

A three-act PLAY --by Gloria Peter

NEW ROOF

ACT I-- The Blueprint

(Scene shows a large picture frame in center stage. Curtains allow only picture frame to be seen. Washington enters stage left., in front of curtains, speaks, exits same as entry)

GEORGE WASHINGTON: "You will permit me to say, that a greater drama is now acting on this theater than has heretofore been brought on the American stage, or any other in the world. We exhibit at present the novel and astonishing spectacle of a hole people deliberating calmly on what form of government will be most conducive to their happiness; and deciding with an unexpected degree of unanimity in favor of a system which they conceive calculated to answer the purpose."

NICHOLAS GILMAN: *(Enter stage rt. Stands at rt. of frame.)* Good evening. I'm sure you recognized the gentleman who just spoke to you. You probably don't know me that well. My name is Nicholas Gilman and I am one of the youngest signers of the Constitution representing New Hampshire. Ben Franklin is the oldest delegate at the Federal Convention. But I'm here to try to help you understand how and why this great government of ours is coming into existence. We have the Continental Congress so why do we need something else? That congress was just what we needed during wartime. And we have a union of States, each of which has a constitution of its own. But something is wrong and many figure they know just what it is. As Noah Webster has written--

NOAH WEBSTER: *(Appears behind frame, speaks, leaves)* The American states, as to their general internal police, are not united: there is no supreme power at their head; they are in a perfect state of nature and independence as to each other; each is at liberty to fight its neighbor and there is no sovereign to call forth the power of the continent to quell the dispute or punish the aggressor. It is not in the power of the Congress. They have no command over the militia of the states - each state commands its own, and should any one be disposed for civil war, the sword must settle the contest and the weakest be sacrificed to the strongest.

BENJAMIN RUSH: *(Appears behind frame, speaks, leaves.)* Most of the present difficulties of this country arise from the weakness and other defects of our governments.---- These consist first, in the deficiency of coercive power; second, in a defect of exclusive power to issue paper money and regulate commerce, third, in vesting the sovereign power of the United states in a single legislature; and fourth, in the too frequent rotation of its members. The custom of turning men out of power or office as soon as they are qualified for it has been found to be absurd in practice.

OLIVER ELLSWORTH: *(from behind frame)* The territory, later known as Vermont, is claimed by its neighbors, New York, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire. Neither State is willing to give up its rights -- and Congress can do nothing about it.

FRONTIERSMAN: *(from behind frame)* Foreign attitude toward the United States is causing us loss of trade. England refuses to sign a treaty with us; France is unwilling to sign a trade treaty and Spain

refuses to grant the U.S. free navigation on the Mississippi River and the "right of deposit" at New Orleans.

CONGRESSMAN: *(from behind frame)* When Congress asked the states for \$11,000,000 to run the government they came up with less than \$1500,000. There is nothing we can do about the situation.

GILMAN: So you see, we have a National deficit even before we have a president to blame it on. But the constitutional Convention came about as sort of an accident. Another dispute arose between Virginia and Maryland over navigation rights on the Potomac. Washington called a meeting of the two states at his home. The next year a conference was to be held in Annapolis. Only 5 states sent representatives to this meeting and it was decided to ask Congress to call a Convention to revise the Articles of Confederation.

It was evident, however, that a revision was not enough--A new type of stronger government would have to be created to meet the needs of the times.

(Scene changes to convention. While Gilman is speaking, the Scene of Convention floor is opened behind him and the frame is removed. Washington's podium is to the left. A few delegates sit to left and back of him.)

GEORGE WASHINGTON: " It is too probable that no plan we propose will be adopted. If to please the people, we offer what we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterwards defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair. The event is in the hand of God."

GILMAN: Fifty-five delegates from 12 states are to be in attendance. Rhode Island is not represented. The members are relatively young but their experience is high. Almost three quarters of them have served in Congress. Most of them have worked in state government as well. Over half are lawyers and quite a few of them have lived abroad or in states other than those they represent here. Those who have already arrived have selected George Washington to preside. Some of our well-known leaders are not here.

