

FORMULATING A REVOLUTIONARY IDEOLOGY, 1776-1788: THE INFLUENCE
OF MILITARY EXPERIENCE ON THE RATIFICATION DEBATES

by

Gregory Charles Gann Jr.

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Approved by:

Dr. Daniel Dupre

Dr. Christopher Cameron

Dr. Peter Thorsheim

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ABSTRACT

GREGORY CHARLES GANN JR. Formulating a revolutionary ideology, 1776-1788: the influence of military experience on the ratification debates. (Under the direction of DR. DANIEL DUPRE)

Throughout the War of Independence, nationalist forces transformed the United States, and shaped the young republic ideologically. The revolutionary spirit of 1776 seized the former British colonies in a frenzied burst of patriotism, inspiring thousands of Americans to defend their traditions of self-government and conceptualizations of liberty; serving in the national armies and state militias that resisted English tyranny. The harsh realities of war reshaped the officers of the Continental Army, altering their political worldviews and contributing to their evolving sense of identity. Transformed by their wartime experiences, veterans analyzed the Articles of Confederation through a lens tinged by military service throughout the postwar years, influencing their support for the proposed Constitution throughout the ratification debates, and shaping their role in the competitive discourse between Federalist and anti-Federalist ideologies.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

APPR%	Approval percentage
CIV	Civilian
CONT	Continental officer
MD	Marginal difference
SOC	Society of the Cincinnati
VF	Valley Forge
VFV	Valley Forge veteran

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In the winter of 1787 and 1788, George Washington's former aide sacrificed more of his pens than usual. The hero of the Revolutionary War turned attorney demanded far more from his feathered pens than their fragile nature could supply, and Hamilton furiously scratched out thousands of words to meet each impending deadline. The debate over the proposed Constitution had divided Americans, and he authored dozens of arguments to sway popular opinion in favor of ratification. Publishers often waited in the lawyer's Wall Street office for his latest essay, dashing off to their presses with Publius' newest political insights clutched in their hands. Although his partners James Madison and John Jay contributed numerous articles to the mammoth undertaking, Hamilton felt a personal attachment to the project. After all, *The Federalist* was his idea.¹

Over a year ago, Hamilton had led the charge to revise the Articles of Confederation. The fragile child called the United States was in chaos and he faulted the Article's structure that favored state sovereignty over a national authority. The country needed a strong government to prevent their revolution from foundering, and Hamilton's hopes had soared as he took his place among a legion of demigods to develop a solution the previous summer. The Philadelphia Convention had gathered many of the sharpest American minds to consider the problems plaguing the nation, but Hamilton

¹ Ron Chernow, *Alexander Hamilton* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2004), 250; *Ibid.*, 246-255.

returned to New York disappointed with the results, firmly convinced that the proposed Constitution barely improved on the current Confederation.²

Although he was annoyed with the federalized model's authoritative limitations, Hamilton had publicly committed his support to the proposed Constitution. He knew the fight for ratification would be a bitter, fierce contest, but unlike his opponents, Hamilton had been preparing for this moment for over a decade. As he sketched out the structure for *The Federalist* in the fall of 1787, Hamilton drew on arguments he had formulated while serving in the Continental Army.³

The War of Independence drew thousands of young Americans to the Patriot cause, and the brilliant student at King's College was no exception. On March 14, 1776, the New York Provincial Congress commissioned Hamilton as captain of a volunteer artillery company, and over the course of the following year, he rose from the command of his obscure militia unit to a coveted position as General Washington's aide and personal secretary. At the Commander in Chief's side, Hamilton had unparalleled access to the fledgling republic's military and political information, and he witnessed the inadequacies of the Continental Congress throughout the War of Independence. The national government lacked the power to levy the necessary taxes that would sustain a vigorous war effort, and the young aide observed the ramifications of Congresses' limitations firsthand. The Army was perpetually underfunded, yet the politicians demanded performance from the soldiers who went without pay, food, or desperately

² Thomas Jefferson to John Adams, 30 August 1787, in *The Adams-Jefferson Letters: The Complete Correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and Abigail and John Adams*, ed. Lester J. Cappon (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 196.

³ James Madison, *Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787* (Ashland, OH: Ashbrook Center at Ashland University, 2014), Kindle edition, Thursday, September 6; Chernow, Hamilton, 246-248.

needed equipment. As his fellow soldiers died by the thousands in the icy hells of Valley Forge and Morristown, Hamilton found himself in agreement with the officers who blamed Congress for their deaths, but he understood that the problem was far more complex than poor or uncaring leadership. The United States was a newborn who required the guiding hand of a powerful national administration. Without the authority to compel the state's cooperation, he theorized in 1778, Congress was incapable of directing the war effort or supporting the Continental Army, which jeopardized the revolution and abandoned the military to survive on its own.⁴

Hamilton's military experience influenced his views on the need for and role of an authoritative federal government. In the early years of the conflict, he often wrote public officials to explain the Army's dire situation and to suggest possible solutions. Hamilton laid out the flaws in the national and state administrations that were responsible for the Army's predicament, and emphasized the role that a hobbled Continental Congress played in failing the country's military. Over time, the burgeoning polemicist polished and refined his arguments. Following the disastrous winter at Valley Forge in 1777 and 1778, the young aide, now a Lieutenant Colonel, published a series of powerful essays that captured the attention of the Continental Army's officer corps. He wrote under the pseudonym 'Publis,' a pen name he would resurrect when publishing the *Federalist* papers in the late 1780s, and refuted arguments that enshrined the sovereignty of the states at the cost of funding General Washington's army. Hamilton developed his arguments throughout 1781 and 1782, when he lashed out at the opponents of the

⁴ Chernow, *Hamilton*, 72; *Ibid.*, 90; Alexander Hamilton to the Marquis de Barbe-Marbois, 7 February 1781, in *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, ed. Harold C. Syrett (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 2:554.

Continental Army who viewed centralized governments with skepticism by connecting the role of a standing, well-funded, military to a powerful and stable nation. Entitled *The Continentalist*, Hamilton pointed to Congress's dismal record of supporting the military and described the consequences for the United States' security and trade without a strong national authority. The republic's survival depended on a vigorous central government, he asserted, and the officers of the Continental Army who shared Hamilton's experiences were a receptive audience for the young man's arguments.⁵

The War of Independence ended, yet the problems remained. To Hamilton and many other Continental veterans, the turbulence of the 1780s underscored the flawed nature of the Articles of Confederation. Thirteen separate states pursued conflicting agendas, jealously guarding their sovereignty in spite of the increasingly loud calls for reform. Few Continental officers shared such a provincial view, and Hamilton seized on the veteran's sentiments to formulate arguments he knew they would find compelling.

As 1787 closed, Hamilton courted the support of his former comrades in arms by criticizing the state militias in his latest addition to the *Federalist*, reminding the Continental's of the volunteer's persistent failures throughout the war. He pointed out that the states' support for local forces had less to do with their effectiveness than with their legislatures' jealous refusal to fund a national military that operated outside their control. The Confederated Congress was inept, argued Hamilton, and the Continental military had paid a heavy price for the government's weakness throughout the Revolutionary War. The proposed Constitution provided for a national defense

⁵ Alexander Hamilton to George Clinton, Valley Forge, 13 February 1778, in *Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, 1:425-428; Alexander Hamilton, *The Complete Works of Alexander Hamilton*, ed. Henry Cabot Lodge (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1904), Kindle edition, *The Continentalist*.

commanded by a strong executive, and Hamilton emphasized this to rally his fellow ex-Continental officers. The Ratification Debates offered the veterans a chance to transform their experiences into action, and as Alexander Hamilton finished Federalist #29, he knew that the Army was finally having its say.⁶

When the Seven Years' War ended in 1763, the thirteen British colonies viewed themselves as independent polities that were composed of unique societies and cultures quite different from their neighbors. Over the course of the 1760s, Parliaments policies diminished this colonial sense of diversity, and inadvertently catalyzed the ideological thread that loosely knit the American territories together. The Stamp Act of 1765 and the Townshend Acts of 1767 crashed into the Whig philosophies that formulated many of the English colonists' political worldviews, and threatened their traditions of local governance and self-imposed taxation. Coupled with the Royal Army's occupation of Boston in 1768, the colonists' viewed these actions as nothing less than a tyrannical scheme to deprive them of their liberties. This set the stage for the colonies' visceral reaction to Parliament's abandonment of their long-standing policy of salutary neglect.⁷

The political philosophies of the British Commonwealthmen that agitated for parliamentary reform early in the eighteenth century had little influence in their home nation, but their works played a pivotal role in shaping the ideology of the American colonies. Throughout the 1700s, Englishmen in North America developed an interpretation of their Constitution through the writings of radical Whigs who railed

⁶ Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, *The Federalist Papers* (New York, N.Y.: Signet Classic, 2003, 1961), 215-22.

⁷ T H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), Kindle edition, chap. 1; Woody Holton, *Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves, and the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), Kindle edition, chap. 1-2.

against London's concentrated authority and corruptive influence. Parliament's colonial policies following the conclusion of the French and Indian War had steadily chipped away at the liberties the British settlers believed the English Constitution bestowed on its citizens, and the colonists' analyzed their government's behavior through the Whig philosophies that insisted a corrupt sovereign craved the freedoms of its subjects to augment its own authority. The imposition of taxes throughout the 1760s, coupled with the severity of the Coercive Acts in the following decade, turned deepening suspicion into confirmation for the transplanted Englishmen whose ideological worldview enshrined liberty and fundamentally distrusted the motives of a distant central government.⁸

Whig ideology compelled Patriots to resist the tyranny of a far off sovereign, but curbed the powers of the earliest national authorities. As the War of Independence unfolded, the Continental Congress transformed from a gathering of inter-colony diplomats into an ad hoc central government, but lacked the powers of coercion typically associated with a national administration. Although the thirteen colonies lent Congress the authority to co-ordinate the war effort and act as the diplomatic voice of the United States, they refused to cede precious liberties to a national institution that could one day turn against them. Thus, the Whig principles that set the Revolutionary War in motion cut in two directions. The states maintained their independence, but only at the cost of hampering the organization responsible for conducting an expensive war.⁹

⁸ Gordon S. Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969), 15-22.

⁹ Alexander Hamilton to George Clinton, Valley Forge, 13 February 1778, in *Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, 1:427.

Throughout the Revolutionary War, the Continental Army fought Great Britain from New England to the Carolinas, and the officer corps developed a cosmopolitan view of the United States that influenced their interpretation of the country's need for an authoritative central administration. Continental officers travelled widely during the war and came to see the thirteen polities that formulated the United States as a single culture with a unique national identity rather than a collection of independent societies. The persistent failures of the Continental and Confederated Congresses over the course of the war reinforced this transformation, and contributed to the rapid evolution of the political worldview that shaped the nationalistic identity of the Continental officer corps.¹⁰

Scholars often point to the Constitution's ratification as the culmination of the United States Revolutionary era, describing it as a watershed moment that ended a quarter century of ideological upheaval. The revolutionary spirit of 1776 that seized the former British colonies in a frenzied burst of patriotism inspired thousands of Americans to serve in the national armies and state militias. Over the course of the War of Independence, however, the officers of the Continental Army developed a nationalistic political identity at odds with Whig distrust of the authority of a powerful national sovereign. This transformation differentiated many Continental military veterans from their civilian counterparts and the officers in the state militias.

The Americans that fought the Royal Army typically served in one of two organizations: the Continental Army that represented the United States, or the state militias that normally functioned within their local borders. Throughout the opening years of the war, there was little difference between the forces, but as the war dragged on

¹⁰ Charles Royster, *A Revolutionary People at War: the Continental Army and American Character, 1775-1783* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 317.

an ideological divide developed between the two forces. The Continentals fought and died under the banner of the United States, and in spite of their rough beginnings, slowly evolved into a professionalized army. They developed a different worldview from their counterparts in the state militias, and saw themselves as the ideological vanguard of American liberty. They fought a war where they often starved and froze for their cause, and throughout the Revolution, they questioned why their state and national governments did not adequately support their sacrifices. Unlike the Continentals, the militias swore to defend the states that raised them. Compared to the national army, the militias typically fought the British in their local theater, and did not experience a similar transformation that professionalization brought to the Continental Army. This contributed to an evolving rift between the Patriot militaries. The battle-hardened veterans of General Washington's army derided the reliability of poorly trained state troops, and the militias resented the Continental's scathing opinions of their combat performance.¹¹

State governments favored their militias over the national army. Funding the Continental military was an expensive, and ongoing, commitment, whereas a group of minutemen required a relatively low investment to raise, equip, and maintain. The fiscal attractiveness of the militias reinforced the local authority's Whig-inspired paranoia of the national military, and they recalled the works of John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon who warned of the temptations that a standing army posed for a government teetering on the edge of tyranny. Compared to Washington's Continentals, the militias were a

¹¹ Royster, *A Revolutionary People*, 2-8.

cheaper and less ideologically threatening alternative that suited their defensive needs, and the officers of the Continental Army resented their provincial worldview.¹²

Although the war altered the political worldview and national identity of the Continental officers, their counterparts in the state militia did not share a similar transition. Militiamen bound to their local regions throughout the war were not as exposed to the failings of their Continental and Confederated Congresses, and did not share the broadened sense of cosmopolitanism that transformed the officers of the Continental Army. The War of Independence reinforced the Whig ideology that distrusted a distant national sovereign for those who served in the state militias, and persisted in shaping their political worldviews throughout the 1780s. The veteran officers of the Continental Army, however, had developed an appreciation for the crucial role played by a powerful national government, and, as the Revolutionary era closed, their wartime experiences influenced their decision to endorse the Constitution throughout the Ratification Debates.

Whether or not service in the Continental Army predisposed a former officer to support the Constitution is not a new historiographical question. Charles Beard asserted as much in 1914 when he pointed to the pervasive influence of Continental veterans at the Philadelphia Convention, and scholars such as Forrest McDonald, Stanley Elkins, and Eric McKittrick revisited the progressive historian's arguments several times throughout the twentieth century. Their works, however, did not examine this question exclusively, nor, with the qualified exception of McDonald, were the first twelve ratification conventions included in their analytical models. This is not to suggest that scholars have

¹² Alexander Hamilton to George Clinton, Valley Forge, 13 February 1778, in *Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, 1:428.

not attempted to investigate the role of ex-Continental officers throughout the Ratification Debates. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, William Benton and Edwin Burrows authored arguments that analyzed the influence of Continental service at the New York and Pennsylvanian ratification conventions. Both scholars determined that their studies pointed to the existence of a pro-Constitutional trend among Continental veterans, but stated that their research was inconclusive, and called for further investigation.¹³

Although Benton and Burrows did not conclusively demonstrate that a former officer of the Continental Army tended to favor ratification, their arguments shared a similar methodology that deserves revisiting. The two scholars used a quantitative approach to analyze the Pennsylvania and New York ratification conventions. This allowed Benton and Burrows to investigate the empirical connection between a delegate's experience as a Continental officer and their vote to support or reject ratification, but their decision to limit their analytical scope to a single state weakened their model's ability to isolate a conclusive voting pattern among the delegates who served with the national military.¹⁴

¹³ Although McDonald explores numerous delegates from the state ratification conventions, analyzing their occupations, income, and backgrounds to investigate possible correlations, he did not comprehensively examine the delegate's military experiences as a comparative element; Charles A. Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2004), 28-36; Forrest McDonald, *We the People: the Economic Origins of the Constitution* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1958); Stanley M. Elkins and Eric L. McKittrick, *The Age of Federalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

¹⁴ William Benton, "Pennsylvania Revolutionary Officers and the Federal Constitution," *Pennsylvania History* 31, no. 4 (October, 1964): 419-35; Edwin G. Burrows, "Military Experience and the Origins of Federalism and Antifederalism," in *Aspects of Early New York Society and Politics* (Tarrytown, NY: Sleepy Hollow Restorations, 1974), 83-92; Similar to Burrows and Benton, I have restricted this analysis to delegates that held commissions in the Continental Army, however, the scope of this investigation is not limited to the highest ranking officers. Benton, for example, only examined officers who held the rank of major or above at the Pennsylvania convention, whereas I include all the ranks of the national officer corps.

Therefore, I approach this question with a similar model, but overcome the limitations of Burrows and Benton's investigations by including all twelve state conventions that initially ratified the Constitution, and the Annapolis and Philadelphia conventions that set the stage for the Ratification Debates. This thesis is a quantitative analysis that examines voting statistics throughout the Ratification Debates to investigate the influence that prior service in the Continental Army played in shaping a delegate's support for the Constitution. To demonstrate the role that military experience played throughout the ratification, I explore the forces that shaped the political worldview of Continental officers throughout the War of Independence, followed by a comparative voting analysis between veterans and civilians at the conventions that formulated and ratified the Constitution. Thus, chapter 2 explores the crisis at Valley Forge to lay out the disasters role in shaping a Continental officer's views on an authoritative national government through an analysis of the contemporary political discourse. Chapters 3 and 4 include a series of case studies that compare the voting statistics of veterans and civilians at the Annapolis, Philadelphia, and state ratification conventions. Each case study tests Continental officers against the civilians through a variety of approaches, including regional analyses and individual investigations, and explores the various 'sub-groups' that delimited veterans, such as the Society of the Cincinnati and Valley Forge veterans, to lay out their comparative differences.¹⁵

The terms 'Federalist' and 'Antifederalist' are subject to debate in recent scholarship. Both names imply that a coherent ideology divided the delegates into two

¹⁵ Merrill Jensen, ed., *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution*, vol. II (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 1976-2013), 326-328.; *Ibid.*, vol. III, 105, 178-179, 270-271, 537-539.; *Ibid.*, vol. V, 1152-1160.; *Ibid.*, vol. IX, 907-908.; vol. XXII, 1676-1677.

clearly defined camps, which is a drastic oversimplification, but this study is a quantitative analysis that links a representative's vote to their position on ratification. Therefore, to delineate this study's candidates, and for clarification purposes, I label delegates who voted to ratify as 'Federalists' and those who did not as 'Antifederalists.'¹⁶

¹⁶ Pauline Maier, *Ratification: The People Debate the Constitution, 1787-1788* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2010), Kindle edition: Introduction, Location 180-220.

CHAPTER 2: THE SEEDS OF TRANSFORMATION: THE VALLEY FORGE CRISIS

“A bitter George Washington — whose first concern was always his soldiers — would accuse the Congress of ‘little feeling for the naked and distressed soldiers. I feel superabundantly for them, and from my soul pity those miseries, which it is neither in my power to relieve or prevent.’”¹⁷

The American effort to eject the British from the United States was a monumental undertaking. Congress authorized raising an army, commissioned builders to construct a fledgling Navy, and discovered that starting a war is a lot easier than paying for one. The states could not be compelled to obey the nation’s de facto central government, and without the critical power to levy taxes, the United States’ Continental militaries suffered from perpetual shortages compared to the less formal, and relatively inexpensive, local militias.

The prestige of the Continental Congress declined following the colonies’ Declaration of Independence. Many of the leaders that transformed colonial resistance into American Revolution no longer served in the national assembly. John Adams and Benjamin Franklin accepted ambassadorial posts in France, Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson returned to the Virginia legislature, and George Washington commanded the Patriot armies in the field. Many of the delegates that followed viewed their

¹⁷ Ron Avery, “The Story of Valley Forge,” Historic Valley Forge, accessed December 5, 2014, <http://www.ushistory.org/valleyforge/history/vstory.html>.

Congressional duties as an onerous burden, oftentimes ignoring their responsibilities altogether, and crippling the central body's ability to function. The absence of the famous Patriots who served in 1775 and 1776 curtailed Congresses influence, and reduced the assembly's integrity as an institution.¹⁸

Colonial angst transformed into armed resistance on April 19, 1775. Minutemen clashed with the Royal Army at Lexington and Concord, and the simmering resentment of thirteen individual polities exploded into united rebellion. Appointed to the command of the Continental militaries, George Washington acted aggressively throughout the following year, capturing Boston and New York, but news of the casualties at Bunker Hill stiffened British resolve. Great Britain's military was the elite combat force of the eighteenth century, and Parliament had tired of the colonies' antics. The British crushed the American army that defended New York in August 1776, and forced Washington onto the strategic defensive.¹⁹

The patriotic fervor inspired by Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* faltered as 1776 ended, and the colonists' determination dipped as the British recovered their hold on American lands. General Washington's bold Christmastime assault on Trenton reinvigorated the Patriot's revolutionary spirit, but over the course of 1777, enthusiasm waned again as the Redcoats routed the Continental Army in successive engagements. Coupled with the disastrous September Battle of Brandywine that ceded control of Philadelphia to the British, and the decisive failure of Washington's attempted counter-attack at Germantown in October, the American military's battered morale shattered.

