imprisoned in his rod. He is, however, a most extraordinary Man, and tells a story in a style more engaging than anything I ever heard."*

**ELBRIDGE GERRY**  
MASSACHUSETTS



AGE AT CONVENTION: 43  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: NO  
OCCUPATION: MERCHANT, SHIPPER,  
MANUFACTURER  
EDUCATION: HARVARD

*Gerry represents the classic case of an effective revolutionary who cannot adjust to the compromise and tamer objectives of governing. Gerry chaired the First Committee on Representation, but when it produced the Connecticut Compromise he did not support it. Gerry once favored a stronger central government, but by the close of the Convention he refused to sign and argued against the Constitution. Labeling the Constitution "Full of Vices," he objected to the absence of a Bill of Rights and against the threats that it posed to traditional republicanism. William Pierce remembered him as: "[a] character marked for integrity and perseverance ... Mr. Gerry is very much of a Gentlemen in his principles and manners."*

**NICHOLAS GILMAN**  
NEW HAMPSHIRE



AGE AT CONVENTION: 32  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: YES  
OCCUPATION: MERCHANT  
EDUCATION: NO FORMAL COLLEGE

*Gilman was John Langdon's junior partner, having accepted Langdon's generosity in paying for their travels. Gilman was not given to oratory, and made no speeches during his abbreviated participation in the Convention, although he did participate in the Committee of Leftovers. As a member of the Continental Congress, he helped secure its endorsement of the Constitution. William Pierce recorded: "Mr. Gilman is modest, gentle and sensible. There is nothing brilliant or striking in his character, but there is something respectable and worthy in the Man."*

**NATHANIEL GORHAM**  
MASSACHUSETTS



AGE AT CONVENTION: 49  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: NO  
OCCUPATION: MERCHANT  
EDUCATION: NO FORMAL COLLEGE

*Gorham had a distinguished pedigree as a prosperous Boston merchant, and served as president under the Articles of Confederation. He was a supporter of a strong central government and participated frequently in the debates. At the Convention, he chaired the Committee of the Whole. He was also a member of the influential Committee on Detail. William Pierce explained: "Mr. Gorham is ... high in reputation, and much in the esteem of his countrymen, he is eloquent and easy in public debate, but has nothing fashionable or eloquent in his style."*

**ALEXANDER HAMILTON**  
NEW YORK



AGE AT CONVENTION: 30  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: YES  
OCCUPATION: LAWYER  
EDUCATION: COLUMBIA

*Hamilton arrived at the Convention brash, but full of ability. His plan was given short shrift by the delegates, but his vision of centralized power made the Connecticut Compromise appear a moderate course. He intensely disliked his fellow New York delegates. Hamilton's decision to sign the final product, despite his personal reservations that much more should have been done to strengthen the central government, convinced many of his colleagues to do likewise. William Pierce said of him: "[T]here is no skimming over the surface of a subject with him, he must sink to the bottom to see what foundation it rests on."*



## WILLIAM HOUSTON

NEW JERSEY



AGE AT CONVENTION: 41  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: YES  
OCCUPATION: EDUCATOR  
EDUCATION: PRINCETON

*Houston is one of the few delegates for whom no known image exists. He served at the Annapolis Convention before coming to Philadelphia. He attended briefly, leaving due to illness. During his brief tenure, he sat on the committee assigning representation in the lower chamber. While unable to sign the Constitution, he did support it and signed the report to the New Jersey legislature. He died in 1788, eulogized with: "Died, in the very vigor of his manhood, though ripe with honors, a man of ability, eminent, of honor unimpeachable, and of integrity unsullied."*

## WILLIAM HOUSTOUN

GEORGIA



AGE AT CONVENTION: 32  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: NO  
OCCUPATION: LAWYER, PLANTER  
EDUCATION: READ FOR LAW AT INNER TEMPLE (LONDON)

*Houstoun hailed from a loyalist family, though Houstoun himself was an ardent patriot. Houstoun was present at the Constitutional Convention until early August. Opposed to the Connecticut Compromise, he deadlocked Georgia's vote—and thus the entire Convention's efforts—until his departure. William Pierce wrote of Houstoun: "Nature seems to have done more for his corporeal than mental powers. His Person is striking, but his mind very little improved with useful or eloquent knowledge."*