Thomas Jefferson and John Adams are representing our country abroad. Thomas Paine and Sam Adams were not elected delegates. Patrick Henry, who is an elected delegate, is not here because he mistrusts the convention. Today we are listening to some of those who will take part in the debates.

(More delegates arrive --one or two at a time.)

After an 11-day delay while waiting for most of the delegates to arrive, the convention finally opens. Tho it will be kept secret, James Madison will keep notes so future readers can see what actually happened behind the closed doors.

GEORGE WASHINGTON: Will the Secretary please call the roll.
(background of roll-calling while Gilman continues)

GILMAN: With twelve separate state governments represented there is agreement, believe it or not, on a few essential parts of what a new government should contain if there were to be a national government at all. The secretary is listing these points.

WILLIAM JACKSON: (*as secretary*) The new Congress should have the powers to levy and collect taxes and regulate foreign and interstate commerce.

2.) There should be a national executive to enforce the laws.

3.) A national judiciary should be created.

4.) Property rights should be safeguarded.

5.) The powers of the common people should be limited.

GILMAN: Although there will be more debate to follow on some of these items, it is a start. Some delegates from larger states were here on the designated date and spent their time formulating their plan of government. This "bundle of compromises", as the future document may well be called, receives the first push when Gov. Randolph presents the plan on which the early arrivers have worked.

GOV. RANDOLPH: Mr. Madison's plan, submitted by Virginia, is this: The national legislature ought to consist of two branches. Members of the first should be elected by the people, the second elected by those of the first. A national executive should be instituted, elected by the Legislature, who with a council, have the authority to examine every act of the national legislature and every act of a particular legislature before it becomes final. A national judiciary should be established and inferior tribunals to be chosen by the national legislature. Provision should be made for the admission of new states and these states should be guaranteed a republican government. Provision should be made for the revision and amendments for the Articles of Union for the continuation of Congress.

WILLIAM PATTERSON: On behalf of the smaller states I would like to propose the New Jersey Plan, which goes back to the modification of the Articles of Confederation but will strengthen the federal government, giving them limited powers. The United States would remain a confederation of limited powers representing not people but strong state governments each with an equal voice.

(Much dissention among the delegates)

GILMAN: Madison and Wilson lead the attack against this plan. Alexander Hamilton uses the occasion to voice his strong nationalist views. It seems now that it is well understood that the conflict of equality is not only large states against small ones. The real difference is between North and South. Slavery is the subject that really divides the 5 southern states against the 8 northern ones.

COL. GEORGE MASON: The delegation from Delaware is obliged by their instructions to withdraw if the matter of representation is even discussed.

JAMES MADISON: The equality of suffrage established by the Articles of Confederation ought not to prevail in the national legislature--An equitable ratio of representation ought to be substituted.

GEORGE WASHINGTON: In view of the circumstances, we will postpone the vote to a later date.

WILLIAM PATTERSON: Most of the delegates are ordered by their instructions not to alter the established rule of suffrage.

DAVID BREARLY: I second that. Unless each state had had an equal vote under the Articles, the smaller states would have been destroyed before this.

WILLIAM PATTERSON: We have no power to go beyond the federal scheme; and if we had such, the people are not ripe for any other. We must follow the people; the people will not follow us. There is no more reason for a rich state to have more votes than a poor one.

JAMES WILSON: If the smaller states do not unite the larger states might be reduced to "confederation" among themselves. If such a partial union has to be formed, it would leave the door open for the others to come in when they see the wisdom in it.

WILLIAM PATTERSON: Let them unite if they please but they have no authority to compel the others to unite. New Jersey would never confederate. She would be swallowed up.

JAMES WILSON: The majority, or even a minority, of states have a right to form a union and the rest of you can do as you please. The equality cannot be retained when a state has been made a member of a civil government. Shall New Jersey have the same influence on government as Pennsylvania? I say "no". I will never confederate on the plan!

PIERCE BUTLER: Money is power and ought to have weight in government in proportion to the wealth. S. Carolina has perhaps 11,000 more inhabitants than Connecticut. But in South Carolina 100,000 of the inhabitants are slaves. This would give the few inhabitants of Connecticut, with few slaves, greater voting power than South Carolina.