¹⁸ Ibid., 426.

¹⁹ John Fiske, *The American Revolution VI* (Boston: Amberside Press, 1892), 124-128; Ibid., 180-185; Ibid., 218-220.

Their inability to defend their nation's de facto capital reverberated throughout the rebellious colonies, and the popular confidence and political support for the Continental Army faltered as the year drew to a close. The campaign season of 1777 ended, and the British settled into the comfort of Philadelphia as temperatures plunged. General Washington and the Continental Army, however, retreated into the wilderness, and constructed a makeshift camp outside of a remote Pennsylvanian village near the Schuylkill River to wait out the frigid season.²⁰

Throughout the first two years of the War of Independence, Congresses' weakness shaped Continental military strategy. The Continental Army was poorly equipped and inexperienced, and as 1777 closed, General Washington's disasters outnumbered his successes. The state legislators who resisted Congressional pleas for support watched the war unfold through cynical eyes, and demanded that Washington winter his army near British occupied Philadelphia. Congress capitulated to the states, and compelled General Washington to encamp the Continental Army at Valley Forge, which placated local governments at the cost of stranding the Patriot Army in a poorly accessible dale for the upcoming season. This set the stage for a political transformation that would influence the ratification of the Constitution over a decade later.²¹

The beleaguered Americans had hoped to find refuge from war and the icy Pennsylvanian winds at Valley Forge. The British army complied by remaining in Philadelphia, but the winter season was not so easily dissuaded. The American soldiers starved as they followed General Washington to their isolated campsite, and their

²⁰ Ibid., 319-25.

²¹ John F. Reed, *Valley Forge, Crucible of Victory (Revolutionary War Bicentennial)* (Monmouth Beach, NJ: Phillip Freneau Press, 1969), 17.

threadbare clothing was a poor defense against the plunging temperatures. The disastrous campaign season of 1777 was behind the Continental Army, but unknown to the weary soldiers that filtered into the snow covered vale, their greatest crisis lay ahead of them.²² On December 19, 1777, 12,000 soldiers camped at Valley Forge. By April 1778, roughly 2,500 had died from exposure, starvation, and disease. General Washington had ordered the construction of two thousand wooden huts to protect his men from the bitter Pennsylvanian winter, but typhus, influenza, and dysentery thrived in the cramped 16' x 9' quarters. Weakened by prolonged malnourishment the officers and enlisted men were easy prey for the contagions that spread throughout the camp and the sick roster ballooned with the names of four thousand additional men too debilitated to fight. The Army's morale was flagging when they arrived at Valley Forge, and chronic shortages of food, medicine, and clothing ravaged what little remained.²³

No general would willingly subject his forces to such unforgiving conditions, and the knowledge that it had been avoidable fanned Washington's fury throughout the beginning of 1778. Valley Forge was a poor site to winter his troops but politics forced the location on him. Tactically, the vale was defensible from nearly every direction, with a raised escarpment to the north and the Schuylkill River to the south and east, but the regions inaccessibility cut in two directions. The area lacked developed roads, which hampered transport, and the nearest supply depots lay on the far side of the British controlled territories around Philadelphia. Valley Forge was a logistical nightmare in the making, but the state governments ignored Washington's strenuous objections, and

²² Joseph Plumb Martin, *Memoir of a Revolutionary Soldier: The Narrative of Joseph Plumb Martin* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2006), 58-59.

²³ Reed, *Crucible of Victory*, 9-14.

compelled Congress to issue orders that positioned the Continental Army close to British-occupied Philadelphia throughout the winter. Terrified by the English victories at Brandywine and Germantown, the legislatures of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and New York, insisted that Washington remain within striking distance of the Redcoats, and hoped to forestall a surprise winter offensive by the Royal Army. The impracticality of supplying the American army at Valley Forge was immaterial to the state political leaders, and their recalcitrance to offer assistance came as no surprise to Washington when he pleaded for food, clothing, and medicine.²⁴

Matters improved somewhat in late February, but only after Washington had placed his most capable officer in command of logistics. Major General Nathanael Greene reluctantly assumed the responsibility of provisioning the military, assenting once Congress agreed to his demand that he retain the right to command troops in battle, and embarked on an aggressive campaign to reform the supply systems critical to the army's survival. Greene was a competent organizer, profoundly loyal to General Washington, the Continental Army, and the American Revolution, and he approached the Valley Forge logistical crisis with the force and tenacity that one might expect from a dedicated combat general. He seized supplies and wagons from local and state authorities, waged a private war against the corrupt purveyors that failed to deliver their promised commodities, and opened up the roadways that clogged the army's arteries. The desperately needed supplies filtered into Valley Forge slowly at first, but quickly increased in both quality and quantity. The Continental Army would survive the winter of 1777-1778, but not

²⁴ Ibid., 5; George Washington to Congressman John Bannister, 21 April 1778, in *The Writings of George Washington*, ed. John C. Fitzpatrick (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1932), 11:287-290; George Washington to H. Laurens, 22 December 1777, Ibid., 10:183-187; George Washington to H. Laurens, 23 December 1777, Ibid., 10:192-198.

through the actions of Congress or the states. One of the military's own rescued the men of Valley Forge, a fact not lost on many of the soldiers who lived to see the next spring.²⁵

Congress's failure to supply the Army contributed to a spike in enlisted desertions throughout January and February, but discontent was not limited to the average foot soldier. Washington had urged the national assembly to establish a pension fund for the officer corps, but the Continental Congress hesitated. The creation of a large national army had compromised their Whiggish principles, but only temporarily. When the United States defeated Great Britain, the government would disband the Continental Army, which would end the threat of a homegrown tyranny and restore the nation's republican virtue. Pensioning the officer corps, however, ruined this fantasy and sparked fears of an emerging aristocratic military caste. Wary of the financial cost and the ideological threat of a hereditary officer corps, Congress responded to Washington's requests by doing nothing, and hundreds of officers resigned their commissions in the midst of the greatest crisis the Continental Army had yet faced.²⁶

Disillusionment spread to the highest ranks of the Army, forcing General Washington and his young aide, Alexander Hamilton to re-examine their Revolutionary principles. Washington and Hamilton fervently believed in the Whig ideology that sparked the War of Independence, but as the Revolution unfolded and the crisis at Valley Forge deepened, both men reconsidered their fundamental distrust of centralized government. As Washington's de facto chief of staff, Hamilton often functioned as the older man's administrative alter ego, and the two officers analyzed the weaknesses of the loosely organized Continental Congress in minute detail, noting that the diffusion of

²⁵ George Washington to the President of Congress, 3 August 1778, *Ibid.*, 12:273-277.

²⁶ Reed, *Crucible of Victory*, 15-16.

sovereign authority crippled the central government's ability to manage the war effort. They considered the problem throughout the winter, and each man wrote letters to civilian officials that connected the plight of the Army to the authoritative frailty of Congress. The debacle at Valley Forge was symptomatic of a larger problem facing the United States, but the crisis compelled General Washington and Colonel Hamilton to conceptualize a new role for the Continental Congress, and both men formulated a new perception of the authority and powers that Americans should invest in their national government.²⁷

Although Colonel Alexander Hamilton endorsed General Greene's capabilities as much as any other soldier, the young aide believed that there were far more distressing problems in their government than simple logistics. While the debacle at Valley Forge was significant, he knew it was only the latest in a string of failures. Congress depended on the states to support the Continental military, oftentimes acting as no more than a desperate beggar, yet it managed the war effort. Unlike many of the officers and men in Washington's army, Hamilton was well acquainted with the government's failings. As Washington's chief aide, Hamilton regularly corresponded with powerful political figures such as Gouverneur Morris, Robert Livingston, George Clinton, and John Jay, who kept the young officer informed of the issues that plagued the increasingly dysfunctional Continental Congress. He knew that throughout the winter there rarely had been enough delegates in attendance to call a quorum, which eliminated any chance of formulating coherent policies to direct the nation through its revolution, and that Congress had resorted to printing paper currency to fund the war effort. To Hamilton, the problems

²⁷ George Washington to H. Laurens, 18 April 1778, in *Writings of Washington*, 10:287-290.

facing the American government required a solution antithetical to the ideology that inspired the former English colonists to revolt, and he did not hesitate to share his opinions with the revolutionary leaders, the press, or his fellow officers.²⁸

The ideological transformation that was taking root at Valley Forge coincided with a martial evolution in the Continental Army that produced a unique political worldview. Baron Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben arrived at Valley Forge on February 23, 1778, and the veteran tactician imprinted the traditions of Germanic warfare onto the disorganized Americans. Coupled with the alterations in the political worldview at the highest levels of the Continental Army, the meeting between Steuben and the Continental Army produced an unexpected effect on the soldiers at Valley Forge, and its consequences would shape the political evolution of the United States throughout the 1780s. Grounded in the methodology of European warfare, Steuben brought the expertise of the Prussian military to the amateur American Army. He drilled them in combat tactics and precision maneuvering, transforming the Continental's into a competent fighting force and reviving their battered confidence. Isolated at Valley Forge, Steuben converted the poorly trained soldiers into a professional military, infusing an esprit de corps into the Continental Army that was ideologically alien to the civilians and state militias. They were no longer fighting for a Virginian, Pennsylvanian, or North Carolinian revolution; instead, they fought to preserve an American Revolution.²⁹

The Continental Army that marched out of Valley Forge on June 19, 1778, shared few similarities with the bedraggled men that had arrived there several months ago. Their newfound professionalism surprised the British Army at the battle of Monmouth,

²⁸ Chernow, *Hamilton*, 87-89.

²⁹ Royster, *A Revolutionary People*, 213-240.

where the Americans fought the English as a competent military force rather than the amateurish army of the year before, but their battlefield prowess was only a single component of the radical transformation that occurred at Valley Forge. Most of the officers were educated men, and they grasped the Continental Congress's role in shaping the disaster. Their suffering was the result of Congressional ineptitude, and Colonel Hamilton deepened their understanding of the central government's weaknesses when he published the *Continentalist*, a series of essays that attained broad popularity with officer corps.³⁰

The depressing financial status of the United States had sparked Hamilton's creativity throughout the winter of 1778, and, at Washington's side, he formulated arguments for an authoritative sovereign that would shape the two officer's vision for the nation's future government. The government laid out in the proposed Articles of Confederation would not rectify the problems that crippled the country's fiscal or military policies, it would only prolong them. Against the backdrop of the humiliating conditions at Valley Forge, the young aide and his commander had shed their Whiggish fears of a national government, and they were not alone in their conclusions. In the *Continentalist*, Hamilton spelled out the failings of Congress, and showed how a weak central government threatened the future of the United States. Influenced by their experiences at Valley Forge, and Hamilton's scathing analyses, the political worldview of the Continental Army's officers underwent a fundamental transformation, and their

³⁰ John Ferling, *Almost a Miracle: the American Victory in the War of Independence* (Lincoln: Oxford University Press, 2007), 305-12.

perception of an authoritative national sovereign as the ultimate realization of civil tyranny evolved throughout the remainder of the war.³¹

While travelling under the single, all-encompassing banner of the United States, the Continental Army grappled with the British military throughout their expansive new country, which exposed many of the veterans to the size of the United States for the first time. They began to comprehend that managing their far-flung nation entailed more than ejecting the British from their shores. The crisis at Valley Forge had awakened the Continental military to the dangers of a weak sovereign, but as the war progressed, and the officers grew more cosmopolitan, they developed a clearer understanding of the scope of the civic problem that lay before them. The United States was a nation in name only, and without a vigorous national government to administer and protect it, the sacrifices they had made throughout the war would be in vain. The ideological terror of a homegrown tyranny waned throughout the officer corps, replaced by the dawning realization that a capable American sovereign was a fundamental necessity to their revolution's survival. The notion that the United States required a powerful government capable of compelling obedience from the states developed a broad base of support within the officer corps, spearheaded by Colonel Alexander Hamilton, General George Washington and the surviving Valley Forge veterans. Although their ideological transition did not immediately influence the political course of their nation, the officer's worldviews had changed, and when the difficulties facing their country in the following

³¹ Hamilton, *Works of Alexander Hamilton*, 1:90; *Ibid.*, 1:127-128; Alexander Hamilton to an unidentified congressman, December 1779 – March 1780, in *Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, 2:250.

decade threatened to dissolve their fragile union, this transformation shaped the role that many Continental veterans would play throughout the United States' early crises.³²

³² Hamilton, *Works of Alexander Hamilton*, 1:243-291; Royster, *A Revolutionary People*, 263-265.

CHAPTER 3: CHAMPIONS OF REFORM: THE ROLE OF CONTINENTAL VETERANS AT THE ANNAPOLIS AND PHILADELPHIA CONVENTIONS

The War of Independence ended, but the fractious confederation of American states became increasingly unstable over the course of the 1780s. The former colonists had resisted tyranny to preserve their traditions of self-governance and liberty, and following their separation with England, the former colonists seized the opportunity to instill democratic principles into their state constitutions. Unsurprisingly, the Americans focused on the themes that sparked the Revolution, and sharply curtailed executive authority while emphasizing representation. Many of the states reduced their governor to a figurehead, and diffused governmental powers to their popularly elected delegates. Their representatives, however, often acted according to the instructions of their constituents, who decided their political policies based on purely local concerns. Coupled with the popular use of term limits that rapidly shuffled delegates out of office, the state governments faltered, and their policies lost coherence.³³

The source of the resultant chaos was not lost on Americans. Thomas Jefferson warned in 1783 that legal authority was concentrating in the legislative bodies, inhibiting the power of the courts or the executive to restrain political and social instability. His words proved prophetic, and in 1786, Shay's Rebellion crystallized the nation's political unease. The Massachusetts government in Boston had used an army to crush a local

³³ Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic*, 162-173

rebellion in a fashion that eerily similar to that of the English Parliament in the 1770s, and Americans began to connect legislature with tyranny. Unfettered democracy threatened their hard-won liberties, yet their Revolutionary principles emphasized representation and executive restraint. Thus, the newborn nation questioned its first political footsteps, and the former officers of the Continental Army felt a growing sense of alarm as their country stumbled through the 1780s.³⁴

The states' favor for their local militias resurfaced and they turned away from the Continental Army for protection. Bereft of funds and lacking a powerful institution to maintain its integrity, the national military dwindled to less than a thousand soldiers in the years that followed the War of Independence. When the Continental Congress proclaimed the United States' sovereignty in 1776, formal military experience among the representatives was virtually non-existent. Eight years of bloody revolution, however, had touched most Americans, and hundreds of veteran Continental officers, who watched with disapproval and apprehension as their country's army vanished, were elected as public officials following the war's conclusion. Many of them banded together, forming the Society of the Cincinnati in 1783 to shepherd their political, economic, and social interests. By the middle of the decade, the men who comprised the state legislatures and Confederated Congress included a large percentage of Revolutionary War veterans, and they injected a new worldview into American politics that feared neither a powerful sovereign nor its standing army. Thus, when the Virginia assembly called for a convention to be held in Annapolis in 1786 to address the nation's fracturing internal

³⁴ Ibid., 406; Ibid., 409.

commercial relationships, the delegation included politicians who analyzed the problems facing the country through a lens tinged by their wartime service.³⁵

The composition of the delegates who gathered at Annapolis reflected the transformation in experience that the War of Independence had on the men who served in political positions. Twelve men represented their respective states at the Annapolis Convention, and seven of them served in the Continental Army or their local militias during the war. Only a decade had passed since the American Revolution began to unfold, and the convention that pushed a fiercely independent group of sovereign states toward a powerful national government included a majority of delegates with martial experience. Richard Bassett, Alexander Hamilton, Edmund Randolph, and James Schureman had fought the British in the Continental Army, whereas St. George Tucker, James Madison, and William Houston had served in the state militias. Compared to the Congress of 1776 that declared independence, the Annapolis Convention was flush with military men. This suggests that martial service, an experience shared by few public officials when the United States declared their independence, existed as an influential force in American politics following the conclusion of the Revolutionary War.³⁶

Although the backgrounds of the Annapolis delegates indicates that wartime service played a role in shaping the men who served in contemporary political offices, the fact that they unanimously recommended calling a national convention to address the

³⁵ William Sturgis Thomas, *Members of the Society of the Cincinnati, Original, Hereditary and Honorary; with a Brief Account of the Society's History and Aims* (New York: T. A. Wright, inc., 1929), V-VIII.; Journal of the Continental Congress, *Resolution of the Continental Congress Disbanding the Continental Army*, J. Res. (June 2, 1784), 27:530-531; See Appendix B: Annapolis Convention Data and Roster.

³⁶ "Proceedings of Commissioners to Remedy Defects of the Federal Government: 1786," The Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History, and Diplomacy, accessed January 10, 2015, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/annapolis.asp.

deficiencies in the Articles of Confederation does not explain the influence the War of Independence had in altering a delegate's worldview. An analysis of the representatives that gathered to reform the Articles in Philadelphia the following year, however, clarifies the role that military experience played, and reinforces the argument that wartime service threaded throughout American politics as a powerful influence during the turbulence of the 1780s.

When the Confederated Congress called on the states to send a delegation of representatives to Philadelphia in 1787, no one could have predicted the result. The economic and legal chaos plaguing the United States underscored the flawed nature of the Articles of Confederation, but Americans remained apprehensive about a powerful centralized authority. For example, the composition of the New York and Virginia delegations reflected the nation's concerns. They both included men who envisioned a radically new and strengthened government, but they also sent representatives who intended to preserve the sovereignty of the states. Most of the delegates who refused to support the Convention's efforts departed before its conclusion, and this study includes those who left in protest as well as the representatives who supported the Constitution but were not present on September 17, 1787, for the signing of the finalized document.³⁷

³⁷ The analysis of delegate voting patterns requires a binary set of comparables, and without the inclusion of absentee delegates to create an oppositional model this study would be limited to studying the thirty-nine supporters and the three objectors that remained in Philadelphia throughout the Convention's final vote. Therefore, I have used all of the fifty-five delegates who attended throughout the summer. This is a reasonable expansion in my data sample as there is an overwhelming amount of evidence describing a representative's position regarding the Constitution, and serves to create a clearer picture of the influence that a delegate's military experience played in shaping their vote. The delegates who supported the Constitution, but were absent on September 17 were Oliver Ellsworth, William Houston, Alexander Martin, James McClurg, William Pierce, William Davie Richardson, Caleb Strong, and George Wythe. The members who opposed were William Houstoun, John Francis Mercer, Luther Martin, John Lansing, and Robert Yates; Madison, *Federal Convention of 1787*, Kindle edition, Monday, May 14 – Monday, September 17.