## JARED INGERSOLL

PENNSYLVANIA



AGE AT CONVENTION: 31  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: NO  
OCCUPATION: LAWYER, EDUCATOR  
EDUCATION: YALE MIDDLE COLLEGE

*The son of a prominent loyalist family, Ingersoll was late to the patriot cause. A lawyer of national prominence by the time of the Constitutional Convention, initially he believed that a revision of the Articles of Confederation sufficed. It was only after lengthy debate that he came around to the notion that an entirely new constitution was required. Despite his reputation and legal training, Ingersoll rarely spoke at the Convention. William Pierce noted: "Mr. Ingersoll speaks well, and comprehends his subject fully."*

## DANIEL OF ST. THOMAS JENIFER

MARYLAND



AGE AT CONVENTION: 64  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: NO  
OCCUPATION: PLANTER  
EDUCATION: UNKNOWN

*Jenifer was one of the more senior delegates at the Convention, and performed a role not unlike his friend Benjamin Franklin in encouraging compromise and progress through humor and his own good nature. He was keenly interested in the future of commerce in the United States, an interest undoubtedly spurred by his own large plantation holdings. These concerns allied Jenifer with the federalist camp at the Convention, where he favored a strong central government. There, he supported placing the power of taxation into the hands of a federal legislative body elected by the people, rather than the states. When Luther Martin said he feared being hanged if the people of Maryland approved the Constitution, Jenifer teased that he should stay in Philadelphia so that he would not hang in his home state. William Pierce said of him: "[H]e sits silent ... and seems to be conscious that he is no politician."*

## WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON

CONNECTICUT



AGE AT CONVENTION: 59  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: NO  
OCCUPATION: LAWYER, INVENTOR,  
INVESTOR  
EDUCATION: YALE M.A. HARVARD

*Johnson was a popular member of the Convention. He lobbied his delegation for the adoption of the Connecticut Compromise and chaired the influential Committee on Style. Furthermore, he worked on four other committees. William Pierce said of Johnson, "Dr. Johnson is a character much celebrated for his legal knowledge; he is said to be one of the first classics in America, and certainly possess a very strong and enlightened understanding."*

## RUFUS KING

MASSACHUSETTS



AGE AT CONVENTION: 32  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: NO  
OCCUPATION: MERCHANT, SHIPPER,  
MANUFACTURER, LAWYER  
EDUCATION: HARVARD

*Rufus King was a distinguished member of the Convention and one of its leading orators. Initially skeptical of the need for a new constitution, he eventually closed ranks with Madison and became a leading proponent of the document. King served on more committees than any other delegate, playing a significant role in the Committee on Postponed Matters and the Committee on Style. William Pierce enthused: "Mr. King is a man much distinguished for his eloquence and his parliamentary talents. ... He may with propriety be ranked among the Luminaries of the present Age."*

## JOHN LANGDON

NEW HAMPSHIRE



AGE AT CONVENTION: 46  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: YES  
OCCUPATION: SHIP BUILDER, MERCHANT  
EDUCATION: NO FORMAL COLLEGE

*Langdon had the most difficult row to hoe in order to attend the Convention. Not only did he need to travel from New Hampshire, but his home state refused to pay any of his expenses. As a result, from his own purse he paid for himself and colleague Nicholas Gilman. Langdon sat on the Committee on the Slave Trade, helping to craft the compromise on that matter, as well as the Committee on the Assumption of State Debt and Committee of Trade. William Pierce wrote of him: "Mr. Langdon possesses a liberal mind, and a good plain understanding"*

## JOHN LANSING JR.

NEW YORK



AGE AT CONVENTION: 33  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: YES  
OCCUPATION: LAWYER  
EDUCATION: NO FORMAL COLLEGE

*John Lansing was a skeptic regarding the Convention. He thought that the delegates were operating beyond their charge to amend the Articles of Confederation, and that a new centralized government would restrict individual liberty. Lansing joined Yates in departing early. In a letter, they explained "[the new government could not] afford that security to equal and permanent liberty which we wished to make an invariable object of our pursuit." Lansing was murdered while posting a letter during his tenure as Chief Justice for the state of New York. William Pierce said of him: "his legal knowledge I am told is not extensive, nor his education a good one. He is however a Man of good sense, plain in his manners, and sincere in his friendships."*

## WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

NEW JERSEY



AGE AT CONVENTION: 63  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: YES  
OCCUPATION: LAWYER  
EDUCATION: YALE

*Livingston's duties as New Jersey governor required him to miss several sessions, but he participated in key committee slots and seems to have made most of his contributions in that context. As chairman of the Committee on the Slave Trade, Livingston brokered a compromise on that issue. He also chaired the Committee on the Assumption of State Debts. He favored the New Jersey Plan, but after the Connecticut Compromise was a firm supporter of the Constitution. William Pierce remarked: "Governor Livingston is confessedly a Man of the first rate talent, but he appears to me rather to indulge a sportiveness of wit, than a strength of wit."*

### JAMES MADISON

VIRGINIA



AGE AT CONVENTION: 36  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: NO  
OCCUPATION: PLANTER  
EDUCATION: PRINCETON

*The man destined to be remembered as "Father of the Constitution," Madison was brilliant from start to finish at the Convention. Even among such Virginia luminaries as George Washington and George Mason, Madison's presence stood out. He was the rock upon which a stronger central government was built at the Constitutional Convention—never wavering from that purpose, no matter the setback—though he was not one to shy away from compromise if it furthered his ultimate purpose. His notes of the Convention are the clearest picture we have available today of the work done in Philadelphia. Afterwards, Madison co-wrote the Federalist Papers and drafted the first twelve amendments to the Constitution (including the first ten, now known as the Bill of Rights). Even William Pierce was impressed, stating: "Mr. Madison is a character who has long been in public life; and what is very remarkable every Person seems to acknowledge his greatness. He blends together the profound politician, with the Scholar. ... The affairs of the United States, he perhaps, has the most correct knowledge of, of any Man in the Union."*

### ALEXANDER MARTIN

NORTH CAROLINA



AGE AT CONVENTION: 47  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: YES  
OCCUPATION: LAWYER, PLANTER,  
EDUCATOR  
EDUCATION: PRINCETON

*Martin's participation at the Convention was lackluster. The least-committed federalist of the North Carolina contingent, he left Philadelphia in August, before the Constitution was signed. While he was present, he seconded several minor motions that had no real impact on the final document. William Pierce explained: "[H]e is a Man of sense, and undoubtedly is a good politician, but he is not formed to shine in public debate, being no Speaker."*

### LUTHER MARTIN

MARYLAND



AGE AT CONVENTION: 39  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: YES  
OCCUPATION: PLANTER, LAWYER  
EDUCATION: PRINCETON

*At the Convention, Luther Martin took contrary political positions regularly. He was an ardent opponent of centralized government, but authored the supremacy clause. He objected to the forbearance given by the Constitution to slavery, yet he himself was a slaveholder. Notionally, he should have supported Jeffersonian ideals of limited government, but spent his subsequent political career as a federalist (though he joined other prominent anti-federalists in leaving the Convention in protest). During the Convention, Martin's most infamous moment was for haranguing attendees with a two-day-long diatribe against the Constitution. Ultimately, James Madison said of him: "[He] appears to have reported in angry terms what they observed with jaundiced eyes."*

### GEORGE MASON

VIRGINIA



AGE AT CONVENTION: 46  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: YES  
OCCUPATION: MANUFACTURING,  
SHIPPING, EDUCATOR  
EDUCATION: UNKNOWN

*George Mason has been called the "American embodiment of the Enlightenment." He was a man of keen reason, and ironically, a strong supporter of constitutionalism. He was the author of the Virginia Declaration of Rights, elements of which can be found in Jefferson's Declaration of Independence, and later the Bill of Rights propounded by Madison. However, at the Convention he was concerned about the extent of centralization of power represented by the new Constitution as well as an absence of a Bill of Rights. Though he was a very active participant in debate, and leader of the anti-federalist faction, his participation did not equate with concurrence. In the end, he chose to not sign the Constitution and after the Convention, Mason led the opposition to ratification in Virginia. George Washington never fully forgave his old friend and neighbor for his role in opposing the Constitution. William Pierce declared: "He is able and convincing in debate, steady and firm in his principles, and undoubtedly one of the best politicians in America."*

### JAMES MCCLURG

VIRGINIA



AGE AT CONVENTION: 41  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: YES  
OCCUPATION: DOCTOR, PROFESSOR  
EDUCATION: COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND  
MARY (EDINBURGH M.D.)