RUEUS KING: Let's try a trial vote to the effect that suffrage in the first branch be according to some equitable ratio.

GILMAN: So the battle goes on from June 10 to July 18, almost a month and a half. At last Connecticut proposes an acceptable if not pleasing plan. The Connecticut Compromise is presented by Roger Sherman and backed by William Johnson.

ROGER SHERMAN: A large part of the Virginia plan is agreeable to all the delegates but, knowing that neither the large states or small states will give up to the other in the area of representation, let there be two houses in the Legislature; Representation by population in the lower house and each state would have an equal vote in the upper house.

GILMAN: With the "great compromise" achieved, the others come about more quickly.

JAMES MADISON: We have come to an agreement to follow the Ruling of the Confederate Congress of four years past: count three fifths of the slaves for purposes of both representation and taxation.

JACOB BROOM: Who has the authority to tax? We feel that measures of taxation should originate in the House to which we elect members directly. Amendments could be made by the Senate representing state governments. Taxes should be uniform throughout the United States. Export taxes should be abolished.

DAN CARROLL: The Separation of powers among the three branches of the national government, along with a system of checks and balances, is one of the neatest compromise solutions imaginable. For example, the President has veto power over Congress but Congress, by a 2/3 vote in each house, override that veto. And while the judicial branch might denounce laws as unconstitutional, the president thru his appointing powers, and Congress, thru its power to change the number of judges, could indirectly change the Supreme Court's mind.

RUFUS KING: And what about commerce? The Northern states would hope that federal navigation acts would favor American ships over foreign both in coastal or overseas trade. The South who are the major exporters, but are not ship owners, would like foreign ships to be admitted to ports without discrimination so they could benefit from the competition among the ship owners.

COL. GEORGE MASON: The South is willing to forgo a total ban on navigation acts in favor of the requirement of a two-thirds vote in each house of Congress to enact such measures. Further, we will give up effort to restrict navigation acts in exchange for a Northern agreement not to ban the importation of slaves prior to 1808 or to tax imported slaves more than \$10 each.

GUNNING BEDFORD: The most difficult of solutions involves the presidency. To effect a compromise between those who fear a single executive is no different than a king and those who fear direct election by the people who may not be qualified voters; and between those who fear popular vote would give the larger states the advantage and those who feel that selection by the Congress destroys separation of powers, we have agreed upon the following: whereby a single executive would be elected for a four year term by electors in each state appointed as "the Legislature thereof may direct...equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which each State may be entitled to in Congress".

GILMAN: And so after a long summer and with many, many little details ironed out, the delegates feel the secrecy can be lifted and their work be put to the test. We are not all that happy with the results. Some of us have departed earlier. Two of New York's delegation of three, Robert Yates and John Lansing, have returned home in protest over abandoning the Articles of Confederation. Rhode Island did not even send a delegate. Mr. Randolph will not sign the document because he feels the object of the Convention would be frustrated by the alternative which it presents to the people, and he predicts nine states "might fail to ratify". This does not mean however, that he opposes the Constitution. Mr. Blount of North Carolina and Mr. Gerry decline to sign. Only 39 of the 55 working delegates will sign this document and some will do so reluctantly. Alexander Hamilton, Chairman of the Revision Committee, will give the instrument its final touches--including the Preamble. Half of the battle won, the Constitution written, our Mr. Franklin watches his fellow signers. Pointing to the picture of the sun, half up, carved on the back of the President's chair, says--

(During the above speech by Gilman, the delegates file one at a time to the secretary's desk and sign the document.)

BEN FRANKLIN: " I've been full of hope and fears during this Convention that whenever I looked at that sun behind the President, I could not say whether it was rising or setting. Now I do know; it is a rising and not a setting sun".

END OF ACT ONE

NEW ROOF

ACT II--Building

(This act opens with the map in place. Speakers #6 thru 11 speak thru map windows.)