The delegates who assembled at Independence Hall in the late spring of 1787 included a balanced number of veterans and civilians, and several consistent voting trends emerge when analyzing the representatives according to their support for or rejection of the Convention's efforts. Twelve of the thirteen states sent fifty-five men to the Convention in Philadelphia to develop reforms for the Articles of Confederation. When the Convention ended in mid-September forty-seven representatives supported forwarding the Constitution to the Confederated Congress, and eight delegates objected. The delegates who either signed or openly supported the new government included twenty civilians, eighteen former Continental officers, and nine men who served in the state militias. The eight delegates who opposed the efforts of the Convention were comprised of four civilians, two state militia veterans, one Continental Army officer, and one person who served in the national army before transferring to the command of state militia units.³⁸

Analysis of the Convention delegates according to their martial backgrounds shows that only a minor difference existed between the civilian and military veterans who favored the Constitution, and 84% of the former group and 87% of the latter either signed or openly supported the assembly's efforts. Dividing the ex-military delegates according

³⁸ The state of Rhode Island refused to send a delegation to the Convention, and did not ratify the Constitution until May 29, 1790, six months after North Carolina became the last of the twelve states that participated in the ratification debates to join the United States; Pauline Maier, *Ratification: The People Debate the Constitution, 1787-1788* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2010), 456-459; John Francis Mercer attained the rank of major in the Continental Army until he resigned on October 2, 1779. He accepted a commission as a Lieutenant Colonel in the Virginia state militia the following year, and served until November 1781. Although Mercer fought in both the Continental Army and the Virginia state militia, his length of service in the national military, three years, eclipses the eight months he commanded localized units, making him an ideal candidate for this study, and I will include him as a member of the Continental officers throughout my analyses; Francis Bernard Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army During the War of the Revolution, April, 1775, to December, 1783* (Baltimore: Genealogical Pub. Co., 1973), 389; See Appendix C3: Convention Delegate Roster.

to their branch of service, however, reveals a slight, but telling, change. Ninety percent of Continental veterans voted favorably, but only 82% of militia officers shared their conviction. The difference in support between the two forms of martial service, 8%, indicates that the form of military experience influenced a delegate's view of the Constitution, and is large enough to warrant further investigation into the motivations and backgrounds of the Continental officers at the Philadelphia Convention.³⁹

Eighteen of the twenty delegates who served under George Washington in the national army supported establishing a national government that superseded the authority of the states, which invites us to question what compelled the minority to diverge from their fellow officers. The two Continentals who opposed the Constitution, Edmund Randolph and John Francis Mercer, each held commissions in the army for a comparatively short time, unlike the majority of veterans at the Convention. The average length of service in the Continental Army for the officers who favored the Constitution was five years, compared to the two naysayers, Edmund Randolph and John Francis Mercer, who served in the national military, respectively, for eight months and three years. Only two of the veterans who supported the Constitution fought in the Continental Army for less than three years. John Langdon served for the least amount of time, five months in 1775, but his resignation from the army transformed his relationship with the military rather than ending it. Prior to the war, Langdon was a prosperous naval merchant and shipbuilder, and he left the Continental Army to supervise the construction of the nation's earliest warships. Alexander Martin, however, did not leave the military

³⁹ Madison, *Federal Convention of 1787*, Kindle edition, Monday, September 17; "Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774-Present," accessed December 30, 2014, <http://bioguide.congress.gov/biosearch/biosearch.asp>; All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number; See Appendix C2: Group Comparable Data.

under similar circumstances. Charged with cowardice at the Battle of Germantown in 1777, Martin was court-martialed. Although the court exonerated him, he did not return to the Continental Army. Thus, the only former Continental officers that objected to the Constitution did not serve in the national army for at least half of the war, whereas most of the others held commissions close to the duration of the conflict.⁴⁰

In John Francis Mercer's case, there is a clear explanation for his refusal to align with the majority of the Continental officers. The Maryland delegate developed a personal hatred for General Washington throughout the War of Independence that shaped his opposition. At first glance, Mercer appears to be an unlikely detractor of Washington's. He joined the Continental Army as a first lieutenant early in 1776, survived the crisis at Valley Forge, and rose through ranks after distinguishing himself in combat on several occasions. On June 8, 1778, Mercer's last promotion in the Continental Army conferred the rank of major, and he was assigned to Brigadier General Charles Lee's staff. Over the course of the following year, this turn of events would embitter the young officer toward George Washington, and set the stage for his rejection of the Constitution.⁴¹

General Charles Lee considered himself the most qualified military expert in America, and deeply resented Congress's decision to appoint Washington to the command of the Continental Army. Lee attempted to undermine Washington's authority

⁴⁰ The length of service for the Continental officers that supported the Constitution were as follows: Abraham Baldwin 5 years, Richard Bassett 3 years, William Blount 4 years, David Brearley 4 years, William Richardson Davie 7 years, Jonathan Dayton 7 years, William Few 4 years, Nicholas Gilman 5 years, Alexander Hamilton 7 years, Daniel Jenifer 6 years, Rufus King 4 years, John Langdon 1 year, Alexander Martin 2 years, James McHenry 6 years, Thomas Mifflin 4 years, William Pierce 7 years, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney 8 years, and George Washington 8 years; Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers*.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 389-390.

throughout the first three years of the war, and his tenure as a field commander included repeated instances of insubordination and political maneuvering designed to malign the reputation of the current Commander-in-Chief. Lee's final year as a commissioned officer coincided with Mercer's assignment as the General's aide-de-camp. The young Major respected Lee intensely, and authored many of the General's letters to Congress and the local newspapers that demanded Washington's removal from command. After the Battle of Monmouth, where Lee ordered a retreat in defiance of Washington's orders, the Brigadier General faced a court-martial summoned by the Commander-in-Chief. Lee's subsequent conviction and discharge from the military thoroughly poisoned Mercer's opinion of Washington, and he resigned on the day of his mentor's conviction.⁴²

Eight years later the paths of Washington and Mercer crossed again at the Constitutional Convention. In 1787, Mercer traveled to Philadelphia as a representative of Maryland with fellow delegate and future Antifederalist leader Martin Luther. Although Luther was the more vocal of the two at the Convention, both withdrew on the same day after announcing their opposition to a government that threatened the sovereignty of the states. The fact that Washington presided over the proceedings, and openly embraced the idea of a vigorous national government, coupled with Mercer's personal antipathy and oppositional ideology explains the former majors' voting record.⁴³

Edmund Randolph, who emerged as a leading Antifederalist following the conclusion of the Philadelphia Convention spent the least amount of time in the Continental Army, only eight months, compared to any other veteran delegate. Randolph

⁴² Phillip Papas, *Renegade Revolutionary: The Life of General Charles Lee* (New York: New York University Press, 2014), 387-99.

⁴³ Pauline Maier, *Ratification: The People Debate the Constitution, 1787-1788* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2011), 35-37.

functioned as Washington's aide at the beginning of the War of Independence, but returned to Virginia after the death of brother. He resigned his commission shortly thereafter, but, unlike Mercer, he held Washington in high regard and played a large role in convincing the popular general to attend the Convention. Throughout the summer of 1787, however, Randolph underwent a transformation from leading reformist to staunch opponent, and his short stint in the army helps to explain his sudden reversal.⁴⁴

Randolph's objections developed from his fear of a tyrannical executive. Although his arguments later hinged on a state ratification conventions' ability to amend the Constitution, the depth of authority the Convention instilled within the executive branch deeply concerned the Virginian delegate and strongly influenced his political transition. Comparatively, the other Continental veterans, including Mercer, rarely mentioned limiting the extent of the executive's power. This is highly suggestive of the role that military experience played in shaping the mentality of delegates that served in a formalized command structure. The men who served in the Continental Army throughout the war, such as Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Alexander Hamilton and James McHenry, fiercely defended the office of the executive, and often sought to broaden the scope of the branch's authority. Randolph, however, never developed the trust in the judgment of superior officer that is the hallmark of a successful military institution. Thus, Randolph's shortened service in the Continental Army prevented him from conceiving of the executive branch in the same manner as the other veteran

⁴⁴ Ibid., 2-8; Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers*, 458.

delegates whose wartime experiences familiarized them with the role that an authoritative commander played.⁴⁵

The clearest measure of the influence that military experience played at the Convention lays within the Society of the Cincinnati. Following the conclusion of the War of Independence, thousands of officers who served in the national Army joined the institution, whose stated mission was to “preserve the ideals and fellowship of the officers of the Continental Army who fought for the United States throughout the Revolutionary War.” Inclusion in the Society was limited to veterans of the War of Independence who held a commission in the officer corps, and conferred hereditary membership on an affiliate’s heirs. The elitist nature of the group, and its heritable mechanisms, sparked outrage in the early 1780s, and several notable figures, such as a John Adams, Elbridge Gerry, and John Jay, openly warned that the Cincinnati intended to subvert American liberties through the creation of a military aristocracy. The political activities of high profile members, such as Alexander Hamilton, Aaron Burr, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, who fought to secure the pensions promised to officer corps during the Valley Forge crisis, underscored the Society’s potential threat in the public’s mind. Although the fears of a military coup had ebbed by 1787, the role of the Cincinnati at the Philadelphia Convention suggests that popular perceptions of the group’s intentions may not have been entirely misplaced. Out of the twenty former Continental officers at Philadelphia, twelve were members of the Society. All of them favored centralizing national authority into a supreme legislative body, and supported investing the executive office with broad, authoritative, powers, goals that Thomas Jefferson suspected were the

⁴⁵ Madison, *Federal Convention of 1787*, Kindle edition, Friday, June 1; Ibid., Saturday, June 2; Ibid., Saturday, June 9; Ibid., Saturday, September 8.

true aim of the organization. The unanimity of the veteran officers, who belonged to the Cincinnati at the Convention, and their unwavering support for a supreme administrative sovereign, demonstrates the political worldview of the Continental Army's highest-ranking officers, and reinforces the role that military experience played in shaping their vision for the nation's government.⁴⁶

If, as numerous scholars have suggested, the experience of Valley Forge was the turning point for the Continental officers who survived the winter of 1777-1778, particularly Washington and Hamilton, then its influence should manifest among the delegates who survived and took part in the debates at the Philadelphia Convention. Ten of the fifty-five delegates at the Philadelphia Convention witnessed or experienced the plight of the Continental Army at Valley Forge. Out of this group, a single officer, John Francis Mercer, refused to support the Constitution, which is unsurprising given his enmity for George Washington, but the remainder included a number of the Convention's most influential members, and several require investigation.⁴⁷

George Washington and Alexander Hamilton formed the core of this group, and the transformation in their political worldviews while they presided over the disaster at Valley Forge helps to explain their support for the Constitution. James McHenry, the General's personal physician and future Secretary of War, was a member of the Commander-in-Chief's 'inner circle,' and he fought a daily battle against disease and

⁴⁶ Thomas, *Members of the Society of the Cincinnati*, V; Edgar Erskine Hume, "The Role of the Society of the Cincinnati in the Birth of the Constitution of the United States," *Pennsylvania History* 5 (1938): 102-4; The twelve members of the Society of the Cincinnati that were present at the Philadelphia Convention included Abraham Baldwin, David Brearley, Jonathan Dayton, Nicholas Gilman, Alexander Hamilton, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, James McClurg, James McHenry, Thomas Mifflin, William Pierce, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and George Washington; See Appendices C2: Group Comparable Data and C3: Convention delegate roster.

⁴⁷ Ron Chernow, *Washington: A Life* (New York: Penguin Books, 2011), 227-29; Reed, *Crucible of Victory*, 37-39.

starvation throughout the crisis. It is highly unlikely that McHenry did not share Washington's convictions and his role as political ally during and after the Convention confirms the doctor's personal loyalty to his former General. David Brearley, who commanded the fourth New Jersey regiment at Valley Forge, chaired the Committee on Postponed Parts where he succeeded in defining, and expanding, the powers of the executive.⁴⁸

Thomas Mifflin was the Quartermaster General for the Continental Army prior to the debacle at Valley Forge, and many of the military's general officers initially held him accountable for the logistics failure. Washington, in particular, called on Congress to investigate the Quartermaster's actions, and amidst accusations of embezzlement, which never resulted in formal inquiry, Mifflin resigned from his post shortly before the Army entered winter quarters at Valley Forge. This created a rift between Mifflin and Washington, but unlike Mercer, the former Quartermaster's resentment did not permanently poison his relationship with the Commander-in-Chief. Before he accepted the Congressional position of Quartermaster General, Mifflin had fought as a combat commander and functioned as Washington's aide-de-camp. It was at Washington's behest that Mifflin assumed the office's responsibilities, despite his assistant's personal misgivings. The two officers had a deep and trusting relationship, and the fallout from the Valley Forge crisis could have permanently alienated them. The stage was set for Mifflin to share the same path as Mercer, but events would lead to a rapprochement

⁴⁸ Robert K. Wright Jr. and Morris J. MacGregor Jr., *Soldier-Statesmen of the Constitution* (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 1987), 73-75; *Ibid.*, 106-108.

between Washington and his former aide that transformed a bitter enemy into a powerful political ally.⁴⁹

Following his resignation as Quartermaster General, Mifflin accepted a position on the Congressional Board of War that visited Valley Forge in February 1778, where he witnessed the disaster firsthand. His actions while serving on the Board show that he understood the nature of the political problem, and, despite his reputation throughout the officer corps, Mifflin championed the cause of the national military in the months that followed. He remained an outspoken critic of Washington throughout this time, aligning with the Conway Cabal that pressured Congress to remove the General from command, but Mifflin continued to seek logistical and fiscal reforms that advanced the Continental Army's interests. Unlike other veterans, the former general analyzed Congress's weaknesses through first hand administrative experiences at the national level, and he developed his conceptualization of the centralized role that an American government should play devoid of Washington's influence. Mifflin's struggle to fund the military, and his integral role in the supply system that shaped the disaster, contributed to an evolution in his political worldview, and his political record throughout the 1780s reflects this.⁵⁰

After the War's conclusion, Mifflin held public offices in the state and national legislatures where he emerged as one of the leading nationalists. In 1783 and 1784, Mifflin defined his term as President of the Confederated Congress by his habitual efforts to empower the national government. Although his efforts did not succeed, the

⁴⁹ Ibid., 109.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 110; Kenneth R. Rossman, *Thomas Mifflin and the Politics of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: Reprint Services Corp, 1952), 80-89.

precipitous decline in the prestige and influence of the nation's assembly alarmed Mifflin, and his tenure as the Pennsylvanian speaker of the house in the mid-1780s was marked by his increasingly loud calls for reformation of the Articles that unduly restricted the central administration's power. Throughout this time, the rift between Washington and Mifflin closed, and, although the two men never regained the close relationship they once enjoyed, they formed a political alliance to advance nationalist interests. Mifflin's military career, service as Quartermaster General, and his experiences at Valley Forge, all played a demonstrable role in shaping his unwavering support for a vigorous central government.⁵¹

Perhaps the most intriguing member of this group is Gouverneur Morris. Although Gouverneur Morris was not a serving officer, he arrived at Valley Forge as a representative of the Continental Congress in February 1778. His recent appointment to the Board of War required him to investigate the condition of the Continental Army and to recommend necessary reforms. The conditions of the men at Valley Forge shocked Morris, and he later described the scene to John Jay as a "skeleton of an army [which] presents itself to our eyes in naked, starving Condition, out of Health, out of Spirits." When he departed Valley Forge the following month, Morris brought the fury and frustration of the Continental Army with him, and his report to Congress laid out a litany of administrative failures that contributed to the Army's appalling state. Thereafter, he functioned as the voice of the Continental Army in Congress, where he played a crucial role in derailing the Conway Cabal's attempt to remove Washington as Commander-in-Chief in 1778, and championed the needs of the military throughout the War of

⁵¹ Wright and MacGregor, *Soldier-Statesmen of the Constitution*, 111.

Independence. Morris's defense of the national army in Congress is not the only unusual connection linking him to the military. Admission to the Society of the Cincinnati required service in the Continental Army as an officer, but Morris's role in shepherding the military's interests resulted in an honorary membership. This warrants Morris' inclusion with the commissioned officers, and his role as a reformist on behalf of the military explains his staunch advocacy for the Constitution.⁵²

The evidence shows that prior military service contributed to a Continental officer's interpretation of the Constitution, particularly when connected with membership in the Society of the Cincinnati and service at Valley Forge. The low number of representatives that gathered at Philadelphia, however, combined with the relatively small number of delegates who opposed the Constitution, limits the use of the Convention when examining the influence of martial experience, but it does serve to establish the baseline voting trends used throughout this study. The percentage of civilian to ex-military votes that favored centralization approximates one another, 84% to 87%, and analysis of the former officers suggests that experience in the state militia versus the national army, their length of service, and association with the Cincinnati, also shaped their decision. The personal motivations of the only survivor who resisted this trend, John Francis Mercer, overrode the influence of the Valley Forge experience, but the remaining officers in this category formed one of the most powerful blocs of contemporary nationalists. Thus, analysis of the Philadelphia Convention indicates that military experience played a role in shaping a delegate's support for the Constitution, but the small sample size inhibits further investigation. To clarify these trends, the data

⁵² William Howard Adams, *Gouverneur Morris: An Independent Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 98; Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic*, 519-537.

sample requires expansion, and 1,583 Americans participated at one the twelve state ratification conventions that convened throughout the next two years, seventy-one of whom survived the disaster at Valley Forge.⁵³

⁵³ See Appendix C2: Philadelphia Convention Group Comparable Data.

CHAPTER 4: THE ROLE OF CONTINENTAL OFFICERS THROUGHOUT RATIFICATION: AN OVERVIEW OF THE TWELVE STATE CONVENTIONS

Throughout 1787, 1788, and 1789, twelve states held conventions of locally elected representatives who determined the fate of the Constitution, and each one unfolded in its own unique way. The instructions the Philadelphia Convention transmitted to the Confederated Congress specified that the Constitution was immutable; the states could not modify and vote on a document different from the original. However, while the Convention laid out the procedures for ratification, they did not issue rigid guidelines for every detail. For example, states were required to select delegates through popular elections, but the directives did not describe limitations for the number of representatives, and no guidelines were set for the duration of a convention. This set the stage for each state to debate the Constitution in a convention that was often quite different from its neighbors.⁵⁴

The number of delegates varied wildly from state to state but a total of 1,583 decided the ratification question. 356 voted at the Massachusetts convention in Boston, whereas Georgia only elected 26 representatives to their ratification convention at Augusta. Three states ratified the Constitution unanimously, Delaware, New Jersey, and Georgia, but they also share the distinction of hosting the least number of delegates. Conversely, the conventions that included the most representatives, Massachusetts,

⁵⁴ *History of the Ratification of the Constitution*, 13:200; Leonard Rapport, "Printing the Constitution: The Convention and Newspaper Imprints, August– November 1787," Prologue: The Journal of the National Archives II (1970), 69– 89.

North Carolina, and South Carolina, produced three disparate outcomes. North Carolina held two conventions, one in 1788 and 1789. The first refused to settle the issue, voting 184-84 against ratification, and deferred the question to a second convention the following year that approved the Constitution by an almost exact reversal of the first outcome, 194-77. South Carolina debated for eleven days in 1788, May 12 through 23, and overwhelmingly approved ratification 149-73, one of the widest margins in any of the conventions. Massachusetts, the state with the largest amount of delegates, produced one of the closest, and most contentious, votes. The representatives in Boston approved the Constitution 187-168 after twenty-eight days of impassioned debate and backroom political deals. Despite the wildly different characteristics of each convention, the delegates of the twelve states ratified the Constitution by a comfortable majority, 66% to 35%, and the former officers of the Continental Army formulated a sizable percentage of the delegates who transformed the proposed government into reality.⁵⁵

Nine states did not unanimously ratify the Constitution, and, with one exception, the percentage of Continental veterans that supported ratification exceeds that of their civilian counterparts by a considerable margin (Table 1). On September 18, 1787, the Philadelphia Convention's brainchild met the nation for the first time, and Americans appeared favorably impressed. Pennsylvanian Federalists latched onto the Constitution's initial wave of popularity, and convened the first convention on November 20, 1787. Advocates hoped to secure ratification quickly, and set a precedent for the remaining

⁵⁵ Maier, *Ratification*, 192-197; Michael Allen Gillespie, "Massachusetts: Creating Consensus," in *Ratifying the Constitution*, ed. Michael Allen Gillespie and Michael Lienesch (Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 1989), 138-67; Gordon Lloyd, "State by State Ratification Table," accessed December 1, 2014, <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/ratification/overview/>; The twelve states elected a total of one thousand six hundred and forty-one delegates, but fifty-eight were absent the day their respective convention held the final vote; None of the delegate figures includes the absentee delegates; See Appendix A: Group Voting Statistics.

eleven states, but resistance developed more rapidly than they expected. Local newspaper publishers dived into fray, and the state's political discourse exploded with arguments for and against the proposed government. Critics identified a flaw in the

State	Total Delegates	Officers	Civilians	Percent of Officers Who Voted Yes	Percent of Civilians Who Voted Yes	Margin
CT	168	40	128	85%	73%	12%
MD	74	10	64	90%	84%	6%
MA	356	43	313	72%	50%	22%
NH	104	11	93	73%	53%	20%
NY	57	5	52	60%	52%	8%
NC	271	23	248	70%	72%	-2%
PA	69	16	53	88%	60%	18%
SC	222	35	187	80%	65%	15%
VA	169	53	116	57%	51%	6%

Constitution that haunted the Federalists throughout the Ratification Debates. The document did not include a Bill of Rights, and the opposition coalesced around its absence. This did not deter the

Continental veterans, however, and fourteen out of sixteen former officers followed their nationalist instincts. When the convention approved the Constitution after twenty-three days of brutal debate and underhanded political tactics by a vote of 46-23, many of the civilian delegates did not share the veteran's dedication. Only 60% voted to ratify compared to 88% of the veterans, one of the widest marginal differences, and the first indication that the two groups evaluated the Constitution through different worldviews.⁵⁶

The Connecticut convention, however, met the Federalists' expectations, and ratified by a vote of 128-40 after a short six-day debate. Unlike Pennsylvania, the

⁵⁶ Maier, *Ratification*, 27; *Ibid.*, 97-124; Lloyd, "State by State Ratification Table"; See Appendix M1: Pennsylvania Convention Voter Disambiguation and M2: Pennsylvania Convention Group Comparable Data.