*One of the most eminent physicians in Virginia, Dr. McClurg was the president of his state's medical society. He was something of a replacement delegate, attending on behalf of Virginia when colonial heroes Richard Henry Lee and Patrick Henry declined themselves to attend. At the Convention, he was a staunch champion for the federalist cause, going so far as to support Hamilton's notion of life tenure for the President, as well as a federal veto over state laws. He was compelled to leave the Convention in August and—while he supported the final document—he did not sign it. William Pierce sneered: "Mr. McClurg ... attempted once or twice to speak, but with no great success."*

### JAMES MCHENRY

MARYLAND



AGE AT CONVENTION: 33  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: YES  
OCCUPATION: MERCHANT, SURGEON  
EDUCATION: CLASSICAL EDUCATION AT  
DUBLIN, NEWARK ACADEMY

*One of three physicians at the Convention, McHenry missed much of the session tending his brother's illness. At the Convention he favored a stronger central government and sat on the Committee on the Assumption of State Debts. He kept a set of short notes. William Pierce's impression was: "[A]s a politician there is nothing remarkable in him, nor has he any of the graces of the Orator."*

### JOHN F. MERCER

MARYLAND



AGE AT CONVENTION: 28  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: YES  
OCCUPATION: LAWYER, PLANTER  
EDUCATION: COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND  
MARY

*Mercer was the second-youngest delegate attending the Constitutional Convention. Since he was also representing Virginia at the Continental Congress, Mercer was not often in attendance, but when present he opposed a strong central government and spoke out against the direction the Convention was taking. He voted against the Constitution, and refused to sign the document. A colleague at the Continental Congress described him this way: "My colleague Mercer, was one of those afflicted with the morbid rage of debate, of an ardent mind, prompt imagination, and copious flow of words, who heard with impatience any logic which was not his own."*

### THOMAS MIFFLIN

PENNSYLVANIA



AGE AT CONVENTION: 43  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: YES  
OCCUPATION: MANUFACTURER, SHIPPER  
EDUCATION: UNIVERSITY OF  
PENNSYLVANIA

*Mifflin served as the quartermaster of the Continental Army, but resigned after extended criticism of his indifferent execution of that post. Though he and Washington eventually became friends, Mifflin had been part of a cabal of officers who sought to replace Washington with Horatio Gates as commander of the continental forces. He served as the 5th president of the Continental Congress under the Articles of Confederation. In that capacity, he signed the Treaty of Paris, ending the Revolution and conferring formal sovereignty on the thirteen colonies. His experience in dealing with the states during the Revolution and under the Articles left him a proponent for a much stronger central government. William Pierce enthused: "General Mifflin is well known for the activity of his mind, and the brilliancy of his parts. He is ... a very handsome man."*

### GOVERNEUR MORRIS

PENNSYLVANIA



AGE AT CONVENTION: 35  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: YES  
OCCUPATION: LAWYER, MANUFACTURER,  
SHIPPER, EDUCATOR  
EDUCATION: COLUMBIA

*Gouverneur Morris was a leading delegate at the Convention. His contributions are both broad and deep. He spoke more often than any other delegate and chaired the Second Committee of Representation while also serving on several other committees. His most memorable contribution to the Constitution is the elegant preamble, "We the people, in order to form a more perfect union. . ." He also authored the contract clause of Article I of the Constitution and his deft hand is noticeable in much of the final wording of the document. As a delegate he had aristocratic notions and thus supported a strong central government. William Pierce stated: "Mr. Gouverneur Morris is one of the Geniuses in whom every species of talents combine to render him conspicuous and flourishing in public debate. ... No Man has more wit, nor can anyone engage the attention more than Mr. Morris."*

