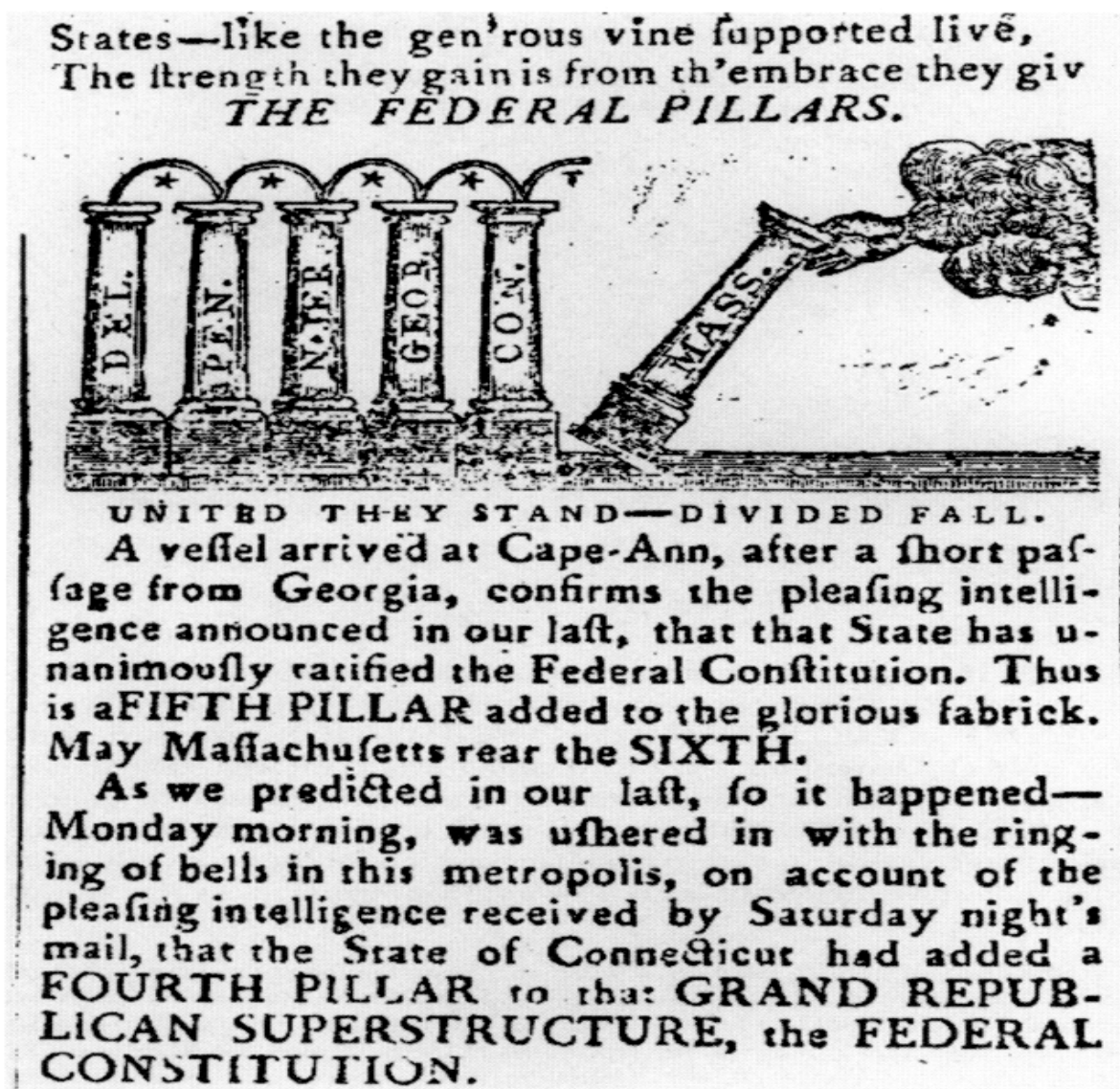


Massachusetts: The Sixth Pillar of the Great Federal Superstructure, 6 February 1788



On 26 December 1787 Benjamin Russell of the *Massachusetts Centinel* used the metaphor of raised pillars in "a great *FEDERAL SUPERSTRUCTURE*" to describe the ratification of the Constitution by three states. On 16 January 1788, Russell revived and extended this metaphor by printing an illustration in his *Centinel*. Headed "*THE FEDERAL PILLARS*." The illustration also included a sixth pillar labeled "M.A.S.S.," which was in the process of being raised.

Cite as: The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution Digital Edition, ed. John P. Kaminski, Gaspare J. Saladino, Richard Leffler, Charles H. Schoenleber and Margaret A. Hogan. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009.

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