Constitution enjoyed a broad popularity throughout the state. The furious discourse that shaped the first convention's political climate was remarkably absent in Connecticut, and scholars such as Pauline Maier point to the Federalists' firm grip on the region's publishers to explain the nationalist's overwhelming advantage. Although the Constitution easily passed its trial in Connecticut, and included one of the highest percentages of civilian support, the trend first observed in Pennsylvania remains intact. Federalists dominated the state's convention, yet the civilian group's approval continued to lag behind the ex-military. 85% of the veteran officers voted to ratify, leading their counterparts by 12%, and showing that their nationalism overshadowed that of the civilians despite the Federalists hold on the state convention.⁵⁷

Excluding the rancorous Pennsylvanian convention, the opening phases in the battle over ratification included several easy victories for the Federalists, and Delaware, New Jersey, Georgia, and Connecticut joined the union in rapid succession. The nationalists hoped to capitalize on this trend, but their political momentum vanished when the Massachusetts convention convened on January 9, 1788. Nearly a year had passed since the government crushed Shay's Rebellion, but the uprising's aftershocks reverberated throughout the state, particularly in its interior, and Antifederalist sentiments gripped many of the rural areas. The percentage of civilian delegates who advocated ratifying the Constitution reflects this. Only half voted for ratification, the lowest of any convention. The former officers proved more resistant to the wave of Antifederalism,

⁵⁷ Maier, *Ratification*, 129-134; Richard D. Brown, "Shay's Rebellion and the Ratification of the Federal Constitution in Massachusetts," in *Beyond Confederation: Origins of the Constitution and American National Identity*, ed. Richard R. Beeman, Stephen Botein, and Edward Carlos Carter (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 113-27; See Appendix D1: Connecticut Convention Voter Disambiguation and D2: Connecticut Convention Group Comparable Data.

and 72% of the veterans sided with the Federalists. Shay's uprising shaped the convention's political climate, and played a major role in the civilian delegates' views on the Constitution, yet the veterans did not respond in the same way. The rebellion reached its height in and around the city of Springfield, yet four out of the five officers who represented those areas voted to ratify, whereas 68% of the forty-seven civilians from the same region sided with the Antifederalists. This is a powerful indication that service in the Continental Army influenced its commissioned officers, and the marginal difference between the two groups, which is the largest of any convention, reinforces the evidence that civilians and officers interpreted the Constitution through different political lenses.⁵⁸

When the New Hampshire delegates first assembled on February 13, 1788, they did so in the turbulent wake of Massachusetts' convention. The Federalists had secured ratification in Boston a few days prior, but the tide was turning and they needed a quick, decisive victory. New Hampshire, which both Federalists and Antifederalists expected to ratify, shocked both camps when the convention adjourned on February 22. The nationalists had acted too hastily when they called the convention, and the winter season prevented many of the delegates, most of whom served in the state's legislature and required instructions from their constituents, from communicating with their districts. After the debacle in Massachusetts, Federalists worried that delaying the question created an opportunity for Antifederalists to build a coherent political bloc, and the final vote of the convention's second session suggests that their fears were justified. New

⁵⁸ For the Georgia, Delaware, and New Jersey conventions, see Appendices E1, F1, and J1; See Appendix M1: Pennsylvania Convention Voter Disambiguation and M2: Pennsylvania Convention Group Comparable Data; The four officers were Nahum Eager, John Hastings, Abner Morgan, and David Shepard. The dissenter was Samuel Eddy.

Hampshire's delegates ratified the Constitution on June 21, but their voting patterns mimicked those of Massachusetts. Only 53% of the state's civilian delegates joined the Federalists, a minor increase compared to the same group in Boston, and the Continental officers followed a similar path. 73% of the veterans supported ratification, similar to the Massachusetts officers, and the New Hampshire ex-military led their civilian counterparts by a similar margin of difference. Thus, the swell of Antifederalism influenced the civilians, but the Continental officers remained unshaken.⁵⁹

Following the Federalist victories in Massachusetts and Connecticut, George Washington wrote to Henry Knox, predicting that Maryland and South Carolina would pose little resistance to ratification, and the approval percentages of both subsets reflect the former Commander-in-Chief's assessment. Both states ratified the Constitution by a comfortable margin, South Carolina's final vote was 149-73 and Maryland's was 63-11, and a large percentage of civilians voted for ratification, 65% in the former and 84% in the latter. Despite the unusually strong civilian support, the Continental veterans showed a powerful Federalist streak of their own, eclipsing the non-military delegates in both states. Excluding the three states that voted for ratification unanimously, the officers in Maryland came the closest to a complete consensus. Nine out of the ten veterans voted to ratify, and the identity of the lone holdout, John Francis Mercer, explains the dissenter's recalcitrance. Thus, both conventions were easy victories for advocates of the Constitution, exactly as Washington

⁵⁹ Maier, *Ratification*, 218-221; See Appendix I1: New Hampshire Convention Voter Disambiguation and I2: New Hampshire Convention Group Comparable Data, and Appendix H1: Massachusetts Convention Voter Disambiguation.

expected, but even in states friendly to the Federalists, the former officers proved more nationalist minded than the civilians.⁶⁰

Over the course of the first nine conventions, Continental officers sided with the Federalists more often than the civilian group, and Virginia did not deviate from this trend. The percentage of veterans in Virginia who supported ratification, however, was considerably lower than any group of officers that preceded them. In fact, every measurement used to determine the Continentals' voting patterns throughout this study declines sharply when testing the home state of George Washington. Minus the Virginia convention, 80% of Continental officers, 86% of Valley Forge veterans, and 90% of the members of the Society of the Cincinnati, voted to ratify, but this figure drops precipitously in Virginia where only 57% of Continental's, 52% of Valley Forgers, and 39% of Society members joined the Federalist faction. Despite the decline in each subset, however, regional analysis shows that officers resisted the trend of the civilian delegates to align with Antifederalists the further west they resided in the state.⁶¹

⁶⁰ George Washington to Henry Knox, 3 March 1788, in *The Papers of George Washington: Confederation Series*, eds. W. W. Abbot and Dorothy Twohig (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1992), 6:183; George Washington to John Jay, 3 March 1788, *Ibid.*, 6:183; Caleb Gibbs to Washington, Boston, February 9, 1788, in *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution*, ed. Merrill Jensen (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 1976-2013), 7:1687; Knox to Washington, *Ibid.*, 7:1587; See Appendices N1: Maryland Convention Voter Disambiguation and N: South Carolina Convention Voter Disambiguation.

⁶¹ See Appendix O1: Virginia Convention Voter Disambiguation.

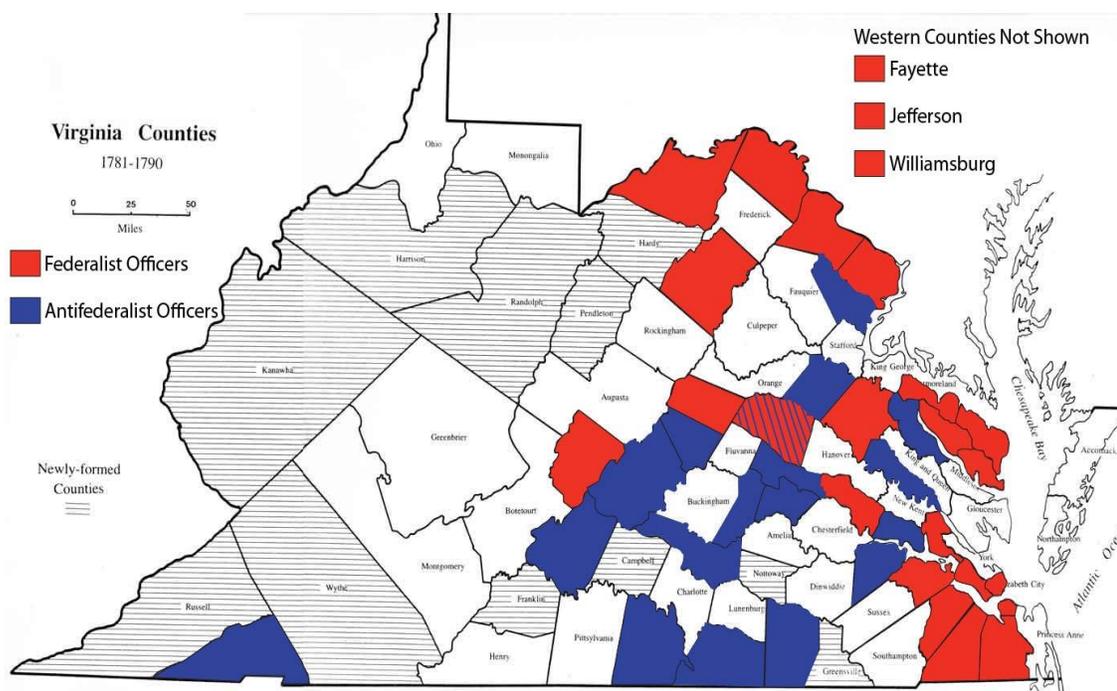


Figure 1: Continental officer voting in Virginia by county⁶²

In his seminal work, *We the People: The Economic Origins of the Constitution* (1958), Forrest McDonald debunked Charles Beard's argument that regions with high numbers of public security holders tended to support the Constitution. He laid out each state's ratification vote to show that Federalist sympathies declined in an east to west geographical trend, particularly in conventions where the Constitution's fate was uncertain, and uncoupled economic interests from the forces that defined a delegate's decision. The Continental officers, however, do not show a strong attachment to regional influences (Figure 1). Compared to McDonald's declining east to west model, the Federalist veterans came from several diverse regions, representing the eastern coastline, the Potomac River watershed, and down into the Shenandoah Valley. In addition to the northern and eastern boundaries of the state, the veterans from the western counties,

⁶² *Virginia Counties 1781-1790*, <http://lawsondna.org/Media/virginiacounties/Montgomery.html>, accessed January 10, 2015, <http://lawsondna.org/Media/virginiamaps/1781-1790.jpg>.

Jefferson, Fayette, and Williamsburg, as well as the three in the northern Piedmont region, voted to ratify. Including the Antifederalist officers produces a rather different effect. Whereas the Federalist veterans tended to be scattered throughout the state, the Antifederalist officers tended to cluster in the southern Piedmont region and the Virginian Peninsula. A single voter from the western county of Washington joined them, but overall, the Continental Antifederalists' dominated the southern interior of the state, and held a significant number of the coastal districts. Thus, the opposition tended to cluster, but they also represented counties that, according to McDonald's model, should have supported ratification. Conversely, Antifederalism did not influence the Federalist veterans in the western and central regions. Although this does not explain the sharp decline in the officer corps support for the Constitution, this evidence does reinforce the argument that veterans evaluated ratification according to a worldview that did not show strong regional ties.⁶³

Out of the twelve ratification conventions, New York's is the least demonstrative. Only five of the state's fifty-seven delegates served in the Continental Army, and three of them voted to ratify. Although this is a 60% approval rate within their subset, their relatively small number inhibits a solid comparison with the civilians, who approved the Constitution with the lowest number of supporters outside Virginia. 52% of civilians voted to ratify, lagging 8% behind the officers, but 1% higher than their comparable group in Virginia. The marginal difference is consistent with several other conventions,

⁶³ Richard D. Brown, "Shay's Rebellion and the Ratification of the Federal Constitution in Massachusetts," in *Beyond Confederation: Origins of the Constitution and American National Identity*, ed. Richard R. Beeman, Stephen Botein, and Edward Carlos Carter (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 113-27; See Appendix O3: Virginia Convention Roster of Continental Officers.

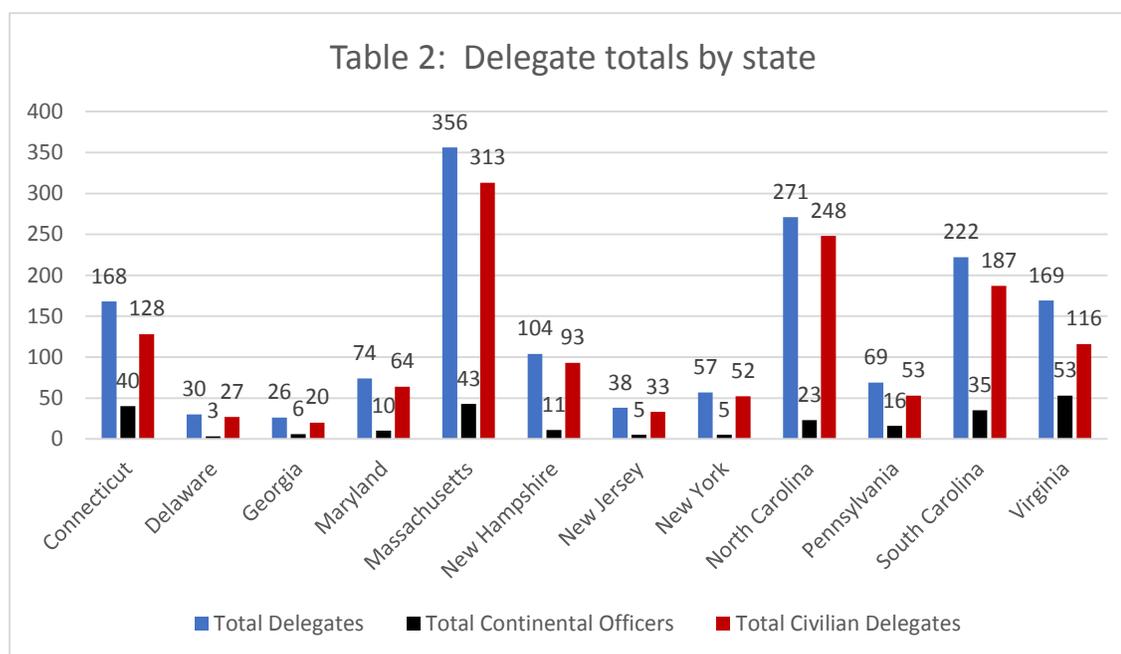
Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina all varied by less than 10%, but the limited amount of veterans restricts the use of New York as a case study.⁶⁴

North Carolina stands out as the only convention where civilians tended to favor ratification over the Continental officers. This anomaly is easily explainable. Two states debated the Constitution in separate sessions. The first, New Hampshire, adjourned without holding a vote to ratify on February 22, but when the second session began on June 21, the composition of the representatives was largely unchanged. North Carolina, however, held two entirely different conventions, one in July of 1788 and the second in November of 1789, with a round of elections in between that transformed the state from a bastion of Antifederalism into a group of Federalist late comers. The delay between conventions, which worked against the Constitutional advocates in New Hampshire, undermined the opposition in North Carolina when, besides Rhode Island, the state became a forlorn holdout. The proposed union of 1787 was a reality in 1789, and North Carolinians had no intention of being left out. The state's second round of delegate elections in 1789 resulted in a Convention dominated by Federalists, and 72% of the civilians executed their constituents will to join the United States. Only Connecticut and Maryland had a higher percentage of civilian support. A majority of the Continental officers, 70%, also favored ratification, a percentage consistent with Massachusetts and New Hampshire, but relatively low compared to the performance of the ex-military overall. Thus, the anomaly of North Carolina's marginal difference points to a rise of

⁶⁴ See Appendices K1: New York Convention Voter Disambiguation and O1: Virginia Convention Voter Disambiguation.

‘desperation’ Federalism in the civilian group, but the officers voted according to the trend established in the previous conventions.⁶⁵

Sixteen percent of the delegates that decided the Constitution’s fate once held commissions in the Continental Army. Their numbers varied depending on the state, but



the veteran officers of the national military participated in all twelve of the conventions.

Virginia, where the veterans comprised the largest proportional total of any convention, 31%, also included the most officers, fifty-three. In the state with the least number of officers, Delaware, the three Continentals still made up 10% of the assembly (Table 2).

Although the civilians outnumbered veterans at every convention, the 250 officers formed a significant subset of delegates, which is a sample base large enough to develop a comparative analysis between the two groups.

⁶⁵ Maier, *Ratification*, 403-423; Ibid., 456-458; John C. Cavanagh, *Decision at Fayetteville: The North Carolina Ratification Convention and General Assembly of 1789* (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Dept. of Cultural Resources, 1989), 5-17; See Appendix L1: North Carolina Convention Voter Disambiguation and L2: North Carolina Convention Group Comparable Data.

Table 3: Voting overview of each group				
Delegate Group	Number in Group	Percent Who Voted Yes	Percent Who Voted No	Margin
Total Delegates	1583	66%	34%	32%
Civilians	1333	64%	36%	28%
Officers	250	75%	25%	50%
Society of the Cincinnati	77	78%	22%	56%
Valley Forge Veterans	71	76%	24%	52%
Valley Forge Veterans Affiliated With The Society	41	83%	17%	66%

1,333 representatives did not serve in the Continental Army, and 64% aligned with the Federalists (Table 3). The number of civilians who approved of the Constitution lagged behind the total percentage of delegates who favored ratification, whereas the officers eclipsed the national percentage by 9%. This is a clear indication that Federalism appealed to delegates that served in the officer corps of the national army, but begs the

question of why commissioned officers connected so strongly to the ideology compared to their civilian counterparts. The answer may lie in the clearest contemporary analysis of the Constitution, *The Federalist*.

Alexander Hamilton laid out a pointed argument that justified the creation of a standing national army when he wrote Federalist No. 29, but one must question whom he targeted as his audience. Although Hamilton did refute contemporary Antifederalist arguments concerning the dangers of a permanent military, and explained his logic regarding the national army in terms that a civilian could understand, the points he made seem designed to resonate with Continental officers who had firsthand knowledge of the topic. Unlike the majority of their counterparts in the state militias or the civilian population, former officers easily grasped the tactical and strategic significance of

Publius' arguments. When Hamilton explained that a permanent national army could consistently drill and practice the arts of war to perfect their craft, and that localized governments could neither afford such an expense or expect their citizenry to both work and serve regularly, he spoke directly to his fellow officers. Localized forces were not capable of defending the nation against a militarily competent foreign invader, and the Continental officers had learned to distrust the reliability of the militias throughout the War of Independence. Throughout the war, particularly after the arrival of Baron von Stueben, the Continental Army evolved into a professionalized military that held its ground in defiance of the world's premier combat forces. The national officers understood the value of consistent training, and they remembered the poor quality of the militias. Thus, Hamilton addressed his essay to the people of New York, but created a nuanced argument that Continental officers were likely to find attractive.⁶⁶

Hamilton turns to the theme of militia inadequacy repeatedly, and he includes a subtext designed to entice national officers to support Federalist interpretations of the Constitution. For example, his analysis of the militia's strategic limitations appears straightforward when arguing that a southern state's local garrisons would be incapable of rendering timely assistance to an invasion or insurrection in a northern state, whereas a centralized standing army could respond efficiently. On paper, the logic is simple, but Continental officers understood what Hamilton did not state overtly. Defending the nation was a strategic nightmare. Although Americans knew their country was expansive, the officers had a much clearer conceptualization. Many of them had traversed its length during the war, a claim the majority of people living in the United

⁶⁶ Alexander Hamilton, "Federalist No. 29," in *The Federalist Papers* (New York: New American Library, 1961), 92-95.

States could not make, and Hamilton's arguments tapped into the officer's martial and logistical understanding to make his case for the Constitution.⁶⁷

Two additional categories of officers show a strong inclination toward Federalism. Continental veterans that survived Valley Forge or belonged to the Society of the Cincinnati favored ratification more often than delegates who did not meet similar criteria. Out of the 250 representatives that served in the Continental Army, 77 were members of the society, 78% of whom favored ratification, and 71 served under George Washington at Valley Forge. Compared to the delegates that did not serve in the national armies, members of the Society approved ratification by a wide margin, which points to a synergistic relationship between Societal membership and experience as a Continental officer. The difference between those who joined the society and regular officers, which at 3% is considerably smaller, reinforces the correlating evidence linking membership in the society to a favorable interpretation of the Constitution.⁶⁸

Interestingly, analysis of the national officers who survived Valley Forge yields similar statistics. 76% of those who survived the winter debacle voted to ratify, paralleling the delegates who belonged to the Society, and leading the two remaining groups by comparable differences. Both of the Continental officer subsets share striking similarities with one another, separated by a single variable in their grouping, which underscores the role that Valley Forge or membership in the Society played in shaping a veterans support for the Constitution. Somewhat unsurprisingly, given the trends of each category, this tendency to favor ratification reached its apex when combining the delegates who served at Valley Forge and belonged to the Cincinnati into a single subset.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ See Appendix A: Voting Statistics by Group.