**ROBERT MORRIS**  
PENNSYLVANIA



AGE AT CONVENTION: 53  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: NO  
OCCUPATION: MANUFACTURER, SHIPPER,  
BANKER  
EDUCATION: UNKNOWN

*One of the foremost financiers of the Revolution, Morris helped keep the Continental Army afloat. He is one of two delegates to have signed the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution. Though a man of some eminence, history records that he spoke only twice at the Convention. His most prominent act at the Convention was nominating George Washington to serve as its president. William Pierce describe Morris as: "[A] merchant of great eminence and wealth; an able Financier and a worthy patriot."*

**WILLIAM PATERSON**  
NEW JERSEY



AGE AT CONVENTION: 41  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: YES  
OCCUPATION: LAWYER  
EDUCATION: PRINCETON

*Paterson played a crucial role at the Convention by defending the Articles of Confederation and the sovereignty of the states. His offering of the New Jersey Plan set in motion the compromise that became our Constitution. While Paterson left the Convention early, he returned to sign the final document. While the Constitution did not include the unicameral legislature he had imagined, the modern day Senate is a nod to Paterson's principles. William Pierce said of him: "Mr. Patterson is one of those kind of Men whose powers break in upon you, and create wonder and astonishment."*

**WILLIAM PIERCE**  
GEORGIA



AGE AT CONVENTION: 47  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: YES  
OCCUPATION: MERCHANT  
EDUCATION: COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY

*Pierce's role at the Constitutional Convention was limited, but not without influence. He favored the Connecticut Compromise, but recommended strengthening the federal government so long as the states were not destroyed altogether. Pierce's main contribution was his sometimes catty—but always intriguing—biographical sketches of the other delegates. Ironically, Pierce is one of the few delegates to the Convention for which there is no known image. So, while he painted a picture of many lesser-known delegates for us, no one knows what Pierce himself looked like.*

**CHARLES PINCKNEY**  
SOUTH CAROLINA



AGE AT CONVENTION: 29  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: YES  
OCCUPATION: LAWYER, PLANTER  
EDUCATION: READ FOR LAW IN CHARLESTON, SC

*One of the youngest delegates at the Convention, Pinckney joined his cousin as one of the most activist delegates at the Convention, seeking to protect slavery while advocating for a Bill of Rights. In his memoirs, Pinckney stated that large elements of his plan were adopted into the final Constitution. Madison belittled the idea and—as the keeper of the notes—in some senses had the last say on the matter. Later, Pinckney led the opposition to the Missouri Compromise. William Pierce remarked: "[H]e is intimately acquainted with every species of polite learning, and has a spirit of application and industry beyond most Men."*

**CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY**  
SOUTH CAROLINA



AGE AT CONVENTION: 41  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: YES  
OCCUPATION: PLANTER, SOLDIER,  
LAWYER  
EDUCATION: OXFORD, MIDDLE TEMPLE

*Pinckney was a distinguished soldier during the Revolutionary War and an active delegate, as was his younger cousin Charles. At the Convention, he supported a strong national government and also suggested that members of Congress serve without pay. While that proposal was not adopted, other suggestions Pinckney made, such as Senate ratification of treaties, were incorporated into the final document. Later after accepting an appointment as Minister to France, he was involved in the XYZ affair; famously proclaiming "No! No! Not a sixpence!" when asked for a bribe. Later, he was nominated twice as the Federalist party's candidate for president but was not elected. William Pierce said of Pinckney: "he has received the advantage of a liberal education, and possesses a very extensive degree of legal knowledge."*

**EDMOND RANDOLPH**  
VIRGINIA



AGE AT CONVENTION: 34  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: YES  
OCCUPATION: PLANTER  
EDUCATION: COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY

*As governor of Virginia, Randolph brought additional prestige to a delegation already laden with some of the most notable names at the Convention. In Philadelphia, however, he seems to have vacillated back and forth, leaving most historians to scratch their heads at Mr. Randolph. He opened the Convention by expounding upon and then defending Madison's Virginia Plan. Later, he seemed to fall under the sway of George Mason's thinking and propounded anti-federalist arguments. In the end, he concluded that he could not sign the final document. However, by the time of the Virginia ratification debates, he had altered his position yet again and supported ratification of the Constitution. William Pierce wrote: "He came forward with the postulata, or first principles, on which the Convention acted, he supported them with a force of eloquence and reasoning that did him great honor."*