GILMAN: Now that the Constitution is written, ahead of us lies the rest of the battle for a new government. In some way, or somehow, we must put the Constitution into effect. The federalists among the delegates found ratification by the state legislators to be unacceptable. They felt it would give the document the aspect of a treaty. Only endorsement by popular conventions would make it a real Constitution.

At last the Confederate Congress got around to considering the document and after bitter debate over its merits, decided to send the proposed Constitution to the states. Even here Congress has not indicated their approval. So now we are in the thick of the battle. Among the State leaders there is no lack of indication--of approval or disapproval.

#6 **SAMUEL ADAMS:** "I confess as I enter the building, I stumble at the threshold. I meet with a national government, instead of a federal union of sovereign states....If the several states in the union are to become one entire nation, under one legislature, the powers of which shall extend to every subject of legislation, and its laws be supreme and control the whole, the idea of sovereignty in these states must be lost." Above all, we must have a bill of rights.

#7 **JAMES MADISON:** "The second object, the due partition of power between the general and local governments was, perhaps of all, the most nice and the most difficult accomplishment of the Convention. As I formerly intimated to you my opinion in favor of this ingredient, I will take this occasion of explaining myself on the subject. Such a check on the states appears to me necessary

- 1) To prevent encroachments on the general authority;
- 2) To prevent instability and injustice in the legislation of the states."

#8 **RICHARD H. LEE:** "Our object has been all along to reform our federal system, and to strengthen our government...but a new object now presents. The plan of government now proposed is evidently calculated totally to change, in time, our condition as a people."

When power is once transferred from the many to the few, all changes become extremely difficult; the government, in this case, being beneficial to the few, they will be exceedingly artful and adroit in preventing any measures which may lead to change; and nothing will produce it, but great exertions and severe struggles on the part of the common people".

#9 **ALEXANDER HAMILTON:** "The great source of all the evils which afflict republics is that the people are too apt to make choices of rulers who are either politicians without being patriots, or patriots without being politicians.....Whether the new Constitution, if adopted will prove adequate---time, the mother of events, will show. For my own part, I sincerely esteem it a system, which, without the finger of God, never could have been suggested and agreed upon by such a diversity of interests. I will not presume to say that a more perfect system might not have been fabricated; but who expects perfection at once?"

#10 PATRICK HENRY: "What right had they to say, 'we, the people? My political curiosity, exclusive of my anxious solicitude for the public welfare, leads me to ask, who authorized them to speak the language of, we, the people, instead of we, the states? States are the characteristics and the soul of a confederation. If the states be not the agents of the compact, it must be one great consolidated, national government of the people of all the states."

#11 THOMAS JEFFERSON: "I like much the general idea of framing a government which should go on of itself peaceably, with-out needing continual recurrence to the state legislatures....I will now tell you what I do not like. First the omission of a bill of rights, providing clearly and without the aid of sophism for freedom of religion, freedom of the press, protection against standing armies, restriction of monopolies, the eternal and unremitting force of the habeas corpus laws, and trials by jury in all matters of fact triable by the laws of the land and not by the laws of nations.....Let me add that a bill of rights is what the people are entitled to against every government on earth, general or particular, and what no just government should refuse or rest on inference."

GILMAN: Mr. Madison, Hamilton and John Jay have applied their writing talents and have been publishing their arguments in various newspapers under the penname "Publius". These letters have all been gathered into a paper called "The Federalist. Regardless of the merits of the arguments on both sides, the supporters, by now known as Federalists, have the advantage. They are more organized; more united and are better politicians. They hold strategic positions in most of the states. Those against are widely scattered and though greater in numbers, no single issue could unite them all. So while the words have been flying back and forth, the state conventions are taking action on the Constitution.----

GUNNING BEDEFORD: *(from behind state window in map)* December 7, 1787, Delaware unanimously endorses the Constitution.

(All states remain at their windows until all have reported)

GILMAN: Pennsylvania, one of the large states, had a bit more trouble. The opposition to the Constitution deliberately stayed away from the legislative chamber to prevent a ratifying convention from being summoned.----

(This scene takes place in front of the map. Use the same background used for the Convention scene in first act.)