Forty-one officers meet both criteria, and 83% of them joined the Federalists. Although this was a small subset, their overwhelming decision to ratify the Constitution underpins the trend witnessed in the two prior groups and strongly points to the existence of a causal relationship between a delegate's wartime experience, his affiliation with the Society of the Cincinnati, and their vote at a state ratification convention.⁶⁹

Federalist No. 29 addressed concerns that Valley Forge veterans and members of the Society related to, and points to an explanation for the popularity of Federalism within their groups. Valley Forger's were integral to the Continental Army's transformation, and through first-hand experience, they understood the value of martial professionalization. Hamilton's arguments that explained the deficiencies of the state militias likely struck a powerful chord with the soldiers that took part in the first steps of the Continental Army's evolution throughout the winter of 1778. They had witnessed the growing disparity in combat proficiency between the national army and the local defenders over the course of the war, and leaving the defense of the nation to the lackluster state militias could not have drawn an enthusiastic response from a Valley Forge veteran. Members of the Society belonged to a group that was founded to shepherd the political interests of the Continental Army's officer corps, and were appalled by the national military's decrepit status throughout the 1780s. The Constitution, however, would correct the deficiencies in the national military by establishing, and protecting, the Army as an institution. This was integral to the Societies agenda, and Hamilton's position as one of the organizations highest ranking members suggests that he knew how to phrase arguments that would persuade his fellows. Thus,

⁶⁹ Ibid; See Appendix P: Valley Forge Roster and Data.

the arguments laid out in Federalist No. 29 engaged two groups of veterans through their military service to engage their support for ratification, and suggests that Valley Forge veterans and the Society of the Cincinnati were fertile ground for the Federalist ideology.⁷⁰

If the experience at Valley Forge transformed the political worldview of notable figures such as Washington, Hamilton, and McHenry, it is unlikely those three officers were alone in their assessments. Many of the men in the officer corps were highly educated, and although they may not have analyzed the government's failings to the

Table 4: Valley Forge voting data				
Group Name	Number of Delegates	Percentage That Voted For Ratification	Percentage That Voted Against Ratification	Margin of Difference
Total delegates	1305	64%	36%	28%
CIV delegates	1099	62%	38%	24%
CONT delegates	206	73%	27%	46%
CONT not present at VF	135	71%	29%	42%
VFV	71	76%	24%	52%

degree of Alexander Hamilton, there was more than enough

observational evidence to draw

similar conclusions. Over two

hundred years later, the trials of the

Continental Army at Valley Forge

figures prominently in the lore and

legends of the American War of

Independence, and the ratification

delegates who survived to continue fighting the British were only a decade removed from living through the harrowing event. Thus, officers who served at Valley Forge and later became delegates brought firsthand experiences with a weak central government to their

⁷⁰ Alexander Hamilton, "Federalist No. 29," in *The Federalist Papers* (New York: New American Library, 1961), 92-95.

ratification conventions, where they typically aligned with Federalists to promulgate the Constitution.⁷¹

Overall, 1,305 Americans voted at the ratification conventions that included Valley Forge veterans, and 206 of them once held commissions in the Continental Army. Although many of the men who survived Valley Forge died throughout the following years, falling in combat during the War of Independence or from natural causes over the course of the 1780s, 71 of them acquired enough political prominence to win election as a ratification delegate. When contrasted with the number of veterans overall and the total delegate count, the officers who experienced Valley Forge represents a high percentage of voters with a similar background. This makes them an ideal group of uniquely influenced test subjects compared to the majority of Americans who decided the fate of the Constitution.⁷²

Although the nationalist veterans at the Philadelphia Convention shared a demonstrable connection with Valley Forge, a broad comparative analysis using the ratification conventions suggests that the winter crisis of 1778 did not play as influential a role at the state level. The majority of delegates supported ratification, and the voting percentages of each subset (Table 4) shows that Continental officers strongly favored the

⁷¹ See Appendix P: Valley Forge Roster and Data; Three state conventions did not include a Valley Forge veteran, which excludes them from this case study. Therefore, the following analyses use the delegate rosters and voting records from the ratification conventions of New York, North Carolina, Virginia, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland, New Jersey, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts to examine the potential influence of the Valley Forge crisis.

⁷² Valley Forge Muster Roll Project, "Valley Forge Legacy, accessed October 13, 2014, <http://www.valleyforgemusterroll.org/muster.asp>; Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers*; New York Historical Society, *Muster and Pay Rolls of the War of the Revolution, 1775-1783: Reprinted from Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Years 1914 and 1915* (Baltimore: Genealogical Pub. Co., 1996); Valley Forge veterans did not serve as delegates at the South Carolina, Georgia, or Delaware conventions; Many of the personnel rosters of the state militia officers no longer exist. Therefore, I group militia officers into the civilian category throughout the remainder of this analysis.

Constitution compared to the civilian group. A comparison between Valley Forge survivors and national army officers that did not undergo the same trials, however, yields a considerably smaller difference. 76% of the officers that survived Valley Forge supported ratification, and they were joined by 71% of veterans those who did not experience the winter crisis of 1778. This is substantially greater than the overall percentage of delegates that favored the Constitution or the civilian group, but the comparable difference shrinks when contrasting the Valley Forge veterans with their fellow officers.⁷³

The number of Valley Forge veterans who voted for the Constitution is not significantly greater than officers outside of their group, but, in this case, the marginal difference is the more suggestive of the two figures. Although there were twice as many officers who were not present at Valley Forge, the survivors of the crisis show a greater internal percentage of support. Both groups served in the same military, and shared many of the same experiences, but when Valley Forge is the determining factor, officers who endured the brutal Pennsylvanian winter in 1778 tended to favor the centralization of government more often than those who did not. The difference between the margins of support of these two subsets strongly suggests that Valley Forge, which is the only variable differentiating these officers, influenced the political worldview of those who survived, and played a role in shaping their view of the Constitution throughout the Ratification Debates.⁷⁴

⁷³ See Appendix P: Valley Forge roster and data.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

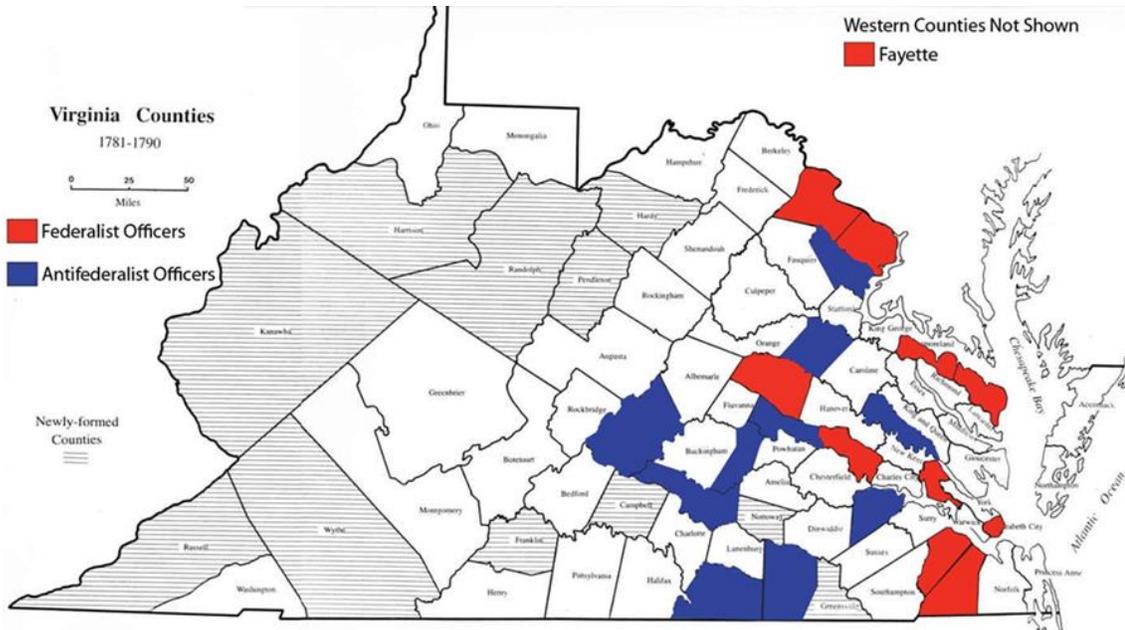


Figure 2: Valley Forge veteran voting in Virginia⁷⁵

The Virginia ratification convention included the largest number of Valley Forge veterans, twenty-one, and we find that the location of a voter's home county plays a very small role in influencing their Constitutional support (Figure 2). The Valley Forge veterans who voted to ratify tended to originate from the east coast and the northern regions of the state, but they also came from the furthest counties apart. For example, James Johnson and Miles King represented the Isle of Wight and Elizabeth City counties, which were located in eastern Virginia on the Chesapeake Bay. James Innes represented the furthest western county, Williamsburg; Levin Powell came from Loudoun County, located in the north central section of the state, and William Overton Callis hailed from the interior county of Louisa.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ *Virginia Counties 1781-1790*, <http://lawsondna.org/Media/virginiacounties/Montgomery.html>, accessed January 10, 2015, <http://lawsondna.org/Media/virginiamaps/1781-1790.jpg>.

⁷⁶ Merrill Jensen, ed., *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution*, (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 1976-2013), 4:907-8; See Appendix O2: Convention delegate roster.

The Valley Forge veterans who joined the Antifederalist faction to oppose the Constitution were also scattered throughout the state, unlike their counterparts, however, several of them did originate from one general region. Six of the delegates, Richard Kennon, John Jones, Robert Lawson, John Guarrant, Joseph Michaux, and Samuel Jordan Cabell all represented central or south-central counties. The remaining four Valley Forge survivors, James Monroe, Theodorick Bland, William Grayson and Benjamin Temple represented the eastern or northern counties, Spotsylvania, Prince George, Prince William, and King William, respectively. Thus, sixty percent of veterans who voted against the Constitution hailed from the central interior and south-central border, but forty percent represented counties along the coastline. Although the general clustering is suggestive, the pattern that emerges does not mirror the one put forth by McDonald, and the locations of the Federalist delegates, as well as the Antifederalists that represented counties along the coastline, showed no particular relationship to one another. The lack of a geographic pattern lends added weight to the argument that survivors voted according to a worldview that did not coincide with the regional trends that Forrest McDonald's study emphasized.⁷⁷

The two states with the greatest number of Valley Forge veterans after Virginia, Massachusetts and Connecticut, had eleven and ten survivors, respectively. The two Massachusetts delegates who survived Valley Forge and voted against ratification, William Jones and Thomas Baker Marshall, represented geographically distant counties, Lincoln, located in the northeast corner, and Worcester, which forms the state's center.

⁷⁷ Forrest McDonald, *We the People: the Economic Origins of the Constitution* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 255-283.

The remaining nine veterans came from nine of the state's thirteen counties, including the east coast, Essex, Suffolk, and Plymouth, the north east, Cumberland,

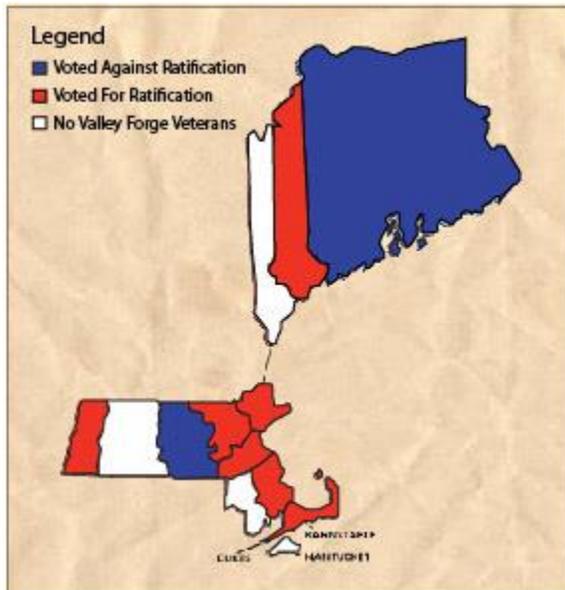


Figure 3: Valley Forge veteran voting in Massachusetts

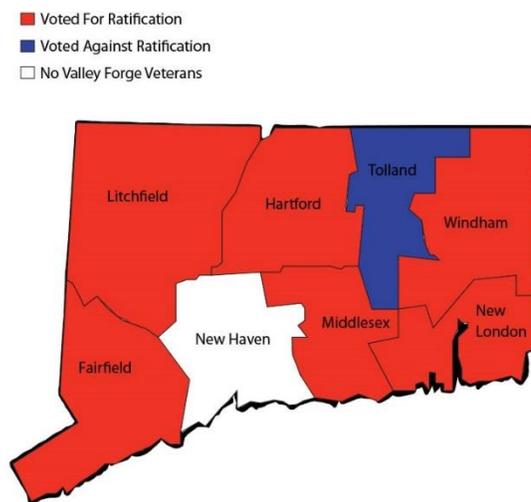


Figure 4: Valley Forge veteran voting in Connecticut

which was adjacent to Lincoln, the interior, Middlesex, and the western border, Berkshire (Figure 3). Connecticut veterans followed a similar pattern, and the lone dissenter represented an eastern county, Tolland, compared to the Federalists who hailed from all of the other regions in the state except for New Haven, which did not elect a Valley Forge

survivor (Figure 4). Thus, the officers

from Massachusetts and Connecticut

shared a commonality with their fellow

Virginian veterans, and did not adhere to

the political trends identified by

McDonald.⁷⁸

The regional location of the

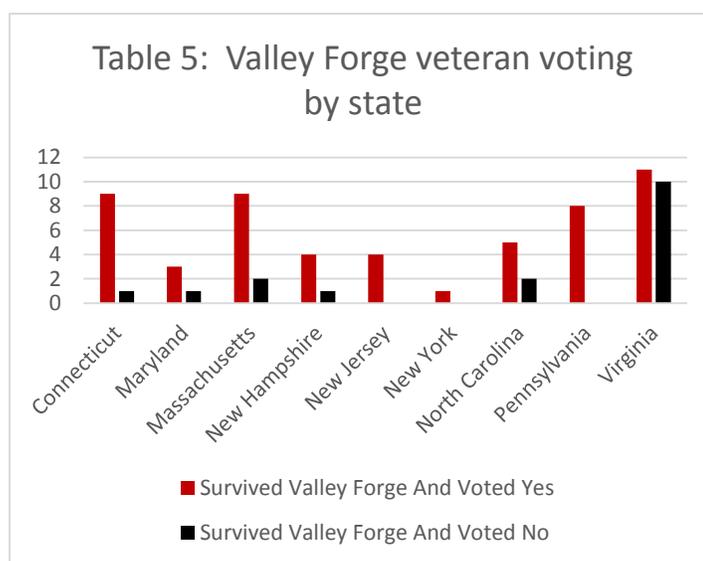
officers in both of these states follows

the diverse pattern that emerged in the

⁷⁸ *Massachusetts County Map 1788*, <http://www.courthouses.co>, http://www.courthouses.co/wp/wp-content/gallery/cache/173_900x900_massachusetts-county-map1.gif; *Connecticut County Map 1788*, <http://www.courthouses.co>, http://www.courthouses.co/wp/wp-content/gallery/cache/62_800x800_connecticut-county-map1.gif; See Appendices H3 and D3 for the Massachusetts and Connecticut delegate rosters.

Virginia analysis, however, each state included very few Antifederalists. This was not unusual (Table 5). The Valley Forge officers in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Virginia do not show a strong relationship between the location of their represented county and their views on the Constitution, but the relatively small sample of Antifederalist veterans hinders demonstrative analysis. Therefore, we must look to a regional model that includes a wider sample base.⁷⁹

Although the officers that did not serve at Valley Forge outnumbered those that did, a consistent trend in most conventions, two states included an equal number of both subsets (Table 6). New York and Pennsylvania had an equivalent total of veterans, but the former's limited officer sample restricts its usefulness. Only Massachusetts,



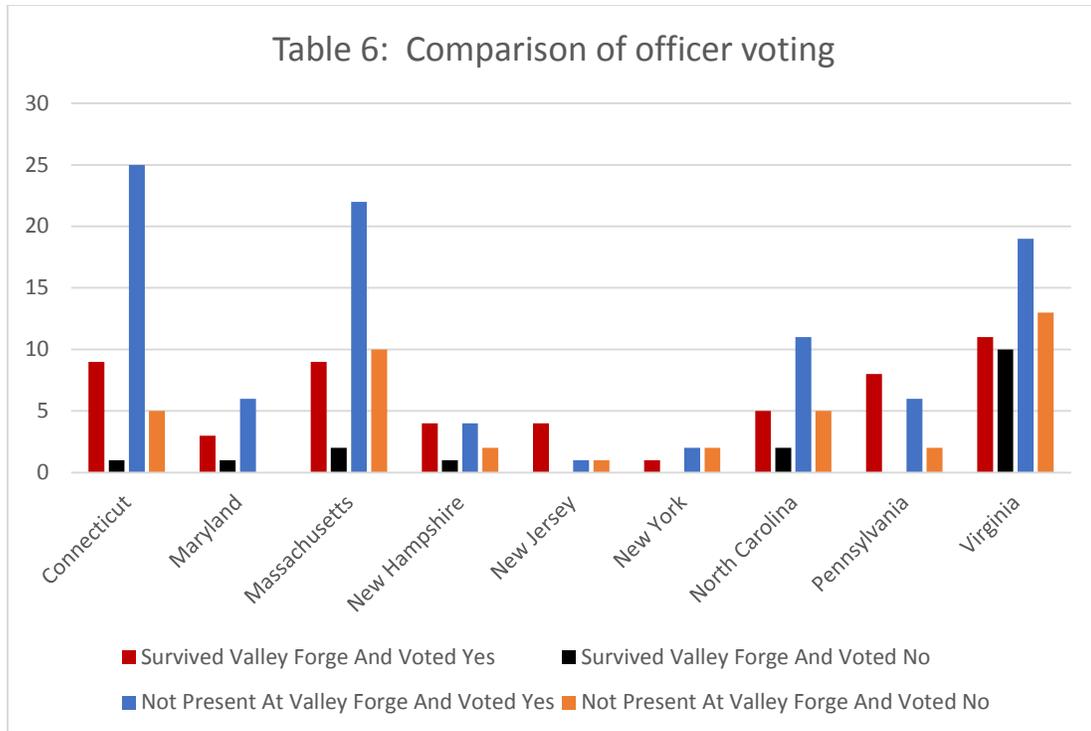
Connecticut, and Virginia exceeded the number of Valley Forger's at the Pennsylvanian convention. This makes the home state of the 1778 winter crisis, and birthplace of the Constitution, an ideal case study for analyzing the regional trends

between the officer subsets.⁸⁰

The Pennsylvania convention included sixteen Continental officers, and half of them served at Valley Forge. Although only two of these veterans voted against

⁷⁹ See Appendix P: Valley Forge Roster and Data.