**GEORGE READ**  
DELAWARE



AGE AT CONVENTION: 53  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: NO  
OCCUPATION: LAWYER, PLANTER  
EDUCATION: RELIGIOUS ACADEMY

*Read, like Dickinson, was present for the Declaration of Independence but—unlike Dickinson—ultimately signed the document. At the Convention, he was an early advocate for setting aside the Articles of Confederation, stating that "to amend the Articles was simply putting old cloth on a new garment." At one point he argued for the abolition of states altogether; concerned that any maintenance of state boundaries put small states like Delaware at a disadvantage. When this was rejected, he favored the protections for the small states found in the New Jersey Plan. William Pierce remarked: "his legal abilities are said to be very great, but powers of Oratory are fatiguing and tiresome to the last degree."*

**JOHN RUTLEDGE**  
SOUTH CAROLINA



AGE AT CONVENTION: 48  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: NO  
OCCUPATION: PLANTER, LAWYER  
EDUCATION: MIDDLE TEMPLE (LONDON)

*Rutledge was South Carolina's governor during the Revolution and his property was singled out for destruction by the English. He never fully recovered the losses he suffered during the war. At the Convention, he was the South's sectional champion serving on all Representation committees. He also chaired the Committee of Detail as well as the Committee of State Commitments. William Pierce stated: "[H]e is undoubtedly a man of abilities, and a Gentleman of distinction and fortune."*

**ROGER SHERMAN**  
CONNECTICUT



AGE AT CONVENTION: 66  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: NO  
OCCUPATION: LAWYER, MERCHANT,  
COBBLER  
EDUCATION: NO FORMAL COLLEGE

*At the Convention, Sherman propounded the Great Compromise, resolving the single greatest obstacle of the Constitutional Convention. He opposed paper money, and is responsible for the limitations placed on states in Article I, Section 10 of the Constitution. Sherman is the only man to have signed all four founding documents: the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Association, the Articles of Confederation and the US Constitution. William Pierce commented "the oddity of his address, the vulgarisms that accompany his public speaking, and the strange New England Kant which runs through his public as well as his private speaking make everything that is connected to him grotesque and laughable; and yet he deserves infinite praise, no Man has a better Heart or a clearer Head."*

## RICHARD DOBBS SPAIGHT

NORTH CAROLINA



AGE AT CONVENTION: 29  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: YES  
OCCUPATION: PLANTER, EDUCATOR  
EDUCATION: UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW  
(SCOTLAND)

*While not a frequent speaker, Spaight was scrupulous in attending the Convention's sessions. He was a forceful advocate for equal representation of the states within the Senate. William Pierce said of him: "Mr. Spaight is a worthy Man, of some abilities, and fortune." Spaight was one of two delegates killed in duels (the other was Hamilton); he was shot by John Stanly who had defeated Spaight in the 1800 congressional election.*

## CALEB STRONG

MASSACHUSETTS



AGE AT CONVENTION: 42  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: NO  
OCCUPATION: LAWYER  
EDUCATION: HARVARD

*Strong supported a stronger central government, and also endorsed the Connecticut Compromise in opposition to his state's parochial interests. He sat on the drafting committee, and successfully inserted into the Constitution the requirement that the House originate all money bills. Strong was called home before he could sign the document, but proceeded to defend the Constitution vociferously during the Massachusetts ratifying convention. William Pierce depicted him as: "[A] lawyer of some eminence ... [but] ... as a speaker he is feeble and without confidence."*

## GEORGE WASHINGTON

VIRGINIA



AGE AT CONVENTION: 55  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: YES  
OCCUPATION: SOLDIER, PLANTER  
EDUCATION: NO FORMAL COLLEGE