Penn State Legislature is in session

LEGISLATIVE SECRETARY: *(calling roll)* George Clymer, William Findley, Thomas Fitzsimmons, Benjamin Franklin, Jared Ingersoll, Thomas Lloyd, Thomas Mifflin, Governor Morris, Robert Morris, Thomas McKean, Benjamin Rush, John Smilie, Robert Whitehill and James Wilson

(When the name "Ingersoll" is called, there is a burst of loud voices and scuffling from outside. BEN RUSH and JAMES WILSON enter the room forcing WHITEHILL AND SMILIE ahead of them. They force them to be seated and hold them in their places while the roll is finished and all have answered)

PRESIDING OFFICER: A quorum having been reached, the legislature will proceed to set a date for the vote. We will convene on December 12 for the purpose of voting on the proposed Constitution. All in favor respond with the usual sign. *(Ayes are loud and firm. The two nays are defeated)*

Motion carried. This session is dismissed.

FORCED DELEGATES: (*sputtering*) But that's too soon. No time to prepare --much too soon.

GILMAN: So on December 12th--

BEN FRANKLIN: (*pointing to the map*) By a vote of 46 to 23 Pennsylvania endorses the Constitution.

DAVID BREARLY: On December 18, the Constitution gets unanimous approval of the New Jersey legislature.

ABE BALDWIN: Without dissent, Georgia approves the Constitution on January 2nd, 1788.

ROGER SHERMAN: Connecticut, by a margin of 128-40 (3 to 1) endorses the Constitution on this January 9th.

GILMAN: Massachusetts finds the going a bit rougher. Sam Adams and John Hancock, as well as many other delegates to the state convention were skeptical. Hints of a high federal office for John Hancock seemed to help convince the "hold outs", including both of these gentlemen, to change their decisions. So we find ----

RUFUS KING: February 6, 1788, Massachusetts ratifies the constitution.

JAMES MCHENRY: Today, April 26, Maryland defeats the opponents of the constitution by a 63 to 11 vote.

PIERCE BUTLER: South Carolina, despite misgivings about limited protection to both civil liberties and the slave trade, approves the Constitution by a vote of 149 to 73 on this date of May 23, 1788.

GILMAN: Many towns in New Hampshire had sent their delegates to the state legislature in February with instructions to vote against the Constitution. Those in favor of ratification managed to get an adjournment until June. By that time the proponents with persuasion and a promise to recommend 12 amendments, John Langdon was able to announce---

JOHN LANGDON: Acceptance of the Constitution by New Hampshire was achieved by a vote of 57 to 47 on this 21st day of June.

GILMAN: Under the Constitution, New Hampshire's acceptance could have triggered the beginning of the new government. But several other states, essential to the success of the endeavor, are deemed worth waiting for.

JOHN BLAIR: Virginia has much at stake. Patrick Henry, George Mason and Richard Henry Lee have spent a great effort to bring out the opposition. They are very persuasive. But Washington, James Madison, Edmund Randolph (the same Randolph who would not sign the document), and John Marshall are just as able supporters. To answer Patrick's demand for a bill of rights before ratification, James Madison pledged to work for such amendments after ratification. Approval for the Constitution is won on June 26 by an 89 to 79 majority.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON: Prospects have looked dim in New York. New York City is favorable, but the up-staters, followers of Gov. Clinton, are suspicious of the Constitution and of those who are backing it. A vote to approve it only if it were amended to protect civil liberties lost 29 to 31. Ratification has finally been achieved on this 26th day of July by a 30 to 27 vote.

GILMAN: Only two states, North Carolina and Rhode Island rejected the proposed Constitution. But when the new congress proposed amendments, which became the Bill of Rights, North Carolina held another convention and voted to join the Union. Rhode Island still opposed it. They had sent no delegates to the convention and refused to call a ratifying convention preferring to use a popular referendum. Advocates of a ratification refused to participate in the referendum. But by 1790 they at last join the Union by a narrow 34 to 32 vote. Vermont is admitted to the Union on January 10, 1791

(George Washington walks out in front of the map. All at the state windows remain thru his comments)

GEORGE WASHINGTON: "The reflection on the days of difficulty and danger which are past is rendered more sweet from a consciousness that they are succeeded by days of uncommon prosperity and security. If we have wisdom to make the best use of the advantages with which we are now favored, we cannot fail under the just Administration of a good government, to become a great and happy people.