⁸⁰ Graph statistics developed from the Continental officer voting records (See Appendices D3-O3: Convention Roster of Continental Officers and Appendix P: Valley Forge Roster and Data.)



ratification, the regional analysis does not coincide with McDonald's model or the diversified trends that dominated Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Virginia. Figure 5 shows the location of the Pennsylvanian veterans, and, unlike the previous three states, all of the former officers represented counties in the eastern areas of the state, including the two dissenters, John Ludwig and Nicholas Lutz. Both of the Antifederalist delegates came from Berkshire, which is centrally located and close to the state's eastern border, and did not serve at Valley Forge. The representatives from the westernmost county, York, all served under General Washington throughout the winter of 1778, and voted to ratify the Constitution. Somewhat unsurprisingly, the two delegates from Chester, which includes the site of Valley Forge, Thomas Bull, and Anthony Wayne, both wintered there and favored ratification. Thus, Pennsylvania's veterans do not show an Antifederalist trend the further west their home location was, nor do they share the geographic haphazardness observed in the previous three studies. This does not necessarily

invalidate McDonald's argument, but the fact that Valley Forge veterans voted unanimously to support ratification, including the delegates from the county furthest into the interior, in the state that hosted the 1778 disaster indicates that the experience played a role in shaping their views of the Constitution.⁸¹

Although Pennsylvania shared a similar regional demographic with Virginia, in that many of the Federalists represented eastern counties, this is countered by the

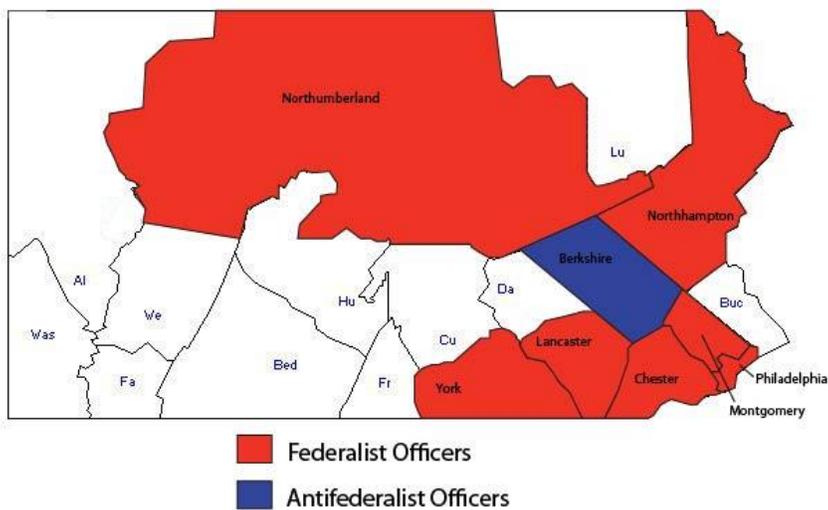


Figure 5: Continental officer voting in Pennsylvania

evidence that all of the state's Valley Forge survivors voted to ratify regardless of their location. Taken together, the four case studies show a consistent trend of

voter independence that does not match a delegate's support for the Constitution with their county's east/west position. This is a strong indicator that the Valley Forge experience had a unique influence on the surviving officers, and coupled with the rarity of this subset's Antifederalists, underpins the argument that veterans of the winter of 1778 tended to favor ratification.

⁸¹ Pennsylvania in 1788, <http://adamsfamilydna.com>, <http://adamsfamilydna.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/PA-1788-Alleghney-created-from-Westmoreland-Washington-and-Northumberland.jpg>; Reed, *Crucible of Victory*, 5-15; Thomas Campbell, David Grier, and Thomas Hartley wintered at Valley Forge; Wayne, in particular, understood the Continental Congresses role in the Valley Forge crisis. Similar to Alexander Hamilton and James McHenry, Wayne belonged to the cluster of officers that formed Washington's inner circle, and shared a powerful bond with the Commander-in-Chief.

In 1787, the influence of the Society of the Cincinnati pervaded the highest social and political classes of the United States. For example, the Philadelphia Convention included numerous members, such as James McHenry, Gouverneur Morris, George Washington, the Society's President, and Alexander Hamilton, who founded the order alongside Colonel Henry Knox. All of these men had experienced the horror of Valley Forge and signed the Constitution. If we extend the analysis beyond Philadelphia delegates to include the Valley Forge veterans at the state ratification conventions, the voting pattern loses its unanimity, but yields an intriguing result.⁸²

Continental officers who were members of the Society of the Cincinnati tended to favor ratification more often than their fellows did, and this proportion increases sharply for those who also served at Valley Forge, but deconstructing these percentages uncovers several anomalies (Table 7). Fifty-seven percent of the twenty-one delegates that served in the national army and belonged to the Cincinnati, but were not at Valley Forge, were advocates for the Constitution. This is the lowest approval rate of any subset, civilian or military, followed by the 67% of Valley Forge veterans that were not members of the Society. Although this is a substantial increase compared to the first officer grouping, both approval percentages fall below the overall averages, and the third category of veterans muddies the waters further. Out of the one hundred and fourteen officers that neither joined the Cincinnati nor served at Valley Forge, 74% voted for ratification, which equals the average percentage of all the Continental officers with membership in the Society.

⁸² Forrest McDonald, *We the People: the Economic Origins of the Constitution* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 171; William Sturgis Thomas, *Members of the Society of the Cincinnati, Original, Hereditary and Honorary: with a Brief Account of the Society's History and Aims*, (Cincinnati: T. A. Wright, Inc., 1929); See Appendix A: Voting Statistics by Group.

Table 7: Disambiguation of officer voting				
Group Name	Number of Delegates in Specified Group	Percentage That Voted For Ratification	Percentage That Voted Against Ratification	Margin of Difference
CONT with SOC membership	62	74%	26%	48%
CONT without SOC membership	144	72%	28%	44%
VFV with SOC membership	41	83%	17%	66%
VFV without SOC membership	30	67%	33%	34%
SOC not present at Valley Forge	21	57%	43%	14%
CONT not present at VF and did not belong to SOC	114	74%	26%	48%

These figures appear to tell a conflicting story, however, the final subset leads to the most intriguing question. Eighty-three percent of the Continental officers who survived the Valley Forge crisis and belonged to the Society of the Cincinnati favored ratification. This is the largest disparity between supporters and opponents of any category throughout this study, and points to an

influential connection between membership in the Society and firsthand experience with the Valley Forge crisis, but the seven delegates from this subset who voted against ratification raise an interesting question. Why did these officers resist the forces that compelled similar veterans to vote for ratification?

Thomas Marshall Baker survived Valley Forge and belonged to the Society, two forces that tended to produce Federalist worldviews in the officers influenced by them. Baker, however, opposed ratification at the Massachusetts convention, where he represented the county of Worcester. There is very little evidence to explain Baker's political worldview, his military record ends abruptly in 1779 and does not indicate how

or when he completed his service, but the Massachusetts delegate roster might explain his vote. Baker resided in Upton, only fourteen miles away from the Worcester county courthouse that served as a flashpoint for Shay's Rebellion. The short-lived uprising convinced many former officers to reform the Articles of Confederation, but Antifederalism seethed throughout the region following the insurgent's dispersal. It is possible that Baker's proximity to the Rebellion had an opposite effect on the veteran than it did on most of the national army's officer corps and Valley Forge veterans.⁸³

Six of the seven veterans who opposed the Constitution belonged to the largest bloc of Antifederalist Valley Forge officers in any of the state conventions. James Monroe, William Grayson, Richard Kennon, Robert Lawson, Samuel Jordan Cabell, and Benjamin Temple all formed the Antifederalist bloc at the Virginia Convention. Out of these officers, Monroe's views on the Constitution are the most explicable. He was never an intimate of Washington's, and through his constant correspondence with the ambassador to France, Thomas Jefferson, Monroe evolved throughout the 1780s as an advocate of state's rights. The most confusing objector, William Grayson, defies every model used throughout this analysis. Unlike Monroe, Grayson knew Washington personally, having served as his aide at the outset of the War of Independence. At General Washington's request, Colonel Grayson resigned his military commission to serve on the Congressional Board of War in 1779, and following the conclusion of the Revolutionary War, served in the Confederated Congress throughout the 1780s. This should have influenced Grayson to support ratification, yet he refused to vote for

⁸³ Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers*, 74; David P. Szatmary, *Shays' Rebellion: The Making of an Agrarian Insurrection* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1980), 80-81; The convention's attendance rolls include the home city of each representative, an uncommon datum compared to the other states.

Constitution. Although this appears to be a paradox, examination of the Virginia state ratification transcripts provides an explanation. Grayson opposed the Constitution through an argument that appealed to neither of the rival factions, and categorizing him as a Federalist or Antifederalist may be unrealistic. He maintained that the proposed government failed to meet the needs of the United States based on its structure, and argued that it was neither strong enough to be a powerful centralized authority nor decentralized enough to protect the states from national tyranny. Thus, investigation sheds some light on the resisters' rationale, but leaves us with an interesting piece of evidence. Only one member of the Society who wintered at Valley Forge who was not a Virginian voted against the Constitution's ratification.⁸⁴

The empirical data analyzed by this study demonstrates a strong trend among officers who survived the winter of 1777 and 1778. Three compelling pieces of evidence support this conclusion. First, the overall percentage of Federalist officers who served at Valley Forge overshadows that of the civilian or Continental veterans who did not share the same experience. Second, the location of a Valley Forge veteran's home county played little or no role in determining his support for the Constitution. Third, with the exception of the Virginia Antifederalist bloc, a delegate's affiliation with the Society of the Cincinnati overwhelmingly implies that membership played a role in shaping the political worldview of the Valley Forge delegates. Taken together, these trends suggest that Valley Forge contributed to a delegate's support for the Constitution throughout the Ratification Debates.

⁸⁴ Kevin Raeder Gutzman, *Virginia's American Revolution: From Dominion to Republic, 1776-1840* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2007), 308-313; Harlow G. Unger, *The Last Founding Father: James Monroe and a Nation's Call to Greatness* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2010), 217-30.

CONCLUSION

Service in the Continental Army reshaped the officer corps Whig-inspired paranoia of an authoritative national sovereign. Although this did not play a significant role in the course of the war, the evolution in the veteran's worldview influenced the United States' path toward centralized government. Relatively few American politicians had military experience prior to 1775, but the following eight years of warfare reversed this, and numerous public servants with a background in martial service found their way into the national and state legislatures. The Annapolis and Philadelphia Conventions placed the United States on a road to the Ratification Debates, and the proportion of former officers to civilians at each assembly shows that Continental veterans guided the nation's path to centralization. The broad quantitative analyses of the state ratification conventions demonstrate that this trend was not confined to the elite group of officers that surrounded Washington, despite the evidence suggesting that the General's ideological evolution played a significant role in influencing the nationalistic worldview of the men around him. Thus, the empirical data confirms that Continental officers felt drawn toward Federalism, but is less clear as to why.

Alexander Hamilton's argument's deriding the militias offer a possible explanation, but former officers likely found several other analyses put forth in *The Federalist* to be equally enticing. In Federalist No. 74, Hamilton laid out the President's

role as Commander-in-Chief of the nation's armed forces, and explained the logic for investing the Executive branch with the authority to issue pardons. To a newborn nation obsessed with curtailing any single person's authority, such a proposal should have died an early death. Throughout ratification, however, few Americans, Federalist or Antifederalist, doubted that anyone beside Washington would become the first President. This eased popular fears, but the majority of Continental officers revered and respected their General's wisdom in a way that civilians could not conceptualize. Americans trusted Washington, his resignation from command of the army assured that, but the officers knew, without question, that their General would use the office's powers to restrain the Union's government from tyranny. Coupled with the virtual certainty that Washington would shepherd and protect the institution of the national army, commissioned officers probably viewed Federalism's arguments for centralizing authority as a safe and logical course for the nation, particularly when the guiding hand belonged to a man with whom they closely identified.⁸⁵

Hamilton's argument in Federalist No. 12, however, may have resonated more powerfully with the officer corps than any other. Throughout the War of Independence, the Continental Congress's inability to generate revenue and formulate fiscal policies that bound the states together undermined the military's ability to challenge the British. American soldiers often fought a superior army without adequate supplies or timely pay, which severely inhibited the Continental Army's capability to retain or attract new recruits and hampered their effectiveness on the battlefield. The officers who struggled to maintain their men's war fighting abilities understood the danger of poor monetary

⁸⁵ Alexander Hamilton, "Federalist No. 74," in *The Federalist Papers* (New York: New American Library, 1961), 237-238.

policies, and they remembered Congress's desperate inflationary schemes to fund the war effort. Hamilton's fiscal arguments in No. 12 touched on an experience shared by every member of the Continental Army when he outlined the central government's role in creating a stable national currency, and described how this enabled the military.

Hamilton focused on importation taxes, and stressed that the national government could collect duties along the Atlantic coast efficiently and evenly, compared to the haphazard, and oftentimes poorly executed, approaches used by thirteen different states. Many of the Continental officers would have viewed his arguments favorably for several reasons. First, Hamilton proposed to fund the national government without resorting to direct taxation, a key theme that contributed to the Revolution, and second, he pointed out that a coastal importation collection program required a powerful navy to facilitate it, thereby defending the country's largest border and most likely invasion routes. Thus, Federalist interpretations of the Constitution spoke to an officer's wartime experiences by addressing their memories of the military's fiscal difficulties, and laying out a solution that created an integral relationship between national defense and the government's source of revenue.⁸⁶

Although Hamilton laid out several facets of nationalist ideology in *The Federalist* that would have attracted Continental officers, this does not resolve the inconsistency of veteran behavior at the Virginia ratification convention. Why did the Federalist arguments play a lesser role there compared to other conventions? Pauline Maier's analysis of *The Federalist's* regional availability offers one possible explanation. According to Maier, *The Federalist*, which New York newspapers originally printed in

⁸⁶ Alexander Hamilton, "Federalist No. 12," in *The Federalist Papers* (New York: New American Library, 1961), 41-43.

essay form, did not circulate widely in Virginia before the convention. Published by a New York firm in March of 1788, Volume 1 of *The Federalist* contained the first thirty-six essays, and she notes that relatively few Virginian delegates managed to acquire a copy. The second volume's availability in the southern state was more limited than the first. Released a few days prior to the convention, most delegates could not have obtained the second half of *The Federalist*, which makes it unlikely that many officers read the additional forty-nine essays. Thus, the arguments for centralization that used a veteran's wartime experiences to explain and justify the Constitution may not have had the opportunity to influence the political worldview of the former officers at the Virginia convention.⁸⁷

Taken together, the conclusions of each analysis yields a consistent evidentiary thread, and shows that service in the Continental Army created a political outlook within its officer corps that tended to view the Constitution favorably, particularly when compared to the civilian subset. Two measurable outside forces augmented the Continental's nationalistic streak, Valley Forge and membership in the Society of the Cincinnati, and both underpin the existence of this group's unique political identity. Empirically, the evidence developed throughout the case studies shows that officers tended to favor Federalism, but is less clear as to why. Several of Hamilton's arguments in *The Federalist* point to likely explanations, and their lack of availability in Virginia suggests that Publius' musings may have played a powerful role in drawing Continental officers into the Federalist political camp. This does not leave us with a satisfactory answer for the strong Antifederalist trend that officers showed at the Virginia ratification

⁸⁷ Maier, *Ratification*, 256-257.

convention, but it does invite further research into the localized forces that shaped their political worldview.

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APPENDIX A: VOTING STATISTICS BY GROUP

Category	Delegate numbers	Number Who Voted Yes	Number Who Voted No	Percentage Of Yes Votes In Category	Percentage Of No Votes In Category	MD Between Percentages
Total delegates	1583	1037	546	65.51%	34.49%	31.02%
CIV delegates	1333	850	483	63.77%	36.23%	27.53%
CONT delegates	250	187	63	74.80%	25.20%	49.60%
Members of the SOC	77	60	17	77.92%	22.08%	55.84%
VFV	71	54	17	76.06%	23.94%	52.11%
VFV members of the SOC	41	34	7	82.93%	17.07%	65.85%
CONT not present at VF	179	133	46	74.30%	25.70%	48.60%
Total delegates not at VF	1512	983	529	65.01%	34.99%	30.03%
Total delegates Not In SOC	1506	977	529	64.87%	35.13%	29.75%
CONT not in SOC	173	127	46	73.41%	26.59%	46.82%
CONT not in SOC or present at VF	209	153	56	73.21%	26.79%	46.41%

APPENDIX B: ANNAPOLIS CONVENTION DATA AND ROSTER

Last Name	First Name	Suffix	CIV	CONT	Militia Officer	Present At VF	Member Of SOC
Bassett	Richard			Yes			
Hamilton	Alexander			Yes		Yes	Yes
Madison	James	Jr.			Yes		
Randolph	Edmund			Yes			
Benson	Egbert		Yes				
Clark	Abraham		Yes				
Coxe	Tench		Yes				
Dickinson	John		Yes				
Houston	William				Yes		
Read	George		Yes				
Schureman	James			Yes			
Tucker	St. George				Yes		

APPENDIX C: PHILADELPHIA CONVENTION DATA

C1: Philadelphia Convention Voter Disambiguation

Category	Delegate numbers	Number Who Voted Yes	Number Who Voted No	Percentage Of Yes Votes In Category	Percentage Of No Votes In Category	MD Between Percentages
Total delegates	55	47	8	85.45%	14.55%	70.91%
CIV delegates	24	20	4	83.33%	16.67%	66.67%
Military delegates	31	27	4	87.10%	12.90%	74.19%
CONT delegates	20	18	2	90.00%	10.00%	80.00%
Militia Officers	11	9	2	81.82%	18.18%	63.64%
Members of the SOC	11	11	0	100%	0.00%	100%
VFV	10	9	1	90%	10%	80%
VFV members of the SOC	7	7	0	100%	0.00%	100%

C2: Philadelphia Group Comparable Data

Categorical Comparison	Total Delegate APPR%	CIV APPR%	CONT APPR%	SOC APPR%	VFV APPR%	VFV members of the SOC APPR%	MD Between Percentages
Total delegates to CONT	85.45%		90.00%				-4.55%
SOC to CONT			90.00%	100%			10.00%
VFV to CONT			90.00%		85.71%		-4.29%
VFV members of the SOC to CONT			90.00%			100%	0.00%
CIV to total delegates	85.45%	83.33%					-2.12%
CIV to CONT		83.33%	90.00%				-6.67%
CIV to SOC		83.33%		100%			-16.67%
CIV to VFV		83.33%			85.71%		-2.38%
CIV to VFV members of the SOC		83.33%				100%	-16.67%

C3: Philadelphia Convention Delegate Roster

Last Name	First Name	Middle Initial	State	CIV	Militia Officer	CONT	VFV	SOC	Vote	Length of service
Baldwin	Abraham		GA			Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	5 Years
Bassett	Richard		DE			Yes			Yes	3 Years
Bedford	Gunning		DE	Yes					Yes	
Blair	John		VA	Yes					Yes	
Blount	William		NC			Yes			Yes	4 Years
Brearley	David		NJ			Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	4 Years
Broom	Jacob		DE	Yes					Yes	
Butler	Pierce		SC		Yes				Yes	
Carroll	Daniel		MD	Yes					Yes	
Clymer	George		PA	Yes					Yes	
Davie	William	R	NC			Yes			Yes	7 Years
Dayton	Jonathan		NJ			Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	7 Years
Dickinson	John		DE	Yes					Yes	
Ellsworth	Oliver		CT	Yes					Yes	
Few	William		GA			Yes			Yes	4 Years
Fitzsimons	Thomas		PA		Yes				Yes	
Franklin	Benjamin		PA	Yes					Yes	
Gerry	Elbridge		MA	Yes					No	
Gilman	Nicholas		NH			Yes		Yes	Yes	5 Years
Gorham	Nathaniel		MA	Yes					Yes	
Hamilton	Alexander		NY			Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	7 Years
Houston	William		NJ		Yes				Yes	
Houstoun	William		GA	Yes					No	
Ingersoll	Jared		PA	Yes					Yes	
Jenifer	Daniel		MD			Yes		Yes	Yes	6 Years
Johnson	William	S	CT	Yes					Yes	
King	Rufus		MA			Yes			Yes	4 Years
Langdon	John		NH			Yes			Yes	1 Year
Lansing	John		NY		Yes				No	
Livingston	William		NJ		Yes				Yes	

C3 continued: Philadelphia Convention Delegate Roster

Last Name	First Name	Middle Initial	State	CIV	Militia Officer	CONT	VFV	SOC	Vote	Length of service
Madison	James		VA		Yes				Yes	
Martin	Alexander		NC			Yes	Yes		Yes	2 Years
Martin	Luther		MD		Yes				No	
Mason	George		VA	Yes					No	
McClurg	James		VA		Yes			Yes	Yes	
McHenry	James		MD			Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	6 Years
Mercer	John	F	MD			Yes	Yes		No	3 Years
Mifflin	Thomas		PA			Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	4 Years
Morris	Gouverneur		PA	Yes			Yes		Yes	
Morris	Robert		PA	Yes					Yes	
Paterson	William		NJ	Yes					Yes	
Pierce	William		GA			Yes		Yes	Yes	7 Years
Pinckney	Charles		SC		Yes				Yes	
Pinckney	Charles	C	SC			Yes		Yes	Yes	8 Years
Randolph	Edmund		VA			Yes			No	8 Months
Read	George		DE	Yes					Yes	
Rutledge	John		SC	Yes					Yes	
Sherman	Roger		CT	Yes					Yes	
Spaight	Richard	D	NC		Yes				Yes	
Strong	Caleb		MA	Yes					Yes	
Washington	George		VA			Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	8 Years
Williamson	Hugh		NC		Yes				Yes	
Wilson	James		PA	Yes					Yes	
Wythe	George		VA	Yes					Yes	
Yates	Robert		NY	Yes					No	

APPENDIX D: CONNECTICUT CONVENTION DATA

D1: Connecticut Convention Voter Disambiguation

Category	Delegate numbers	Number Who Voted Yes	Number Who Voted No	Percentage Of Yes Votes In Category	Percentage Of No Votes In Category	MD Between Percentages
Total delegates	168	128	40	76.19%	23.81%	52.38%
CIV delegates	128	94	34	73.44%	26.56%	46.88%
CONT delegates	40	34	6	85.00%	15.00%	70.00%
Members of the SOC	10	10	0	100%	0.00%	100%
VFV	10	9	1	90.00%	10.00%	80.00%
VFV members of the SOC	4	4	0	100%	0.00%	100%
CONT not present at VF	30	25	5	83.33%	16.67%	66.67%

D2: Connecticut Convention Group Comparable Data

Categorical Comparison	Total Delegate APPR%	CIV APPR%	CONT APPR%	SOC APPR%	VFV APPR%	VFV with SOC membership APPR%	CONT Not At VF APPR%	MD Between Percentages
Total delegates to CONT	76.19%		85.00%					-8.81%
SOC to CONT			85.00%	100%				15.00%
VFV to CONT			85.00%		90.00%			5.00%
VFV With SOC membership to CONT			85.00%			100%		15.00%
VFV to CONT not at VF					90.00%		83.33%	6.67%
CIV to total delegates	76.19%	73.44%						-2.75%
CIV to CONT		73.44%	85.00%					-11.56%
CIV to SOC		73.44%		100%				-26.56%
CIV to VFV		73.44%			90.00%			-16.56%
CIV to VFV with SOC membership		73.44%				100%		-26.56%

D3: Connecticut Convention Roster of Continental Officers

Last Name	First Name	Middle Name	Suffix	Present at VF	Member of the SOC	Ratification Vote	County Represented	City Represented
Austin	Aaron		Jr.			Yes	Litchfield	New Hartford
Beardsley	Nehemiah					Yes	Fairfield	New Fairfield
Billings	Stephen			Yes	Yes	Yes	New London	Groton
Bradley	Philip	Burr		Yes		Yes	Fairfield	Ridgefield
Burrall	Charles					Yes	Litchfield	Canaan
Campbell	Moses					Yes	Windham	Voluntown
Carver	Samuel					Yes	Tolland	Bolton
Chandler	John			Yes		Yes	Fairfield	Newtown
Chapman	Samuel					Yes	Tolland	Tolland
Chester	John				Yes	Yes	Hartford	Wethersfield
Cleaveland	Moses			Yes		Yes	Windham	Canterbury
Curtiss	Eleazer					Yes	Litchfield	Warren
Davenport	John		Jr.		Yes	Yes	Fairfield	Stamford
Fitch	Jabez					Yes	Fairfield	Greenwich
Goodrich	Wait					Yes	Hartford	Glastonbury
Hall	Asaph					Yes	Litchfield	Goshen
Hall	Street					No	New Haven	Wallingford
Halsey	Jeremiah					Yes	New London	Preston
Hart	Selah					Yes	Hartford	Berlin
Higgins	Cornelius			Yes		Yes	Middlesex	Haddam
Hinman	Benjamin					Yes	Litchfield	Southbury
Huntington	Jedidiah			Yes		Yes	New London	Norwich
Judd	William				Yes	Yes	Hartford	Farmington
Lee	Andrew				Yes	Yes	New London	Lisbon
Marvin	Elihu			Yes		No	Tolland	Hebron
Mosely	Joseph					Yes	Hartford	Glastonbury
Osborn	Samuel					No	New Haven	Woodbridge
Parsons	Samuel	H.			Yes	Yes	Middlesex	Middletown
Patterson	Matthew					No	Litchfield	Cornwall
Porter	Joshua					Yes	Litchfield	Salisbury
Rogers	Hezekiah			Yes	Yes	Yes	Fairfield	Norwalk
Root	Jesse					Yes	Hartford	Hartford
Sheldon	Epaphras					Yes	Litchfield	Torrington
Smith	David			Yes	Yes	Yes	Litchfield	Watertown
Smith	Simeon					Yes	Windham	Ashford
Wadsworth	Jeremiah			Yes	Yes	Yes	Hartford	Hartford
Ward	Andrew					No	New Haven	Guilford
Welton	John					Yes	New Haven	Waterbury
West	Jeremiah				Yes	Yes	Tolland	Tolland
Whiting	Samuel					No	New Haven	Wallingford

APPENDIX E: DELAWARE CONVENTION DATA

E1: Delaware Convention Voter Disambiguation

Category	Delegate numbers	Number Who Voted Yes	Number Who Voted No	Percentage Of Yes Votes In Category	Percentage Of No Votes In Category	MD Between Percentages
Total delegates	30	30	0	100%	0.00%	100%
CIV delegates	27	27	0	100%	0.00%	100%
CONT delegates	3	3	0	100%	0.00%	100%
Members of the SOC	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
VFV	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
VFV members of the SOC	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
CONT not present at VF	3	3	0	100%	0.00%	100%

E2: Delaware Convention Group Comparable Data

Categorical Comparison	Total Delegate APPR%	CIV APPR%	CONT APPR%	SOC APPR%	VFV APPR%	VFV with SOC membership APPR%	CONT Not At VF APPR%	MD Between Percentages
Total delegates to CONT	100%		100%					
SOC to CONT			100%	0.00%				0.00%
VFV to CONT			100%		0.00%			0.00%
VFV With SOC membership to CONT			100%			0.00%		0.00%
VFV to CONT not at VF					0.00%		100%	0.00%
CIV to total delegates	100%	100%						0.00%
CIV to CONT		100%	100%					0.00%
CIV to SOC		100%		0.00%				0.00%
CIV to VFV		100%			0.00%			0.00%
CIV to VFV with SOC membership		100%				0.00%		0.00%

E3: Delaware Convention Roster of Continental Officers

Last Name	First Name	Middle Name	Suffix	Present at VF	Member of the SOC	Ratification Vote	County Represented
Bassett	Richard					Yes	Kent
Bedford	Gunning		Sr.			Yes	New Castle
McLane	Allen					Yes	Kent

APPENDIX F: GEORGIA CONVENTION DATA

F1: Georgia Convention Voter Disambiguation

Category	Delegate numbers	Number Who Voted Yes	Number Who Voted No	Percentage Of Yes Votes In Category	Percentage Of No Votes In Category	MD Between Percentages
Total delegates	26	26	0	100%	0.00%	100%
CIV delegates	20	20	0	100%	0.00%	100%
CONT delegates	6	6	0	100%	0.00%	100%
Members of the SOC	4	4	0	100%	0.00%	100%
VFV	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
VFV Who Belonged to SOC	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
CONT not present at VF	6	6	0	100%	0.00%	100%

F2: Georgia Convention Group Comparable Data

Categorical Comparison	Total Delegate APPR%	CIV APPR%	CONT APPR%	SOC APPR%	VFV APPR%	VFV with SOC membership APPR%	CONT Not At VF APPR%	MD Between Percentages
Total delegates to CONT	100%		100%					
SOC to CONT			100%	100%				0.00%
VFV to CONT			100%		0.00%			0.00%
VFV With SOC membership to CONT			100%			0.00%		0.00%
VFV to CONT not at VF					0.00%		100%	0.00%
CIV to total delegates	100%	100%						0.00%
CIV to CONT		100%	100%					0.00%
CIV to SOC		100%		100%				0.00%
CIV to VFV		100%			0.00%			100%
CIV to VFV with SOC membership		100%				0.00%		100%

F3: Georgia Convention Roster of Continental Officers

Last Name	First Name	Middle Name	Suffix	Present at VF	Member of the SOC	Ratification Vote	County Represented
Brownson	Nathan					Yes	Effingham
Few	William					Yes	Richmond
Habersham	Joseph				Yes	Yes	Chatham
Handley	George				Yes	Yes	Glynn
Hillary	Christopher				Yes	Yes	Glynn
Milton	John				Yes	Yes	Glynn

APPENDIX G: MARYLAND CONVENTION DATA

G1: Maryland Convention Voter Disambiguation

Category	Delegate numbers	Number Who Voted Yes	Number Who Voted No	Percentage Of Yes Votes In Category	Percentage Of No Votes In Category	MD Between Percentages
Total delegates	74	63	11	85.14%	14.86%	70.27%
CIV delegates	64	54	10	84.38%	15.63%	68.75%
CONT delegates	10	9	1	90.00%	10.00%	80.00%
Members of the SOC	3	3	0	100%	0.00%	100%
VFV	4	3	1	75.00%	25.00%	50.00%
VFV members of the SOC	2	2	0	100%	0.00%	100%
CONT not present at VF	6	6	0	100%	0.00%	100%

G2: Maryland Convention Group Comparable Data

Categorical Comparison	Total Delegate APPR%	CIV APPR%	CONT APPR%	SOC APPR%	VFV APPR%	VFV with SOC membership APPR%	CONT Not At VF APPR%	MD Between Percentages
Total delegates to CONT	85.14%		90.00%					-4.86%
SOC to CONT			90.00%	100%				10.00%
VFV to CONT			90.00%		75.00%			-15.00%
VFV With SOC membership to CONT			90.00%			100%		10.00%
VFV to CONT not at VF					75.00%		100%	-25.00%
CIV to total delegates	85.14%	84.38%						-0.76%
CIV to CONT		84.38%	90.00%					-5.63%
CIV to SOC		84.38%		100%				-15.63%
CIV to VVV		84.38%			75.00%			9.38%
CIV to VVV with SOC membership		84.38%				100%		-15.63%

G3: Maryland Convention Roster of Continental Officers

Last Name	First Name	Middle Name	Suffix	Present at VF	Member of the SOC	Ratification Vote
Bowie	Fielder					Yes
Gale	John			Yes	Yes	Yes
Hanson	Alexander	Condee				Yes
McHenry	James			Yes	Yes	Yes
Mercer	John	Francis		Yes		No
Perkins	Isaac					Yes
Rawlings	Moses				Yes	Yes
Richardson	William			Yes		Yes
Shryock	Henry					Yes
Sprigg	Thomas					Yes

APPENDIX H: MASSACHUSETTS CONVENTION DATA

H1: Massachusetts Convention Voter Disambiguation

Category	Delegate numbers	Number Who Voted Yes	Number Who Voted No	Percentage Of Yes Votes In Category	Percentage Of No Votes In Category	MD Between Percentages
Total delegates	356	187	169	52.53%	47.47%	5.06%
CIV delegates	313	156	157	49.84%	50.16%	-0.32%
CONT delegates	43	31	12	72.09%	27.91%	44.19%
Members of the SOC	10	8	2	80.00%	20.00%	60.00%
VFV	11	9	2	81.82%	18.18%	63.64%
VFV members of the SOC	5	4	1	80.00%	20.00%	60.00%
CONT not present at VF	32	22	10	68.75%	31.25%	37.50%

H2: Massachusetts Convention Group Comparable Data

Categorical Comparison	Total Delegate APPR%	CIV APPR%	CONT APPR%	SOC APPR%	VFV APPR%	VFV with SOC membership APPR%	CONT Not At VF APPR%	MD Between Percentages
Total delegates to CONT	52.53%		72.09%					-19.56%
SOC to CONT			72.09%	80.00%				7.91%
VFV to CONT			72.09%		81.82%			9.73%
VFV With SOC membership to CONT			72.09%			80.00%		7.91%
VFV to CONT not at VF					81.82%		68.75%	13.07%
CIV to total delegates	52.53%	49.84%						-2.69%
CIV to CONT		49.84%	72.09%					-22.25%
CIV to SOC		49.84%		80.00%				-30.16%
CIV to VFV		49.84%			81.82%			-31.98%
CIV to VFV with SOC membership		49.84%				80.00%		-30.16%

H3: Massachusetts Convention Roster of Continental Officers

Last Name	First Name	Middle Name	Suffix	Present at VF	Member of the SOC	Ratification Vote	County Represented	City Represented
Baker	Thomas	Marshall		Yes	Yes	No	Worcester	Upton
Black	John					No	Worcester	Barre
Brooks	John			Yes	Yes	Yes	Middlesex	Medford
Brown	Benjamin					Yes	Middlesex	Lexington
Burnham	John				Yes	Yes	Essex	Lynn and Lynn field
Cabot	Francis					Yes	Essex	Salem
Carnes	John					Yes	Essex	Lynn and Lynn field
Cutts	Thomas					Yes	York	Pepperellborough
Davis	John			Yes	Yes	Yes	Plymouth	Plymouth
Eager	Nahum					Yes	Hampshire	Worthington
Eddy	Samuel					No	Hampshire	Colrain
Farley	Michael			Yes		Yes	Essex	Ipswich
Fletcher	Joel					No	Worcester	Templeton
Fuller	John				Yes	No	Worcester	Lunenburg
Hastings	John				Yes	Yes	Hampshire	Hatfield
Heath	William				Yes	Yes	Suffolk	Roxbury
Hutchinson	Israel					No	Essex	Danvers
Jackson	Joseph					Yes	Suffolk	Brookline
Jones	John	Coffin		Yes		Yes	Suffolk	Boston
Jones	William			Yes		No	Lincoln	Bristol
King	Rufus					Yes	Essex	Newburyport
Leonard	Nathaniel					No	Bristol	Taunton
Lincoln	Benjamin				Yes	Yes	Suffolk	Hingham
Low	John					Yes	Essex	Gloucester
Low	John					Yes	York	Coxhall
Mansfield	Isaac					Yes	Essex	Marblehead
Merrill	Samuel					Yes	Cumberland	North Yarmouth
Mighill	Thomas					No	Essex	Rowley
Morgan	Abner					Yes	Hampshire	Brimfield
Nasson	Samuel					No	York	Sanford
Pratt	John					No	Bristol	Mansfield
Sedgwick	Theodore			Yes		Yes	Berkshire	Stockbridge
Shepard	David					Yes	Hampshire	Chester
Smith	John	K.		Yes	Yes	Yes	Cumberland	Falmouth
Smith	Josiah			Yes	Yes	Yes	Plymouth	Pembroke
Southworth	Jedediah					No	Suffolk	Stoughton
Taylor	Daniel					Yes	Berkshire	New Marlborough
Thomas	Joshua					Yes	Plymouth	Plymouth
Thompson	William			Yes		Yes	Cumberland	Scarborough
Turner	John					Yes	Plymouth	Pembroke
West	Samuel					Yes	Bristol	New Bedford
Wilder	David					Yes	Worcester	Leominster
Wood	Joseph			Yes		Yes	Essex	Beverly

APPENDIX I: NEW HAMPSHIRE CONVENTION DATA

II: New Hampshire Convention Voter Disambiguation

Category	Delegate numbers	Number Who Voted Yes	Number Who Voted No	Percentage Of Yes Votes In Category	Percentage Of No Votes In Category	MD Between Percentages
Total delegates	104	57	47	54.81%	45.19%	9.62%
CIV delegates	93	49	44	52.69%	47.31%	5.38%
CONT delegates	11	8	3	72.73%	27.27%	45.45%
Members of the SOC	4	4	0	100%	0.00%	100%
VFV	5	4	1	80.00%	20.00%	60.00%
VFV members of the SOC	4	4	0	100%	0.00%	100%
CONT not present at VF	6	4	2	66.67%	33.33%	33.33%

I2: New Hampshire Convention Group Comparable Data

Categorical Comparison	Total Delegate APPR%	CIV APPR%	CONT APPR%	SOC APPR%	VFV APPR%	VFV with SOC membership APPR%	CONT Not At VF APPR%	MD Between Percentages
Total delegates to CONT	54.81%		72.73%					-17.92%
SOC to CONT			72.73%	100%				27.27%
VFV to CONT			72.73%		80.00%			7.27%
VFV With SOC membership to CONT			72.73%			100%		27.27%
VFV to CONT not at VF					80.00%		66.67%	13.33%
CIV to total delegates	54.81%	52.69%						-2.12%
CIV to CONT		52.69%	72.73%					-20.04%
CIV to SOC		52.69%		100%				-47.31%
CIV to VFV		52.69%			80.00%			-27.31%
CIV to VFV with SOC membership		52.69%				100%		-47.31%

I3: New Hampshire Convention Roster of Continental Officers

Last Name	First Name	Middle Name	Suffix	Present at VF	Member of the SOC	Ratification Vote	County Represented
Bartlett	Josiah					Yes	Kingstown
Clough	Jeremiah					No	Canterbury
Emery	Benjamin					No	Concord
Fogg	Jeremiah			Yes	Yes	Yes	Kensington
Glidden	Charles					Yes	Northfield
Gray	James			Yes	Yes	Yes	Northwood, Epsom, and Allenstown
Green	Ezra					Yes	Dover
Langdon	John					Yes	Portsmouth
Stone	Benjamin			Yes		No	Atkinson and Plastow
Sullivan	John			Yes	Yes	Yes	Durham
Wilkins	Robert	B.		Yes	Yes	Yes	Hinnekar and Hillsborough

APPENDIX J: NEW JERSEY CONVENTION DATA

J1: New Jersey Convention Voter Disambiguation

Category	Delegate numbers	Number Who Voted Yes	Number Who Voted No	Percentage Of Yes Votes In Category	Percentage Of No Votes In Category	MD Between Percentages
Total delegates	38	38	0	100%	0.00%	100%
CIV delegates	33	33	0	100%	0.00%	100%
CONT delegates	5	5	0	100%	0.00%	100%
Members of the SOC	4	4	0	100%	0.00%	100%
VFV	4	4	0	100%	0.00%	100%
VFV members of the SOC	4	4	0	100%	0.00%	100%
CONT not present at VF	1	1	0	100%	0.00%	100%

J2: New Jersey Convention Group Comparable Data

Categorical Comparison	Total Delegate APPR%	CIV APPR%	CONT APPR%	SOC APPR%	VFV APPR%	VFV with SOC membership APPR%	CONT Not At VF APPR%	MD Between Percentages
Total delegates to CONT	100%		100%					
SOC to CONT			100%	100%				0.00%
VFV to CONT			100%		100%			0.00%
VFV With SOC membership to CONT			100%			100%		0.00%
VFV to CONT not at VF					100%		100%	0.00%
CIV to total delegates	100%	100%						0.00%
CIV to CONT		100%	100%					0.00%
CIV to SOC		100%		100%				0.00%
CIV to VFFV		100%			100%			0.00%
CIV to VFFV with SOC membership		100%				100%		0.00%

J3: New Jersey Convention Roster of Continental Officers

Last Name	First Name	Middle Name	Suffix	Present at VF	Member of the SOC	Ratification Vote	County Represented
Brearley	David			Yes	Yes	Yes	Hunterdon
Frelinghuysen	Frederick					Yes	Somerset
Hennion	Cornelius			Yes	Yes	Yes	Bergen
Howell	Richard			Yes	Yes	Yes	Gloucester
Hunter	Andrew			Yes	Yes	Yes	Gloucester

APPENDIX K: NEW YORK CONVENTION DATA

K1: New York Convention Voter Disambiguation

Category	Delegate numbers	Number Who Voted Yes	Number Who Voted No	Percentage Of Yes Votes In Category	Percentage Of No Votes In Category	MD Between Percentages
Total delegates	57	30	27	52.63%	47.37%	5.26%
CIV delegates	52	27	25	51.92%	48.08%	3.85%
CONT delegates	5	3	2	60.00%	40.00%	20.00%
Members of the SOC	2	1	1	50.00%	50.00%	0.00%
VFV	1	1	0	100%	0.00%	100%
VFV members of the SOC	1	1	0	100%	0.00%	100%
CONT not present at VF	4	2	2	50.00%	50.00%	0.00%

K2: New York Convention Group Comparable Data

Categorical Comparison	Total Delegate APPR%	CIV APPR%	CONT APPR%	SOC APPR%	VFV APPR%	VFV with SOC membership APPR%	CONT Not At VF APPR%	MD Between Percentages
Total delegates to CONT	52.63%		60.00%					-7.37%
SOC to CONT			60.00%	50.00%				-10.00%
VFV to CONT			60.00%		100%			40.00%
VFV With SOC membership to CONT			60.00%			100%		40.00%
VFV to CONT not at VF					100%		50.00%	50.00%
CIV to total delegates	52.63%	51.92%						-0.71%
CIV to CONT		51.92%	60.00%					-8.08%
CIV to SOC		51.92%		50.00%				1.92%
CIV to VFV		51.92%			100%			-48.08%
CIV to VFV with SOC membership		51.92%				100%		-48.08%

K3: New York Convention Roster of Continental Officers

Last Name	First Name	Middle Name	Suffix	Present at VF	Member of the SOC	Ratification Vote	County Represented	City Represented
Bancker	Abraham					Yes	Richmond County	
Clinton	James				Yes	No	Ulster County	
Hamilton	Alexander			Yes	Yes	Yes	New York	New York
Haring	John					No	Orange County	
Livingston	Gilbert					Yes	Dutchess County	

APPENDIX L: NORTH CAROLINA CONVENTION DATA

L1: North Carolina Convention Voter Disambiguation

Category	Delegate numbers	Number Who Voted Yes	Number Who Voted No	Percentage Of Yes Votes In Category	Percentage Of No Votes In Category	MD Between Percentages
Total delegates	271	194	77	71.59%	28.41%	43.17%
CIV delegates	248	178	70	71.77%	28.23%	43.55%
CONT delegates	23	16	7	69.57%	30.43%	39.13%
Members of the SOC	4	2	2	50.00%	50.00%	0.00%
VFV	7	5	2	71.43%	28.57%	42.86%
VFV members of the SOC	2	2	0	100%	0.00%	100%
CONT not present at VF	16	11	5	68.75%	31.25%	37.50%

L2: North Carolina Convention Group Comparable Data

Categorical Comparison	Total Delegate APPR%	CIV APPR%	CONT APPR%	SOC APPR%	VFV APPR%	VFV with SOC membership APPR%	CONT Not At VF APPR%	MD Between Percentages
Total delegates to CONT	71.59%		69.57%					
SOC to CONT			69.57%	50.00%				-19.57%
VFV to CONT			69.57%		71.43%			1.86%
VFV With SOC membership to CONT			69.57%			100%		30.43%
VFV to CONT not at VF					71.43%		68.75%	2.68%
CIV to total delegates	71.59%	71.77%						0.19%
CIV to CONT		71.77%	69.57%					2.21%
CIV to SOC		71.77%		50.00%				21.77%
CIV to VFV		71.77%			71.43%			0.35%
CIV to VFV with SOC membership		71.77%				100%		-28.23%

L3: North Carolina Convention Roster of Continental Officers

Last Name	First Name	Middle Name	Suffix	Present at VF	Member of the SOC	Ratification Vote	County Represented
Allen	John			Yes		Yes	Craven
Armstrong	James			Yes		Yes	Pitt
Ashe	John	Baptista		Yes	Yes	Yes	Halifax
Baker	John			Yes		Yes	Gates
Blount	Thomas					Yes	Edgecombe
Blount	William					Yes	Tennessee
Brown	John			Yes		No	Wilkes
Bryan	Hardy					Yes	Johnston
Campbell	John	A.			Yes	No	New Hanover
Davie	William	Richardson				Yes	Halifax
Gerrard	Charles					Yes	Davidson
Graham	Joseph					Yes	Mecklenburg
Guion	Isaac			Yes	Yes	Yes	Newbern
Hill	William	H.				Yes	Wilmington
Holmes	Hardy				Yes	No	Sampson
Lenoir	William					No	Wilkes
Lord	William	E.				No	Brunswick
Moore	James					No	Cumberland
Moore	John					Yes	Lincoln
Murfee	Hardy					Yes	Hertford
Scull	John	G.		Yes		No	New Hanover
Smith	Samuel					Yes	Johnston
Spicer	John					Yes	Onslow

APPENDIX M: PENNSYLVANIA CONVENTION DATA

M1: Pennsylvania Convention Voter Disambiguation

Category	Delegate numbers	Number Who Voted Yes	Number Who Voted No	Percentage Of Yes Votes In Category	Percentage Of No Votes In Category	MD Between Percentages
Total delegates	69	46	23	66.67%	33.33%	33.33%
CIV delegates	53	32	21	60.38%	39.62%	20.75%
CONT delegates	16	14	2	87.50%	12.50%	75.00%
Members of the SOC	7	7	0	100%	0.00%	100%
VFV	8	8	0	100%	0.00%	100%
VFV members of the SOC	6	6	0	100%	0.00%	100%
CONT not present at VF	8	6	2	75.00%	25.00%	50.00%

M2: Pennsylvania Convention Group Comparable Data

Categorical Comparison	Total Delegate APPR%	CIV APPR%	CONT APPR%	SOC APPR%	VFV APPR%	VFV with SOC membership APPR%	CONT Not At VF APPR%	MD Between Percentages
Total delegates to CONT	66.67%		87.50%					-20.83%
SOC to CONT			87.50%	100%				12.50%
VFV to CONT			87.50%		100%			12.50%
VFV With SOC membership to CONT			87.50%			100%		12.50%
VFV to CONT not at VF					100%		75.00%	25.00%
CIV to total delegates	66.67%	60.38%						-6.29%
CIV to CONT		60.38%	87.50%					-27.12%
CIV to SOC		60.38%		100%				-39.62%
CIV to VFFV		60.38%			100%			-39.62%
CIV to VFFV with SOC membership		60.38%				100%		-39.62%

M3: Pennsylvania Convention Roster of Continental Officers

Last Name	First Name	Middle Name	Suffix	Present at VF	Member of the SOC	Ratification Vote	County Represented
Arndt	John					Yes	Northampton
Boyd	John			Yes	Yes	Yes	Northumberland
Bull	Thomas			Yes		Yes	Chester
Campbell	Thomas			Yes	Yes	Yes	York
Chambers	Stephen			Yes	Yes	Yes	Lancaster
Coleman	Robert					Yes	Lancaster
Edwards	Enoch					Yes	Philadelphia
Grier	David			Yes		Yes	York
Hartley	Thomas			Yes	Yes	Yes	York
Ludwig	John					No	Berks
Lutz	Nicholas					No	Berks
Macpherson	William				Yes	Yes	Philadelphia
Morris	James					Yes	Montgomery
Rush	Benjamin					Yes	Philadelphia
Wayne	Anthony			Yes	Yes	Yes	Chester
Wilson	William			Yes	Yes	Yes	Northumberland

APPENDIX N: SOUTH CAROLINA CONVENTION DATA

N1: South Carolina Convention Voter Disambiguation Data

Category	Delegate numbers	Number Who Voted Yes	Number Who Voted No	Percentage Of Yes Votes In Category	Percentage Of No Votes In Category	MD Between Percentages
Total delegates	222	149	73	67.12%	32.88%	34.23%
CIV delegates	187	121	66	64.71%	35.29%	29.41%
CONT delegates	35	28	7	80.00%	20.00%	60.00%
Members of the SOC	11	10	1	90.91%	9.09%	81.82%
VFV	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
VFV members of the SOC	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
CONT not present at VF	35	28	7	80.00%	20.00%	60.00%

N2: South Carolina Convention Group Comparable Data

Categorical Comparison	Total Delegate APPR%	CIV APPR%	CONT APPR%	SOC APPR%	VFV APPR%	VFV with SOC membership APPR%	CONT Not At VF APPR%	MD Between Percentages
Total delegates to CONT	67.12%		80.00%					-12.88%
SOC to CONT			80.00%	90.91%				10.91%
VFV to CONT			80.00%		0.00%			-80.00%
VFV With SOC membership to CONT			80.00%			0.00%		0.00%
VFV to CONT not at VF					0.00%		80.00%	-80.00%
CIV to total delegates	67.12%	64.71%						-2.41%
CIV to CONT		64.71%	80.00%					-15.29%
CIV to SOC		64.71%		90.91%				-26.20%
CIV to VFV		64.71%			0.00%			64.71%
CIV to VFV with SOC membership		64.71%				0.00%		64.71%

N3: South Carolina Convention Roster of Continental Officers

Last Name	First Name	Middle Name	Suffix	Present at VF	Member of the SOC	Ratification Vote	County Represented
Allston	William		Jr.			Yes	Prince George's, Winyaw
Barnwell	John					Yes	St. Helena's
Blake	John					Yes	Parishes of St. Philip and St. Michael, Charleston
Bowie	John					No	District of Ninety-six
Budd	John					Yes	Parishes of St. Philip and St. Michael, Charleston
Drayton	Charles					Yes	St. Andrew's
Drayton	Glen					Yes	St. Andrew's
Earle	Samuel					Yes	North Side of Saluda
Edwards	John					Yes	Parishes of St. Philip and St. Michael, Charleston
Fayssoux	Peter				Yes	No	St. John's, Berkley
Fitzpatrick	William					No	District of Saxe-Gotha
Gadsden	Christopher					Yes	Parishes of St. Philip and St. Michael, Charleston
Grimke	John	F.			Yes	Yes	Parishes of St. Philip and St. Michael, Charleston
Harleston	Isaac				Yes	Yes	St. Thomas and St. Dennis
Heyward	Thomas		Jr.			Yes	Parishes of St. Philip and St. Michael, Charleston
Kinloch	Francis					Yes	Parishes of St. Philip and St. Michael, Charleston
Ladson	James					Yes	St. Andrew's
Martin	James					No	District called the New Acquisition
Motte	Isaac					Yes	Parishes of St. Philip and St. Michael, Charleston
Moultrie	William				Yes	Yes	St. John's, Berkley
Pinckney	Charles	Cotesworth			Yes	Yes	Parishes of St. Philip and St. Michael, Charleston
Pinckney	Thomas				Yes	Yes	Parishes of St. Philip and St. Michael, Charleston
Postell	Benjamin					No	St. Batholomew's
Ramsay	David					Yes	Parishes of St. Philip and St. Michael, Charleston
Read	William				Yes	Yes	Christ Church
Saunders	Roger	Parker				Yes	St. Paul's Parish
Scott	William				Yes	Yes	St. Andrew's
Snipes	William	Clay				No	St. Batholomew's
Sumter	Thomas					No	District Eastward of the Wateree
Taylor	Samuel				Yes	Yes	St. David
Thompson	William				Yes	Yes	St. Matthew's
Warley	Paul					Yes	St. Matthew's
Washington	William				Yes	Yes	St. Paul's Parish
Waties	Thomas					Yes	Prince George's, Winyaw

APPENDIX O: VIRGINIA CONVENTION DATA

O1: Virginia Convention Voter Disambiguation

Category	Delegate numbers	Number Who Voted Yes	Number Who Voted No	Percentage Of Yes Votes In Category	Percentage Of No Votes In Category	MD Between Percentages
Total delegates	168	89	79	52.98%	47.02%	5.95%
CIV delegates	116	59	57	50.86%	49.14%	1.72%
CONT delegates	53	30	23	56.60%	43.40%	13.21%
Members of the SOC	18	7	11	38.89%	61.11%	-22.22%
VFV	21	11	10	52.38%	47.62%	4.76%
VFV members of the SOC	13	7	6	53.85%	46.15%	7.69%
CONT not present at VF	32	19	13	59.38%	40.63%	18.75%

O2: Virginia Convention Group Comparable Data

Categorical Comparison	Total Delegate APPR%	CIV APPR%	CONT APPR%	SOC APPR%	VFV APPR%	VFV with SOC membership APPR%	CONT Not At VF APPR%	MD Between Percentages
Total delegates to CONT	52.98%		56.60%					-3.63%
SOC to CONT			56.60%	38.89%				-17.71%
VFV to CONT			56.60%		52.38%			-4.22%
VFV With SOC membership to CONT			56.60%			53.85%		-2.76%
VFV to CONT not at VF					52.38%		59.38%	-6.99%
CIV to total delegates	52.98%	50.86%						-2.11%
CIV to CONT		50.86%	56.60%					-5.74%
CIV to SOC		50.86%		38.89%				11.97%
CIV to VFV		50.86%			52.38%			-1.52%
CIV to VFV with SOC membership		50.86%				53.85%		-2.98%

O3: Virginia Convention Roster of Continental Officers

Last Name	First Name	Middle Name	Suffix	Present at VF	Member of the SOC	Ratification Vote	County Represented
Allen	John					Yes	Surry
Andrews	Robert					Yes	James City
Bland	Theodorick			Yes		No	Prince George
Breckinridge	Robert					Yes	Jefferson
Bullock	Rice					Yes	Jefferson
Burwell	Nathaniel			Yes	Yes	Yes	James City
Cabell	Samuel	Jordan		Yes	Yes	No	Amherst
Callis	William	Overton		Yes	Yes	Yes	Louisa
Carrington	George				Yes	No	Halifax
Darke	William					Yes	Berkeley
Digges	Cole					Yes	Warwick
Drew	Thomas	H.				No	Cumberland
Edmunds	Thomas				Yes	No	Sussex
Gaskins	Thomas			Yes	Yes	Yes	Northumberland
Grayson	William			Yes	Yes	No	Prince William
Guerrant	John			Yes		No	Goochland
Hopkins	Samuel		Jr.		Yes	No	Mecklenburg
Innes	James			Yes	Yes	Yes	Williamsburg
Johnson	James			Yes		Yes	Isle Of Wight
Jones	Binns					No	Brunswick
Jones	John			Yes		No	Brunswick
Jones	Walter					Yes	Northumberland
Kennon	Richard			Yes	Yes	No	Mecklenburg
King	Miles			Yes		Yes	Elizabeth City
Lawson	Robert			Yes	Yes	No	Prince Edward
Lee	Henry			Yes	Yes	Yes	Westmoreland
Marshall	Humphrey					Yes	Fayette
Marshall	John			Yes		Yes	Henrico
Mathews	Thomas					Yes	Norfolk Borough
Michaux	Joseph			Yes		No	Cumberland
Monroe	James			Yes	Yes	No	Spotsylvania
Montgomery	James					No	Washington
Moore	Andrew					Yes	Rockbridge
Nicholas	George					Yes	Albemarle
Peachey	William					Yes	Richmond County
Powell	Levin			Yes		Yes	Loudoun
Randolph	Edmund					Yes	Henrico
Richeson	Holt					No	King William
Riddick	Willis			Yes	Yes	Yes	Nansemond
Rinker	Jacob					Yes	Shenandoah
Simms	Charles			Yes	Yes	Yes	Fairfax
Steele	John					No	Nelson
Stephen	Adam					Yes	Berkeley
Taylor	James					Yes	Caroline

O3: Virginia Convention Roster of Continental Officers continued

Last Name	First Name	Middle Name	Suffix	Present at VF	Member of the SOC	Ratification Vote	County Represented
Temple	Benjamin			Yes	Yes	No	King William
Towles	Henry					Yes	Lancaster
Trigg	John					No	Bedford
Turpin	Thomas		Jr.			No	Powhatan
Tyler	John					No	Charles City
Upshaw	James				Yes	No	Essex
White	William				Yes	No	Louisa
Williams	John					Yes	Shenandoah
Woodrow	Andrew					Yes	Hampshire

APPENDIX P: VALLEY FORGE ROSTER AND DATA

Last Name	First Name	Middle Name	Suffix	State Ratification Convention	County Represented	Member of SOC	State Ratification Vote
Billings	Stephen			Connecticut	New London	Yes	Yes
Bradley	Philip	Burr		Connecticut	Fairfield		Yes
Chandler	John			Connecticut	Fairfield		Yes
Cleaveland	Moses			Connecticut	Windham		Yes
Higgins	Cornelius			Connecticut	Middlesex		Yes
Huntington	Jedidiah			Connecticut	New London		Yes
Marvin	Elihu			Connecticut	Tolland		No
Rogers	Hezekiah			Connecticut	Fairfield	Yes	Yes
Smith	David			Connecticut	Litchfield	Yes	Yes
Wadsworth	Jeremiah			Connecticut	Hartford	Yes	Yes
Gale	John			Maryland		Yes	Yes
McHenry	James			Maryland		Yes	Yes
Mercer	John	Francis		Maryland			No
Richardson	William			Maryland			Yes
Baker	Thomas	Marshall		Massachusetts	Worcester	Yes	No
Brooks	John			Massachusetts	Middlesex	Yes	Yes
Davis	John			Massachusetts	Plymouth	Yes	Yes
Farley	Michael			Massachusetts	Essex		Yes
Jones	John	Coffin		Massachusetts	Suffolk		Yes
Jones	William			Massachusetts	Lincoln		No
Sedgwick	Theodore			Massachusetts	Berkshire		Yes
Smith	John	K.		Massachusetts	Cumberland	Yes	Yes
Smith	Josiah			Massachusetts	Plymouth	Yes	Yes
Thompson	William			Massachusetts	Cumberland		Yes
Wood	Joseph			Massachusetts	Essex		Yes
Fogg	Jeremiah			New Hampshire	Kensington	Yes	Yes
Gray	James			New Hampshire	Northwood, Epsom, and Allenstown	Yes	Yes

Valley Forge Roster and Data Continued

Last Name	First Name	Middle Name	Suffix	State Ratification Convention	County Represented	Member of SOC	State Ratification Vote
Stone	Benjamin			New Hampshire	Atkinson and Plastow		No
Sullivan	John			New Hampshire	Durham	Yes	Yes
Wilkins	Robert	B.		New Hampshire	Hinnekar and Hillsborough	Yes	Yes
Brearley	David			New Jersey	Hunterdon	Yes	Yes
Hennion	Cornelius			New Jersey	Bergen	Yes	Yes
Howell	Richard			New Jersey	Gloucester	Yes	Yes
Hunter	Andrew			New Jersey	Gloucester	Yes	Yes
Hamilton	Alexander			New York	New York	Yes	Yes
Allen	John			North Carolina	Craven		Yes
Armstrong	James			North Carolina	Pitt		Yes
Ashe	John	Baptista		North Carolina	Halifax	Yes	Yes
Baker	John			North Carolina	Gates		Yes
Brown	John			North Carolina	Wilkes		No
Guion	Isaac			North Carolina	Newbern	Yes	Yes
Scull	John	G.		North Carolina	New Hanover		No
Boyd	John			Pennsylvania	Northumberland	Yes	Yes
Bull	Thomas			Pennsylvania	Chester		Yes
Campbell	Thomas			Pennsylvania	York	Yes	Yes
Chambers	Stephen			Pennsylvania	Lancaster	Yes	Yes
Grier	David			Pennsylvania	York		Yes
Hartley	Thomas			Pennsylvania	York	Yes	Yes
Wayne	Anthony			Pennsylvania	Chester	Yes	Yes
Wilson	William			Pennsylvania	Northumberland	Yes	Yes
Bland	Theodorick			Virginia	Prince George		No
Burwell	Nathaniel			Virginia	James City	Yes	Yes
Cabell	Samuel	Jordan		Virginia	Amherst	Yes	No
Callis	William	Overton		Virginia	Louisa	Yes	Yes

Valley Forge Roster and Data Continued

Last Name	First Name	Middle Name	Suffix	State Ratification Convention	County Represented	Member of SOC	State Ratification Vote
Gaskins	Thomas			Virginia	Northumberland	Yes	Yes
Grayson	William			Virginia	Prince William	Yes	No
Guerrant	John			Virginia	Goochland		No
Innes	James			Virginia	Williamsburg	Yes	Yes
Johnson	James			Virginia	Isle Of Wight		Yes
Jones	John			Virginia	Brunswick		No
Kennon	Richard			Virginia	Mecklenburg	Yes	No
King	Miles			Virginia	Elizabeth City		Yes
Lawson	Robert			Virginia	Prince Edward	Yes	No
Lee	Henry			Virginia	Westmoreland	Yes	Yes
Marshall	John			Virginia	Henrico		Yes
Michaux	Joseph			Virginia	Cumberland		No
Monroe	James			Virginia	Spotsylvania	Yes	No
Powell	Levin			Virginia	Loudoun		Yes
Riddick	Willis			Virginia	Nansemond	Yes	Yes
Simms	Charles			Virginia	Fairfax	Yes	Yes
Temple	Benjamin			Virginia	King William	Yes	No