*"First in war, first in peace and first in the hearts of his countrymen." Washington was the living embodiment of American success during the Revolutionary War, and his experience after it left him troubled about the future of his country. Serving as Convention president, he spoke formally only once, and then towards the end of the proceedings, but his influence on the Convention was enormous. Not only was his unsurpassed prestige lent to the final document, Washington accomplished more with a frown or a nod than many members could with hours of debate. His election as president by the first Electoral College was unanimous and his two terms in office gave legitimacy, tradition and meaning to the Constitution. While Madison is the Father of the Constitution, there can be little doubt that Washington was the Father of his nation. William Pierce extolled: "Having conducted these States to independence and peace, he now appears to assist in framing a Government to make the People happy. Like Gustavus Vasa, he may be said to be the deliverer of his Country."*

## HUGH WILLIAMSON

NORTH CAROLINA



AGE AT CONVENTION: 51  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: NO  
OCCUPATION: DOCTOR, PROFESSOR  
EDUCATION: COLLEGE OF PHILADELPHIA,  
UNIVERSITY OF UTRECHT; NL (M.D.)

*Williamson was already a prominent scientist at the time of the Convention. He joined Franklin and Jefferson as a member of the American Philosophical Society. Based on his prestige, Williamson was the de facto leader of the North Carolina delegation and a very active member of the Convention. He participated in multiple committees, including the Third Committee of Representation, Committee of Assumption of State Debt, Committee of Slave Trade, Committee of Trade, and the Committee of Leftovers. He guided North Carolina's support of the Connecticut Compromise. He was elected to the First Congress as a member of the House and served two terms. After his terms, Williamson returned home and devoted himself to his academic pursuits. Williamson was characterized by William Pierce as: "[A] Gentleman of education and talents."*

## JAMES WILSON

PENNSYLVANIA



AGE AT CONVENTION: 45  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: NO  
OCCUPATION: LAWYER, PROFESSOR  
EDUCATION: UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW,  
UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS

*James Wilson's performance at the Constitutional Convention was the apex of his political career. Other than Madison, Wilson had the most influence on the philosophy and structure of the document. He spoke more than anyone save Gouverneur Morris. Wilson was the Convention's strongest advocate for direct majoritarian elections. His positions at the Convention predated by more than a century what is now mainstream American political culture. While Wilson was influential on the assembly floor, he also did a great deal of work in committee, serving on the Committee of Detail and the Committee on State Commitments. William Pierce somewhat uncharitably remarked: "[N]o man is more clear than, copious and comprehensive than Mr. Wilson, yet he is no great Orator."*

## GEORGE WYTHE

VIRGINIA



AGE AT CONVENTION: 61  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: NO  
OCCUPATION: PLANTER, LAWYER,  
LAW PROFESSOR  
EDUCATION: NO FORMAL COLLEGE

*A signer of the Declaration of Independence and the most distinguished legal scholar in Virginia, Wythe played a limited role at the Convention due to his wife's ill health. At the Convention, he was asked by Washington to join Hamilton and Pinckney in drafting the rules of procedure for the Constitutional Convention. Wythe supported the ratification at the Virginia Convention but was not present to sign the document in Philadelphia. Later, Wythe died at the hands of a jealous nephew contesting Wythe's will. The nephew, while ultimately disinherited, faced no further punishment, primarily because of a law that forbade the testimony of black witnesses—a law Wythe ironically had himself penned. William Pierce stated: "he is confessedly one of the most learned legal Characters of the present age. ... Yet from his too favorable opinion of Men, he is no great politician."*

## ROBERT YATES

NEW YORK



AGE AT CONVENTION: 49  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR VET: NO  
OCCUPATION: LAWYER  
EDUCATION: NO FORMAL COLLEGE

*Yates was related to John Lansing by marriage, and agreed wholeheartedly that the Convention was heading in the wrong direction; he was opposed to centralized government before the Convention. He sat on the First and Third Committees of Representation before deciding that further participation in the proceedings would not be worth his time. Ironically, Lansing and Yates's departure left New York without a vote in the proceedings. While Hamilton was able to attend the convention and signed the Constitution as an individual delegate, he could not cast New York's vote without either Lansing or Yates being present. William Pierce commented: "[S]ome of his Enemies say he is an anti-federal Man, but I discovered no such disposition in him."*

## WE THE PEOPLE

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