The citizens of the United States of America have a right to applaud themselves for having given to mankind examples of an enlarged and liberal policy, a policy worthy of imitation. All possess alike liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship. It is now no more that toleration is spoken of as if it was by the indulgence of one class of people that another enjoyed the exercise of their inherent natural rights. For happily the government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance, requires only that they who live under its protection should demean themselves as good citizens, in giving it on all occasions their effectual support."

END OF ACT TWO.

NEW ROOF

ACT III-- Celebration

GILMAN: It is 1789, a few months after the inauguration of President Washington. Past Grand Master Ben Franklin as summoned several well-known Freemasons to a special communication at the Blue-Ox tavern in Philadelphia. Although the meeting and place are fictitious, the people and facts presented are authentic.

(Scene opens on a Colonial Table Lodge. M..W.. Benjamin Franklin.is.presiding.)

BEN FRANKLIN: Thank you for your presence here in our great city of Philadelphia. A special thanks to those of you who have returned so soon after a previous sojourn. But I feel that your effort has been worthwhile. This has been a most productive meeting. Now may I present the grand Officers among us. It is my honor to present to you Past Grand Master of Virginia, M..W.. John Blair. He is a signer of the Constitution and was third in seniority at the Convention. Another signer of the Constitution, the First Grand Master of New Jersey, M..W.. David Brearly. he is a member of the legal profession. I present M..W.. Robert R. Livingston, Grand Master of Masons in the State of New York. And now M..W.. Gunning Bedford, Grand Master of Delaware and presently District Court Judge. Assist me in affording grand honors to these esteemed Brothers. *(All do so)* Now, will the rest of the brothers please introduce yourselves, giving your state, occupation and position. We will commence on my left.

(The following introduce themselves)

DANIEL CARROL:I am Dr. Daniel Carroll from Maryland.

JACOB BROOM:also of Delaware. Founder and treasurer of the Wilmington library and soon to be the first Postmaster of Wilmington.

JONATHAN DAYTON: I come from New Jersey where I am a member of the state Legislature.

JOHN DICKENSON: A member of Pennsylvania Lodge #18 located in Dover, Delaware.

RUFUS KING: of Massachusetts, which I represented at the Constitutional Convention. I am now a member of the New York Legislature and a United States Senator from New York.

JOHN HANCOCK: Governor of Massachusetts.

JAMES MCHENRY:of Maryland and member of the Maryland Legislature.

WILLIAM PATTERSON: United States Senator from New Jersey.

GEORGE WALTON: Presently, the governor of Georgia

BEVERLY RANDOLPH: current Governor of Virginia

NICHOLAS GILMAN: U.S. Representative in Congress from New Hampshire.

SAMUEL JOHNSON: from North Carolina and present Governor.

GEORGE WASHINGTON: Master, Alexandria Lodge #39, Virginia and President of the United States.

JACOB MORTON: MASTER of St. John's Lodge #1 of New York City- We are proud to state our bible was borrowed for the Presidential Oath.

MAJOR MORGAN LEWIS: of New York, who with Major Morton here, was a parade Marshal for the presidential inauguration.

BEN FRANKLIN: Thank you, Brethren. Will all of you who signed the Constitution please rise.

(The 12 who signed stand--Washington, Blair, Brearly, Patterson, Dayton, Bedford, Dickenson, Broom, King, McHenry, Carroll and Gillman)

SAMUEL JOHNSON: Everyone should be aware that Grand Master Franklin also signed it. Brother Franklin also printed the first Masonic Book in America, in 1734.

BEN FRANKLIN: While we are standing, please join me in honoring the memory of Past Grand Master of Virginia, Peyton Randolph--who was first president of the Continental Congress and died during the second Continental Congress. Also we honor the memory of Past Grand Master of Mass., Doctor and General Joseph Warren. He gave his life at the Battle of Bunker Hill. We will observe a moment of silence in memory of these esteemed brothers and to all those who gave their lives on both sides of the revolution.

Now as first native Grand Master, I declare this communication closed. We will go to refreshment. Brother Joseph, we are ready for our repast. You may serve now.

(Brother Joseph turns to his staff and gives them instructions. They come and go attending their duties throughout the rest of the act.)

BEN FRANKLIN: Again, greetings to all our brothers. Since so many of us contributed efforts to the Constitution, either by helping to form it or to ratify it, I wonder if you have any notion of how Freemasons became so involved in the national government.

JOHN BLAIR: When one considers the diversity of the states, it seems to me that a singular fact stands out. A major force all of the states had in common was Freemasonry. All Freemasons adhere to a set of principles that have served us well everywhere in the colonies. We forged a chain of common beliefs across our country.

GEORGE WASHINGTON: That is very true. Those beliefs and attitudes helped us during our fight for Independence--they were shared by a number of my generals and their men, including the great Marquis de Lafayette himself. But these principles apply themselves to peace and government as well as on the battlefield.

I offer a toast to unity, which comes from tolerance. (*raises glass*)

Here's to Unity and Tolerance
Our country needs so much.
We have given the example
Of this all-important touch.
As we strive to make men happy,
Let's try bigotry to crush
As truth goes marching on.

(All the others raise their glasses while singing this verse and then the chorus to the "Battle Hymn of the Republic")

GILMAN: But are these Attitudes the attributes of Masons only? It seems to me that all parents strive to give their children a sense of responsibility, honesty etc. What's so different about Freemasonry?

WILLIAM PATTERSON: Well, everyone must admit that equality--every man at the same level--is a different concept. Most governments are based on divine right, rights of the few, or some other selection method. Even the thinking of many of our fellow countrymen today, find it hard to allow the uneducated to share the same basic rights as themselves.

SAMUEL JOHNSON: That's true. Think of how hard it was to convince our legislatures to ratify the Constitution because of this stumbling block. I think we should drink a toast to equality.

To equality of mankind
No matter what his lot.
Be he laborer or tradesman
May the difference be forgot.
As we strive to make life better
Let's include others in our plot
So truth goes marching on.

(All toast this verse)

But speaking of education, we Freemasons have promoted that since back in the middle ages.

JOHN BLAIR: I feel very strongly about that point. To seek light or knowledge was a firm idea in the minds of Free-masons back when education was proper for a very select few. Everyone's right to an education is a relatively new idea even today. I hope this concept can be strengthened so as to provide many opportunities for growth of light in future years.

JACOB MORTON: Also our feeling about knowledge has brought many of society's educated men into our fraternity. The encouragement to learn has proven to be an asset both to our craft and to the country. There's no denying that Masonic thinking has helped this country in many ways. So now I offer a toast to education.

To the light of education
now to everyone extended.
May it lead our brand new nation
to the greatness we intended.

As we strive to further knowledge
Let our efforts be unended
As truth goes marching on.

(All sing and toast as before)

BEVERLY RANDOLPH: Remember-we Masons are builders! When we have the right foundations, the will to work, the patience to do precise work and the fortitude to see it through; we become ideal participants in any endeavor-- be it following our vocations or building a new government. The daring and the effort that went into this Constitution is proof that we are more than capable of constructing a **NEW ROOF** for the edifice of State. So I offer a toast to the builders!

A toast to all the builders
Who have made our nation great.
They have proven it is wisdom
To contribute each man's weight
As they work to build our system
We'll not fail to appreciate
That truth is marching on.

(All sing)

WILLIAM PATTERSON: Have any of you ever---Sir, may I have a refill please (*motions to one of serving staff*) Let's see-what was I saying? Have any of you ever thought about what part religion has played in all of this?

GEORGE WALTON: We know all Freemasons are encouraged to follow the religion of their choice and that Freemasonry promotes no special creed. It asks only that we believe in a Supreme Being. But the fact is that our religious beliefs and moral codes have been a basic part of our country's development and well-being.

GEORGE WASHINGTON: Yes, I brought that out in my acceptance speech. If you will remember the words--"No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the Invisible Hand which conducts the affairs of men nor than those of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency--" I believe this with all my heart.

MAJOR MORGAN LEWIS: We remember. Every facet of our past government and the new constitution--the very fiber of all of us has been illuminated by the Creator of the Universe. A toast to Divine Guidance whatever form it takes.

Here's to guidance and enlightenment
Of the great Creator's will
May it strengthen our endeavors
And our country's hopes fulfill.
As he strives to make men holy
May we follow him until
Our truth goes marching on.

JOHN HANCOCK: Well, Brothers--We all have to agree that all of these attributes, Masonic or otherwise, will come to naught if we are ever denied the freedom to use them. Our potential is great; the country's potential is unlimited if freedom is foremost in the minds of leaders and followers alike. Freedom allowed us to become Freemasons. Masonry encourages us to become leaders. Leaders can and must ensure freedom.

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON: Exactly! Our Constitution guarantees more freedoms because it restrains government. As one man in the future will say; "Governments exist to restrain men, the Constitution exists to restrain government." So----

And most of all to freedom
Which allows us to proceed
With the principles and virtues
that we and our country need.
As we toil to make it stronger
Let us strive to keep men free
And truth will go marching on.

(All sing last two verses, including choruses.)

GILMAN: We have built a roof over the edifice of state. It is a **NEW ROOF**. But any roof must be maintained. New material may be needed from time to time, but the basic structure is sound and will survive. As our cast sings the last toast, we invite the audience to join us in the chorus. At close of singing, copies of the constitution will be distributed to all present. Please study it. The rights and freedoms we Americans enjoy today are the results of what these men, by their conscientious efforts, have projected to us.

(Cast and audience sing last verse with chorus and then, God Bless America.)

END OF PLAY

List of Players

1. **GEORGE WASHINGTON**
2. **NICHOLAS GILMAN**
3. **NOAH WEBSTER**
4. **BENJAMIN RUSH**
5. **OLIVER ELLSWORTH**
6. **FRONTIERSMAN**
7. **CONGRESSMAN**
8. **WILLIAM JACKSON**
9. **GOV. RANDOLPH**
10. **WILLIAM PATTERSON**
11. **COL. GEORGE MASON**
12. **JAMES MADISON**
13. **DAVID BREARLEY**
14. **JAMES WILSON**
15. **PIERCE BUTLER**
16. **RUFUS KING**
17. **ROGER SHERMAN**
18. **JACOB BROOM**
19. **DAN CARROLL**
20. **GUNNING BEDFORD**
21. **BEN FRANKLIN**
22. **SAMUEL ADAMS**

- 23. RICHARD H. LEE**
- 24. ALEXANDER HAMILTON**
- 25. PATRICK HENRY**
- 26. THOMAS JEFFERSON**
- 27. LEGISLATIVE SECRETARY**
- 28. PRESIDING OFFICER**
- 29. GEORGE CLYMER**
- 30. WILLIAM FINDLEY**
- 31. THOMAS FITZSIMMONS**
- 32. JARED INGERSOLL**
- 33. THOMAS LLOYD**
- 34. THOMAS MIFFLEN**
- 35. GOVERNOR MORRIS**
- 36. ROBERT MORRIS**
- 37. THOMAS MCKEAN**
- 38. JOHN SMILIE**
- 39. ROBERT WHITEHILL**
- 40. ABE BALDWIN**
- 41. JAMES MCHENRY**
- 42. JOHN LANGDON**
- 43. JOHN BLAIR**
- 44. JONATHAN DAYTON**
- 45. JOHN DICKENSON**

- 46. JOHN HANCOCK**
- 47. GEORGE WALTON**
- 48. BEVERLY RANDOLPH**
- 49. SAMUEL JOHNSON**
- 50. JACOB MORTON**
- 51. MAJOR MORGAN LEWIS**
- 52. ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON**