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THE DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE
RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

Volume XXI

Ratification of the Constitution
by the States

NEW YORK

[3]

Editors

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WE, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the General Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to Ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

A R T I C L E I.

Sec. 1. ALL legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Sec. 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states, and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each state shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the state of New-Hampshire shall be en-

was held on 23 July. The documents describing this magnificent celebration are so voluminous and insightful about the city's social structure in 1788 and the role of the working and professional classes in the ratification debate that they appear in this volume's only appendix.

The second part of this volume contains a splendid record of the election of delegates to the New York Convention. In five of the thirteen county-wide elections (Albany, Columbia, Dutchess, New York, and Ulster) the documentation is extraordinary. The coordination between statewide leaders and their county lieutenants and between county leaders and local precinct chiefs is clearly demonstrated. The critical role of the press is seen as both Federalists and Antifederalists published numerous slates of candidates in newspapers and as broadsides. Literature by both parties, especially the better-organized Antifederalists, was distributed throughout the state. Fifteen partisan broadsides, mostly in Albany, New York, and Kings counties, further enlivened the debate.

Several strategies emerged during the election campaign. Both parties agreed to waive property qualifications for voting, thus significantly raising the voter turnout. Federalists unsuccessfully attempted to combat the overwhelming strength of Antifederalists in Ulster and Dutchess counties by proposing bipartisan slates. Federalists tried but failed to smooth over the bitter division between the two branches of the Livingston family in Columbia County, prompting Robert R. Livingston to run for election in New York County where he also owned property. Antifederalists in Ulster and Dutchess counties nominated Governor George Clinton and his principal lieutenant Melancton Smith from their home counties because they were unelectable in New York County, where they resided. A fierce political battle raged in Albany County where Antifederalists were victorious despite the fact that Federalists controlled Albany's three newspapers; while Federalists had little difficulty electing all of their candidates in New York County despite an Antifederalist effort to elect Governor Clinton, in order to prevent a Federalist sweep of the county's nine Convention seats. The smashing statewide Antifederalist election victory shocked most observers in both New York and other states. Federalists won all nineteen delegates in four southern counties—Westchester, New York, Richmond, and Kings. Antifederalists, on the other hand, won all of the forty-six delegates in the other counties, including two Long Island counties—Queens and Suffolk.

As in the previous New York volumes, this volume provides a general ratification chronology, a detailed New York chronology, a list of New York officeholders, and a three-color map as endpapers that shows how Federalists with the aid of some Antifederalist leaders succeeded in ratifying the Constitution. A cumulative index for all five New York volumes will appear in the fifth volume.

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VOLUME XXI

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23 July 1788

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Organization

The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution is divided into:

- (1) *Constitutional Documents and Records, 1776–1787* (1 volume),
- (2) *Ratification of the Constitution by the States* (18 volumes),
- (3) *Commentaries on the Constitution: Public and Private* (6 volumes),
- (4) *The Bill of Rights* (1 or 2 volumes).

Internet Availability (www.wisconsinhistory.org/ratification).

In 2003, the Wisconsin Historical Society (the publisher of the DHROC) committed itself to placing all of the ratification documents on its Web site. Massachusetts was the first state to have its documents placed on the Society's Web site (four published volumes, IV–VII, and all supplemental documents). The supplemental documents (cross-referenced as Mfm:Mass.), as well as all future state "microfiche supplements" (Mfms), are no longer placed on microfiche, but will be made available on the Society's Web site. All previously published DHROC volumes and microfiche supplements will also be available on the Society's Web site.

Constitutional Documents and Records, 1776–1787 (Vol. I).

This introductory volume, a companion to all of the other volumes, traces the constitutional development of the United States during its first twelve years. Cross-references to it appear frequently in other volumes when contemporaries refer to events and proposals from 1776 to 1787. The documents include: (1) the Declaration of Independence, (2) the Articles of Confederation, (3) ratification of the Articles, (4) proposed amendments to the Articles, proposed grants of power to Congress, and ordinances for the Western Territory, (5) the calling of the Constitutional Convention, (6) the appointment of Convention delegates, (7) the resolutions and draft constitutions of the Convention, (8) the report of the Convention, and (9) the Confederation Congress and the Constitution.

Ratification of the Constitution by the States (Vols. II–XII, XIX–XXV).

The volumes are arranged roughly in the order in which the states considered the Constitution. Although there are variations, the documents for each state are organized into the following groups: (1) commentaries from the adjournment of the Constitutional Convention to the meeting of the state legislature that called the state convention, (2) the proceedings of the legislature in calling the convention, (3) com-

mentaries from the call of the convention until its meeting, (4) the election of convention delegates, (5) the proceedings of the convention, and (6) post-convention documents.

Supplements to Ratification of the Constitution by the States.

The supplemental documents for Massachusetts and New York (and all later state volumes) are not placed on microfiche, but can be found on the Wisconsin Historical Society's Web site: www.wisconsinhistory.org/ratification.

Much of the material for each state is repetitious or peripheral but still valuable. Literal transcripts of this material are placed in the supplements. Occasionally, images of significant manuscripts are also included.

The types of documents in the supplements are:

- (1) newspaper items that repeat arguments, examples of which are printed in the state volumes,
- (2) pamphlets that circulated primarily within one state and that are not printed in the state volumes or in *Commentaries*,
- (3) letters that contain supplementary material about politics and social relationships,
- (4) images of petitions with the names of signers,
- (5) images of manuscripts such as notes of debates, and
- (6) miscellaneous documents such as election certificates, attendance records, pay vouchers and other financial records, etc.

Commentaries on the Constitution: Public and Private (Vols. XIII–XVIII).

This series contains newspaper items, pamphlets, and broadsides that circulated regionally or nationally. It also includes some private letters that give the writers' opinions of the Constitution in general or that report on the prospects for ratification in several states. Except for some grouped items, documents are arranged chronologically and are numbered consecutively throughout the six volumes. There are frequent cross-references between *Commentaries* and the state series.

The Bill of Rights.

The public and private debate on the Constitution continued in several states after ratification. It was centered on the issue of whether there should be amendments to the Constitution and the manner in which amendments should be proposed—by a second constitutional convention or by the new U.S. Congress. A bill of rights was proposed in the U.S. Congress on 8 June 1789. Twelve amendments were adopted on 25 September and were sent to the states on 2 October. This volume(s) will contain the documents related to the public and private debate over amendments, to the proposal of amendments by Congress, and to the ratification of the Bill of Rights by the states.

Editorial Procedures

All documents are transcribed literally. Obvious slips of the pen and errors in typesetting are silently corrected. When spelling, capitalization, punctuation, paragraphing, and spacing between words are unclear, modern usage is followed. Superscripts and interlineations are lowered to the line, and marginalia are inserted where the author intended. The thorn is spelled out (i.e., “ye” becomes “the”). Crossed-out words are retained when significant. Obsolete meanings of words are supplied in footnotes.

Square brackets are used for editorial insertions. Conjectural readings are enclosed in brackets with a question mark. Illegible and missing words are indicated by dashes enclosed in brackets. However, when the author’s intent is obvious, illegible or missing text (up to five characters in length) is silently provided.

All headings are supplied by the editors. Salutations, closings of letters, addresses, endorsements, docketings, and postmarks are deleted unless they provide important information, in which case they are retained in the document or placed in editorial notes. Contemporary footnotes and marginal citations are printed after the text of the document and immediately preceding editorial footnotes. Symbols used by contemporaries, such as stars, asterisks, and daggers, have been replaced by superscripted letters (a), (b), (c), etc.

Many documents, particularly letters, are excerpted when they contain material that is not relevant to ratification. Whenever an excerpt is printed in this edition and a longer excerpt or the entire document appears elsewhere in this edition or in other editions, this is noted. “Editors’ Notes” have been used frequently to discuss important events as well as out-of-state newspaper essays or pamphlets that circulated in New York but are printed elsewhere in the edition.

General Ratification Chronology, 1786–1791

1786

21 January	Virginia calls meeting to consider granting Congress power to regulate trade.
11–14 September	Annapolis Convention.
20 September	Congress receives Annapolis Convention report recommending that states elect delegates to a convention at Philadelphia in May 1787.
11 October	Congress appoints committee to consider Annapolis Convention report.
23 November	Virginia authorizes election of delegates to Convention at Philadelphia.
23 November	New Jersey elects delegates.
4 December	Virginia elects delegates.
30 December	Pennsylvania elects delegates.

1787

6 January	North Carolina elects delegates.
17 January	New Hampshire elects delegates.
3 February	Delaware elects delegates.
10 February	Georgia elects delegates.
21 February	Congress calls Constitutional Convention.
22 February	Massachusetts authorizes election of delegates.
28 February	New York authorizes election of delegates.
3 March	Massachusetts elects delegates.
6 March	New York elects delegates.
8 March	South Carolina elects delegates.
14 March	Rhode Island refuses to elect delegates.
23 April–26 May	Maryland elects delegates.
5 May	Rhode Island again refuses to elect delegates.
14 May	Convention meets; quorum not present.
14–17 May	Connecticut elects delegates.
25 May	Convention begins with quorum of seven states.
16 June	Rhode Island again refuses to elect delegates.
27 June	New Hampshire renews election of delegates.
13 July	Congress adopts Northwest Ordinance.
6 August	Committee of Detail submits draft constitution to Convention.
12 September	Committee of Style submits draft constitution to Convention.
17 September	Constitution signed and Convention adjourns <i>sine die</i> .
20 September	Congress reads Constitution.
26–28 September	Congress debates Constitution.
28 September	Congress transmits Constitution to the states.
28–29 September	Pennsylvania calls state convention.
17 October	Connecticut calls state convention.

25 October	Massachusetts calls state convention.
26 October	Georgia calls state convention.
31 October	Virginia calls state convention.
1 November	New Jersey calls state convention.
6 November	Pennsylvania elects delegates to state convention.
10 November	Delaware calls state convention.
12 November	Connecticut elects delegates to state convention.
19 November– 7 January 1788	Massachusetts elects delegates to state convention.
20 November– 15 December	Pennsylvania Convention.
26 November	Delaware elects delegates to state convention.
27 November– 1 December	Maryland calls state convention.
27 November– 1 December	New Jersey elects delegates to state convention.
3–7 December	Delaware Convention.
4–5 December	Georgia elects delegates to state convention.
6 December	North Carolina calls state convention.
7 December	Delaware Convention ratifies Constitution, 30 to 0.
11–20 December	New Jersey Convention.
12 December	Pennsylvania Convention ratifies Constitution, 46 to 23.
14 December	New Hampshire calls state convention.
18 December	New Jersey Convention ratifies Constitution, 38 to 0.
25 December– 5 January 1788	Georgia Convention.
31 December	Georgia Convention ratifies Constitution, 26 to 0.
31 December– 12 February 1788	New Hampshire elects delegates to state convention.

1788

3–9 January	Connecticut Convention.
9 January	Connecticut Convention ratifies Constitution, 128 to 40.
9 January–7 February	Massachusetts Convention.
19 January	South Carolina calls state convention.
1 February	New York calls state convention.
6 February	Massachusetts Convention ratifies Constitution, 187 to 168, and proposes amendments.
13–22 February	New Hampshire Convention: first session.
1 March	Rhode Island calls statewide referendum on Constitution.
3–27 March	Virginia elects delegates to state convention.
24 March	Rhode Island referendum: voters reject Constitution, 2,711 to 239.
28–29 March	North Carolina elects delegates to state convention.
7 April	Maryland elects delegates to state convention.
11–12 April	South Carolina elects delegates to state convention.
21–29 April	Maryland Convention.
26 April	Maryland Convention ratifies Constitution, 63 to 11.
29 April–3 May	New York elects delegates to state convention.
12–24 May	South Carolina Convention.

23 May	South Carolina Convention ratifies Constitution, 149 to 73, and proposes amendments.
2–27 June	Virginia Convention.
17 June–26 July	New York Convention.
18–21 June	New Hampshire Convention: second session.
21 June	New Hampshire Convention ratifies Constitution, 57 to 47, and proposes amendments.
25 June	Virginia Convention ratifies Constitution, 89 to 79.
27 June	Virginia Convention proposes amendments.
2 July	New Hampshire ratification read in Congress; Congress appoints committee to report an act for putting the Constitution into operation.
21 July–4 August	First North Carolina Convention.
26 July	New York Convention Circular Letter calls for second constitutional convention.
26 July	New York Convention ratifies Constitution, 30 to 27, and proposes amendments.
2 August	North Carolina Convention proposes amendments and refuses to ratify until amendments are submitted to Congress and to a second constitutional convention.
13 September	Congress sets dates for election of President and meeting of new government under the Constitution.
20 November	Virginia requests Congress under the Constitution to call a second constitutional convention.
30 November	North Carolina calls second state convention.

1789

4 March	First Federal Congress convenes.
1 April	House of Representatives attains quorum.
6 April	Senate attains quorum.
30 April	George Washington inaugurated first President.
8 June	James Madison proposes Bill of Rights in Congress.
21–22 August	North Carolina elects delegates to second state convention.
25 September	Congress adopts twelve amendments to Constitution to be submitted to the states.
16–23 November	Second North Carolina Convention.
21 November	Second North Carolina Convention ratifies Constitution, 194 to 77, and proposes amendments.

1790

17 January	Rhode Island calls state convention.
8 February	Rhode Island elects delegates to state convention.
1–6 March	Rhode Island Convention: first session.
24–29 May	Rhode Island Convention: second session.
29 May	Rhode Island Convention ratifies Constitution, 34 to 32, and proposes amendments.

1791

15 December	Bill of Rights adopted.
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Calendar for the Years 1787–1788

1787

<p>S M T W T F S JANUARY 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31</p>	<p>S M T W T F S FEBRUARY 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28</p>	<p>S M T W T F S MARCH 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31</p>	<p>S M T W T F S APRIL 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30</p>
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Symbols

FOR MANUSCRIPTS, MANUSCRIPT DEPOSITORIES, SHORT TITLES, AND CROSS-REFERENCES

Manuscripts

FC	File Copy
MS	Manuscript
RC	Recipient's Copy
Tr	Translation from Foreign Language

Manuscript Depositories

CtHi	Connecticut Historical Society
CtY	Yale University
DLC	Library of Congress
DNA	National Archives
MHi	Massachusetts Historical Society
N	New York State Library
NHi	New-York Historical Society
NHyF	Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library
NKiSH	Senate House State Historical Site Library, Kingston
NN	New York Public Library
NNC-RB	Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library
PHi	Historical Society of Pennsylvania

Short Titles

Abbot, <i>Washington</i>	W. W. Abbot, ed., <i>The Papers of George Washington: Confederation Series</i> (6 vols., Charlottesville, Va., 1992–1997).
<i>Belknap Correspondence</i>	“The Belknap Papers,” <i>Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society</i> , 5th series, Vols. II–III (Boston, 1877).
Blackstone, <i>Commentaries</i>	Sir William Blackstone, <i>Commentaries on the Laws of England. In Four Books.</i> (Re-printed from the British Copy, Page for Page with the Last Edition, 5 vols., Philadelphia, 1771–1772.) Originally published in London from 1765 to 1769.

- Boyd Julian P. Boyd et al., eds., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (Princeton, N.J., 1950–).
- DHFFE Merrill Jensen, Robert A. Becker, and Gordon DenBoer, eds., *The Documentary History of the First Federal Elections, 1788–1790* (4 vols., Madison, Wis., 1976–1989).
- Evans Charles Evans, *American Bibliography* (12 vols., Chicago, 1903–1934).
- Ford, *Webb* Worthington Chauncey Ford, ed., *Correspondence and Journals of Samuel Blachley Webb* (3 vols., New York, 1893–1894).
- JCC Worthington C. Ford et al., eds., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789 . . .* (34 vols., Washington, D.C., 1904–1937).
- Johnston, *Jay* Henry P. Johnston, ed., *The Correspondence and Public Papers of John Jay . . .* (4 vols., New York and London, 1890–1893).
- Montesquieu, *Spirit of Laws* Charles, Baron de Montesquieu, *The Spirit of Laws* (Translated from the French by Thomas Nugent, 5th ed., 2 vols., London, 1773). Originally published in Geneva in 1748.
- Rutland, *Madison* Robert A. Rutland et al., eds., *The Papers of James Madison, Volumes VIII–XVII* (Chicago and Charlottesville, 1973–1991).
- Shaw-Shoemaker Ralph R. Shaw, Richard H. Shoemaker, and Frances P. Newton, *American Bibliography: A Preliminary Checklist, 1801 to 1819* (23 vols., New York and Metuchen, N.J., 1958–1983).
- Smith, *Letters* Paul H. Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774–1789* (26 vols., Washington, D.C., 1976–2000).
- Syrett Harold C. Syrett, ed., *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton* (27 vols., New York, 1961–1987).

**Cross-references to Volumes of
*The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution***

- CC References to *Commentaries on the Constitution* are cited as “CC” followed by the number of the document. For example: “CC:25.”

- CDR References to the first volume, titled *Constitutional Documents and Records, 1776–1787*, are cited as “CDR” followed by the page number. For example: “CDR, 325.”
- RCS References to the series of volumes titled, *Ratification of the Constitution by the States*, are cited as “RCS” followed by the abbreviation of the state and the page number. For example: “RCS:N.Y., 325.”
- Mfm References to the microfiche supplements to the “RCS” volumes are cited as “Mfm” followed by the abbreviation of the state and the number of the document. For example: “Mfm:N.Y. 25.” No microfiche supplement will be published for RCS:N.Y. All Mfm:N.Y. documents will be placed on the publisher’s Web site: www.wisconsinhistory.org/ratification.

New York Chronology, 1777–1790

1777

April 20 State constitution adopted
June George Clinton elected first governor

1778

February 6 Legislature adopts Articles of Confederation

1780

September 3 Alexander Hamilton calls for national convention
September 7 Governor Clinton addresses legislature asking for more power for Congress
September 26 Legislature appoints commissioners to Hartford Convention
October 10 Legislature instructs delegates to Congress and Hartford Convention commissioners to give more power to Congress
November 8–22 Hartford Convention

1781

March 19 Legislature adopts Impost of 1781

1782

July 21 Legislature calls for national convention and increased powers for Congress
November 30 Preliminary Peace Treaty signed

1783

March 15 Legislature repeals its adoption of Impost of 1781
April 18 Congress proposes Impost of 1783
November 25 British evacuate New York City

1784

March 22 State impost enacted
March 31 Legislature refuses to compensate Loyalists for confiscated estates
June 3 Massachusetts petitions Congress claiming ownership of western New York
August 27 *Rutgers v. Waddington*
November 18 Legislature approves state impost

1785

April 4 Legislature approves 30 April 1784 grant of temporary power to Congress to regulate commerce

- April 9 Legislature adopts amendment to Articles of Confederation changing method of apportioning expenses of government
- April 14 Senate defeats Impost of 1783

1786

- February 15 Congress asks New York to reconsider Impost of 1783
- March 14 Legislature receives Virginia's call of Annapolis Convention
- March 17 Legislature approves appointment of commissioners to Annapolis Convention
- April 18 Paper money act becomes law
- April 20 Assembly appoints commissioners to Annapolis Convention
- May 4 Legislature conditionally adopts Impost of 1783
- May 5 Senate agrees with appointment of commissioners to Annapolis Convention
- August 11 Congress requests New York to reconsider its approval of Impost of 1783
- August 23 Congress again requests New York to reconsider its approval of Impost of 1783
- September 11–14 Annapolis Convention
- December 16 Hartford agreement between New York and Massachusetts over land in western New York

1787

- January 13 Legislature receives Annapolis Convention report
- January 26 Legislature adopts state bill of rights
- February 15 Assembly refuses to alter its approval of Impost of 1783
- February 20 Legislature instructs delegates to Congress to move for appointment of a constitutional convention
- February 21 Congress rejects New York's call for a convention and accepts amended motion by Massachusetts for a convention
- February 23 Legislature receives congressional resolution of 21 February calling Constitutional Convention
- February 28 Legislature authorizes election of delegates to Constitutional Convention
- March 6 Legislature elects three delegates (Alexander Hamilton, John Lansing, Jr., and Robert Yates) to Constitutional Convention
- April 18 Senate rejects Alexander Hamilton's motion for appointment of two additional delegates to Constitutional Convention
- May 25 Robert Yates and Alexander Hamilton first attend Constitutional Convention
- June 2 John Lansing, Jr., first attends Constitutional Convention
- June 16 Lansing's speech in Constitutional Convention
- June 18 Hamilton's "plan" submitted to Constitutional Convention
- July 10 Yates and Lansing leave Constitutional Convention
- July 21 Hamilton publicly attacks Governor Clinton for his opposition to Constitutional Convention

September 3	Hamilton, who had left in late June, returns to Constitutional Convention
September 17	Constitutional Convention signs Constitution with Hamilton signing for New York
September 21	Constitution first printed in New York (<i>Daily Advertiser</i> and <i>New York Packet</i>)
September 27	Cato series first printed
October 18	Brutus series first printed
October 27	Publius, <i>The Federalist</i> , first printed
November 1	Cincinnatus series first printed
November 2	Americanus series first printed
November c. 8	Federal Farmer pamphlet first printed
November 19	<i>New York Journal</i> becomes a daily
November 21	A Countryman (Hugh Hughes) series first printed
December 6	A Countryman (De Witt Clinton) series first printed
December 11	Examiner series first printed
December 21	Yates and Lansing write letter to Governor Clinton explaining why they left Constitutional Convention early

1788

January 11	Governor Clinton transmits Constitution and Yates-Lansing letter to legislature
January 14	Yates-Lansing letter first printed
January 31	Assembly adopts resolution calling state convention
February 1	Senates concurs with Assembly's resolution calling state convention
February 7	Constitution burned at Montgomery, Ulster County
March 22	Volume I of Publius, <i>The Federalist</i> , printed (36 essays)
April 13–14	Doctors' riots in New York City
April 15	John Jay's A Citizen of New-York pamphlet printed
April 17	A Plebeian pamphlet printed
April 29–May 3	Elections for state convention
May c. 18	Federal Republican Committee formed in New York City
May 27	Ballot boxes opened and votes counted for election to state convention
May 28	Volume II of Publius, <i>The Federalist</i> , printed (49 essays)
June 17	State Convention convenes in Poughkeepsie
June 17	George Clinton elected president of Convention
June 18	Convention reads Constitution
June 19	Henry Outhout elected chairman committee of the whole
June 24	News of New Hampshire's ratification of Constitution arrives in Poughkeepsie
July 2	News of Virginia's ratification of Constitution arrives in Poughkeepsie
July 7	Convention finishes discussion of Constitution, and John Lansing, Jr., presents a bill of rights to be prefixed to Constitution
July 10	Lansing presents plan of ratification with conditional amendments
July 11	John Jay proposes unconditional ratification

- July 15 Melancton Smith proposes limited ratification of
Constitution
- July 16 John Sloss Hobart's motion to adjourn defeated
- July 19 Lansing proposes conditional ratification with amendments
- July 23 New York City Federal Procession
- July 23 Samuel Jones's amendment to ratify "in full confidence" that
amendments would be adopted
- July 23 Convention's committee of the whole votes to ratify
Constitution without conditional amendments, 31 to 29
- July 24 Lansing proposes limited-term ratification
- July 25 Convention rejects Lansing's motion for limited-term
ratification
- July 26 Convention adopts Constitution, 30 to 27, with proposed
amendments
- July 26 Circular Letter to states approved
- July 27 Sacking of Thomas Greenleaf's print shop
- October 30 Federal Republican Committee reorganizes in New York City
to work for a second constitutional convention

1789

- February 7 Legislature resolves to ask Congress to call a convention to
draft amendments to the Constitution

1790

- January 13 Legislature receives proposed twelve amendments to
Constitution
- February 26 Legislature adopts eleven of twelve proposed amendments
to Constitution

Officers of the State of New York 1787–1788

Governor

George Clinton

Lieutenant Governor

Pierre Van Cortlandt

Chancellor

Robert R. Livingston

Justices of the Supreme Court

Richard Morris, Chief Justice

John Sloss Hobart

Robert Yates

Clerk of the Supreme Court

John McKesson

Judge of the Court of Admiralty

Lewis Graham

Secretary of State

Lewis A. Scott

Attorney General

Egbert Benson

Richard Varick

(appointed 14 May 1788)

Treasurer

Gerard Bancker

Auditor-General

Peter T. Curtenius

Surveyor General

Simeon DeWitt

Mayor of New York City

James Duane

Mayor of Albany

John Lansing, Jr.

Mayor of Hudson

Seth Jenkins

Council of Appointment

George Clinton

Appointed 18 January 1787

William Floyd

John Hathorn

Ebenezer Russell

Peter Schuyler

Appointed 18 January 1788

Anthony Hoffman

David Hopkins

Philip Schuyler

John Vanderbilt

Council of Revision

George Clinton

Robert R. Livingston

Richard Morris

John Sloss Hobart

Robert Yates

Annapolis Convention Delegates

Egbert Benson*

Alexander Hamilton*

Robert C. Livingston

Robert R. Livingston

James Duane

Leonard Gansevoort

*Attended

Delegates to Congress

Elected 26 January 1787

Abraham Yates, Jr.

John Lansing, Jr.

Melancton Smith

John Haring

Egbert Benson

Elected 22 January 1788

Abraham Yates, Jr.

Ezra L'Hommedieu

Egbert Benson

Leonard Gansevoort

Alexander Hamilton

Constitutional Convention

Alexander Hamilton*

Robert Yates**

John Lansing, Jr.**

*Signed Constitution

**Left Convention on 10 July 1787

Confederation Secretary for Foreign Affairs

John Jay

**The Ratification of the
Constitution by
the States**

N E W Y O R K

[3]

III.
THE DEBATE OVER THE
CONSTITUTION IN NEW YORK
1 February–30 August 1788
(Continued)

Edward Carrington to James Madison
New York, 17 June 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . The Convention of New York is now assembling at Poughkepsi—the Antifederalists, who are indeed the Majority, have received a Shock from the Accounts from Virga.² but it seems they are so fixed in their principles that they will probably at least adjourn without adopting the Constitution.³ . . .

1. RC, Madison Papers, DLC. Printed: RCS:Va., 1635.

2. An example of an account from Virginia that probably shocked New York Antifederalists was the news that Virginia Governor Edmund Randolph, who had refused to sign the Constitution, had changed his mind and was speaking in favor of ratification in the Virginia Convention. On 13 and 14 June news of Randolph's conversion was printed in five New York City newspapers (RCS:N.Y., 1192). See also Nicholas Gilman to John Sullivan, 12 June, and Samuel A. Otis to Theodore Sedgwick, 15 June (RCS:Va., 1614, 1629), and Henry Knox to Benjamin Lincoln, 13 June (CC:781).

3. A week before St. John de Crevecoeur had noted that Governor Clinton “has declared himself, & we Know that $\frac{2}{3}$ of the chosen delegates [to the New York Convention] are obstinate anti-federalists on whom No arguments No Conviction can make the Least Impression” (to William Short, 10 June, CC:779).

Hudson Weekly Gazette, 17 June 1788¹

The present convention at Poughkeepsie has raised the public expectation to the highest pitch. The importance of the occasion is equal to any in the annals of America, and the year 1788 will probably be as important to our country as the year 1776 has been. To have obtained independence can only continue to be a blessing by the use which is made of it, and the true use to be made of it is by establishing a good, equal and substantial government, which shall ensure liberty to our posterity, as well as to ourselves. The hour of peace is the time for deliberation, and this distinguishes the American governments, from those in Europe, which have arisen from the spur of the particular occasion, and have often been dictated by the longest sword, and at the point of the bayonet.

From the great abilities on both sides of the question, we must expect a very full discussion of the important subject which has agitated America from New-Hampshire to Georgia. The federal members will endeavour to support the wisdom of the new constitution and its tendency to promote the welfare of the United States: The anti-federal gentlemen will, doubtless, produce some system of national government, which, in their opinion, will promote the general prosperity more effectually than the one concluded upon at Philadelphia. The public will then have what, as yet, they have not had, two systems of government, each pretending to be the best; and by comparing them with each other, we shall be able to decide upon the preference due to the one or the other. In this view it may be a happy circumstance that the complexion of the convention is antifederal, because the plan they will offer will have every advantage, to which its merits can possibly entitle it, from the numbers that will support it.

The debates in the convention will probably be reducible to two questions, First, Is a national government necessary at all, or, is not the state of New-York able by itself to remain a separate state, distinct from and unconnected with the other states in the union? Secondly, If union is necessary, upon what terms and by what form of government is that union to be preserved? Is the one offered adapted to that purpose or what better can be devised?

The county of Columbia has in a striking manner confuted the arguments of those who contended that the people ought not to entrust too many powers to the same men, deriving those arguments from the spirit of our state constitution: For have they not heaped seven offices upon four men? Only one of the candidates has but a single office, but to make the generous public easy, one of them has three!²

(Of the numerous publications which have been circulated among the people at the late election, none seems to have had equal influence in producing anti-federal conviction, with the 35 objections (afterwards consolidated into 34) printed in Albany and signed by a number of its citizens.³ It is presumed that these objections will be supported by very powerful reasons in convention and that the federal answers to them will be entirely confuted; otherwise the conviction produced by the objections may, tho too late, be a little shaken.

As those objections have probably never been extended south of the Highlands, might it not be well to republish them for the edification of the southern delegates?⁴

Those objections point to the rich and well born—are we to understand by this that the objectors are not well born, or that anti-federalists

are not rich, not invested with high state offices, not in the receipt of state salaries? &c. &c. &c.

Two objections much insisted upon previous to the election might be added: That the members of the senate and assembly shall not be inhabitants of the state wherein they are chosen. That drafts shall be made out of the militia to replace the French soldiers who were killed or died in the service of the United States!—

It is reported that a number of gentlemen of character and abilities are coming from the eastern states to attend the debates in convention—much light it is expected will be thrown upon the subject of the new constitution, and who knows but the strength of reasoning and the powers of eloquence which may be displayed against it may induce our eastern neighbors to rescind the adoption they have made? In old times wisdom came from the east, perhaps now it resides in the west.

Some persons suppose that the federal members will be so terrified with the apprehension of the arguments that will be brought against the constitution that they will move for an adjournment—these apprehensions it is supposed will be greatly increased by the 34 consolidated objections from Albany! Should the federal members thus shrink from argument and reason, they will inevitably lose the confidence of the people.

(In 1775 the then colony of New-York was the last that adopted the proceedings of congress⁵—Will the antifederalists imitate that laudable example by making the state of New-York the last also to accede to the new constitution? Was not the cry at that time, united we live, divided we perish!—Have we not conquered by union, and must we not be preserved by union?)

The withholding of the western posts is a loss to the county of Albany of thousands every year. Do the politicians of that county think that if New-York is a separate state they will be more likely to obtain them, than by a general firm government of the United States, if America was so happy as to have such an one?⁶

The Antis, instead of saying they are against the new constitution say they are for the old. If they mean the old federal constitution, they are consistent, but they must then shew that it is adequate to the purposes of the union. If they mean to insinuate that being for the new constitution is being against the constitution of this state; it is hoped that the federal members, who framed the state constitution, will be able to shew a perfect consistency, in being a good citizen of the state of New-York and an advocate for a general government also.

(If the state of New-York should reject the constitution, the anti-federal leaders will be handed down to posterity, either as the wisest and most

patriotic politicians or otherwise, according as the consequences shall be good or bad.)⁷

It might be of use to some counties and even districts in the northern parts of the state, to look at a map of the United States, and to convince themselves that New-York is but a part of the whole.

1. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Packet*, 2 July; Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 8 July. See also notes 4, 6, and 7 (below).

2. At the Antifederalist meeting at Claverack on 18 March, four Antifederalists were nominated for seven positions (three seats in the Convention, three in the Assembly, and one in the Senate). Each man was elected to the office(s) for which he had been nominated. Peter Van Ness, first judge of the Columbia County Court of Common Pleas, was elected a Convention delegate and a senator. Matthew Adgate and John Bay were elected to both the Convention and Assembly, while John Kortz was elected to the Assembly. (See "Antifederalist Meeting in Claverack," 18 March, and *New York Journal*, 5 June, both in IV, Columbia County Election, below.)

3. See Albany Anti-Federal Committee Circular, 10 April (IV, Albany County Election, below).

4. These two paragraphs in angle brackets were reprinted in the *Lansingburgh Federal Herald*, 23 June. See also note 7 (below).

5. Probably a reference to the fact that New York's delegates to Congress did not vote affirmatively on independence from Great Britain on 2 July 1776, but waited until the newly elected Fourth Provincial Congress voted for independence on 9 July 1776.

6. These two paragraphs in angle brackets were reprinted in the *Newport Herald*, 10 July.

7. The paragraph in angle brackets was reprinted in the *Lansingburgh Federal Herald*, 23 June. See also note 4 (above). A writer in a no-longer extant New York newspaper printed on 10 June was less charitable toward the Antifederalist members of the New York Convention than the writer of this item. The former writer declared that "It appears, that of the members of Convention chosen in this state, there is a majority who are not at *present* in favour of the Constitution. Whatever the complexion of our Convention may be, it is devoutly to be wished, that the Constitution may at least have a fair discussion. But if blind prejudice, predetermined opposition, and '*silent negatives*,' are to be characteristic of our Convention, our reputation as a Sovereign State will be deservedly lost forever!" (This item was reprinted in the Newburyport, Mass., *Essex Journal* on 18 June, under a "NEW-YORK, June 10" dateline.)

Hudson Weekly Gazette, 17 June 1788¹

"It has been frequently asserted that amendments of the federal constitution can be as easily effected before the adoption of it as after. Let us for a moment apply our cool and close attention to this point. To amend before the adoption will require that all the states who are to become members of the new confederacy, should adopt all the amendments that shall be adopted by any one. For example, if five amendments should be proposed by a new general convention, and adopted by one state, every other state that should not adopt them all would effectually reject the constitution. That is, the consent of the whole

thirteen will be necessary to obtain any one amendment, however salutary. But to amend the constitution after its adoption, will require the conventions or legislatures of only three fourths of the states: That is ten out of the whole thirteen. Hence it clearly follows, that the difficulty of obtaining amendments after the ratification will be as much less than to procure them before the ratification, as ten is less than thirteen. It has been urged that the officers of the federal government will not part with power after they have got it; but those who make this remark really have not duly considered the constitution, for congress will be obliged to call a federal convention on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the states: And all amendments proposed by such federal conventions are to be valid, when adopted by the legislatures or conventions of three fourths of the states. It therefore clearly appears that two thirds of the states can always procure a general convention for the purpose of amending the constitution, and that three fourths of them can introduce those amendments into the constitution, although the president, senate and federal house of representatives should be unanimously opposed to each and all of them. CONGRESS THEREFORE CANNOT HOLD ANY POWER, WHICH THREE FOURTHS OF THE STATES SHALL NOT APPROVE ON EXPERIENCE."

The preceding paragraph is extracted from the *Pennsylvania Mercury*; who can be so stupid as not to see, or so uncandid as not to confess that the doctrine of amendments to the proposed constitution is reduced to a mathematical certainty against them, previous to its adoption? It is now asked the members of convention, assembled at Poughkeepsie, whether they have the vanity to suppose that this state will be able to dictate amendments to the new system, in which all the other states will concur? We conjure you to lay aside, party feelings, to be candid, to think how we suffer as a people, to view the situation of our western country, and behold us intercepted and robbed of the fur trade, and our late enemy possessing strong holds, which are, palpably, breaches of every thing sacred; and shall we suffer this, and numberless other wrongs, merely on account of a few imaginary defects in a proposed, republican, energetic, government? Government springs from the people, and in these states from an enlightened people; who will not be duped, who are not about to be made slaves—will that people, who, in the years 73 and 74, as it were, like a band of brethren and freemen, with one voice and one consent, nobly and avowedly resisted the first attacks, on a very trifling subject, to enslave them, we ask, have that people so far degenerated, as not to have that same flame and spirit of liberty touch them, whenever they see their rulers, attempting to be ARBITRARY? We despise the idea, we are able of ourselves to awe

tyranny—and who are these people that are about to enslave us? our countrymen, our brethren, chosen from among us—divided, we perish; united, we shall arrive to the state of a respectable, great and happy people.

1. The first paragraph originally appeared as part of an essay signed “An American,” *Pennsylvania Packet*, 31 May (Mfm:Pa. 687). On 5 June the first paragraph was reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Mercury*, from which the *Hudson Weekly Gazette* obtained it. The first paragraph also was reprinted in the *Daily Advertiser* and the *New York Packet* on 6 June. On 30 June the *Daily Advertiser* reprinted the second paragraph without the opening nine-word clause. This version was reprinted in the *New York Packet* on 1 July and also in seven out-of-state newspapers by 30 July: Mass. (1), R.I. (1), N.J. (1), Pa. (2), Md. (1), Va. (1).

New York Morning Post, 17 June 1788¹

We hear that the rage of party, relating to the new Constitution, has rose to an alarming height, in some of the counties in this state; that several bloody affrays had taken place in consequence thereof, in one of which, it is said, a Col. Hartshorn, of Fishkill, lost his life.

1. Reprinted in the June issue of the Philadelphia *Columbian Magazine* and in seven newspapers by 9 July: R.I. (1), Pa. (3), Md. (1), Va. (2).

James M. Hughes to John Lamb Poughkeepsie, 18 June 1788¹

Notwithstanding the Eclat. with which the Federalists left the City, and the Impressions on their Minds of their Weight and Importance, yet I believe there has not been a Time since the Revolution in which, the *Well Born*, who are the Leaders of that Party, have felt and appeared so uninfluential, as they feel and appear at this Time and Place—*How are the mighty fallen!*² is an Apostrophe applicable to their desponding Countenances—and ought at least to teach their High Blown Imaginations a Lesson of Humility in future—

Unanimity and Harmony reigns among the Anties³—the Promptitude with which they assembled—their Concurrence⁴ in Sentiment and their Determination to bend their Force to the same Point are the highest⁵ Evidences thereof—and shut out the Shadow of Hope, in the Federalists, of creating Divisions⁶—

I intended to have made this a very long Letter, but just as I had concluded the last Sentence I was told that the Bearer of this was about setting off—

The Letter of Yesterday that I wrote by the Stage informs you of the Proceedings of Yesterday⁷—

To-day the Committee reported Rules and then adjourned till Tomorrow, to take the Consideration of the Constitution on its Merits

As I have not Time to write to Mrs Hughes, be pleased to dispatch a Message to her that I am well &c &c—

1. RC, Lamb Papers, NH. Major Hughes (c. 1757–1802), a New York City lawyer, a notary public, and a master in chancery, was an officer in the Continental Army during the Revolution and a member of the New York Society of the Cincinnati. In 1795 he represented New York County in the state Assembly. He was the son of Antifederalist polemicist Hugh Hughes.

2. 2 Samuel 1:25, 27.

3. See note 6 (below). The word “Anties” was expanded to “anti-federalists in convention” in the *New York Journal*, 23 June, printing.

4. See note 6 (below). The word “Concurrent” was changed to “concurrence” in the *New York Journal*, 23 June, printing.

5. See note 6 (below). The word “highest” was changed to “happiest” in the *New York Journal*, 23 June, printing.

6. This paragraph (with some changes; see notes 3–5 above) was printed in the *New York Journal*, 23 June, and reprinted five times by 4 July: Pa. (3), Md. (1), Va. (1).

7. See Hughes to Lamb, 17 June (VI, below).

William Jackson to John Langdon Philadelphia, 18 June 1788¹

The occasion that prompts this letter will plead my apology to your Excellency for it's brevity and abruptness—I am this instant informed that Mr. Oswald (the Printer of our City) is posting as a Courier from south to north,² with no view to promote either the honor or happiness of our common Country—he returned a day or two ago from Richmond to Philadelphia, and immediately set off for New York—thence, it is said, he will go for New-Hampshire—

The important deliberations which at this moment Engage the attention of Virginia, New-York and New Hampshire,³ make it necessary that every precaution should be taken to prevent the diabolical designs of such an agency as well founded suspicion warrants to be the purpose of this Envoy.

Your Excellency will make such use of this intimation as prudence and patriotism will dictate.

By to-morrow's post I will do myself the honor to convey some information to you respecting the Virginia-Convention—The aspect by our last accounts was favorable—But you will pardon me if I presume to suggest that no consideration ought to delay the determination of New Hampshire.

[P.S.] The Post leaves our City within ten minutes

1. RC, Langdon Papers, Portsmouth Athenaeum, Portsmouth, N.H. Jackson (1759–1828), a native of England, had moved to South Carolina before the Revolution, and

during the war he attained the rank of major in the Continental Army, serving for a time as an aide-de-camp to General Benjamin Lincoln. He was assistant secretary at war under Lincoln, 1782–83. Jackson settled in Philadelphia and was secretary to the Constitutional Convention in 1787. Admitted to the Pennsylvania bar in 1788, he was a secretary to President Washington, 1789–91, and surveyor of customs for Philadelphia, 1795–1802.

2. In June 1788 Eleazer Oswald, the fiery Antifederalist editor of the Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, acted as a courier carrying letters between New York and Virginia as New York Antifederalists sought the cooperation of Virginia Antifederalists in obtaining amendments to the Constitution. New York Antifederalists used Oswald as a courier because they feared that letters sent through the mails might be intercepted. (See “The New York Federal Republican Committee Seeks Interstate Cooperation in Obtaining Amendments to the Constitution,” 18 May–6 August [RCS:N.Y., 1098]. See also CC:750 for a fuller discussion of the letter-writing campaign and for the letters themselves.)

3. The Virginia and New York conventions had been in session since 2 and 17 June, respectively, and the New Hampshire Convention was scheduled to meet on 18 June.

Massachusetts Centinel, 18 June 1788¹

Yesterday the Convention of New-Hampshire, met at Concord. On Saturday we expect to give good tidings from that quarter. The Convention of New-York also met yesterday.—Gov. *Clinton* we are well informed, says, that the Constitution will be ratified there. *Amen*.

1. Reprinted on 26 June in the Portland, Maine, *Cumberland Gazette*, *New Haven Gazette*, and *Pennsylvania Packet*.

Charleston Columbian Herald, 19 June 1788

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in New-York, to his friend in this City, dated May 24.

“I hope, e’er this, that the new constitution is adopted in your state,¹ and that an eighth pillar is erected in support of a government which I conceive to be the only bar that *can* keep us from sinking into political destruction. Our accounts from Virginia and New Hampshire are very favorable, but in this anti-federal and anti-rational state, it is supposed there will be in the convention two *anties*, (as they are called) to one *federalist*; so that they may reject it, if *fear* does not induce a compliance. For New-Jersey on one side, and Connecticut, Massachusetts and Vermont on the other, stand ready to avenge their wrongs whenever they have an opportunity, so favorable as that of their rejection of the constitution will afford. For these states believe that New-York will reject the new constitution, if they reject it at all, from selfish views, from the sole principle of retaining that power which they now have to oppress New-Jersey and Connecticut in their commerce.² It is expected that New-York will not be hasty in rejecting.—I believe they feel the necessity of being cautious in their proceedings: The weight of the state is

federal—nine tenths of the city are so—and I have been credibly informed, that notwithstanding the great majority of anti-federalists which is expected to be in convention, scarcely one of them is capable of properly discussing the constitution. Governor C——n is at the head of the opposition, and it is believed that if he would say *yea*, nineteen twentieths of the anti-federalists would say so too. If it be so, the opposition in this state, though apparently formidable, is in fact involved in one man.”

1. The South Carolina Convention ratified the Constitution on 23 May and the news of this action reached New York City in early June. See “New York City Newspapers Report South Carolina’s Ratification of the Constitution,” 5–7 June (RCS:N.Y., 1132–33).

2. For New York’s dominance over the commerce of New Jersey and Connecticut, see RCS:N.Y., Vol. 1, xxxvii.

New York Journal, 19 June 1788¹

Eight states have ratified the proposed constitution.—There is now in session the conventions of Virginia, New-York, and New-Hampshire; North-Carolina will meet next month; Rhode-Island—mum.—This may, therefore, be considered, *on all hands*, as a most interesting æra. “Peace—be still—the God of America has issued his awful mandate” — Whether to obliterate from the recording page of American history *the name of Freedom*, or to establish her upon the basis of *everlasting liberty*, SEEMS to be the subject of the present interesting disputation.

1. Reprinted: Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer* and *Pennsylvania Packet*, 23 June; *Pennsylvania Journal*, 25 June; Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 27 June; Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 2 July.

Henry Chapman to Stephen Collins New York, 20 June 1788 (excerpt)¹

My dear Friend

. . . No News Yet from Poughkeepsie, it is however the opinion here pretty generally that the Convention of this State will adjourn without coming to any absolute determination in order to take fresh instructions from their Constituents in which Case before they meet again New Hampshire and Virginia will have decided which decisions be they what they may will doubtless have some influence here—That restless firebrand the Printer of Your City is running about as if driven by the Devil seemingly determined to do all the mischief he can indeed in my Opinion he is an actual Incendiary and ought to be the object of legal restraint, he is in his own person a strong Argument of the necessity

of speedily adopting the New System and putting it into immediate motion.² . . .

1. RC, Papers of Stephen Collins & Son, DLC.

2. A reference to Eleazer Oswald, the editor of the Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*. (See William Jackson to John Langdon, 18 June, note 2, above.)

A Friend to Order and Peace Pennsylvania Mercury, 21 June 1788

A most true and certain ANECDOTE concerning G—— C——¹ and some anti-federalists, in the state of New-York, from which it appears, that his Ex——y so called, and at least some of his party, who support him in his dignity, were determined to oppose the new federal constitution, be it right or wrong, before they saw it.²

At a meeting of some gentlemen, where the G—— was present, a worthy honest gentleman who came in among the last, perceived his Ex——y and others reading and handing about a printed paper; after which his Ex——y began to open on it, and unfold its absurdities with much of his eloquence, such as it was. On which the aforesaid gentleman asked, what the paper was, which they had been reading? and was answered, That it was the new federal constitution. After listening some time to the premature and preposterous declamation, he addressed himself thus: Gentlemen, I am surprised at your conduct. It is manifest that you have not yet had time judiciously to consider the merits of the constitution, which you so rashly condemn. You have seen it only a few moments. It is a subject of great magnitude, and will require the most enlightened, cool and dispassionate examination. The fate of an empire may depend on it: and now, after you have given your judgment so decidedly against it, and in such a rash, preposterous manner too, without allowing yourselves time to consider it with wisdom, your pride will not permit you to recede from the ground, which you have chosen, or the side which you have taken, even if it should appear to your understandings to be ever so wise and unexceptionable; and then you may, by your unruly passions, involve your country in misery and ruin. How pertinent this remark was, every person acquainted with human nature, in its depraved state, will clearly see.

It is easy to discern from what unworthy principles the opposition of some men to the proposed plan of government does proceed. They are aware that their dignity, importance and emoluments may be sunk by it: And they bawl out against aristocracy, and get the poor unthinking multitude to join them in the cry, only because they now form the

aristocracy themselves, and are unwilling to risk a fall from their warm and well feathered nests; which, rather than lose, they would dissolve the confederacy of the states, make us a rope of sand, render us incapable of any exertions for our own preservation and safety, and expose us to civil dissensions and wars, and render us a ready prey to every foreign invader.

1. Governor George Clinton.

2. For the criticism of George Clinton and his premature opposition to the Constitution, see RCS:N.Y., 9–36.

**Abraham G. Lansing to Abraham Yates, Jr.
Albany, 22 June 1788 (excerpt)¹**

For some days past I have delayed answering your Letter to Mamma respecting Jinnet, they appear to be of opinion that it will not be safe to risk the sending her to New York without some Companion adequate to take care of Her—she has been ill for some days past and her health is not yet quite reestablished—I could wish to have her at New York for some time during your stay, but we will now defer sending her at least until we know whether our Friends call on You to repair to Poghkepsie—

By Letters received from my Brother² we are informed that the Convention have opened the Business and had commenced debating upon the Constitution—From some expressions in my Brothers Letters I am inclined to believe that our Friends *have* or *are* ready to consent to debate the Constitution by Paragraphs.—If this is determined on, the Business will unavoidably be retarded to the disappointment of our Country Friends with whom it is now the Busy Season.—this Circumstance the Federal Gentlemen will no doubt avail themselves of and procrastinate the Business as long as they possibly can.

Some of our grandees are gone to Poughkepsie,³ for what purpose you may well Conjecture—to co[u]ntract their views we have apprised Oothout and Lansing, that some of our Friends will repair to Poghkepsie if it is deemed necessary.—and they have also been advised to beg the Favor of your Company for a few Days—If the Matter is not speedily decided—Numbers of our Friends will Return to their Homes.—would it not therefore be well to write Swart, Vrooman, Yates &ca. urging them to stay until the Business is compleated—The decision of the other States may also have a Tendency to influence the Conduct of some of the members.—A Friend returned from Poghkepsie last evening, informed us that he was apprehensive that the Federalists would operate

upon the Hopes or Fears of some.—I hope my fears may be ill founded—but I am apprehensive we will eventually be injured by delay.—notwithstanding the decided majority—the determination of Massachusetts has shewn us what Federal Chicanery can Effect⁴—

The papers containing the publications have been received and are partly distributed among our Friends.⁵—If you wish to have them republished—I shall have it done, but for the present I should think it of more service if they were republished under the Nose of the Convention at Poghkepsie and perhaps a period may arrive at which they will be of more Service in this quarter than just at this present Time—your instructions and opinion shall determine me. . . .

1. RC, Yates Papers, NN. The place of writing does not appear, but the letter was postmarked Albany, Lansing's place of residence. The address page also reveals that this letter to Yates was sent "to the care of Willm. Bedlow Esqr.," the postmaster of New York City. See below for Yates's 29 June reply.

2. The letters from Convention delegate John Lansing, Jr., to his brother do not exist, but his 19 June letter to Yates is printed in VI, below.

3. Among the Federalist "grandees" from Albany County that went to Poughkeepsie to hear the Convention debates were Philip Schuyler and Abraham Ten Broeck.

4. The Massachusetts Convention, in which Antifederalists had a majority, ratified the Constitution because Federalists obtained enough Antifederalist votes when they drafted recommendatory amendments to the Constitution that were included in the Form of Ratification. (See "New York and the Massachusetts Convention's Amendments to the Constitution," 6 February, RCS:N.Y., 751–54.)

5. The reference is to "Sydney," an essay written by Yates, which was published in the *New York Journal* on 13 and 14 June. Yates had written to Lansing on 15 June that he had sent fifty sets of the essay to Poughkeepsie, site of the New York Convention, and had reserved ten other sets of which he would send six to Lansing in Albany. (See "Sydney," *New York Journal*, 13, 14 June, and Yates to Lansing, 15 June, RCS:N.Y., 1153–68, 1173–74.)

Peter Van Schaack to Henry Van Schaack Kinderhook, 22 June 1788 (excerpts)¹

Dr Br

. . . Virginia, Virginia! if She adopts, all will be well, and I believe She will.² The New Govt. organized, a lucky Incident or two will give it Stability. You see what a Figure our Antis make discussing the Constitution by Paragraphs & so dispassionately after all their Clamor agt it as *radically* wrong.—Your Commonwealth³ is my Sheet Anchor, and happy am I to see them move with such Propriety. . . .

I have garbled your Papers of the Govrs Speech & the Address of the House, both please me very highly.⁴ ~~I wish you wd let me have~~ also the little Piece about the Extent of the Lakes, & the Exhortation ~~from them~~ to the Consideration of our National Importance. I own I begin to find the Revival of those pleasing Expectations which I left Europe with of

the rising Importance of the Country—God Grant We may not be deceived—

I really think our Prospects brighten after the Cloud they have been under for some Time—The Perseverance of your Coñwealth in the Principles of the Speech & Address abovementioned will give a Tone to Us. . . .

1. FC, Henry Van Schaack Scrapbook, Newberry Library, Chicago. The place of writing does not appear but Peter Van Schaack lived in Kinderhook.

2. Early in June, a New York City merchant noted that if Virginia adopted the Constitution, “it will go here, I have no Doubt, as matter of *Expedience*” (Nathaniel Hazard to Mathew Carey, 5 June, RCS:Va., 1784). A few days later, Secretary at War Henry Knox, writing from New York City, declared that “This state are more than two to one of their delegates against the Constitution If however Virginia should be favorable they may perhaps be influenced” (to Jeremiah Wadsworth, 8 June, Mfm:N.Y.).

3. Henry Van Schaack resided in Pittsfield, Massachusetts.

4. The reference is to Governor John Hancock’s 3 June 1788 speech opening the June session of the Massachusetts legislature and the legislature’s 5 June reply. The speech was printed in the *Massachusetts Centinel*, 4 June, and the reply in the *Massachusetts Centinel*, 7 June. An archaic meaning of the word “garbled” is to sort out the best in a set of things.

William Duer to James Madison New York, 23 June 1788¹

As it is probable you may not hear by this Post from our Mutual Frend Colo. Hamilton, I take the Liberty of giving you a Short Sketch of our political Prospects in this Quarter, on the great Question of the Constitution—My Information is from Colo. Laurence,² who left Pokepsie on Saturday—

A Considerable Majority of the Convention are undoubtedly Antifederal; or in other Words, wish for Amendments previous to the Adoption of the Government³—A few of the Leaders (amongst which I think I may without Scruple class the Governor) would, if they could find Support, go further; and hazard Every thing rather than agree to any System which tended to a Consolidation of our Government—Of this however I have at present no Apprehensions; many of their Party having avowed themselves Friends to the Union—With Respect to Amendments, as far as I can understand the Party in Opposition, cannot agree amongst themselves—It is therefore possible that this Circumstance may create a Division in favor of the Fœderalists—As to the Rejection of the Constitution, there is not the least ~~Question~~ Probability of it—The great Points of Discussion, will probably be; whether they will adjourn without coming to any Decision;—whether they will adopt it conditionally; or whether they will follow the Example of Massachusetts & So Carolina⁴—

The Conduct of your Convention will influence in a very great Degree ours; if you adjourn without doing any thing, we shall do the same—but if you do not, there is still some Prospect that we may adopt with proposed Amendments:—for as to the second Point, the Inconsistency of it will I think be too apparent, after a Discussion, to command a Majority—Whilst I am writing a Gentleman has favored me with a⁵ Copy of a Letter from an Intelligent Bystander, who has attended the Debates of our Convention—I therefore enclose it as a more faithful History than I can give—Mr Hopkins⁶ will do me the favor of delivering this.

1. RC, Madison Papers, DLC.
2. Probably New York City attorney John Laurance.
3. Massachusetts Antifederalist Elbridge Gerry agreed with Duer's assessment. Several days later he declared that "The convention of New-York will, I am well informed, annex a bill of rights to a conditional ratification, which will remove all our objections" (to James Warren, 28 June, CC:791).
4. The conventions of both states had ratified unconditionally with recommendatory amendments.
5. At this point, Madison explained in a footnote that the enclosure was a "letter from J. Kent to Robert Troup." James Kent's letter was dated 20 June 1788 (VI, below).
6. Probably John Hopkins, the Receiver General of Continental Taxes and the Continental loan officer for Virginia. Duer's letter to Madison was probably enclosed in a letter to Hopkins who was in Richmond, where Madison was serving in the Virginia Convention.

John Pintard to Elisha Boudinot
New York, 23 June 1788 (excerpt)¹

My dear Elisha

. . . Our politicians are looking out for good news this week from Virginia & N Hampshire—Our Convention has opened the Ball with great coolness & decency it is said. God grant they may come to their right senses. . . .

1. RC, Boudinot-Pintard Papers, NHi. Pintard was Boudinot's nephew.

News of New Hampshire and Virginia Ratification
Arrives in New York, 24 June–2 July 1788

By the time that the New York Convention met in Poughkeepsie on 17 June 1788, eight states had ratified the Constitution. Under Article VII of the Constitution the ratification by nine states was sufficient for the establishment of the Constitution among the ratifying states. The Virginia Convention had begun meeting on 2 June and the New Hampshire Convention would begin meeting on 18 June. It was expected that New Hampshire would ratify the Constitution before either of the other two states. New York Federalists believed that ratification by these states would have a favorable effect upon the

New York Convention. Therefore, in mid-May Alexander Hamilton wrote to James Madison requesting that favorable news from the Virginia Convention be sent to New York, and in early June Hamilton and Rufus King wrote to John Sullivan and John Langdon in New Hampshire with a similar request.

The New Hampshire Convention ratified the Constitution at 1:00 P.M., on 21 June, at which time Convention delegate John Langdon wrote Alexander Hamilton, a New York Convention delegate, and Convention President John Sullivan wrote Secretary at War Henry Knox in New York City. Langdon's letter was sent via Springfield, Mass., merchant William Smith, who forwarded it at 5:00 A.M. on 23 June. The express rider arrived with the letter in Poughkeepsie at noon on 24 June. It had taken 71 hours for the news of New Hampshire ratification to reach the New York Convention.

On 25 June, at 2:00 A.M., fourteen hours after the news of New Hampshire ratification had been received, an express rider left Poughkeepsie for New York City carrying a letter dated 24 June from Philip Schuyler, an observer of the New York Convention debates, to James Madison, a delegate to the Virginia Convention. On the verso of Schuyler's letter was a copy of Langdon's 21 June letter to Alexander Hamilton, Schuyler's son-in-law. The express rider arrived in New York City around noon on the 25th of June. At 12:30 P.M., Langdon's letter was read in Congress and, at that time Virginia's three delegates in Congress sent the Schuyler and Langdon letters by express rider to Madison.

At 1:00 P.M., on 25 June, the express rider, Colonel David Henley, left New York City for Virginia. He reached Philadelphia the next day. On 27 June, Henley was in Baltimore, and before dawn on the 28th he arrived in Alexandria, where he met an express rider from Richmond bound for New York City with the news of Virginia's ratification. Instead of riding to Richmond himself, Henley sent the news of New Hampshire ratification to Madison, who received it on 29 June, two days after the Virginia Convention had adjourned. It had taken eight days to get the news of New Hampshire's ratification to Richmond.

On 29 June Colonel Henley started back for New York with the news of Virginia's ratification. He reached Philadelphia on 30 June, between 6:00 and 7:00 P.M., and arrived in New York City on 2 July, between 2:00 and 3:00 A.M. Soon after Henley's arrival Colonel William Smith Livingston, another express rider, left for Poughkeepsie, arriving there on the same day, described as "a very hot day," between 12:30 and 1:00 P.M. He went directly to the chamber of the New York Convention with dispatches that said Virginia had ratified the Constitution.

See the documents below in this grouping. See also "The Establishment of a Federalist Express System Between the New Hampshire and New York Conventions," 4–16 June (RCS:N.Y., 1124–28) and "The Federalist Express System Between the New Hampshire, New York, and Virginia Conventions," 24–26 June (RCS:Va., 1672–75).

*John Langdon to Alexander Hamilton
Concord, N.H., 21 June 1788*¹

By the Desire of our Mutual Friend Rufus King Esqr.² I have the great pleasure and satisfaction of informing you, that this State, has this day

Adopted the federal Constitution this alimportant Question, was Carried by a Majority of Eleven 57 Yeas 46 Nays Excuse hast[e] and Believe me, with the greatest Respect

P: S: this letter goes to Springfield by an express which Ive sent for this purpose to the Care of William Smith Esqr. of that place who is to forward it to you.

John Sullivan to Henry Knox
Concord, N.H., 21 June 1788³

My Dear sir

I have the pleasure to inform you that our Convention have this moment adopted the new Constitution yeas 57 nays 47 I congratulate you on the Event

William Smith to John Langdon
Springfield, Mass., 23 June 1788⁴

The express has this moment delivered me your letter to be forwarded to Col Hamilton—and also the agreeable information of the adoption of the Federal Government. My express shall set of[f] immediately for Poukeepsie—

Philip Schuyler to James Madison
Poughkeepsie, 24 June 1788⁵

This moment an express is arrived from New Hampshire, conveying the happy intelligence contained in a letter, of which you have a copy at bottom of this.⁶ Colonel Hamilton is in convention, and has requested me to forward this advice to you—

Unless the adoption by New Hampshire should alarm the fears of those in opposition in the convention here, they will I apprehend persevere in the intention which they have decide[d]ly evinced of adoption ~~conditioned~~ predicated on previous Amendments, and those such as would render the new Government very little, If any more energetic than the present.—

If the convention should rise, before the stage, which is now here, leaves this, Colo. Hamilton will probably write you by that Conveyance; Your letter of the 13th Arrived last Evening.⁷—

Edward Carrington, John Brown, and Cyrus Griffin to James Madison
New York, 25 June 1788⁸

The Inclosed⁹ this moment came to hand—contemplating the critical State of the subject it concerns in Virginia we thought it best to dispatch it by express, rather than depend on the progress of the post.

*New York Journal, 26 June 1788*¹⁰

By EXPRESS.

Yesterday, at 12 h. noon, Mr. Kelsey¹¹ arrived in this city in *ten hours* from Poughkeepsie, with the important intelligence of the RATIFICATION of the CONSTITUTION, by the state of NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

This intelligence was received at Poughkeepsie, by express, under the signature of his excellency *John Langdon*, president of the state of New-Hampshire, and purports, that the convention, of that state RATIFIED the CONSTITUTION on the 21st instant, by a majority of ELEVEN, yeas 57, nays 46.

At half after twelve this letter was read in Congress. At one o'clock Col. Henley¹² sat off, *express*, for Virginia, with the *joyful tidings*.

At 2 h. the bells in this city were set a ringing, which incessantly rang until 7 in the evening.

Many citizens were rejoiced on this occasion; to testify which bottles of choice *nectar* were *quaffed*—and, *at that hour, the guns fired*.

Alexander Hamilton to James Madison

*Poughkeepsie, 27 June 1788*¹³

A day or two ago General Schuyler at my request sent forward to you an express with an account of the adoption of the Constitution by New Hampshire.¹⁴ We eagerly wait for further intelligence from you, as our only chance of success depends on you. There are some slight symptoms of relaxation in some of the leaders; which authorises a gleam of hope, if you do well: but certainly I think not otherwise—

*New York Daily Advertiser, 27 June 1788*¹⁵

The Boston papers received by last evening's post, inform that the minority in the Convention of New-Hampshire declared (seeing they were fairly out voted) that they would use their exertions that their constituents should live easy under it.—The amendments recommended, were nearly the same as in Massachusetts.

*Poughkeepsie Country Journal, 1 July 1788*¹⁶

On Tuesday last [24 June] an express arrived in this town from his Excellency JOHN LANGDON, Esq; Governor of New-Hampshire, with the very interesting intelligence, that the Convention of that State, on the 21st of June last, adopted the new Constitution—that being the ninth State which has ratified the government, the old Confederation may be considered as completely dissolved, & we may very shortly expect to hear of steps taken by Congress to organize and give operation

to the proposed system—A system which causes a new æra in the history of American affairs, and which it must be the wish of every benevolent mind, may produce freedom, happiness and prosperity of the States which have and which may still think proper to adopt it.

The above news we have been informed arrived in New-York in ten hours from this place, and was received by the citizens of that metropolis with transports of congratulation.

Henry Knox to Jeremiah Wadsworth

*New York, 2 July 1788*¹⁷

My dear friend

Rejoice—Heaven has influenced the Virginia convention to adopt the Constitution by a Majority of *ten*—this great event took place on Wednesday the 25th of June some amendments will be stated in the manner of Massachusetts.

Colonel Henley who went express from this City on Wednesday last with the adoption of New Hampshire met the express from Richmond at Alexandria on Saturday the 28th—He stayed there that day & dined in company with the General [George Washington] & returned here about three hours ago—

An express will be at Poughkepsie about two oClock this day

You will remember I depend on you entirely to make the arrangements to send on the money, at my expence

Philip Schuyler to Stephen Van Rensselaer

*Poughkeepsie, 2 July 1788*¹⁸

half after One PM

My Dear Sir

Less than half an hour ago Colonel William Smith Livingston¹⁹ arrived here in 9¾ hours from New York the dispatches he brought announced the adoption of the new Constitution by Virginia on ~~Saturday~~ Wednesday the 25 Ult: by a Majority of ten in Its favor.—I congratulate you on this very Important Occasion with all that satisfaction which arises in the heart, impressed with the danger to which the country would probably have been exposed had the determination of Virginia been adverse.—

I trust this event will have a proper influence on the minds of those in the Convention here who have not ~~totally~~ resolved to shut their heirs [i.e., ears] and to steel their hearts against all conviction.—I do believe, nay I perceive that ~~many~~ several of those in opposition who came with prejudices created by influence will not sacrifice their Country to the

Obstinacy of certain desperados—I do not apply this term to those who have taken a lead in debate in opposition to the constitution, but to others who—but prudence dictates that I should not too strongly mark the men I allude to.—

Colo: Hamilton is well, so am I, and both of us Join in love to you and all our friends—

[P.S.] pray Let our friends be prudent in rejoicing on this Occasion.— It will tend more to Accomplish our public & private interest than a Contrary conduct

New York Independent Journal, 2 July 1788

By a person who arrived in town last night from Philadelphia,²⁰ just as this Paper was going to press, we were informed, “That an express had arrived at Philadelphia, betwixt six and seven o’clock on Monday evening [30 June], with the important intelligence that Virginia had ADOPTED the New Constitution; in consequence of which, all the bells in the city were rung, and continued till twelve o’clock that night.” These are all the particulars we could learn, but we hope this day’s post will bring a confirmation of the above very important information.

*New York Journal, 3 July 1788*²¹

Convention of Virginia.

Yesterday morning Col. Henley returned from Virginia, to which place he was expedited on Wednesday last with the intelligence of the ratification of the new constitution by New-Hampshire.

Immediately on the arrival of Col. Henley, William Livingston, Esq. sat off for Poughkeepsie with the intelligence.

Colonel Henley, having arrived at Alexandria, met an express bound to New-York, with the intelligence of the RATIFICATION of the new constitution by the state of VIRGINIA. This interesting circumstance rendered Colonel Henley’s further pursuit fruitless; he therefore returned, with the same zealous expedition he went, to bring the tidings to the anxious expectants in New-York, and arrived here, at THREE o’CLOCK yesterday morning.

On this occasion the bells of the city were set a ringing immediately, and at FIVE o’clock TEN guns were fired in honor of the ten states which have adopted the constitution.

The purport of the Virginia intelligence, is, that after a session of eighteen days, in which the merits of the constitution were fully investigated, clause by clause, both parties being equally zealous in the cause, speaking freely, and discussing (sometimes) dispassionately, on

the TWENTY-FOURTH instant, viz. Tuesday sen'night, the *decisive* question was put, whether the convention would RATIFY the constitution, when there appeared—YEAS, 88, and NAYS, 78, giving a MAJORITY of TEN.—*Thus have TEN STATES RATIFIED the CONSTITUTION proposed by the GENERAL CONVENTION, who sat at Philadelphia in September last.*

RATIFICATION of the NEW CONSTITUTION, by the VIRGINIA CONVENTION, on *Tuesday*, the 24th instant.

[Text of Virginia Form of Ratification, with a notation at the end of the Form that the Constitution followed.]²²

*Our readers will readily perceive that the preceding ratification is more pointed, and differs in many instances, very materially from any one yet produced.*²³

We are further informed, from Virginia, that the CONVENTION are still sitting; and that their business is to prepare such AMENDMENTS to the general system as they, on mature deliberation, may judge proper.

*New York Daily Advertiser, 3 July 1788*²⁴

Extract of a letter from a Gentleman in Convention at Richmond, to his friend in New-York, dated 25th June, 1788.

“DEAR SIR, I have now to congratulate you on the accession of Virginia to the New Government; the final vote in Convention was taken this day, about three o'clock, P. M.—for the ratification 89—against it 79;—a motion for previous amendment was negatived by 88 to 80. The form of ratification is prefaced by a declaration that all power, &c.²⁵ (but I enclose you a copy). Our country's character never shone more conspicuous than upon this great and interesting event; awful and solemn was the pause which preceded the question; a discussion of 24 days, in which every clause of the plan had been weighed and debated, and its merits and demerits fully exposed, terminated at a period when decision was to involve the happiness or misery of present and future generations; whilst the event of the question too was yet doubtful, on the one hand a powerful, numerous and respectable body of advocates for the system, on the other a decided, respectable and little less numerous body in opposition—could the mind be otherwise than tremulously anxious²—to describe my feelings exceeds my powers of description. But if I felt before, how can I convey to you those sensations which filled my mind after the decision; in presence of upwards of a thousand spectators, with minds agitated by contending and opposite

opinions—the dignified humility of the majority—the tempered patience, manly firmness and virtuous demeanor of the minority, accompanied with the most unanimous and honorable professions of acquiescence and support to the Government, finished a scene, which thus stood completed the most grand and solemn I ever beheld.”

Poughkeepsie Country Journal, 8 July 1788

On Wednesday last at half after 12 o'clock P. M. Col. Wm. S. Livingston arrived at this place with the news of the Ratification of the new Constitution by the State of Virginia—It arrived at New-York at 37 minutes after two in the morning of the same day.—The distance between New-York and this place is 82 miles, and from the stoppages on the road, the journey was performed in 7 hours and one quarter.—The ruffness of the road and the change of horses being but twice, rendered the expedition an act of contemplation; and it appears from information to have been performed on this occasion with more expedition than has hitherto been known on that road. Col. Livingston was received with great joy by the federal party, and in the evening Ten guns were fired in honor of the Ten states which have adopted the Constitution.

*John Sullivan to Alexander Hamilton
Durham, N.H., 10 July 1788*²⁶

Capt Roche²⁷ who was employed by me in consequence of your direction²⁸ to forward the news of New Hampshire's having adopted the new Constitution called on me this Day with the Inclosed Account the Ballance of which I paid him in Cash and have taken the Liberty of drawing on you for the same with the addition of seven shillings more which is the Loss by Discount & postage at 3½ per Cent his Laming a horse was unfortunate but could not be avoided I shew him your Letter to me and in every respect complied with your directions and I have no Doubt of his having used every Exertion to fulfill your commands and as I have advanced the Cash I doubt not my Bill will be duly honoured

*A Reminiscence of the Arrival in Poughkeepsie of
the News of Virginia's Ratification of the Constitution*

On 18 February 1888 Benson J. Lossing (1813–1891), a prolific popular historian and a native and resident of Dutchess County, published an article in the *Poughkeepsie Daily Eagle* encouraging the holding of a celebration in

Poughkeepsie on 26 July 1888 commemorating the centennial of the ratification of the Constitution by the New York Convention which had met in Poughkeepsie. Using original sources, Lossing gave his readers a history of the ratification debate in New York, with particular emphasis on the New York Convention. He noted that the arrival in Poughkeepsie on 24 June of the news of New Hampshire's ratification of the Constitution as the ninth state was "sensibly felt in the New York Convention" because ratification of the Constitution by nine states was sufficient to make the Constitution "the fundamental law of the land." But, according to Lossing, the supporters of the Constitution realized that "to make the Union more perfect, complete and strong, it was necessary to secure the ratification of the Constitution by the people of all the states." New York Convention delegate Alexander Hamilton was especially concerned about Virginia whose ratification of the Constitution would have a favorable impact on the New York Convention. Therefore, he wrote James Madison, a Virginia Convention delegate, telling him how important Virginia ratification would be to New York's chances of ratification.

The Virginia Convention ratified the Constitution on 25 June. According to Lossing, the arrival on 2 July of the news of Virginia's ratification "produced a stirring scene at Poughkeepsie, in and out of the [New York] Convention." At this point in his narrative, Lossing quoted an account of the arrival of that news which allegedly was given to him in his "young manhood, by an eye witness, a very old resident of that village who had been a soldier in the French and Indian war, in northern New York."

"It was at about noon on a very hot day," said the old man, "when I saw an express rider on a powerful bay horse flecked with foam, dismount at the Court-house door, and placing his bridle-reins in the hands of a negro boy standing by, hastened to the door of the Convention-chamber and delivered a sealed package to Mr. [David] Barclay, the door-keeper. The courier was colonel William Smith Livingston, who had ridden express (changing horses several times) from New York city to Poughkeepsie, a distance of eighty-one miles in less than ten hours. The package he brought contained a dispatch from the President of the Virginia Convention at Richmond,²⁹ and a letter from Madison to Hamilton announcing that Virginia had, on the 25th day of June, unconditionally ratified the Constitution.³⁰ The reading of that dispatch gave great joy to the Federalists in the Convention, and they cheered loudly. Many people, out of curiosity, had gathered in front of the Court-house after the arrival of the courier; and when the nature of his errand was made known, a part of them formed a little procession, and, led by the music of a fife and drum marched around the Court-house several times. In the evening they lighted a small bonfire. Before sunset Power had printed an 'Extra' on a sheet of paper seven by ten inches in size, which contained the form of the ratification by Virginia."³¹

1. Copy, Madison Papers, DLC. This copy of Langdon's letter was on the verso of Philip Schuyler's 24 June letter to James Madison (at note 5, below).

2. For Rufus King's role in establishing the express system from New York to New Hampshire, see RCS:N.Y., 1124–28.

3. RC, GLC 2437, The Gilder Lehrman Collection, courtesy of The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, New York. Following the date, Sullivan added "one of Clock." This letter, addressed to Knox in New York City, was docketed "From Poughkeepsy," indicating that it had been received in Poughkeepsie before being sent on to Knox in New York City. Perhaps the same express rider who carried John Langdon's 21 June letter to Alexander Hamilton (above) also carried Sullivan's letter.

4. RC, Langdon/Elwyn Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society. On the line above the date, Smith wrote "Monday Morn 5 oClock."

5. RC, Madison Papers, DLC. On 24 June Schuyler wrote to Stephen Van Rensselaer that Langdon's letter had arrived "At twelve this day" (Stan V. Henkels Auction Catalogue No. 1125 [23 January 1915], Item No. 108, p. 16).

6. See John Langdon to Alexander Hamilton, 21 June (above).

7. Madison's letter of 13 June to Alexander Hamilton has not been located, but for Hamilton's reaction, see Hamilton's 25 June letter to Madison (below).

8. RC, Madison Papers, DLC. Before the date appears this phrase: "½ after 12." This letter was addressed to "The Honble/James Madison, in his/absence, Governor Randolph/in Convention/Richmond." It was carried by David Henley who endorsed it "Saturday 28th Inst/forwarded from Alexandria by/Your Hum Servt/D Henley."

9. The enclosure was Philip Schuyler's 24 June letter to James Madison, on the verso of which was a copy of John Langdon's 21 June letter to Alexander Hamilton (both above).

10. This account was reprinted in part in the *Lansingburgh Federal Herald*, 30 June, and, in whole or in part, in twelve other newspapers by 8 July: N.H. (3), Mass. (5), Conn. (3), N.J. (1). A similar account appeared in the *New York Packet* on 27 June (Mfin:N.Y.). This item was reprinted in the *Impartial Gazetteer* and *Independent Journal*, 28 June, the *Hudson Weekly Gazette*, 8 July, and by 24 July in six other newspapers: Mass. (1), Conn. (1), Pa. (3), S.C. (1). The *New York Packet* also noted that "It is believed, that the intelligence of the accession of New-Hampshire to the Constitution, will occasion a considerable majority on the fœderal side" (reprinted, *Independent Journal*, 28 June, and *Connecticut Gazette*, 4 July).

11. Possibly Jonas Kelsey of Poughkeepsie, who apparently was a horse trader.

12. David Henley, a native of Massachusetts and a colonel in the Continental Army during the Revolution, was one of three commissioners to settle Virginia's claims against the United States for the expenses incurred in defending and maintaining the Northwest Territory before Virginia ceded it to Congress.

13. RC, Madison Papers, DLC. The letter is also dated "Friday Morning." This letter was addressed to Madison in Richmond and redirected to Congress in New York. It was postmarked at Richmond on 7 July. Madison probably did not receive the letter until after he had returned to Congress, which was no later than 16 July.

14. See Philip Schuyler to James Madison, 24 June (above).

15. One of the Boston newspapers alluded to by this item was probably the *Boston Gazette*, 23 June, which printed John Sullivan's 21 June letter to Massachusetts Governor John Hancock announcing the New Hampshire Convention's ratification of the Constitution and indicating that the Convention's amendments were "nearly the same" as those of the Massachusetts Convention. Below Sullivan's letter, the *Boston Gazette* stated that it was told by the individual who had carried Sullivan's letter to Hancock that because of the New Hampshire Convention's ratification, "the minority [of that body] have declared

(in a manner similar to the declaration of the minority of the late Convention of this state [Massachusetts]) their intention of using their influence that the constituents should rest easy under it" (Mfm:N.Y.). Between 28 June and 1 July, three New York newspapers reprinted the *Boston Gazette's* widely reprinted account.

16. Reprinted: *New York Journal*, 4 July.

17. RC, Wadsworth Papers, CtHi. Knox dated his letter "5 oClock Morning of the 2d July 1788." He addressed the letter to Wadsworth in Hartford, Conn., indicating that it was "Favored by Mr Pease with the glorious News of the adoption by Virginia." Levi Pease, who was carrying the news of Virginia ratification to Boston, operated a stagecoach service between New York City and Boston that, after an interruption of about seven months, was reestablished in July 1788. (See RCS:Va., 1749, note 4.)

18. RC, Henry Ford Museum Bicentennial Collection, Edison Institute, Greenfield Village and Henry Ford Museum, Dearborn, Mich.

19. Livingston (1755–1794), a 1772 graduate of the College of New Jersey (Princeton) and a New York City lawyer, was aide-de-camp to General Nathanael Greene and a lieutenant colonel in the Continental Army during the Revolution. He represented New York County in the state Assembly, 1792–93.

20. On 2 July the *Daily Advertiser* reported: "By a passenger of veracity, who came in the stage from Philadelphia, and arrived here last evening, we are informed, That the State of Virginia has ADOPTED the Federal Constitution." On the same day, at 4:00 A.M., the *New York Journal* printed this item: "NEWS from VIRGINIA! What this news is, could not be ascertained last evening, but we shall doubtless hear THIS DAY by express. It is pretty well authenticated, that the bells rang at Philadelphia Monday evening—and it is *supposed*, that the cause was, the RATIFICATION of the constitution, by Virginia! The express above referred to, arrived, of which particularly to-morrow."

21. In New York, this report was reprinted, in whole or in part, in the *Albany Journal*, 7 July, and *Hudson Weekly Gazette*, 8 July. Outside the state it was reprinted, in whole or in part, seven times by 21 July: Vt. (2), N.H. (1), Mass. (1), Conn. (3).

22. For the Virginia Form of Ratification, see RCS:Va, 1546–47. In addition to the *New York Journal*, the Virginia Form of Ratification was reprinted in eight New York newspapers between 3 and 8 July (RCS:N.Y., 1192). The printers of two of these eight newspapers, the *Independent Journal* and the *Country Journal*, each printed the Form as a broadside (Mfm:Va. 284, 286). Lastly, the *New York American Magazine* reprinted the Form in its July issue, printed on 1 August.

23. Thomas Greenleaf, editor of the *New York Journal*, probably refers to that part of the Virginia Form of Ratification that states "that the powers granted under the Constitution being derived from the people of the United States may be resumed by them whensoever the same shall be perverted to their injury or oppression and that every power not granted thereby remains with them and at their will: that therefore no right of any denomination can be cancelled abridged restrained or modified by the Congress by the Senate or House of Representatives acting in any Capacity by the President or any Department or Officer of the United States except in those instances in which power is given by the Constitution for those purposes: & that among other essential rights the liberty of Conscience and of the Press cannot be cancelled abridged restrained or modified by any authority of the United States" (RCS:Va., 1546).

A partial version of this provision of the Virginia Form of Ratification had been recommended in the Virginia Convention by Edmund Randolph on 21 June to manifest "the principles on which Virginia adopted" the Constitution and that "we should be at liberty to consider as a violation of the Constitution, every exercise of a power not expressly delegated therein" (*ibid.*, 1456). On 22 June, James Madison commented on this

Form in letters to Alexander Hamilton and Rufus King. To Hamilton, he explained that Virginia Federalists planned “to preface the [Form of] ratification with some plain & general truths that can not affect the validity of the Act” (*ibid.*, 1665; Rutland, *Madison*, XI, 166). To King, Madison wrote that it was intended “to preface the ratification with a declaration of a few obvious truths which can not affect the validity of the act” (Rutland, *Madison*, XI, 167).

24. This item was reprinted in the *New York Packet*, 4 July, and in ten other newspapers by 18 July: N.H. (1), Mass. (1), R.I. (2), Conn. (4), Pa. (2).

25. See note 23 (above).

26. RC, Hamilton Papers, DLC. This letter, addressed to Hamilton “At New York [City],” concerns the expenses incurred by the post rider who carried to Poughkeepsie Sullivan’s 21 June letter to Henry Knox announcing New Hampshire’s ratification of the Constitution. Although Sullivan’s letter was addressed to Knox in New York City, it was first taken to Poughkeepsie.

27. Perhaps Captain John Roche of Concord, N.H., who had been an officer in the Continental Navy during the Revolution. Roche was a friend of John Langdon, who like Sullivan, was a member of the New Hampshire Convention. Early in the Revolution, Langdon had built the *Ranger*, with the assistance of Roche who had suggested its construction to Congress and who had helped to design it. Roche was expected to command the vessel, but he was suspended from the naval service because of a complaint lodged by the Massachusetts Council that he was “a person of doubtful character.” The command of the *Ranger* was given to John Paul Jones.

28. See Hamilton to Sullivan, 6 June (RCS:N.Y., 1126).

29. The reference is to a 28 June circular letter sent by Edmund Pendleton, the President of the Virginia Convention, to the President of Congress and all of the state executives enclosing an engrossed manuscript that included the Virginia Form of Ratification and the amendments recommended by the Virginia Convention. (For the letter, see RCS:Va., 1563. For the Form of Ratification, see RCS:Va., 1546–47, and for the amendments, see RCS:Va., 1551–56.) It is unlikely, however, that the package included these items. There would not have been enough time to prepare them all and get them to Poughkeepsie by 2 July. The Confederation Congress in New York City did not receive the Pendleton letter and its enclosures until 14 July.

30. Probably a letter that James Madison wrote to Alexander Hamilton on 25 June (RCS:Va., 1675–76).

31. For the broadside struck off by Nicholas Power of the Poughkeepsie *Country Journal*, see Evans 45393. For a photographic facsimile of the broadside, see Mfm:Va. 284. Lossing quoted part of the broadside in his article.

Ebenezer Hazard to George Washington

General Post Office, New York, 24 June 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . The Attention of Politicians here is wholly engrossed by the new Constitution. The Information received of late from New Hampshire leaves little or no Reason to doubt of its Adoption by that State,² and the Gentlemen in Congress from thence consider it as a certain Event. The Convention of this State is now sitting at Poughkeepsie, and the Antifederalists have a decided Majority in that Body:—we are told that their Conduct is more temperate than was at first expected, and some

are sanguine enough to believe that the Necessity of the Case will induce them to adopt the new Constitution:—others, perhaps better informed, seem confident that they will make certain Amendments the Condition of their adopting it:—in my Opinion much depends upon the Conduct of Virginia, for whose Decision we wait with anxious Impatience:—should that be favorable New York will have no Supporter, in Case of a Rejection, but Rhode Island, and the Union will have but little to apprehend from either the Politics or Power of both.—

1. RC, Washington Papers, DLC. Printed: Abbot, *Washington*, VI, 353–54.

2. On 24 June William Bingham, a Pennsylvania delegate to Congress, declared that “I am by no means free from Anxiety on the subject of New Hampshire, altho the most recent Advices from that State leave little Room for doubting her Assent” (to Benjamin Rush, Smith, *Delegates*, XXV, 188. See also John Brown to Archibald Stuart, 25 June, below.).

**Samuel Blachley Webb to Catherine Hogeboom
Poughkeepsie, 24–25 June 1788¹**

Poughkeepsie Tuesday morning
June 24th. 1788.—

I wrote you dear Kitty by the last Fryday’s Stage, and expected before this your Brother would have returned to Claverack, but he is yet here, and I think his time well spent, the debates of the Convention are truly interesting, and important, and if an elegant display of oratory, founded on truth and reason can have its due weight over Art and ill founded prejudice, this Convention will yet adopt the proposed Constitution, it would delight you to hear Hamilton Livingston and Jay, nor is Harrisson much inferior to them, they speak to a charm, and will at all events gain lasting honor to themselves, these are all in favor of the new Government, much is said on the other side by Lansing and Smith, but their arguments being founded on erroneous principles cannot please. thus much for Politics.

Saturday evening I went with Mr Schuyler to Rhinebec, and on Sunday morning was unfortunate enough (in crossing a fence) to separate the Bones of my Ankle, so soon as they could be put in their place Mr. Schuyler accompanied me back to Poughkeepsie, where I now am, under the care of Doctr. Thomas who is a good Surgeon and I hope the last of the week to proceed for NewYork by water, tho: I cannot expect the use of my foot much short of a Month, the pain I was in the first day was extream, but at present I am much easier, I was yesterday carried to the Convention Chamber where I continued untill they adjourned, and unwilling to loose Debates so interesting I am agoing this

morning again to the House—I know not when your Brother intends returning to Claverack, if this Evening I shall trouble him with this, otherways forward it by the Mail, should you write by the returning Mail direct for me at this place, as I shall not go for NewYork untill Saturday afternoon.

Tuesday Eveng. 24th²

I am favor'd with yours of the 22d. Instant which has given me convincing proofs of those sentiments my heart most wish'd for from you, you have a confidence in your friend, which *envy* nor malice can shake, and I trust the event will prove *to all*, you have not misplaced your confidence or friendship.—I cannot my friend but congratulate you on the news of New-Hampshire haveing adopted the New Constitution, Nine States have now agreed & I fondly hope *this*, will no longer obstinately persue measures which will ultimately tend to their dishonor and ruin,—the question now is, whether this State are able and choose to remain out of the Union, for the Government will immediately be put in Execution, And the further opposition of Anti-federal's may ruin the peace & happiness of the State,—my Compliments to the Docter, by your Brother I have sent him the productions of Hamilton in two Volumes, under the signature of *Publius*, they will, I trust, be usefull and pleasing to him, I hope he will strongly recommend them to the serious perusal of your Pappa.³

Wednesday 25th. Your Brother and myself have dined together and he is determin'd to take his departure this Afternoon, to him my Dear Girl I refer you for any questions political or Domestic you may wish to ask,—it is impossible for me to determine with any degree of precision the day I shall be in NewYork—but to prevent all accidents, I wish you to write me by the Stage of next Thursday directed as formerly in NewYork—it will meet me there, present me with Esteem to the circle of your & my friends—

1. RC, Webb Papers, CtY. Catherine Hogeboom (1768–1805) was the daughter of Stephen Hogeboom (note 3, below) of Claverack, Columbia County. She married Webb in September 1790, after which they resided in Claverack.

2. Someone, probably not Webb, wrote “Thursday” over “Tuesday” and changed “24th” to “26th.” The news that New Hampshire ratified the Constitution arrived in Poughkeepsie at noon on 24 June. The last paragraph of the letter is dated “Wednesday 25th.” The letter is also docketed “24 & 25 June 1788.”

3. In 1788 Stephen Hogeboom, Catherine's father, was an assistant justice of the Court of Common Pleas and a Columbia County supervisor. The next year, he was appointed a judge of the Court of Common Pleas, a position he held for many years. Hogeboom was also a member of the state Assembly, 1791, 1792–93, 1796; a delegate to the state constitutional convention of 1801; and a state Senator, 1804–8.

Hudson Weekly Gazette, 24 June 1788

To the CONVENTION of the STATE of NEW-YORK.

At this moment, while the event of your debates is yet undetermined, a friend to the rights of mankind, and to the essential interests of this state begs leave to address you. Deeply impressed with the importance of the subject of your deliberations, the people at large look up to you on this occasion as the pillars of your country, and with anxiety wait the result, as the sure ground of their political salvation. They have however reason to dread that PARTY under the specious cloak of PATRIOTISM will have an undue influence on many of your members. They have in many instances felt the effects of that pernicious pest of society, that bane of every just principle, and liberal grounds of argument. They know that when the minds of men have been long agitated by any object of importance, when they have at length chosen the side which they intend to support, all the force of reason is not sufficient to make them forego their preconceived opinions. But they flatter themselves, that, at this time, when the present and future happiness of this country is suspended on the adoption or rejection of the proposed constitution, party prejudices, and local views will be banished from your councils, and that you will hear the arguments, on both sides, with impartiality and judge with candor. It is generally supposed, that the question which you are now to debate, is materially different from what it was at first. It is now reduced to this single point—whether we shall unite with the other states in adopting this new form of government, or separate ourselves entirely from them? In forming your opinions on this important subject, you ought seriously to consider what would be the probable consequences, either of an adoption of the constitution, or of our separation from the other states. It is strongly impressed on the minds of the more considerate and reflecting class of people, that the advantages to be derived from the adoption of the constitution would be many and great. We should be united with states who, on all occasions, would be able to contribute their share of money towards the support of government and public faith, and of soldiers to repel the hostile attacks of invaders. The channels of commerce, unclogged by duties or restrictions, would flow in streams of mutual benefit—the mild and equal energy of laws would be felt by us and our neighbours—foreign states would look upon us with reverence, and, from our local situation, and the fertility of our country, we must, in the revolutions of time, become the emporium of commerce—the arbiter of the world. If any branch of the constitution should, on trial, be found subversive of any essential right of the people, an easy door

is opened to amendments by the constitution. Many advantages of equal consequence with the preceding would naturally result from the adoption of the constitution, and all the airy phantoms, raised by the breath of party, which, for such a length of time, have frightened the weak, and influenced the ignorant to oppose this salutary measure, vanish before the light of truth, and the clause which authorises amendments. The people, with gloomy apprehensions, on the other hand, dwell on the consequences of its rejection. If as a separate state, we wish to be regarded by other powers, we must inevitably run into expences which the wealth of the state will not support. All the officers of a separate republic, ambassadors, &c. it will be necessary for us to maintain, and an expence, equal to what has been hitherto borne by all the states, will be supported by this alone. The multitude are captivated by the pomp and splendor of government—we must therefore please them by assuming all that magnificence which will be seen in the federal government, or clamors, sedition and contempt will be the natural consequence. The high spirited American cannot bear to be the theme of ridicule, and, with foreigners, our situation would expose us to the most piercing shafts of satire. We should have no armament to repel a foreign invasion—the golden chain of amity, by which we have been bound to our sister states, will be broken. From them we should experience as severe treatment as from strangers: They would eagerly seize the first plausible pretext for attacking us—and many of our citizens would, with alacrity, join them in the field against us. Loaded from every quarter with commercial duties, we should not have it in our power to retaliate. Separated from the rest of the world we could confide only in our internal resources, and the least reflection will convince us they would by no means equal our wants. These are some of the innumerable ill consequences flowing from our rejection of the proposed plan of government. When we reflect on these things we cannot but prefer tyranny, arrayed in all its horrors, to such a state of mortifying contempt and helpless imbecility. Weigh these things calmly and dispassionately—and avert from this land the evils it with reason dreads, that your names, in future ages, may be enrolled among the fathers of your country and the benefactors of mankind.

John Brown to Archibald Stuart

New York, 25 June 1788 (excerpts)¹

We wait with fear & trembling to hear the determination of Virginia respecting the new Constitution. Both Federalists & Antifederalists agree in Opinion that its fate depends upon her decision—Accounts

recd. by last Post leave us in great uncertainty with respect to the event. In Convention in this State there are at least two thirds Antifederal or such as will insist upon previous Amendments should Virginia do the same—We have no certain information from N Hampshire but the general Opinion is that she will adopt it without previous amendments. If it should not be adopted I fear the Consequences will prove ruinous to the Union. . . .

PS. We this moment are informd that N Hampshire has adopted the N. Con[s]titution

Good News

1. RC, Stuart Collection, Virginia Historical Society. Printed: RCS:Va., 1677–78. Brown (1757–1837), a Danville, Ky., lawyer, was a Virginia state senator, 1784–87; a Virginia delegate to Congress, 1787–88; a U.S. Representative from Virginia, 1789–92; and a U.S. Senator from Kentucky, 1792–1805. Stuart (1757–1832), a Staunton, Va., lawyer, sat in the Virginia House of Delegates, 1783–85, 1786–88, and voted to ratify the Constitution in the Virginia Convention in June 1788. Brown’s letter was addressed to Stuart at the Virginia Convention in Richmond.

Alexander Hamilton to James Madison Poughkeepsie, 25 June 1788 (excerpt)¹

I am very sorry to find by your letter of the 13th that your prospects are so critical.² Our chance of success here is infinitely slender, and none at all if you go wrong. The leaders of the Antifederalists finding their partisans somewhat squeamish about rejection, are obliged *at present* to recur to the project of conditional amendments.—We are going on very deliberately in the discussion and hitherto not without effect.

Communicate this to our friend G Morris,³ to whom I have not time to write. . . .

Yrs. Aff[ectionatel]y

1. RC, Frederick M. Dearborn Collection, Harvard University. Printed: Syrett, V, 80; and Rutland, *Madison*, XI, 179–80. Hamilton dated this letter “New York, June 25, 1788.” He actually wrote it from Poughkeepsie. It was addressed to Madison in the Virginia Convention in Richmond but did not reach him before the Convention adjourned on 27 June. Consequently, the letter was forwarded to Madison in Congress, which he began attending on 17 July.

2. Madison’s letter of 13 June has not been found, but it is possible to surmise what he wrote to Hamilton by examining Madison’s 13 June letters to Rufus King and George Washington in which he stated that the ratification of the Constitution by Virginia was “more doubtful” or “less favorable” than when he had written them earlier in June (Rutland, *Madison*, XI, 133–34. For the earlier letters, see Madison to Washington and to King, 4 and 9 June, respectively, *ibid.*, 77, 102.).

3. Gouverneur Morris and Robert Morris, both Pennsylvania signers of the Constitution, went to Virginia in November 1787 to collect debts owed to Robert Morris. In June 1788 the Morrisses attended the debates of the Virginia Convention.

Comte de Moustier to Comte de Montmorin
New York, 25 June 1788 (excerpts)¹

The grand object that holds the attention of the United States today acquired a new degree of interest from the difficulty that accompanies the formation of the new Government, at the moment when its partisans believe its success to be most assured. Today three States are assembled in convention to make a decision on the new Constitution; Newhampshire is hardly noticed; her vote would in truth be sufficient to complete the nine that are needed to bring about the alteration of the federal Government, but it is not probable that it would have any influence on the decision of the State of Virginia nor on that of Newyork. The Antifederalists seemed to win some ground in the former and they have a recognized majority in the latter.² The Leaders of this party come out in the open there [New York]. There is animosity on both sides in Virginia. I limit myself to mentioning by name only one leader of the party in that State, Mr. Patrick Henri, because he deserves to be distinguished from all the others by his talents, his ambition and his influence on the people. His plan would be to detach his State from the confederation. If he carries the votes of the people from the interior and if he joins them with those of North Carolina, which is the last [state] to meet in Convention, he would be able to form a body strong enough to sustain itself against the efforts of the party opposed to his plan.

In this State [New York] the opinion of the Antifederalists is positively in favor of separation. They are claiming that it is advisable for them to form a separate Government and not involve themselves for a long time to come in the affairs of Europe, with whom they ought to have even fewer commercial ties, which only furnish them with luxuries that they must do without to live in the simplicity that befits a newborn State. . . .

P.S. It is learned at this moment Newhampshire has agreed to the new Constitution. Congress can now discuss if it also wants to adopt it. It is probable that it will agree to it, but without Virginia and Newyork the new Government will exist more in name than in fact. The great issue remains which course those two will take. The implementation [of the new government] will come afterwards.—Another difficulty.—

1. RC (Tr), Correspondance Politique, États-Unis, Vol. 33, ff. 214–18, Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Paris. Printed: CC:787; *American Historical Review*, VIII (1903), 730–33. This letter, number 15, was endorsed as received on 26 September. Moustier (1751–1817) was appointed French minister plenipotentiary to the United States in September 1787 and on 18 January 1788 he arrived in New York, where he presented his credentials to Congress on 26 February. He remained in America until October 1789.

2. Commenting on the Convention elections, another French diplomat stationed in New York City stated that “*antifederalists* carried the day 4 to 1” (Antoine de la Forest to Comte de la Luzerne, 9 June, CC:777).

Abraham Yates, Jr., to Abraham G. Lansing
New York, 25 June 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . Whilst I am Writeing Advice is brought (I Write this in Congress) that New hampshire had Adopted the New Constitution Which bread Such an inattention to the Business the Southern Members to Write Letters to Verginia² (The Verginia Legislature meet the twenty third And by that time it is Supposed the Convention Will have Come to a decision So that by next Saturday it is expected that We Will hear the Event) And Others talking the Matter over (it being the Ninth State) that We Adjorned—

I Was Addressed by Several of the Members What Would the State of New York do now—I tell them the same they Would have done if New Hampshire had not Adopted it they Will Adopt but I hoped not Without previous Amendments—That My Mind Was made up, that if all the twelve States Were to Come in that New York Aught not And I trusted they Would not—Whilst I am Writeing this The Bells Are Set Ringing for Joy upon the Occasion—I find [Captain Jacob] Pruin is not yet gone This therefore goes With him the Acts of the Last Session And the Votes I have promised Mr Lan[g]don to Return him those I Sent You from Poughkepsse Which You Will Do With Al Speed to Yours Aff[ectionatel]y . . .

1. RC, Yates Papers, NN. Printed: Smith, *Delegates*, XXV, 193–94.

2. The text within angle brackets was written as marginalia and marked for insertion at this point.

New Jersey Journal, 25 June 1788

The animosity of the majority of the Convention of New-York, against the New Constitution, we hear, has raised such a party and faction, as seems to threaten the state with new dangers and distresses.

Ebenezer Hazard to Jeremy Belknap
New York, 26 June 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . An Express from Poughkeepsie yesterday brought us the glad Tidings of N. Hampshire’s having adopted the new Constitution, & we had ringing of Bells, firing of Guns &c. &c.—I did expect “the ancient Dominion”² would have been the Key Stone of the Arch; but N. Hamp: has deprived them of that honor. Our Accounts from Virginia are not

very flattering: I suspect there will be but a bare Majority, & some seem doubtful even of that: however, I cannot but hope their Vote will be favorable, especially as nine States have agreed & the new political Machine will be set in Motion: should they join the nine, it is of little Importance to the Union how N.Y. votes. . . .

1. RC, Belknap Papers, MHi. Printed: *Belknap Correspondence*, Part II, 48–49.
2. Virginia.

Rufus King to Nathan Dane
Newburyport, Mass., 27 June 1788¹

I thank you for your obliging Letter *covering* a few lines from Mr. Madison²—entirely agreeing with your wishes that the States may all unite in the Constitution, I most sincerely hope that both Virginia & New York may pursue a line of conduct which will promote the union & Happiness of our Country—the accession of New Hamp: presents the Subject in an entirely different View, and I cannot persuade myself that New York will negative the Question—you are perfectly acquainted with the present Temper of the people, and the administration of this State, from your correspondents. the warmest wishes of the sober and prudent part of the Community are fully gratified, and the adoption of the Constitution by N.H. gives the most general satisfaction to our People—

I am very much at a loss to account for the act of Congress concerning the admission of Kentucky into the Confederacy³—From conversation with various characters I believe the measure if completed by congress, will not be well relished in this Quarter—

1. RC, Dane Papers, DLC.
2. Probably Dane's 15 June letter to King in which was enclosed a letter from Madison to King (RCS:N.Y., 1171–72). The enclosed letter was probably Madison's 4 June letter to King (RCS:Va., 1573–74).
3. For the action taken by Congress on 2 and 3 June respecting Kentucky statehood, see RCS:Va., 1580, note 3.

Abraham Bancker to Evert Bancker
Poughkeepsie, 28 June 1788¹

Dear Uncle

It is always a pleasure to me to address a Line to you as one of my dearest Connections, and could wish it was in my power to inform you, that the Constitution was adopted by this Convention. But alas! my dear Sir, I contemplate this Measure as remote from the present day, for what with persuasive Arguments, and the Exposition of Facts clear

and perspicuous as the Sun in it's Meridian Altitude, we have not in my humble Opinion, come a whit nearer embracing this salutary Expedient, than we were a Week ago—How unhappy is it for us that So much good reasoning Should be lost upon a stiffnecked and refractory Set of People, who rush apparently, with Open Eyes, to their own ruin. I am persuaded, by their present Conduct they will defeat those Measures, and Ends which they wish to establish—The force of Argument & Elocution is most decidedly against them, and I may Say, if they will not believe the Truths laid down to them, neither will they believe, tho' one rose from the dead. But the fact is simply this Most of the Members whom we term Antifederal, were elected by People of that Class, or in other Words People, who from their Ignorance & Credulity were calculated to promote faction and oppose good Government, those People have come here, not to hear at leisure and with deliberation a fair and ample discussion of the Constitution; and then to exercise their Judgments thereon, but they have come here for the express purpose, and with a manifest Intention, either to reject the proposed Constitution, or what is the same in effect, not to embrace it, but upon their own Conditions—But, thank God, the turning point is not with us. It has become a Government by the accession of the State of New Hampshire, and therefore will come into Operation—From Virginia, in all probability in about 4 days, Accots. will be received of the Convention of that State deciding in it's favor. How much a Measure of that kind will influence the proceedings of this Convention, I will not undertake to determine, but am of Opinion, it will rather lead to an Adjournment than to an Adoption of the Constitution They will, it is likely, propose an Adjournment on the pretext of taking the Sense of their Constituents, wishing to be governed by their Instructions. If So, and they return, it is expected the Constitution will Stand a better Chance—I will undertake to Say however, that if there was not a warm Opposition on the part of the Governor, We should be prepared for the final Question, at this period of the Business, but as long as he Stands at the head of a formidable Opposition, No Arguments however rational, however founded in fact, will have any other tendency than to irritate and exasperate the determined Party. Indeed it is remarkable, that the County of Ulster, at this time, and on this Occasion, seem to act generally and also to Speak as Men devoid of Reason and bent on their own Destruction. Indeed I believe them to be So hardy, as that they would oppose the whole united Force of the Continent, before they would retract I Sincerely hope the Face of Affairs may wear a more promising Appearance before we shall have gone through with the debates.—I will write Shortly again, must now break off as the Boat is preparing to Sail.

Couz Abraham² has just Set out for Kingston. he and I agree very well in everything Saving the Constitution. I wish he may return a better federalist than he goes, but as long as he keeps bad Company, We have no reason to expect he will imbibe good Principles. Mr. Ryerss's³ Complts. and my best Love and Regards are herewith presented to yourself and my dear Aunt, Couzn. Christr. Wife and family, and count me as one who is truly.—Your Affectionate Nephew

P:S: I had like to have omitted mentioning that in the Course of our debates this Morning in Convention, Personal Reflections were thrown out by Mr. Lansing against Mr. Hamilton which were productive of Serious disputations. It will be well if it does not terminate Seriously—

You may Show part of the Contents to our friends—

1. RC, Bancker Family Correspondence, NHi. Evert Bancker endorsed this letter as received on 1 July and as answered on 2 July (below).

2. Abraham Bancker's cousin, Abraham B. Bancker, was Evert Bancker's son.

3. Gozen Ryerss was a Richmond County delegate to the New York Convention who voted to ratify the Constitution.

St. John de Crevecoeur to James Bowdoin

New York, 28 June 1788 (excerpt)¹

I have Recv'd long Since your Kind Letter of the Second April Together With the debates of your Convention Concerning the New Constitution proposed for the united States, for which I beg you'd receive my thanks² Tho' at this Late hour.—it has afforded me pleasure & amusement; nine States have at Last adopted it, God Grant We may Soon hear that the Majority of the Good people of Virginia are become federalists³—Some people Seem to doub[t] it, We have as yet no Certain News—the Convention of this State is now Sitting as you well know; & it is not probable they will accept it; They have Carried Too far the deceptions a few Wicked People amongst us have to reproach themselves with that banefull Work; I am Told that next Week Congress will proceed To The appointing a day for the Election of the Great President,⁴ So that Now there are Nine States this will I believe be in Earnest. . . .

1. RC, Bowdoin-Temple Papers, MHi. Crevecoeur (1735–1813), a native of France, emigrated to Canada and served as a scout in the French army and as a mapmaker during the French and Indian War. From 1759 to 1769 he traveled extensively throughout the American colonies. He became a naturalized citizen in 1765 and four years later settled on a farm in Orange County, N.Y. He visited France in 1780 and returned to the United States in 1783 as French consul for New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut. Bowdoin (1726–1790), a graduate of Harvard College (1745) and a Boston merchant, was a prominent colonial and Revolutionary legislator and the governor of Massachusetts, 1785–87. He voted to ratify the Constitution in the Massachusetts Convention in February 1788.

2. The widely circulated book edition of the debates of the Massachusetts Convention was published in mid-March 1788. In New York, the debates were advertised for sale in the *New York Journal*, 31 March, 2 and 24 April, and 5 May, and in the *Hudson Weekly Gazette*, 24 June. (See RCS:Mass., 1132–36.)

3. The news of Virginia's ratification of the Constitution arrived in New York City on 2 July between 2:00 and 3:00 A.M. See "News of New Hampshire and Virginia Ratification Arrives in New York," 24 June–2 July (above).

4. See "Confederation Congress Makes Provision to Put the New Government Under the Constitution into Operation," 2 July–13 September (below).

Richard Penn Hicks to John Dickinson
New York, 28 June 1788 (excerpt)¹

... I would venture to write something of the politicks of the [day] did I not suppos[e] that there could not be anything of importance here but what has already reached Wilmington. The general topicks are the constitution which is received with great eagerness in this city tho' at present there are a great majority of the antifœder[a]ls in the convention. But by the superior abilities of the members for the new constitution the antifoederalist[s] daily decrease and there are great hopes that the constitution will be adadopted. The Governor² himself from the coolness with which he was treated at his departure (for the foederals were honoured with thirteen guns they never even saluted him,³ the same happened at poughkeepsie) & reception at Poughkeepsie begins to grow more calm in his opposition. And the eloqu[en]ce of Mr Duane, the Chancellor,⁴ Mr Jay, Coll Hammilton & Mr Harrison (who are our principal speakers) have already made several converts.

Last Wednesday arrived in this citty the news of Newhampshire's adopting the new constitution which was received [with] great acclamations of joy & parade of the Militia & it is to be hoped that it will have great affect on the conventions now setting. . . .

1. RC, Logan Papers, PHi. Hicks (1769–1791), a Philadelphian and a ward of John Dickinson, was planning to study law with New York City lawyer Brockholst Livingston as soon as Livingston returned to the city from Poughkeepsie. Dickinson (1732–1808), a Wilmington, Del., lawyer, was a leader in opposing British imperial policy, although he initially resisted independence. From 1774 to 1776, he was a Pennsylvania delegate to Congress, where he chaired the committee to draft the Articles of Confederation and where he signed that document as a Delaware delegate in 1779. Dickinson was President of Delaware, 1781–82; President of the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council, 1782–85; and a Delaware delegate to the Annapolis Convention, 1786, and the Constitutional Convention, where he signed the Constitution. Between 12 April and 1 May 1788, he published nine Federalist essays signed "Fabius" in the *Pennsylvania Mercury* (CC:677) that were widely reprinted, although not in New York.

2. George Clinton.

3. See the *Daily Advertiser*, 16 June (VI, below).

4. Robert R. Livingston.

**George Washington to Charles Cotesworth Pinckney
Mount Vernon, 28 June 1788 (excerpt)¹**

... At present there is more doubt how the question will be immediately disposed of in New York. For it seems to be understood that there is a majority in the Convention opposed to the adoption of the New fœderal System. Yet it is hardly to be supposed, (or rather in my judgment it is irrational to suppose) they will reject a government, which, from an unorganised embrio ready to be stifled with a breath, has now in the maturity of Its birth assumed a confirmed bodily existence. Or, to drop the metaphor, the point in debate has, at least, shifted its ground from policy to expediency. The decision of ten States² cannot be without its operation. Perhaps the wisest way, in this crisis, will be, not to attempt to accept or reject—but to adjourn, untill the people in some parts of the State can consider the magnitude of the question and of the consequences involved in it, more coolly and deliberately.—After New York shall have acted, then only one little State will remain.³ . . .

1. FC, Washington Papers, DLC. Printed: CC:792. Pinckney (1746–1825), a Charleston lawyer-planter, had been appointed a brevet brigadier general in the Continental Army in 1783. He represented South Carolina in the Constitutional Convention, where he signed the Constitution, and he spoke in support of the Constitution in the state House of Representatives in January 1788. Pinckney voted to ratify the Constitution in the state Convention in May 1788.

2. Parts of Washington's letter not printed here reveal that he already knew that New Hampshire and Virginia had become the ninth and tenth states to ratify the Constitution.

3. In a portion of his letter not printed here, Washington expressed his confidence that North Carolina would ratify the Constitution, thereby leaving only Rhode Island.

New York Journal, 28 June 1788¹

A SONG.

What means their wisdoms roving to Poughkeepsie,
Their heads with politics are surely tipsey!
Why to the Druids ancient haunts be trotting,
Where naught but acorns on the ground lie rotting?
The oracles long since have left their oaks,
And minded now no more than pigs in pokes,
And laugh'd to scorn by every John a Nokes;² }
Unmask your faces then, and one and all
Sing *falderal* and *anti-falderal*.

CHORUS.

Federal, falderal, federalist,
Your thumb to your mouth, and your nose to your fist,

Federal, falderal, federal tit,
 Beware of the dainty, the savory bit,
 Keep fast all behind or you're surely b—t
 Sing falderal, federal, anti's and yeomen,
 Beware of the snare as you're truemen and freemen,
 Federal, falderal, fiddle de day,
 Falderal tit, and tit falderay.

1. Reprinted: Charleston *Columbian Herald*, 28 July.

2. "John-a-Nokes" was a fictitious name for one of the parties in a legal action, hence sometimes used indefinitely for any individual person. It was also used as a term for a simpleton.

Henry Knox to John Sullivan
New York, 29 June 1788¹

I thank you for your kind favor of the 21st from Concord,² announcing the highly important and satisfactory information of the adoption of the Constitution by New Hampshire

I hope and trust that the news of this great event may reach Richmond previously to the decision of the question in the Virginia convention. The last Letters from Richmond were dated on the 19th.³ the main question would either be put on the 21st, or the convention would then make a short adjourn[ment] (perhaps of a week) for the purpose of accomodating the legislature which had been called to assemble at the same place on the 23d instant—In either case it appears to be the opinion of the federalists and antifederalists that there would be a small majority for adopting the Constitution in the same manner as by Massachusetts & New Hampshire The express with the new Hampshire information will probably reach Richmond this day as it departed from this City on Wednesday last 1 oClock⁴ If the adjournment should have taken place it is probable the majority in favor of the Constitution will be encreased—

I cannot well state the politics of this state—It is sufficient to say they are opposed to the constitution without previous amendments—The Convention have been sitting since the 17th—the majority greatly on the side of the Antifederalists

However as the noble conduct of your state has secured the Constitution it is possible the Antis may think the ground changed and instead of stipulating for previous amendments accept the constitution on the terms you have—If this should be the case with which however I do not in the least flatter myself. The Antis will take care to shew their power by some declaration that the acceptance is from expedience & not from conviction⁵

Your friends attribute much of the success of the cause in your state to your unremitting exertions, and hope that yr Country will eminently reward yr patriotism—

1. RC, Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.

2. Knox was replying to Sullivan's 21 June letter. On 29 June New Hampshire congressman Nicholas Gilman also replied to a 21 June letter from John Langdon in which Langdon had announced that New Hampshire had ratified the Constitution (Smith, *Delegates*, XXV, 197. Both Sullivan and Langdon had been New Hampshire Convention delegates.). Knox and Gilman had known for several days that New Hampshire had ratified. That news had first reached New York City on 25 June, by express riders from Concord, N.H., via Poughkeepsie. (See "News of New Hampshire and Virginia Ratification Arrives in New York," 24 June–2 July, above.)

3. On 29 June Knox wrote Hartford merchant Jeremiah Wadsworth that a 19 June letter from James Madison (not located) declared that Virginia would ratify the Constitution "with a small majority" (Wadsworth Papers, CtHi).

4. The news of New Hampshire's ratification—carried by express riders from Concord, Poughkeepsie, and New York City—reached Richmond on 29 June, four days after the Virginia Convention had ratified and two days after it had adjourned.

5. In his 29 June letter to Wadsworth (note 3, above), Knox revealed that the Federalist minority in the New York Convention "it is said has increased to 25, whether it will rise higher is uncertain—If my information be true they will propose certain amendments and then adjourn—The influence of New Hampshire & even Virginia would not be conclusive—It might move some but the Majority would be inflexible."

**Abraham G. Lansing to Abraham Yates, Jr.
Albany, 29 June 1788 (excerpt)¹**

... The Federalists here plume themselves much on the Accession of New Hampshire they however [have] not proceeded to any public demonstrations of Joy on the Occasion—We congratulate them and our Friends and express our satisfaction that they can now give the New System an Experiment without Interfering in the politics of the State of New York—Virginia will have a more serious effect I fear upon the Spirits and determinations of our Friends.—

General Ten Broeck² is returned from Poughkeepsie and from his Conversation nothing unfavorable can be drawn to our Friends at that place.—The Length of Time which must necessarily elapse before the Business can be concluded is the only circumstance which alarms me and our Friends here—

My Brothers answer to the Chancellors Introductory oration is much approved of³—in a Letter of the 27 by last evenings Stage he informs me that the Federalists have suffered the Resolution respecting the *Times places and Manner of holding Elections* to pass without any Animadversions—what the purport of this resolution is he does not say⁴—The Amendment to Contract the power of Laying and collecting Taxes &ca.

was under Consideration at the Time he wrote—and from the animated opposition of The Federalists he concludes that the Debating of that paragraph will take up some days. . . .

1. RC, Yates Papers, NN. There is no place of writing, but the letter seems to have been written from home in Albany. The letter was addressed “to the care of William Bedlow Esqr.,” the postmaster of New York City.

2. Abraham Ten Broeck was an unsuccessful Federalist candidate for a seat in the state Convention from Albany County.

3. On 19 June Chancellor Robert R. Livingston was the first Convention delegate to speak on the Constitution in the Committee of the Whole. John Lansing, Jr., replied to Livingston on 20 June. (See V, below, for both speeches.)

4. John Lansing, Jr.’s, 27 June letter has not been found. For the resolution concerning elections, see Convention Debates, 25 June (V, below).

Silas Talbot to John Duncan

Johnstown, Montgomery County, c. 29 June 1788¹

I was some time since much surprised at being inform’d that You was very much disgusted with my conversation when at your house last March. Conscious to myself that I had not advanced any thing that ought to offend the most delicate feelings was not ready to beleive this report till Major Shirliff told me you inform’d him at his house, that you had some warm altercation with me on the subject of the new Constitution that in the course of which I declared that unless the people would receive it as it now stood it should be cramm’d down their throats that I boasted much of the power of the Cincinatus² that I very well knew how you treated me that I was in your own house, If these last expressions mean any thing it must be that in case I had not been in your house you would have insulted me for such vain arrogance. Immediately on being thus inform’d it occur’d to me that you meant to treat me while I was at your house in the manner I suspected you did; for I mentioned to Mrs Talbot soon after leaving Hermitage that I thought we were treated by you very cooly

I am sorry the delicate situation you stood in being in your own house prevented you from conducting yourself towards me as you conceive I merited [because?] in that case an explanation would probably have immediately taken place. I am certain that I could never have been so weak as to make use of those importantant [i.e., impertinent?] expressions reported as coming from you; and the author of them has done me very great injustice in holding me up to the publick in so ridiculous a light as it must be well known that I am a stranger in this state without the least influence over the people. It is clearly my opin-

ion that it is for the Interest of the United States to receive the constitution as recommended by the Continental Convention. But I have not endeavour'd to persuade any one to vote for it. I remember well that when conversing with Mr. Yates and you about the new Constitution and the consequence of the Countrys being divided that I gave it as my opinion if they should rise in Arms for and against the Constitution it would be determined by adopting it and gave my reasons for that opinion, and I mentioned also it was my opinion the Society of Cincinnati would be clearly for it But I could not reasonably assume to myself any consequence on their account having not the honor of being one of that Body. I have thought proper to say this much in contradiction of the report about me as before mentiond

1. FC, Talbot Collection, G. W. Blunt White Library, Mystic Seaport Museum, Mystic, Conn. The place of writing does not appear, but the letter was probably written from Johnstown, N.Y., Talbot's place of residence. Talbot (1751–1813), a native of Massachusetts and a former resident of Rhode Island, was a lieutenant colonel in the Continental Army and a captain in the Continental Navy during the Revolution. In 1786 he moved to New York and settled as a farmer in Montgomery County, on a part of the confiscated estate of John Johnson that included Johnson Hall, originally built by Sir William Johnson. Talbot represented Montgomery County in the state Assembly, 1792–93. He was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives, 1793–94, and a captain in the U.S. Navy, 1794–1801. Duncan (spelled “Dunkin” by Talbot), a resident of Schenectady, represented Albany County in the state Assembly, 1788–89.

2. The Society of the Cincinnati.

**Peter Van Schaack to Henry C. Van Schaack
Kinderhook, 29 June 1788¹**

I intended to have been at Poghkeepsie before now; but it is impossible for me to be absent from Home during the whole Session of the Convention and therefore I will postpone my Attendance to the Conclusion and the *Summing* up. Perhaps were I to know the Day fixed for discussing the judiciary Power I might for the Sake of so interesting a Debate deviate a little from the above Plan. My Views are rather directed to the Aggregate than to the Detail, but at your Time of Life you should be equally attentive to the *Parts* as that will enable you to judge of the Combination of the Whole. I wish you was a little more circumstantial—You give me indeed a Prospect of the Convention but it is a distant one—I see it is composed of Men and of some Speakers, but you describe them not minutely nor mark their characteristic Difference from each other. I see their Speeches as I might their Persons at a Distance without a Delineation of their discriminating Features—

You point out a Valley but do not describe the Verdure with wh. it is covered, the Serpentine Streams with which it is intersected, the Trees which diversify it, the Flowers which enrich its Banks,—nor the Woods which with baleful Vegetation obstruct the Growth and Beauty of the Fruit. You seem always to write in a Hurry as if it was Time lost. Mind not what any one tells you of my coming down, but write on, for suppose one Letter should be wrote while I am on the Road: would this be Labour in Vain? “You say Messrs H. J. the Chr. & H² to me sufficiently proved” —I hope you retain the Arguments by which they convinced you. Let me beg of you my dear Harry to prepare yourself for the Debate on the III Art. I mean respecting the Judicial Power. Write down the different Classes of Causes of which the fœderal Courts are to have Cognizance. The Enumeration of particular Cases necessarily implies an Exclusion of all others. You will perhaps find this Article a Source of more Casuistry than all the others taken together—the infinite Variety of Controversies, the “thin Partitions” which divide and the almost imperceptible Shades of Difference which discriminate one Case from another in judicial Determinations, we experience every Day under all the Lights of established Practice: What an Herculean Task then must the fœderal Convention have had in forming an Arrangement new in the political World. The Judicial Power is to extend to all Cases in *Law & Equity*. Of what Description will the different Tribunals be to which this Power will be distributed, and among them how apportioned? The Appellate Jurisdiction is to extend to Law & Fact. Turn your Attention to the existing Courts in our State to know which is a Court of Law, which of Equity, which decides, without the Intervention of a *Jury*, upon the *Fact* as well as the *Law*. Ad Questionis Juris, respondent Judicis, Facti Juratori³—Remember this is a *Common Law Maxim*, unknown to the *civil Law* i e the Roman or Imperial Law. The latter knows not of a *Jury*—a proper Enquiry for you to make of your more enlightened Professional Friends is, have we in our State, and have they in England, any & what Courts proceeding according to the Course of the *Civil Law*? You will be answered the Court of Chancery & the Admiralty fall under this Description. The Appellate Jurisdiction as to *Fact* will not therefore extend to Cases where the Fact has been found by a *Jury*, but to those where the Fact has been tried by the Court; that is a Court of that Species which decides upon the Fact as well as the Law, that is Civil Law Courts. Q. E. D. If I have been a little obscure in what I have said one Advantage will result from it—You will honor my Letter with a *Second Perusal*, for your Partiality to me will not let you suppose that I write Nonsense.

You shod occasionally recur to the Specimens you have in your Reading met with of antient Oratory, “the Thunder of Demosthenes & the Splendid Conflagration of Tully”⁴—Human Nature is the same in all Ages—Habits & Manners vary—Which of our present Orators wod. have resembled those of Antiquity had they lived in those Days, or which of the antient Orators according to the Doctrine of the Transmigration of Souls *are* at present in the Convention at Poghkeepsie?

I am told Mr Jay’s Arguments like the Rock of Ajax⁵ knocked down all Opposition, and like the Pillar of Fire which conducted the Israelites through the Wilderness,⁶ shewed Us the Way out of our many Embarrassments.

I would recommend to you, not to endanger *your Health* by a too close Application to your Studies, or a too constant Attendance on the Convention. If you *can* Spare Time to visit the Ladies present My respectful Compts to Mrs Van Kleck Mrs Barber Mrs Crook Miss Sally &c.

The first Opportunity shall carry you some Money

[P.S.] I hope you do not pay for your Board &c at NY in your Absence

1. RC, Van Schaack Family Papers, NNC-RB. The place of writing does not appear, but the letter was written from Kinderhook, Peter Van Schaack’s place of residence. Van Schaack addressed this letter to his son, Henry Cruger Van Schaack in Poughkeepsie, where he was attending the debates of the state Convention. Henry Cruger Van Schaack (c. 1768–1797) was a 1787 graduate of Columbia College, who, as the postscript reveals, was living at this time in New York City, where he was probably studying law.

2. Probably Federalist Convention delegates Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, Chancellor Robert R. Livingston, and Richard Harison.

3. Latin: Judges answer questions of law, juries questions of fact. Peter Van Schaack became one of the most respected teachers of law in America and would train about 100 lawyers before he died.

4. A reference to Roman orator Marcus Tullius Cicero.

5. On Ajax’s journey home to Greece from the Trojan War, the ship he was on was destroyed in a storm by the goddess Minerva. Ajax saved himself by swimming to a rock and then boasting that he was safe despite the gods. This offended the god Neptune who struck the rock with his trident, causing Ajax to fall with part of the rock into the sea and drown.

6. Exodus 13:21–22.

Abraham Yates, Jr., to Abraham G. Lansing New York, 29 June 1788 (excerpt)¹

I Rd yours of 22 June Instant² The Letter I Wrote and Which before now you have Rd. In Respect to Miss Jannet Will be all that is necessary to Say upon that Subject: nor do I believe that the Gentlemen of the Convention Will Request by [i.e., my] attention at Poughkepsie, nor do I believe that the Attention of the Albany federalist Will Do them Any

Service from every Information I git it appears that the Anties are neither to be frowned or flattered out of their opinion The pri[n]ciple Object the Other Side have in View is to get an Adjornment Which I Confess is the only Apprehension I have For if they Can Obtain an Adjornment the Members During that time Will be Seperated and open to their Management both in the News papers—and the State the whole time in Convulsions—

It appears to me the Fine Edge in this place is Wearing off very fast— It appears to me that the more serious Citizens get tyred of the furie and Noise. The Speeches of Lansing And Smith meet in the Coffe House and Elsewhere With almost general approbation the Ringing of the Bells³ become Reprobated as uselessly irritating and Improper in the Situation We are in—

Should Verginia Adopt and Wether they Will or not is problematical then there Will be New exclamations: Can our State Stand Alone? Is our State Wiser than all the Rest &a: if that Storm is Wethered I suppose they Will see that it Will be in vain to throw any farther Obstacles in the Way and they Will soon finish. . . .

1. RC, Yates Papers, NN. Printed: Smith, *Delegates*, XXV, 198–99.

2. See Lansing to Yates, 22 June (above).

3. The ringing of the bells occurred upon the receipt of the news of New Hampshire's ratification of the Constitution. (See "News of New Hampshire and Virginia Ratification Arrives in New York," 24 June–2 July, RCS:N.Y., 1213.)

Charleston City Gazette, 30 June 1788¹

The city and county of New-York, including Long-Island, have entered into an agreement, that if the convention of that state should reject the federal constitution, they would separate and join the state of New-Jersey. This momentous determination will have a great effect upon the country people, if they consider their true interest, for should such an event take place, the dignity of the state of New-York will degenerate into a barren name.

1. Reprinted: *Gazette of the State of Georgia*, 17 July; *Pennsylvania Packet*, 22 July; *Georgia State Gazette*, 26 July; *Pennsylvania Lancaster Zeitung*, 30 July.

Victor Marie DuPont to Pierre Samuel DuPont de Nemours New York, 1–4 July 1788 (excerpt)¹

My Dear Papa

. . . Since I have no other means of drawing closer to you than writing to you, I shall commence, and I shall turn to it many times from this point until the departure of this Packet, of which there is as yet no

sign. I shall divide my letter by order of topics, take one sheet for each subject, and I shall subjoin thereto something each time I shall apprehend that I have encountered something new, or indeed each time that the aversion to living with these people makes me the more sensible of my good fortune in having parents and friends in France and of my wish to converse with you.

Politics.

We are strong at present, we other Federalists. We have nine states that have accepted our new constitution. Georgia and New Hampshire have both been added since the last letter that you received from me. The issue is therefore decided. It is expected that the news from Virginia [and] North Carolina will doubtless follow any day now, and there is no longer hope of establishing two separate confederations. Rhode Island and New York would be the only inflexible ones, and we trouble ourselves little about them. The New York convention has assembled, and is discussing or, better said, is disputing now in Pokeppsee village 30 [80] miles from here. The city and the county of New York are federalist, and have for representatives for the constitution the best heads and the best orators in America, among others Chancellor Livingston and Colonel Hamilton. Every day they make speeches in the assembly full of the force of eloquence and of truth, *But is it margaritas anté porcos*,² all the representatives from counties from the back and the interior of the country are from the more substantial ranks of the peasants who understand nothing and who [are] creatures or friends of the governor. [They] are all devoted to him and will be of the same opinion as he. At the same time, they are promised to him without knowing why, and it seems certain that they will reject, totally without pretext, that which threatens their rights to their *liberty*, a big word that they all have on their lips and which no one understands.

We are going to have a great procession³ here in honor of the adoption by nine states. The entire company of tradesmen will march. Several orators will speak &c. &c. It appears decided that when the governor returns, and above all a certain Mr. Smith, the distinguished friend of the governor and the chief of the antifederalists, who grossly insulted the chancellor at the convention,⁴ they will be seized by the populace, then tarred and feathered; and it is said that the governor, to avenge himself, will call out the militia, that it is well understood that those from the county of New York will not march, that those from counties devoted to him will have to come, and that thereby civil war will break out. But here is what will be done or set in motion against the militia from the country's interior counties: some troops from Jersey and from Connecticut who will come to join those from New York

will kill or frighten off all the governor's people, who in fact are all Dutch scoundrels who have become Americans. I need say no more. I know them. We are going to journey there. Afterwards, if the state persists in refusing to fall in with the new constitution, it should be told: pay us at once your part of the debt, for it is not to you but to you in congress that the King of France and others will address themselves. They cannot pay, and the chances are even that they will reunite. There you have the conjectures of our most famous politicians, but from here to the departure of this letter you will have an account of a part of all that:

I am not rich, but I would gladly give something, insofar as it concerns me, to have the pleasure of seeing a governor feathered, and now that I am no longer concerned, I would be very glad for us to be free of each other, and I would be still more glad to see to what excess a *free* government and people may be disposed, and at one point a perfect democracy, so beautiful in your books, Sirs, is impossible and unsustainable in execution. I am here to inform myself, and thus I do so.

3 July

We have just received the news of the adoption by Virginia. The majority was 10, 89 for and 79 against. It is hoped that this will have some effect on the New York convention. Bells are ringing, and the federalists cry *hurrah*.

4 July is the day of the anniversary of Independence and the fete of the Cincinnati. The militia will gather and parade in the city at 1 o'clock. Col. Duer⁵ gave a speech in St. Paul's Church on this subject. The assembly there was very brilliant, and upon exiting, all the Cincinnati went in procession to the President's house, where the entire diplomatic corps and the principal figures of the city thus made their ceremonial visits. In the afternoon, the President's wife held a fine assembly and reception.⁶ . . .

1. FC (Tr), Victor DuPont Papers, Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Greenville, Del. Other excerpts from this letter are printed under 23 July (RCS:N.Y., 1602–3) and 26 July (VII, below). Victor Marie DuPont (1767–1827), a son of Pierre Samuel DuPont, was attaché to the French legation in the United States from 1787 to 1789. The elder DuPont (1739–1817), a physiocrat and prolific writer on political economy, was France's Inspector General of Commerce.

2. Latin: pearls before swine. See Matthew 7:6. "Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend you."

3. This procession took place on 23 July. See Appendix I.

4. The reference is to an exchange between Robert R. Livingston and Melancton Smith that took place on 20 June. The exchange was described in an extract of a 21 June letter

from a gentleman in Poughkeepsie that appeared in the *Daily Advertiser* on 28 June. (See “Newspaper Reports of Convention Debates,” 20 June, V, below.) For two commentaries on this letter extract, see “A Friend to Candor and Decency,” *Daily Advertiser*, 1 July, and “Sneer,” *New York Journal*, 1 July (both VI, below). Smith admitted that he and Livingston “have come in contact several times—but he has ceased hostilities” (to Nathan Dane, 28 June, VI, below).

5. William Duer had been made an honorary member of the New York Society of the Cincinnati in 1786. Since Duer was not an officer in the Continental Army, he was not eligible for a regular membership. The text of his speech has not been located.

6. For descriptions of New York City’s Fourth of July celebration, including the procession to and the gathering at the house of Cyrus Griffin, the President of Congress, see RCS:N.Y., 1286–90.

Samuel Blachley Webb to Joseph Barrell

New York, 1–2 July 1788 (excerpt)¹

Dear Barrell.

. . . What will be our situation some Months hence God only knows, for we have not the most distant prospect that our Convention will adopt the New Constitution, I left them on Saturday—and am sorry to say they remain as at first 46 Antifederals & 19 of our side, they have been fairly beat out of the field of Argument by a *Jay*—a *Hamilton* & a *Livingston*, and have taken upon themselves to work out of doors, the Governor—Judge Yates, M. Smith & Mr Lansing Mayor of Albany are the leaders of their party & have their troops (a set of ignorant Dutchmen) under perfect command,—in short knowing their strength in Convention they begin to grow abusive,—but here we scarcely know an Anti,—we are making emense preparations for celebrateing the 9th. State (New Hampshire)—we have put it of[f] untill next week² on Acct. of interfereing wh. the necessary rejoiceing the 4th. Inst.—and because our Ship—*The Hamilton* will not be ready before³—she is 25 feet keel & Commodore Nichollson is to command her, you will hear enough of this hereafter in the News-papers—I will write you again—Company prevents at present—Kiss Sally & Kitty for me—

[P.S.] 4 oClock Wednesday mornng. I Congratulate you my Dr Br. on the Joyfull news of Virginia’s adopting the Constitution this day week 88 in favor & 78 against, we Recd. the Intelligence by Colo. D. Henly who arrived in Town abt 1 o Clock this mornng.—we have just fired a salute of ten Guns & all our Bells are now ringing.—Pease waits & I have no time to add, our express has gone for Poughkeepsie & will be there by 2 oClock this day, we hope it may have the desired effect, but *I doubt*.

1. RC, Webb Papers, CtY. Webb had returned to New York City on Sunday evening, 29 June, around midnight, after having left Poughkeepsie on the evening of 28 June.

2. This celebration did not take place on 10 July as planned but was postponed until 22 July. On that day it was postponed until the 23rd.

3. See "The Federal Ship Hamilton," 8–24 July (Appendix I).

**Adrian Wynkoop to Cornelius Ten Broeck
Hurley, 1 July 1788¹**

Dear brother-in-law,

I hope that you are in a better state of health than when we last heard from you. We and our friends are relatively healthy. It appears that the big issue, accepting or rejecting the Constitution, is now imminent, something which your state already resolved some time ago. Our convention met on the seventeenth of June, in Poughkeepsie, and it appears as if no decision has been reached yet. The members who are against the Constitution, or the Antifederals, are more than two to one, so that it is within their power to do whatever they please, but if they take or keep the welfare of the state at heart, they will also accept the Constitution. And any day now we expect the same thing to happen in Virginia. It is somewhat remarkable that every state which has held conventions for this purpose has accepted the Constitution, even though there is a lot of opposition. I am not saying that the behavior of one or more states sets the rule for the others to follow, but that all the states which accept it, take by far the best and wisest option.

Sending you my most kind regards, also from my wife, to you and your entire family, I am your dedicated brother-in-law

1. RC (Tr), Ten Broeck Papers, Rutgers University Library. In addition to the original manuscript, which is written in Dutch, this collection contains an English translation. Wynkoop (1726–1795) served in the New York militia during the Revolution, rising to the rank of major, and was active in local government in Hurley in Ulster County. Ten Broeck (1719–1790), a native of Ulster County and Wynkoop's brother-in-law, was a resident of Rocky Hill, N.J., who represented Somerset County in the New Jersey Assembly in 1783.

**Abraham Yates, Jr., to George Clinton
New York, 1 July 1788 (excerpt)¹**

the description of the Reception of the News ~~in a Letter~~ of New Hamshire you have had in my former² Which I Directed to Mr D Wit³ as I supposed that Letters between us (tho I have no reason but Apprehension only) Woud be liable to at Least observations if not to other Abuse ⟨L Hommedieu last Monday Mentioned that he had from A Strong federal (Dr Tillotson)⁴ that the Anties Went upon A Supposition

that Virginia and NH both would Adopt: and that they Were Determined that they Would not Adopt Without Previous Amendments)

The federalists notwithstanding had hopes that the News from N Hamshire Would have Struck a damp on the Spirits if not thrown the Majority on the federal Side—but Mr Euger (the Member from South Carolina)⁵ Informs that he was at Pogkepsse When the News arrived And that it made no impression on the Convention at all—So that they recur to their old hopes to git the Members Devided or to an Adjorment

They seem to be Confident that the Anties Will not agree among themselves—Coll Lewis⁶ told me that he knew of two principal Members that were of opinion that they by the Resolution of the Legislator of last february had no other powers but to Adopt or Reject—I tell him the federal Gentlemen had the Most Extraordinary talents of Swallowing Cammels themselves⁷ And Recomm[ending] Others to Stick at nets—

I belive however that the Chief expectation is to git an Adjornment by which they Will have a farther Opportunity to shew their dexterity at Management in [- - -] [- - -] probably 10 States With The Members as Well as in the papers—for upon During the Adjornment of the Convention the State would be in one Continual Convulsion Willet told me to day that Brockolts Livingston Esqr had asked him to Subscribe to the expences of a federal Ship to be used in a procession the 4 July.⁸ . . .

1. FC, Yates Papers, NN. Because of internal evidence, this undated draft has been placed under 1 July. Yates struck a jagged vertical line through the letter's first three paragraphs, the first of which also included a marginal note. The text of the marginal note is within angle brackets. For the complete letter, see Smith, *Letters*, XXV, 203–4.

2. No such Yates letter to Clinton has been found. See Yates to Abraham G. Lansing, 25 June, for a letter perhaps similar to the letter to Clinton.

3. Possibly De Witt Clinton, the governor's nephew and secretary, who was attending the Convention debates as an observer or John De Witt, one of Dutchess County's delegates to the New York Convention, of which Governor Clinton was also a delegate.

4. Ezra L'Hommedieu, a state senator, lived in Southold, Suffolk County. Dr. Thomas Tillotson, a state assemblyman, was a resident of Rhinebeck, Dutchess County.

5. Daniel Huger, a South Carolina planter, represented that state in the Confederation Congress, 1786–88, and the U.S. House of Representatives, 1789–93.

6. Colonel Morgan Lewis, a New York lawyer and a clerk in chancery, was Chancellor Robert R. Livingston's brother-in-law.

7. Matthew 23:24.

8. Marinus Willett was a prominent Antifederalist. The "federal Ship" which would eventually be part of the 23 July procession was named *Hamilton* in honor of Alexander Hamilton. (See "The Federal Ship Hamilton," 8–24 July, Appendix I.)

“W— W—”

Poughkeepsie Country Journal, 1 July 1788

WELL-WISHER’S VISION.

Methought I was taking a prospective view of the Universal Machine—methought I beheld a part thereof in a great commotion, and a woman whose name was N—th Am—ca, travelling in pain to be delivered; and I saw a great red dragon stand before the woman, ready to devour the child as soon as it was born: The woman at last brought forth a man-child, whose name was called L-b—ty, at which there was great rejoicing: But the woman and child was nourished for the space of a thousand, six hundred, four-score and seven days; at the expiration of that term the dragon publicly shewed his intensions, which threw the woman into a disorder; some imagined it to be the Chorea Sancti Viti, i. e. St. Vitus’s dance, which is a kind of madness subject to females only; some imagined she was again in labour to bring forth a monster, others believed she would bring forth a much likelier son than the former, which is to be called C—f-d-r—on; methought I knew not what would be the event. So I awoke, and beheld it was a dream.

New Hampshire Spy, 1 July 1788

Accounts received through various channels, agree in the probability of Virginia’s adopting the New-Constitution. Of New-York ————— but no matter—we must allow our brethren time to light their pipes; and, as many of their Sachems and Head Warriors are now meeting round the council fire, we hope the great Spirit will illumine their minds—disperse the clouds which intercept their sight, and influence them to join their brethren in keeping the great chain of federal union bright.

Evert Bancker to Abraham Bancker

New York, 2 July 1788¹

Dear Couzn

Your two agreeable favors of the 18th & 28th Ultimo² I have received and Observe its Contents, but am sorie to find by yours and what I hear from others that there is no likelihood as yet of our Convention adopting the New Constitution and find that most of our Northeren & Western Members pretend to have more Wisdom and foresight than all the United American States together But I think they are afraid of their own Shadow, it seems to me they Act as if we were to be under a Government as England King Lords & Commons but it is the Contrary

for the power with us leys in the People for it is in them to give the Ruling power to their Delagates; as long as they Act agreeable to the Constitution and no longer, so that I think the Antifederal Members oppose good Government. We have reason to thank God that the turning point is not with them. As Virginia has adopted the Constitution (which you will this day be informed of by Express) & makes the Eleventh Pillar to Support it,³ which I hope will have great influence on the Antifederalists and that they will think it Expedient to Adopt it, and then propose the Amendments, and hope our Governor will be one of those by which means he may regain the Love and Esteem of the Citizens.^(a) I am sorie to be informed that one of my own Blood should be Antifederal and that the onely one of the Connection. Doctor Isaac Besley was at my House last monday morning and told me he met my Son Abraham⁴ at Esopas landing last Saturday Evening going to Kingston and that he the Doctr. had left Arrietta the same day at Kingston on the mending hand.—Your several Letters sent to my care for Staten Island I have forwarded I have nothing New to write it being thread bare, but we have had ringing of bells and firing of Guns this morning from break of Day until eight of the Clock this morning rejoicing on Account of Verginia Adopting the Constitution I conclude with the joint Love of your Aunt, Chris: Polly & Children to you and my Son Ab. & My Compliments to Mr. Ryorss Mrs. Van Kleek & Mr. McKesson⁵ remain in haste &c.

P.S. Your Aunt remains very weak and so is Doctor Crosby. Your Papa wrote to me that he and your Mama was relieved of the bleeding piles and that your Mama had little or no feavor and was much heartier

(a) But I believe when the amendments of Each State are served up before the then Congress, that it will be a Hodge-Podge not Suitable to their taste unless it be here and there aft-taken out of the whole

1. FC, Bancker Family Correspondence, NHi. The date of writing does not appear in this letter. However, the letter was docketed by Evert Bancker: "New York 2d July 1788/ Copy of a letter to Couz. Ab:/Bancker now at Poughkeepsie." Evert Bancker's nephew, Abraham Bancker, was a Richmond County delegate to the New York Convention. Evert Bancker made this copy on the blank side of an address page of a letter written to him at Number 5, Wall Street, New York.

2. For Abraham Bancker's 18 June letter, see VI, below, and for his 28 June letter, see above.

3. Virginia was the tenth state to ratify.

4. Evert Bancker's son Abraham B. Bancker, an Antifederalist resident of Kingston, Ulster County, was one of the two secretaries to the New York Convention. For the 28 June letter that he wrote to his father, see VI, below.

5. Gozen Ryorss was a Richmond County delegate to the New York Convention, while John McKesson was one of the two secretaries to the Convention.

From Collin McGregor**New York, 2 July 1788 (excerpts)¹**

. . . There has nothing else very material occurred in your affairs here since mine ☞ June Packet; only, that Virga & New Hampshire have adopted the New Constitution, from which circumstance, final settlements have rose to 4/. *Specie* ☞ 20/., and it is thought will soon be higher.—when they get to 5/. I shall be thinking of parting with what I now hold.—state Securities, I mean Banker's, are now 4/7 @ 5/., and it is hoped they will soon get into demand. . . .

The Convention of this State are still Sitting—we do not expect any thing favorable will be the result as full two thirds are violently opposed to the New Constitution.—our friend Col. H. & one of the Albany Members² have had some warm debates; and as matters in general are conducted hitherto with much personality & altercation, nothing favorable can be expected.—New Hampshire & Virga. having acceded since our Convention met, ought to have some influence ~~on any rational man but it is not~~; but a change of opinion, or a liberal decision, is not to be expected, from such men as ~~our~~ the Majority consists of ~~who are either men in office, or in expectation of office~~; however all their opposition cannot avail, as this State must come into the measure, at last. . . .

1. FC, Collin McGregor Letterbook, 1788–89, NN. The name of the addressee does not appear.

2. The reference is to exchanges between Alexander Hamilton and John Lansing, Jr.

Comte de Moustier to Comte de Montmorin**New York, 2 July 1788 (excerpt)¹**

Yesterday news of the adoption of the new Constitution by the State of Virginia was received here. The majority was slight. Other details are not yet known. It is probable that the State of North Carolina, which is to assemble in Convention tomorrow, will follow the example of Virginia. It is expected that that of New York, now deliberating, will not want to break away from the union alone, for Rhode Island is counted as nothing, and besides both, by their situation, would be exposed to great inconveniences if all the other States should combine against them. Thus it is thought that New York will join and that Rhode Island will withdraw its refusal. Today there are ten that form the Confederation according to the new system, which is supposed to effect a consolidation rather than a new Confederation. The Congress will occupy itself ceaselessly with the last formalities necessary to sanction the new Government. It will decide at the same time at what place the new

Congress that is to replace it will assemble. The choice of its permanent residence and final resolutions regarding the establishment of the federal City will be left for the latter's decision. . . .

1. RC (Tr), *Correspondance Politique, États-Unis*, Vol. 33, ff. 225–26, Archives du Ministère des Affaires, Étrangères, Paris. This dispatch was endorsed as received on 23 August.

From Philip Schuyler, c. 2 July 1788¹

. . . It is in evidence that the opinion of those in this State who favor the proposed Constitution has coincided with so large a majority of the Citizens of America, but because this lesson will in all humane probability insure those blessings for which America has fought & bled. And also because we sincerely believe that when the prejudices created by the many groundless objections started by those who took the lead in opposition shall subside, this state too will become a principal pillar to support the beautiful fabric . . . We trust . . . that time and experience will convince many of our fellow Citizens who have differed in sentiments with us on this great occasion, that our only Object in recommending the adoption of the Constitution was to promote the weal of this State in particular, and that of the others in General.

1. Printed: *The Collector* . . . , LXXXI, nos. 4–5 (1968), 15. The ellipses in this letter are in the auction catalog. This item is described in this auction catalog as an unsigned draft of an autograph letter, written from Albany in June 1788. The beginning of the letter, not quoted in the catalog, noted that Virginia had ratified the Constitution. The Virginia Convention ratified the Constitution on 25 June, and on 2 July that news reached Poughkeepsie, where Schuyler had been attending the debates of the New York Convention. (See Schuyler to Stephen Van Rensselaer, 2 July, RCS: NY, 1214–15.) The recipient of Schuyler's letter is unknown, but in addition to Van Rensselaer, Schuyler commented on the Convention debates in letters to John B. Schuyler and Henry and Peter Van Schaack.

**Samuel Blachley Webb to Catherine Hogeboom
New York, 2 July 1788 (excerpt)¹**

Saturday evening about 8 o'clock I left Poughkeepsie and arrived here on Sunday evng. about 12 o'clock, in perfect health, my lame Ankle excepted, which I assure you has given me great pain,—it is yet much swell'd time and care can only reduce it to its former size and strength, I have set down now to write you, knowing it will be impossible if I wait the arrival of the Mail,—'tis therefore I propose in future you write me by the Mail that leaves you on Thursday, and as much oftener as leisure and Inclination may dictate

This morning at 2 o'clock an Express arrived from Virginia with the important news of that State having adopted the proposed Constitution; at the dawning of the day all the Bells of the City began and Rung

for four hours, at the Sun's rising we were saluted with Ten—Twenty four pounders which made noise sufficient to awaken the most drowsy, in short the whole day has been devoted to amusement,² and altho: my Ankle prevents my rambling much abroad, I have had a circle at my room, & to prevent their further intrusion while writing you I have closed my front Windows,—on Fryday the 4th. we are to have an Oration in St. Pauls Church,³ and your Huml servt. Master of Ceremonies, how I shall make out I know not, on that subject I may write you when more at leisure. . . .

1. RC, Webb Papers, CtY. Webb dated his letter "New York Wednesday 6 oClock./2d. July 1788."

2. See "News of New Hampshire and Virginia Ratification Arrives in New York," 24 June–2 July (above).

3. William Duer delivered this oration; a copy of the oration has not been located. For this Fourth of July celebration by the New York Society of the Cincinnati, see RCS:N.Y., 1284–90.

Editors' Note
Confederation Congress Makes Provision to Put the
New Government Under the Constitution into Operation
2 July–13 September 1788

Article VII of the Constitution provides that "The ratification of the conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution between the States so ratifying." The Constitutional Convention, in two resolutions adopted on 17 September 1787, recommended the mechanism by which the Constitution should be ratified and implemented. The first resolution stated that the Constitution should be submitted to conventions elected by the people of each state (upon recommendation of their legislatures) "for their assent and ratification." It also declared that each state convention should inform the Confederation Congress of its ratification. The second resolution stated that after nine states had ratified, Congress "should fix a day on which Electors should be appointed by the States which shall have ratified the same, and a day on which the Electors should assemble to vote for the President, and the time and place for commencing proceedings under this Constitution" (RCS:N.Y., 538–39).

The Constitutional Convention sent the Constitution and the two resolutions to the Confederation Congress on 17 September 1787. Congress, in turn, transmitted these documents on 28 September to "the several legislatures in order to be submitted to a convention of Delegates chosen in each state by the people thereof in conformity to the resolves of the Convention" (RCS:N.Y., 55–57).

On 25 June 1788 news reached Congress in New York City that New Hampshire had become the ninth state to ratify the Constitution. On the evening of 1 July the New Hampshire delegates to Congress received their state's official act of ratification, and on the next day they presented it to Congress. Congress also learned on 2 July that Virginia had become the tenth state to ratify. (See "News of New Hampshire and Virginia Ratification Arrives in New York," 24 June–2 July, above.) Therefore, on 2 July Congress ordered that all of the forms of ratification transmitted to Congress be referred to a committee "to examine the same and report an Act to Congress for putting the said constitution into operation in pursuance of the resolutions of the late federal Convention" (JCC, XXXIV, 281).

On 9 July this committee reported an election ordinance providing that the first Wednesday in December be the day for appointing presidential electors in the ratifying states, that the first Wednesday in January be the day for the meeting of these electors to elect the President, and that the first Wednesday in February be the time for commencing the proceedings of the new government under the Constitution. The committee left a blank space in the ordinance for the meeting place of the new government. Congress considered the report on 14 July and decided to suspend consideration of the election ordinance pending the decision of the New York Convention. One of the possible locations for the federal capital was New York City, and some Federalist members of Congress hoped that locating the federal capital in the city might influence the New York Convention to ratify. (Although Federalists generally supported delay for this reason, Melancton Smith, the Antifederalist "manager" of the New York Convention who now supported ratification, also wanted delay until enough Antifederalists could be convinced to join Federalists in ratifying the Constitution without conditions. (See Smith to Nathan Dane, c. 15 July, VI, below.) On 26 July the New York Convention ratified the Constitution. Two days later, Congress amended the election ordinance changing the dates for appointing presidential electors to the first Wednesday in January; for the meeting of these electors to the first Wednesday in February; and for commencing the new government to the first Wednesday in March.

Congress, however, could not decide where the new government should meet. Sectional differences, based largely on the conflicting political and economic interests of the Northern and Southern states, were critical as Congress voted several times on whether the government should meet in Philadelphia, New York City, Baltimore, Lancaster, Pa., Wilmington, Del., or Annapolis. The debates on the location of the federal capital caused bitterness and resentment in Congress and delayed

the passage of the election ordinance. This delay dismayed Federalists. Congress was severely censured, both publicly and privately, as the Confederation's problems appeared to mount. In mid-August Federalist apprehension was increased by the news that the North Carolina Convention had failed to ratify the Constitution. Then in early September Pennsylvania Antifederalists, who earlier had mounted a petition campaign requesting that the state legislature not "confirm" the state's ratification of the Constitution, met at Harrisburg in an effort to obtain amendments to the Constitution. The Harrisburg meeting was but one more example of the insistence on amendments which had already been demonstrated by the adoption of recommendatory amendments by the conventions of Massachusetts, South Carolina, New Hampshire, Virginia, New York, and North Carolina. With the upcoming first federal elections in mind, newspapers printed increasing numbers of articles supporting and opposing the idea of amending the Constitution.

A correspondent of the New York *Independent Journal*, 30 August, referred to "the grief and astonishment of all true Federalists" because Congress had not taken steps on the matter of the new government (DHFFE, I, 111). Lambert Cadwalader, a former New Jersey delegate to Congress, probably echoed the feelings of most people when he wrote a Pennsylvania delegate to Congress that "You cannot imagine how impatient the People are everywhere for your Determination, the Delay the Cause of which is everywhere known has lowered the Dignity of your honble Body exceedingly—They consider the Object of the Contest as unworthy of so much warmth, when others of much greater importance and even Necessity require your coming to a speedy Conclusion" (to Samuel Meredith, 28 August, DHFFE, I, 109).

Apparently, sectional differences were not the only reason for delay in the adoption of the election ordinance. James R. Reid, a Pennsylvania delegate to Congress, speculated that states such as Pennsylvania and Virginia stood to benefit if the gathering of the new Congress under the Constitution was delayed. Such a delay would allow them to continue to collect revenue from their own tariffs (to Tench Coxe, 20 August, DHFFE, I, 94).

Finally, on 12 September Henry Lee, a Virginia delegate, moved that "Whereas longer delay in executing the previous arrangements necessary to put into operation the federal government may produce national injury," "the present seat of Congress" (i.e., New York City) should be set as "the place of commencing proceedings under" the new Constitution. Fellow Virginia delegates Edward Carrington and James Madison proposed an alternative stipulating that the seat of government be more centrally located in order "to obviate disagree-

able and injurious dissensions.” Their motion was defeated 6 states to 3, with Georgia divided. Congress then voted 9 states to 1 to keep “the present seat of Congress” as the meeting place for the new government. The Delaware delegates, who alone dissented, forced the final determination of the question to be postponed until the next day. On 13 September, the election ordinance was adopted by all nine states present, the Delaware delegates having absented themselves. Congress ordered that 200 copies of the ordinance be printed and that copies be sent to all of the state executives (JCC, XXXIV, 515–19, 522, 635). In the next month and a half, the ordinance was printed in at least fifty newspapers throughout America. (For the proceedings of Congress on the ordinance and for related documents, including the ordinance itself, see DHFFE, I, 23–143. The ordinance is also printed as CC:845.)

Adrian Bancker to Evert Bancker

Hermitage, Staten Island, 3 July 1788 (excerpt)¹

Dear Brother

Since my last to you of the 24 Ulto. I am favoured with yours of the 30 June & 1st. Instant² which came to hand Yesterday Noon, the Lettrs. from my Son & the News Papers are also come to hand, In my Sons last Lettr. of the 28th³ he Mentions having Sent 3 Letters, before, tho I have Recd. but 3 with the last, so that one Remains behind By what he Writes the Northern Members Seem to be Obstinate^{ly} Bent to Oppose or Retard The Adoption of the New Constitution by insisting on Amendments to be Conditional to the Ratification, instead of Recommendatory, as if they intended to Sway the Continent, in my humble Opinion I look on the Federal Constitution to be as firmly fixed as the North Star, and that they may as Well turn the Course of the Tides, as to Oppose its taking place I hope the Convention will on Mature Consideration Adopt the Measures and not hold up the State of New York as Refractory to the Union so Necessary to Make us A Nation Respected at home and Abroad—In Yours of the 30th June, first your good Wishes deserve my Sincere thanks, and best Wishes for you & your family’s Sincere happiness I am happy to understand that your Daughter Arietta is on the Mending hand, and that Sister Bancker was more Chearfull, We thank you for your kind invitation to the Grand intended procession that was to be Exhibited on Friday, And are much Obliged to you for Notifying in your last that the Grand Affair is postponed to the 15 Instant when I Expect Some of us will Attend to injoy that Satisfaction of the View⁴ &c . . .

1. RC, Bancker Family Correspondence, NHi. The “Hermitage” was apparently Adrian Bancker’s estate on Staten Island. Bancker (1724–1792), Abraham’s father, represented Richmond County in the Second Provincial Congress, 1775–76, and the Assembly, 1784. He served as surrogate of Richmond County, 1787–92.

2. For Adrian Bancker’s 24 June letter to his brother Evert, see VI, below. Evert Bancker’s letters of 30 June and 1 July to his brother have not been found.

3. Abraham Bancker’s letter of 28 June (from Poughkeepsie) to his father Adrian has not been found, but on the same day he wrote to his uncle Evert (see above).

4. The grand federal procession eventually took place on 23 July (Appendix I).

Nathan Dane to Melancton Smith

New York, 3 July 1788¹

In my last letter² I briefly gave my opinion on the questions you Stated to me,—now being more at leisure & Sensible that the peculiar Situation of our Government at this time is a matter of common concern and highly interesting to us all; and that we have the Same object in view, the peaceable establishment of a general Government on genuine federal and republican principles, I shall in this be more particular, and submit to your consideration several observations with that candor and frankness with which we have always communicated our sentiments to each other relative to the important subject in question—

The Constitution of the United States is now established by the people of ten States, and a day of course must soon be fixed, when all proceedings under the Confederation shall cease—The line of conduct which shall now be pursued by the three States which have not as yet ratified is become particularly and deeply interesting to them and to the whole Confederacy—As things are now circumstanced will it not be clearly for their interest and happiness, as well as for the interest and happiness of all the union to adopt the Constitution proposing such amendments as they may think essential—the Situation of the States is now critical—as the Constitution is already established there can be no previous amendments; and a State which has not ratified, and wishes to be in the union, appears to have but this alternative before her;—either to accede with recommending certain alterations, or to make them a condition of her Accession; and the probable consequence of either Step must be considered—I take it for granted that New York and the other two States wish to form a part of an American Confederacy—the readiness with which they Joined in the revolution, and acceded to the articles of Confederation; their open and general professions, and their past exertions to the support of the union Justify the idea opinion—In all our late political discussions, a Separation of the States, or Separate Confederacies, have Scarcely, to my knowledge,

been Seriously mentioned—Admitting that Rhode Island, New York, and North Carolina all withhold their assent to the Constitution, and propose similar amendments, their situation is such, far removed from each other, and surrounded by ratifying States, that they never can think of confederating among themselves—Each one of them must be considered as Standing alone—but we have no reason to suppose that any one of those States has a wish to Stand alone, in Case she can Confederate on principles agreeable to her—If I understand the politics of these three States, they are strongly attached to governments founded in freedom and compact, and possess a Just aversion to those which are the result of force and violence—they will, therefore, be the last States which will adopt measures tending to foment parties, and give passion an ascendancy over reason, or to hazard Steps that may, in the end, lead to a civil war, and consequently to the Government of the prevailing party established by the longest Sword—It is not to be pretended that the ratifying States will have any Just cause to make war upon any non ratifying State, merely because she does not accede to a national compact, where she has a right to act according to her discretion—nor ought we to presume that hostilities will be commenced by any party without some plausible or Just provocation—But the ratifying and non ratifying States will immediately have opposite Interests, which, in the nature of things, they will pursue—the longer they shall remain Separate the more their affections and friendship for each other will decrease—and counteracting laws and a disposition for coercive measures will take place—the affairs of the Country will have a propensity to ~~hostilities~~, extremities and a thousand accidents may give rise to hostilities—The question in the ratifying States being Settled, it is probable the parties in them will gradually unite—In the States where the question shall remain unsettled, and the contest continue between the parties in them, as it undoubtedly will, in what manner they shall Join the union, they will grow more hostile to each other; and from what appears to be their present temper and situation, and if we reason from experience and from the character of men we must conclude, it is at least highly probable, that they will have recourse to arms, or to contentions extremely injurious to their common Interest, at no very distant period And what must be the issue of force, or of such contentions between the parties in any State is not difficult to foresee—If the other States should not interfere, those parties must decide their contest by themselves—If the party called federal shall prevail, they bring the State into the union unconditionally, or establish a State Government of their own, probably, on their own principles—If the other party shall prevail they will keep the State out of the union, unless the federal

Constitution, which can hardly be presumed, shall in the mean time be made agreeable to them, and they will of necessity add a degree of severity to their laws and measures very incompatible with those principles of freedom they now contend for—this presents a disagreeable Scene in either event—But should the other States interfere, or a civil war by any accident become general between the advocates and opposers of the Constitution, throughout the United States, which is the probable consequence of any hostile beginnings, what must be the issue? our people tho enlightened are high Spirited—one party, when both are nearly ruined, may prevail, not in accommodating and fixing a government in freedom and compact, but in force and violence,—and may we not expect a more severe high toned partial system established to secure the victorious party, at least a system more despotic than the old one we lay aside, or the one we are adopting—Were there any great number of men heart[i]ly attached to the Confederation, their success might establish it—but this in its present form seems to have but few or no advocates—Were there any great number of men attached to it with certain defined alterations in it, their success might establish it when so altered—but we have not agreed in those alterations—and if we may Judge from experience, and what appears to be the public opinion, it is more difficult to mould the Confederation to the wishes of the people than the Constitution—the Community in fact consists of two parties, the advocates, who are for establishing the Constitution in its present form, and the opposers, who generally if I understand them consider it as a tolerable basis, but as an imperfect and unguarded system unless amended—Were the advocates well attached to the system their success might establish it but this is not the Case—we know that many of them and those too, who would have the most influence, from their abilities, address, and activity, in producing a Government, never will agree to a system so favourable to liberty and republicanism even as the one proposed, if by any means they can get one more favourable to themselves, and unfavourable to the body of the people—If the other party those who wish to have the system but amended, succeed, and they were agreed in the amendments their success might establish the plan so amended—but no set of amendments have been agreed upon, and different ones have been proposed by different Conventions—You will, therefore, I am confident, agree with me that the friends of liberty and of Governments founded in compact cannot reasonably expect any good consequences from force and violence—the very means are hostile to the end proposed—Our object is to improve the plan proposed: to Strengthen and secure its democratic features; to add checks and guards to it; to secure equal liberty by

proper Stipulations to prevent any undue exercise of power, and to establish beyond the power of faction to alter, a genuine federal republic to effect this great and desirable object the peace of the Country must be preserved, candor cherished, information extended and the doors of accommodation constantly kept open—the votes of the people will I think avail them much more in establishing a government favourable to them—than any violent or forceable proceedings—It is to be considered that five States have adopted the Constitution without proposing any amendments—we have seen the amendments proposed in the Conventions of four States—and certain it is there appears to be too little in reality proposed to be gained by the amendments to Justify parties in those States carrying matters to extremities—Nor will any one two, or three States ever expect the others to meet them in amendments, but on the principles of accommodation—whatever amendments any State may propose, I am persuaded you are too well acquainted with men, not to be sensible that passion opinion, and self will must have a constant influence in their conduct relative to them, that when terms are rigidly insisted on by one party, they are generally opposed by terms rigidly insisted on by the other It cannot be proper for any State positively to say to the others, that unless they precisely agree to the alterations she proposes she will not accede to the Union—this would be rather dictating—a State may take a question upon the Constitution simply as it stands and express its sense of it in its present form—she may then annex recommended amendments and adopt it with them, or make them the Condition of her accession to the Union, I flatter myself, after a State has expressed her Sense upon the simple proposition you will prefer the mode of adopting with recommendatory amendments annexed—the new system must soon go into operation and some of the most important laws be made in the first Congress, and essential amendments be recommended by it—the State that adopts this mode comes into the Union armed with the declared Sentiments of her people, and will immediately have a voice in the federal Councils—she there will avail herself of all her influence, and of the advantages of accommodating principles in bringing the other States to accord with her Sentiments—whereas if she adopts conditionally She will not have a voice in those Councils during the most interesting period—party Spirit will, probably, reign in her bosom, and ill will constantly gain ground between her and the other States—and it is in my mind almost an absolute certainty that she must forever remain out of the Union, or relinquish some of her conditions—It cannot be presumed that any two of the three States will precisely agree in the same Alterations, and should they do it, it is not probable that

all the States will agree exactly to them—there are many and able advocates for valuable amendments, and a good system of laws in every State and may they not prevail should all the States meet in the first Congress but should some of them Stand out, and those in which those amendments and laws have the most friends—the federal republicans or men who wish to cement the union of the States on republican principles will be divided, and have but a part of their Strength in Congress where they ought to have the whole—When measures of any sort become necessary in a Community, it is generally wise to take a part in them, and to bring them as near to our opinions as we can in the first instance, and I have ever thought since a federal Convention was agreed on that Rhode Island and certain individuals who were appointed to that Convention, missed it exceedingly in not attending it—they might clearly, had they attended, have engrafted many of the principles and checks they now contend for, into the System—and have given it those features and securities which as it now appears, would meet the approbation of the people in General—they saw a Constitution of some kind was to be made, and before it had taken a fixed direction was the time for exertions—You as well as others know it to be a fact that some parts of the Constitution most complained of, were obtained with much address and after repeated trials, and which never could have been carried had the States and members, I refer to, attended the federal Convention—for any State now to stand out and oppose appears to me to be but a repetition of the same error—I might add many more observations but I think I need not dwell longer on these points—Even when a few states had adopted without any alterations, the ground was materially changed; and now it is totally shifted—tho I retain my opinion respecting the feeble features, the extensive powers, and defective parts of the System, yet circumstanced as we are, I confess, I feel no impropriety in urging the three States to accede—men in all the States who wish to establish a free, equal, and efficient government, to the exclusion of anarchy, corruption, faction, and oppression ought in my opinion to unite in their exertions in making the best of the Constitution now established, to preserve inviolate the liberties of America, and to promote the happiness of the people by Just and equal laws and an equitable administration; to add constitutional security to those liberties on every proper occasion are still the objects of all good men—this now appears to be the way to disappoint those men who discover a disposition to make a bad use of a Constitution in many parts not well guarded, and to use its powers to corrupt and selfish purposes—a good Constitution is capable of affording much security to the rights of the people, and ought to be aimed at with

unremitted attention—But ought we to expect any Constitution under which the people may, with Safety, relax in any considerable degree in their attention to public measures?—can they be secure under any Constitution unless attentive themselves, and unless some of their able leaders are their real freinds and their faithful guardians

Tho I think our people have examined the system in question with candor and freedom and discovered a strong attachment to liberty—Yet I would by no means so far rely upon their exertions and vigilance as to lose sight of those Constitutional securities which may be obtained by time and experience—while we veiw the conduct of rulers with candor, we ought to watch their movements with an Eagle’s eye, and guard and secure the temple of freedom with unceasing attention—

To conclude ought we not now to give additional weight to the plea in favor of the Constitution drawn from the peculiarity of our situation, and which when less urgent and pressing appears again and again to have saved the system? and tho the system may be abused by bad men, ought we not to recollect that the road to lasting fame in this Country has generally been Justice, and Integrity, prudence and moderation, political information and industry & that there is more than an equal chance that this will continue to be the case? attempts to palm upon our people vice for virtue, the mere shew of talents for real abilities, and the arts and puffs of party for a well earned reputation have generally failed—and what is wanting but to excite the attention of this intelligent people to render such attempts always unsuccessful? all these and many other considerations ought to have their Just weight in deciding the great question before us—

1. Copy, John Wingate Thornton Collection, New England Historic and Genealogical Society, Boston. This letter, in Dane’s handwriting, was marked “a copy” by Dane, who was in New York City representing Massachusetts in Congress. For Smith’s reply from the New York Convention, see Smith to Dane, c. 15 July (VI, below).

2. Dane wrote to Smith on 24 June, but that letter has not been located. (For a reference to that letter, see Smith to Dane, 28 June, VI, below.)

**Thomas Goadsby to Kirkman, Holmes, and Company
New York, 3 July 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . yesterday Week News arrivd of the Ninth State having ratified the New Constitution. this will make a Wonderfull change in the face of affairs, particularly in expediteing collection of debts & I hope soon to experience the good effects of it. but its too early a day as yet.—I need say nothing of remittances. I cannot do impossibility. you shall have them soon as I can I have been too unwell for two months past to pay much attention, tho am much better than when I last wrote. I have no

further Acct from Richmond from which I fear our cause is again put off. if its not finishd, I will go there next Court which fear will not be before Novr. Boston I expect will be my next Trip. Mr McGeorge was here about a fortnight Since, on his way home from Charleston where he had been, using his endeavour, to make good his engagements with our House, & is much mortified & distressd he cannot accomplish his wish, he hopes you will not consider it arises from either neglect or good will to do that Justice he flatterd himself with when the order was given.—the money is safe, & am satisfyd they exert themselves to the utmost to make good their payments, but like most other unfortunates who have given Credit in this Country, they cannot command their money when due, & a tedious course of Law is their only remedy, & much patience is necessary to wait the issue—

Accts arrivd yesterday that Verginia, the Tenth State had adopted the New Constitution. & this Morning at 2 oClock Coll. WS Livingston our Counsellor, went express to the New York Convention 80 Miles from hence, to inform them the event, this State is very obstinate, & if they do not *adopt*, the consequence will be very serious.—North Carolina Rhode Island & New York are the only ones who have not Acceded, & from the obstinacy of this State *its believed*, they will not adopt.—of course some Violent means may be expected.—On the whole Ten States having come in, Laws will soon be framed, in such a way as to expedite our Collections, & none will rejoice more at that event than Dr Sirs Yr Sincerely. . . .

1. FC, Hancock Papers, Volume XVIII, Copies of Letters by Thomas Goadsby, 1787–1788, Baker Library, Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University. Goadsby, a New York City merchant, apparently represented Kirkman, Holmes, and Company, a London mercantile firm. He owned two shares in the Bank of New York in 1784 or 1785.

Ebenezer Hazard to Jeremy Belknap
New York, 3 July 1788 (excerpts)¹

The Ratification of the new Constitution by New Hampshire was an important & very pleasing Event, & she has acquired by it the Honor of being the Key-Stone of the federal Arch:—she has fairly got to windward of the ancient Dominion, & added to the honor of N. England.—You will see by the enclosed that the Dominion is on the same Side of the Question. Where New York will be, nobody knows,—Appearances at present seem to indicate an Intention to adjourn under an Idea of consulting Constituents, which may furnish a Reason for adopting at the next meeting. . . .

There are to be wonderful works in Phila. tomorrow,² & we mean to make some uproar here.—

1. RC, Belknap Papers, MHi. Printed: *Belknap Correspondence*, Part II, 50.

2. The reference is to the “Grand Federal Procession” that took place in Philadelphia on 4 July to celebrate both the anniversary of American independence and the ratification of the Constitution by ten states. For descriptions of this procession that probably surpassed any similar celebration previously held in America, see CC:799 E–F and CC:805.

Henry Knox to Arthur St. Clair
New York, 3 July 1788 (excerpt)¹

I rejoice my dear Sir in having the pleasure of congratulating you on the adoption of the Constitution by ten States. In Virginia the business has been highly interesting and critical, and finally succeeded by a majority of ten—In New Hampshire the majority eleven—The latter passed it on Saturday the 21st. and Virginia on Wednesday the 25th. Ultimo.

The joy which these events have given is not easily to be described.

The Convention of this State are sitting—the Majority decidedly against it 44, to the minority of 19 in favor—We have not had time yet to know whether the adoption of New-Hampshire and Virginia will make any alteration in the sentiments of the Majority.—It is supposed otherwise—and that the Convention will stipulate for amendments previous to the adoption and then adjourn to a distant day—Congress will immediately pass the necessary acts for organizing the Constitution. . . .

1. RC, Lafayette Collection, Manuscripts Department, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington. St. Clair (1737–1818), a native of Scotland and a major general in the Continental Army during the Revolution, represented Pennsylvania in Congress, 1786–87, serving as president in 1787. He was governor of the Northwest Territory, 1787–1802.

Nathaniel Lawrence to John Lamb
Poughkeepsie, 3 July 1788 (excerpt)¹

The bearer (Major Sally)² is an intimate friend of Judge Platt's³ who gives him an high character as a gentleman of probity & politeness—The Governor requested me to give him this letter to you & to request of you the favor to introduce him to Mrs. Clinton—As I write in great haste I can only tell you that the information from Virginia seems to have no effect on *Us*, tho it has on the other party which they have discovered to day by changing their plan of defence—You have heard no doubt that they have disputed every inch of ground but to day they have quietly suffered us to propose our amendments without a word in opposition to them—What their object is I know not, but I will do myself the pleasure of informing you as soon as it is discovered. . . .

1. RC, Lamb Papers, NH. Lamb replied on 6 July (below). Lawrence (1761–1797), a 1783 graduate of the College of New Jersey (Princeton) and a lawyer, represented Queens County in the New York Convention, where he was one of the Antifederalists who voted to ratify the Constitution. In 1788 he supported the calling of a second constitutional convention. Lawrence was a member of the state Assembly, 1791–92, 1795–96, and state attorney general, 1792–95.

2. The part of Lawrence's letter not printed identifies Major Sally as a former captain in the guards of the King of France.

3. Antifederalist Zephaniah Platt represented Dutchess County in the New York Convention, where he voted to ratify the Constitution.

Leonidas

New York Journal, 3 July 1788

MR. GREENLEAF, *The following extract, from a London paper of April 1st, entitled, "The Times," will shew, that the anti-federals (so called) are not singular in their predictions of what will be the probable consequence of the new government, unless amended previous to adoption.* LIBERTAS.

NEW GOVERNMENT of AMERICA.

In the *new Constitution* for the future government of the *Thirteen United States of America*, the *President* and *Senate* have all the executive and two thirds of the *Legislative power*.

This is a material deviation from those principles of the *English Constitution* for which they fought with us, and in all good governments, it should be a fundamental maxim, that, to give a proper balance to the political system, the different branches of the legislature should be *unconnected*, and the legislative and executive powers should be *separate*. By the *new constitution of America* this *union* of the executive and legislative bodies operates in the most weighty matters of the state:—They jointly make all treaties—they jointly appoint all officers civil and military; and, they jointly try all impeachments, either of their own members, or of the officers appointed by themselves.

In this formidable combination of power, there is no *responsibility*;—and where there is power without *responsibility*, how can there be *liberty*.

The president of the senate is elected for four years, and each of the thirteen states has one vote at his election; which vote is not of the people; but of electors two degrees from the people.

The senate is a body of *six years* duration; and as in the choice of *presidents*, the largest state has but one vote, so it is in the choice of *senators*. Now this shews, that *responsibility* is as little to be apprehended from amenability to constituents, as from the terror of impeachment: for to the members of the senate it is clear, that trial by impeachment is nothing but parade.

From such an *union* in governments, it requires no great depth of political knowledge to prophecy, that *monarchy* or *aristocracy*, must be generated, and perhaps of the most grievous kind. The only check in favor of the *democratic* principle is, the house of representatives; but this smallness of number, and great comparative disparity of power, render that house of little effect to promote *good* or restrain *bad* government.

The power given to this ill constructed *senate* is, to judge of what may be for the *general welfare*, and such engagements, when made the acts of congress, become the *supreme laws of the land*.

This is a power co-extensive with every possible object of human legislation: yet there is no restraint, no charter of rights, no residuum of human privileges, *not* intended to be given up to society. The rights of conscience,—the freedom of the press,—and trial by jury; are at the *mercy* of this *senate*. *Trial by jury*, has been already materially injured:—The trial in criminal cases is not by twelve men of the *vicinage*, or of the *county*, but of the *state*, and the *states* are from fifty to seven hundred miles in extent! In criminal cases this *new system* says, the trial shall be by jury:—On civil cases it is silent; then it is fair to infer, that as in criminal cases it has been materially impaired, in civil cases it may be altogether omitted. But it is in truth strongly discountenanced in civil cases; for this new system gives the supreme court, in matters of appeal, jurisdiction both of *law* and *fact*.

This being the beginning of *American Freedom*, it is very clear the ending will be *slavery*, for it cannot be denied, that this constitution is, in its *first principles*, highly and dangerously oligarchic; and it is every where agreed, that a government administered by a few, is, of all governments, the *worst*.

Pennsylvania Mercury, 3 July 1788¹

Extract of a letter from New-York, June 30.

“Congress, I hope, will proceed immediately to put the government in motion: but unfortunately three of the states which have ratified are absent from Congress—Connecticut, Delaware and Maryland.

“Since writing the above, I have seen a letter from Poughkeepsie, which conveys very flattering accounts of the progress the federal party make in gaining proselytes, and expresses a strong persuasion, that the Convention will ratify the new constitution, especially if Virginia should furnish the example.”

1. Reprinted: *Salem Mercury*, 15 July.

Fourth of July Celebrations

Newspapers printed reports of the Fourth of July commemorations that took place in Albany, Brooklyn, Fredericksburgh, Hudson, Jamaica, Kingston, Lansingburgh, New York City, and Poughkeepsie. Unlike towns in some other states, New York towns and cities could not combine their Fourth of July and ratification of the Constitution celebrations because the New York Convention had not yet ratified the Constitution. Nevertheless, the celebrations of the Fourth of July in New York's towns and cities reflected, in part, the ongoing debate on the ratification of the Constitution. This was especially demonstrated by the dinner toasts and in the varying degrees of hostility between Federalists and Antifederalists. In some instances, these two groups marked the day in separate gatherings, with Antifederalists ignoring the ratifications by other states in their dinner toasts. In Albany, violence broke out between Federalists and Antifederalists that injured a number of people on both sides. Flags, processions, militia parades, cannon and rifle firings, bell ringing, elaborate dinners and other repasts, orations, and fireworks also characterized these celebrations.

Albany, Albany County

On Thursday, 3 July, the Albany Common Council resolved to commemorate the Fourth of July. Around 4:30 P.M. on 3 July, news arrived in Albany that the Virginia Convention had ratified the Constitution. While Federalists celebrated, Antifederalists planned to demonstrate their opposition to the Constitution the next day before the beginning of the festivities for the Fourth of July. Early on the morning of the 4 July, a body of 40 or 50 Antifederalists marched to Fort Frederick and burned the Constitution. At about 11:00 that morning, Federalists and Antifederalists met at City Hall and a half hour later, escorted by a troop of light-horse militia and a company of artillery, they marched in procession to Fort Frederick. Soon after the celebration, some Federalists and a few Antifederalists dined at Robert Lewis's "City Tavern," while many other Antifederalists partied at William B. Hilton's tavern.

In the late afternoon, after dinner, Federalists, along with the light horse and artillery, again marched in procession to Fort Frederick carrying a tree on the top of which they had placed a copy of the Constitution. They erected the tree on the place where Antifederalists had burned the Constitution earlier in the day. They then proceeded to Fort Orange where they repeated this ceremony. On the march back to the "City Tavern" Federalists intentionally passed Hilton's tavern. Unbeknownst to them, armed Antifederalists, emboldened by drinking, were waiting for them at Hilton's tavern, and a "fracas" erupted in which Federalists routed the Antifederalists. The four Antifederalist leaders—Peter W. Yates, Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, Abraham G. Lansing, and John Price—were taken prisoners. Among the Federalists whose behavior was

praised were Robert McClallen, James Caldwell, Henry K. Van Rensselaer, and Abraham Ten Broeck. A number of persons on both sides were injured; no one was killed. Nevertheless, reports circulated that some had been killed.

The “fracas” was widely reported, with seven substantial original accounts appearing in New York and out-of-state newspapers. Surprisingly, however, none of these accounts comes from either of Albany’s two Federalist newspapers. No report of the “fracas” was found in the *Albany Journal* for 7 and 14 July, and none appears in the *Albany Gazette* of 17 July. However, the *Gazette’s* issue of 10 July is not extant, and it is possible that a report appeared in it.

Litchfield, Conn., Weekly Monitor, 7 July 1788¹

Bloody News.

By a gentleman of veracity and information, this moment arrived in town from Albany, we are informed, that on Thursday last a number of respectable Federalists, in that city, assembled to demonstrate their joy on the adoption of the New Constitution by Virginia; to the great mortification of the Anti-federalists—And on Friday, being the anniversary of American Independence, having again convened for a like patriotic purpose,² the day was ushered in by a discharge of *Ten Guns*, in honour of the ten states included in one fold;—which so irritated the ill-natured *anti’s*, that in the afternoon they made their appearance on the same ground, with hostile intentions, conducted by *Abraham Yates*,³ *Jeremiah Van Ransallaer*, and a Mr. *Lansing*;⁴ and began their menaces by pasting up the new Constitution on a tree, together with a hand-bill, containing the memorable intelligence from Virginia,⁵ under which they placed a basket of combustible matter, and consumed both, exulting in the mighty exploit, with frantic rage and wild derision.—This procedure, and other intolerable insults, brought on a serious and desperate rencounter between the parties, with swords, bayonets, stones, &c. in which a number were badly wounded on both sides—two of the *anti’s* mortally.—Judge *Ten Broek*,⁶ who greatly distinguished himself on the side of the Federalists, received a slight wound in the leg.—*Yates*, *Van Ransallaer* and *Lansing*, were taken up by the victorious Federalists, and conducted to jail.—The city was then in great disorder.⁷

1. Reprinted sixteen times by 18 July: N.H. (2), Mass. (8), R.I. (3), Conn. (3).

2. On 3 July Albany’s Common Council adopted a resolution “that this Board celebrate the Anniversary of the Independency of the United States” (Albany Common Council Minutes, 1784–1790, Vol. 11, p. 215, Albany County Hall of Records).

3. The reference to Abraham Yates, Jr., is incorrect; he was attending Congress in New York City. Peter W. Yates was one of the Antifederalist leaders in the “fracas.”

4. The reference is to Abraham G. Lansing, Albany alderman and artisan John Price was another Antifederalist leader in the “fracas.” Peter W. Yates, Jeremiah Van Rensselaer,

and Lansing were all members of the Albany Anti-Federal Committee, with Van Rensselaer also acting as chairman of that body.

5. On 3 July the *Albany Gazette*, owned by Charles R. Webster, printed a brief item informing the public "It was last evening reported" that the Virginia Convention had adopted the Constitution by six votes. On 7 July the *Albany Journal*, owned by Charles R. Webster and George Webster, said that the news of Virginia's ratification of the Constitution reached Albany at 4:30 P.M., on Thursday, 3 July. A copy of the Virginia Form of Ratification undoubtedly accompanied that news. On 2 July printers in New York City and Poughkeepsie had already struck off broadsides that included the Virginia Form. (For the New York City and Poughkeepsie broadsides, see Evans 21559 and 45393 and Mfm:Va. 286, 284.) Soon after receiving the Form of Ratification, it is possible that the Webster brothers also struck off a handbill or broadside that contained the Virginia Form of Ratification. They published this Form in the *Albany Journal* on 7 July in a double-column format that suggested that they might have run off a broadside first.

6. Abraham Ten Broeck was first judge of the Albany County Court of Common Pleas from 1781 to 1794.

7. New York Convention delegate Alexander Hamilton wrote James Madison on 8 July that "We are informed, There has been a disturbance in the City of Albany on the 4th of July which has occasioned bloodshed—The antifederalists were the aggressors & the Fœderalists the Victors. Thus stand our accounts at present. We trust however the matter has passed over & tranquillity been restored" (VI, below).

New York Daily Advertiser, 10 July 1788¹

Extract of a letter from Poughkeepsie, dated July 8.

"On Friday last the 4th inst. a very disagreeable fracas happened in the city of Albany; all the particulars of which, as far as they have come to my knowledge are:—That the Federalists having received the news of the adoption of Virginia, last Thursday evening, proposed having a procession the next day; but on the remonstrance of many of the Antifederalists that it would be disagreeable to them, they gave up the idea. When the next day came, July 4, it was mortifying to the Federalists to observe a party of about 50 Antifederalists marching in procession to a vacant lot in the skirts of the town,² where, after firing thirteen guns, they burnt the Constitution. The Federalists who were then collected, determined immediately to have a procession; and having arranged themselves, began a march through the principal streets of the city; they met with no interruption till they came to a narrow street in which a Mr. Dennison lives (I believe Green-street), when they were ordered not to proceed, by a large party who had collected there to oppose them; after a few words, a general battle took place, with swords, bayonets, clubs, stones, &c. which lasted for some time, both parties fighting with the greatest rage, and determined obstinacy, till at length the Antifederalists being overpowered by numbers, gave way and retreated, many into the house of a Mr. Hilton,³ where they made a

second stand, and others into the country for safety. The Federalists attacked the house of Mr. Hilton, and in the victory, which they soon gained, did great damage to the building. Many of the parties were severely wounded in the conflict, and one poor man, a cooper, is supposed to have received a mortal wound from a bayonet. Several reports are circulating about men killed,⁴ &c. but are not to be relied on.

“It gives me pleasure that I can add that the dispute is since peaceably settled.

“P.S. Since writing the foregoing, I am informed that the wounded are twelve Feds. and six Anti-feds. and among the Feds. is a Mr. Graham,⁵ badly, tho’ not dangerous.”

1. Reprinted in the *New York Journal*, 11 July; *New York Packet*, 11 July; *Impartial Gazetteer*, 12 July; *Independent Journal*, 12 July; and in twenty-eight newspapers outside New York by 7 August: Mass. (2), R.I. (1), Conn. (5), N.J. (2), Pa. (7), Md. (2), Va. (6), S.C. (2), Ga. (1).

2. Later accounts (printed below) reveal that this vacant lot was the site of Fort Frederick (also called Fort Albany). Built first by the British as a wood stockade in 1676, the fort was reconstructed in stone between 1702 and 1738. In 1749 Swedish traveler, Peter Kalm, described the fort, which was located at the head of State Street on “a high steep hill,” as “a great building of stone, surrounded with high and thick walls.” In 1785 the Common Council authorized the demolition of the fort. The stone was to be used for public improvements and the clergy of the several churches were permitted to use the materials of the fort’s walls to build their churches. The demolition appears to have been completed in 1786.

3. A reference to William B. Hilton’s tavern that was located on Green Street. In late May 1788, the supervisors of the City and County of Albany met in this tavern and canvassed the votes for the election of state Convention delegates and state legislators. (See IV, Albany County Election, below.)

4. On 7 July, an Albany gentleman informed a friend in New York City that “It is a mercy there was none killed” (*New York Packet*, 15 July, below). Nevertheless, reports of deaths circulated. On 8 July Henry Izard, who was in Poughkeepsie attending the New York Convention debates, wrote that “They have been killing and beating each other at Albany on the fourth of July, Fed’s. against Antis” (below). On 16 July the Springfield, Mass., *Hampshire Chronicle* informed its readers: “We learn by a gentleman from the State of New-York, that a *fracas* lately took place in the city of Albany, between the friends to the New Government and the antifederalists: The dispute, he says, became so warm between the parties, that there was one man killed, and a number of others very much bruised.”

5. Theodorus Van Wyck Graham was a member of the Albany Federal Committee.

New York Journal, 14 July 1788¹

Extract of a letter from Albany, July 6.

“As I suppose you will be anxious to hear some of the particulars concerning the unhappy disturbances which happened here the fourth instant, I shall endeavor to give you as exact an account as possible.—

“When the news of the adoption of the constitution, by the state of Virginia, arrived here, the federal party caused the bells to be rung; walked up to the fort² in procession; had ten guns fired with three huzzas between each shot. The same evening the antifederal party had a meeting, and concluded on walking to the fort in procession the next morning, to burn the constitution, which they put into execution about eight o’clock. About eleven both parties joined to celebrate independency; walked in procession to the fort, and had thirteen cannon fired; after which the federal party, with a few of the other, dined at Mr. Lewis’s;³ the principal part of the antifederal party went to Mr. Hilton’s, where they had a flag displayed, and were firing guns and huzzaing all the fore part of the day. There was a few light horse under the command of Dirck Ten Broeck,⁴ Esq. and the artillery company under arms, who, when they were dismissed at twelve, had orders to be on the parade at five, in order to spend the afternoon, in celebrating independency, as they had the morning—before five o’clock, the federal party agreed to spend the remainder of the day in rejoicing on account of the adoption of the constitution by ten states; when the troops paraded, they were informed of the intentions of the party, and after Abraham G. Lansing, Esq. had the artillery company dismissed (for he could not consistent with his political sentiments rejoice with them) Major Cumpston⁵ ordered all who were federal to parade, when every man under arms paraded except three, who joined the antifederalists at Mr. Hilton’s.

“The federalists then began their manœuvres by walking through the city, carrying a small field piece and firing it at different parts of the town, they turned up the lane which leads from Court to Green street, intending to go past Mr. Hilton’s; but as soon as they entered the street a violent engagement ensued—stones, clubs, and bricks were used on both sides—the light horse were beat back, and went round the block to the other end of the street, where they joined in the action. It was expected some lives would have been lost, for the artillery made use of bayonets; the federal party being most powerful, forced into the house, and made prisoners of those who had not escaped.

“Those who were most hurt in the engagement are, Alderman Price, T. V. W. Graham, and Dirck Ten Broeck, Esqrs. Messrs. Thomas and Gerrit Witbeck,⁶ David Gibson a constable, a Mr. M’Dole, and a young man of the name of M’Kinzie, a merchant’s clerk and an apprentice of the printer’s; there are many who live in the north and south parts of the town whose names I do not know were much bruized, but it is expected they will all recover. Alderman M’Clallen, and Mr. James Caldwell,⁷ each received a slight wound in the head. Mr. Graham, was the

first knocked down by a stone on the head and his life was for some minutes dispaired of.

“The windows of Hilton’s house were all broke, and much damage done to his furniture, appraised at thirty-six pounds; the damage done the house is supposed to be as much.”

1. By 26 July this item was reprinted five times: N.H. (1), Mass. (1), Pa. (3). On 10 July the editor of the *New York Journal* had informed his readers: “Some accounts were likewise received by post, of an affray between the federals and the anti-federals at Albany; particulars of which could not be obtained for this day’s paper.”

2. Fort Frederick. See *Daily Advertiser*, 10 July, note 2 (immediately above).

3. Robert Lewis’s tavern was called the “City Tavern.” It seems to have been favored by the Common Council for such celebrations as that of the Fourth of July.

4. Dirck Ten Broeck (1765–1832), a lawyer and a son of Judge Abraham Ten Broeck, represented Albany County in the state Assembly, 1796–1802 (speaker, 1798–1800).

5. Probably shopkeeper Edward Cumpston.

6. Thomas L. Witbeck was a member of the Albany Federal Committee. Gerrit Witbeck was an Albany farmer.

7. Robert McClallen and James Caldwell were members of the Albany Federal Committee; the former chaired the committee.

Connecticut Courant, 14 July 1788¹

We are informed from Albany, that on Thursday the 3d instant at four o’clock P. M. the Federalists in that city assembled to demonstrate their joy on the important information (which had that moment arrived) of the adoption of the new Constitution by Virginia, at which time the bells of the city began ringing and continued until sunset, ten cannon were fired, &c. &c. On Friday morning the antifederalists assembled at Hilton’s tavern, and at nine o’clock A. M. formed in procession (Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, Esq. chairman of the antifederal committee at their head) with the colors of the state and a drum, and marched to the fort,² where they publicly burnt the new Constitution, gave three cheers, and returned to Hilton’s. At 11 o’clock the corporation and a large concourse of citizens federal and antifederal, assembled at the city-hall; at half past 11 they moved in procession, escorted by a troop of horse and company of artillery, to the fort, where thirteen cannon were fired, thirteen platoons of musquetry and a salute from the troop of horse: When the procession moved from the city-hall, the bells of the city began ringing and continued until 12 o’clock.

A number of the most respectable federalists of the city and strangers dined at the city tavern,³ where it was agreed that they would that afternoon testify their joy, on the important news received from Virginia—for this purpose a beautiful Tree was procured, and an invita-

tion given to the artillery and troop to join in the procession, which consisted of between 800 and 1000 persons. At 6 o'clock it moved from the city tavern, (the principal federalists bearing the constitution and the federal tree) through State, Market, Columbia and Pearl streets to the fort; immediately on their arrival the federal tree was erected on the spot where the constitution had been burnt, ten cannon were fired and the air reechoed with the loud huzzas and acclamations of the populace.—From the fort, the procession after passing through the streets before mentioned and Court-Street, halted where fort Orange formerly stood;⁴ a salute was here fired by the artillery and horse. On the return of the procession through Green-Street, (which is about 24 feet wide) they were unexpectedly stopped by a party of Antifederalists, having a field-piece, armed with large clubs and stones; after a short altercation however, the procession again began their march, when they received a volley of stones from the Antifederalists, which wounded one man in the head, and then (if we may be allowed the expression) the action began, and continued for the space of 15 or 20 minutes, when the Antifederalists were driven from the ground, their field-piece taken, and the federalists in triumph marched through the street. Jeremiah Van Ranselaer, Esq. Alderman Price, Peter W. Yates, Esq. and Abraham G. Lansing, Esq. were taken prisoners, but soon after permitted to return to their houses by the federalists. On the federal side, Alderman M'Clannen (in the execution of his office as a magistrate) Mr. James Caldwell, Theodorus V. W. Graham, Esq. Mr. Thomas L. Witbeck, &c. were wounded. On the antifederal side, Alderman Price, &c.—both sides about 18. One of the antifederalists, it is said, mortally.

On Saturday morning, the magistrates of the city assembled, and adopted measures for restoring the city to good order—and on the date of the above information, which was Tuesday last, the parties remained quiet and peaceable.

1. Reprinted: *Providence Gazette*, 19 July; Litchfield, Conn., *Weekly Monitor*, 21 July; Northampton, Mass., *Hampshire Gazette*, 23 July.

2. Fort Frederick. See *Daily Advertiser*, 10 July, note 2 (above).

3. See *New York Journal*, 14 July, note 3 (above).

4. Fort Orange was built by the Dutch West India Company as a fur trading post in 1624, just south of what became the site of Albany. The fort fell into decay after the British conquered New Netherland in 1664, and by the middle of the next century only the ditch that surrounded the fort remained. A map done around 1763 marked the area of the fort as "Remains of an Old Fort." Nevertheless, the people of Albany had a strong emotional attachment to the fort since it was a symbol of New Netherland. As a result, they used the area of the fort as a place of public celebration or gathering, especially in the "spacious pasture" south of the fort.

Vermont Gazette, 14 July 1788

By a gentleman from Albany we have received the following account of a late fracas that happened in that city. On the third ult. in the afternoon, the news of the ratification of the new constitution, by the state of Virginia was received, on which the bells of the city were immediately rung, and, by the approbation of the corporation ten cannon were discharged to honor the States who had adopted the New Constitution. On the morning of the 4th at nine o'clock some of the antifederalists, and about 40 insignificant creatures hired for the business, went in procession from Hilton's tavern, with the constitution hoisted on a pole, and proceeded by the city tavern¹ where a respectable number of the federalists were convened, to the place where the cannon were discharged in the morning, and there burnt the constitution in an ignominious manner, and again returned to Hilton's. Soon after both parties joined to celebrate the anniversary of American independence. About five o'clock P. M. the federalists formed in grand procession, in the following manner, viz.

The troop of Horse, commanded by Derick Ten Broeck,

The Artillery, by Lt. Comstock,

Citizens in due order, to the amount of 500,

A pine tree, with the constitution flowing on the top, curiously fixed, and borne on the shoulders of the aged citizens.

In this order they proceeded to the place where the constitution was lately burnt, where they erected the tree, placing music on its branches, fired ten cannon, and graced the scene with three hearty cheers. They then took down the tree, and proceeded to the seat of the patrol,² where they again erected the tree, ornamented as before, discharged the cannon, &c. after performing the same ceremonies at fort Orange they set out on their return to Lewis's tavern, on their way they intended to pass by Hilton's tavern, in order to return the morning compliment of the antifederalists, in passing them with their pole, &c. at the corner of the street, near Dennis's, the horse were met by Mr. Lansing, an antifederalist, who advised them not to proceed, as the party at Hilton's were drunk, and might possibly behave disorderly. The officer of the horse made report to the main body, who cried with one voice march! march! On this they proceeded, but were immediately assaulted by the antifederalists, with stones, clubs, &c. previously provided. The federalists however maintained their ground with such determined resolution, that the insulting party were soon driven into Hilton's & their leaders made prisoners. Mr. Peter Yates was dragged from beneath the negro wench's bed, Mr. J. Van Rensselaer was lodged in

goal to preserve him from the fury of the populace. Henry K. Van Rensselaer, of the federal party, behaved gallantly, Mr. M'Clallen, advancing to command the peace, was badly wounded, as were likewise Mr. J. Caldwell, Woodbeck, Ten Broeck, &c. Mr. M'Dowel of the light horse, behaved with the greatest firmness, rode his horse into the house in the hottest of the fray, and drove the party before him, notwithstanding his horse was knocked down several times and almost innumerable clubs and stones levelled at him, many of which took effect. A scene of destruction ensued at Hilton's, to the amount of several hundred pounds. The federal party proceeded without further interruption, re-erected the tree at Lewis's, with music, &c. as before, fired ten cannon, & kept a guard over it all night. At daybreak a morning gun was fired, and about 7 o'clock the federal party removed the tree and closed the scene in good order.

The Lansingburgh paper informs, that by the interposition of the civil authority the matter was amicably compromised.³

1. Robert Lewis's tavern.

2. The reference is to the Van Rensselaer Manor House, the home of Stephen Van Rensselaer, who was known as "The Patroon." The mansion was located at the head of Market Street (the present-day intersection of Broadway and Tivoli Street).

3. On 7 July the Lansingburgh *Federal Herald* reported: "With pleasure we inform our readers, that the fray which took place in Albany, on the 4th inst, was amicably settled the day following, by the interposition of the civil authority; the antifederalists consenting to make good some *trifling* damages sustained by Mr. Hilton."

New York Packet, 15 July 1788¹

*Further particulars of the Affray at Albany.*²
Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Albany,
dated the 7th inst. to his friend in this city.

"No doubt but you have heard of the disturbance we had with the antifederalists. Last Thursday afternoon, we received the agreeable news of Virginia's adopting the new Constitution, upon which all the bells in the city rang till sun down; at the same time, those that stood well affected, met at the fort³ with some of the train, and fired ten guns; and a number of the gentlemen passed the evening very agreeably.—But it had a contrary effect on the anti's.—they were much engaged, and on Friday morning instead of observing the day of our anniversary independence, they met early in the morning at the fort, and there burnt the Constitution; it was thought best to overlook the insult and rather observe the day in as friendly a manner as possibly could be.—We all met at the city hall at ten o'clock in the 'forenoon, and went in regular order to the fort, and after firing 13 guns, most of the

citizens returned home; some of the gentlemen with a number of citizens dined at Lewis's tavern, the anti's at Hilton's; after dinner it was agreed to raise the Constitution that the anti's had burnt in the morning; a very respectable number went to the pine bush, and cut down a pine tree, brought it to the fort, & raised it up on the very spot where the anti's burnt the Constitution; the tree raised, and the Constitution on the top: Whilst this was doing there was a piper fixed in the pine tree, playing on the bag-pipes; at the same time, drums beating colours flying, ten cannon then fired, with three cheers at the firing of each gun; the pine tree was then taken down, the Constitution fixed on a pole, and carried before the pine tree in procession, through the public streets, and before the principal federalists doors; the pine tree raised and three cheers given as our people passed through the streets down to the Dutch pastor;⁴ the tree with the Constitution raised, their guns fired, pipes playing, and drums beating; all this was done with the greatest order and harmony: But unknown to us, the anti's were preparing at Hilton's, and had brought in bags full of stones, and a small field piece; some say they were to charge it with small gravel; be that as it will, our people coming immediately through that narrow street, were warmly attacked by a shower of paving stones, all of the anti's being armed some with clubs, some swords, others with muskets and bayonets; a number who were in our front, were much hurt by the stones thrown down upon them out of the windows; however they were soon made to scamper, and some considerably wounded upon their side, and a few of their ringleaders hid in dirty holes, were taken out & begged for mercy, which was granted to them, although they illy deserved it, for it is evident if they had prevailed, they would have shown little favor: Their ringleaders were Peter W. Yates, Abraham Lansing, Jerry Van Ransselaer, Alderman Price. It is a mercy there was none killed; I believe there was about 20 wounded—We hear that they are trying to raise an armed force in the country, to ransack the city, however I hope the country will be more wise, and as for the others we are not much afraid of them.

“Jerry Van Ransselaer was made to give in bail. Upon the whole although they broke the peace, our people took their field-piece, and proceeded in procession to Mr. Lewis'. The fray fortunately was settled before night.”

1. Reprinted in the *Independent Journal*, 16 July, and in ten newspapers outside New York by 4 August: Vt. (1), Mass. (1), Conn. (1), Pa. (2), Md. (1), Va. (4). It was also reprinted in the July issue of the Philadelphia *Columbian Magazine* which appeared in early August.

2. Probably intended as an addition to the account printed in the *New York Journal* on

14 July (above). On 10 July the *New York Journal* had referred to “an affray” between the Federalists and Antifederalists in Albany.

3. Fort Frederick. See *Daily Advertiser*, 10 July, note 2 (above).

4. A reference to Eilardus Westerlo, pastor of the Albany Dutch Reformed Church, whose parsonage was on Market Street. Westerlo did not attend the procession, “being by bodily indisposition prevented from attending.” For Westerlo’s brief account of the “fracas,” see his memoirs recorded on 29 July 1788 (RCS:N.Y., 1350).

New Jersey Brunswick Gazette, 22 July 1788

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Albany to his friend in this city [New Brunswick], dated July 9, 1788.

“You will no doubt, before this comes to hand, have some accounts of the affray that happened here on Friday last; but, from the violence of party spirit, which at present prevails here, it is more than probable it will be much misrepresented: I will, therefore, as a transient person, relate some of the principal circumstances. On Thursday the news of Virginia having adopted the New Constitution was received here; on this occasion the Federal party, in order to demonstrate their joy, set the bells a ringing, and marched in form to the old fort,¹ where, after firing ten guns and giving three cheers, they were dismissed. This it seems galled the Antis’, as they are called. They assembled next morning and marched to the fort,² where, to testify their abhorrence to the New Constitution, they committed it to the flames. In this they were not in the least interrupted. However, the Federal party, after honoring part of the day in the usual manner, met at the City-Hall, in number between 3 and 4 hundred, and were paraded in the following order: viz. A company of horse in front, followed by a company of artillery, both in compleat uniform; then followed a man bearing the New Constitution on a halbert; in the rear of him were most of the civil officers of this city; then followed a pine tree, 36 feet in heighth, supported by ten men, which was called the Federal Tree; in the rear of this the inhabitants of the city. In this order they marched to the fort, where they planted the Federal Tree; the man bearing the New Constitution, placed himself at the top of it, another, with a bagpipe, was seated just below him, and played several tunes. They then kindled a small fire, and committed the 35 objections, which were framed by the Antifederal committee last winter,³ to the flames, but did not, as is given [out?] by the antis’, burn the old constitution of [the state?]. After firing and huzzaing, they put green boughs in their hats, and marched in procession through several streets. By this time the antis’, who were meditating revenge, were collected, to the number of about 100, at Hilton’s tavern, in Green-street, where they had provided more than a waggon load of paving stones, and a number of clubs. The leaders of this party

were P. Y——s, A. L——g, R——r, and one P——e, a magistrate of this city; they had charged their party with a sufficient quantity, of what is generally called Holland Courage.⁴ When the Federalists attempted to pass, without offering any insult, they sallied out, and let fly a volley of stones at them; not expecting any thing of the kind, and being unwilling to charge upon and spill the blood of their fellow citizens, those in front retreated a few paces. Encouraged by this, the antis' came on with great fierceness, which obliged the Federalists to return the compliment; which they did in a spirited manner, and in a few minutes entirely routed them. Thus ended a battle, fought with paving stones, clubs, and bayonets. 10 of the Antis' were wounded, and 17 of the Feds. one of each tis thought mortally. Suffer me to remark, that it was the most disagreeable day I ever saw, to behold such a spirit of contention raised among neighbours, fellow citizens, and near relations, which, 'tis probable will not soon subside. Let which party soever get the better, it certainly can have no weight in the adopting or rejecting of the Constitution."

1. Fort Frederick.
2. Fort Frederick.
3. See "Albany Anti-Federal Committee Circular," 10 April (IV, Albany County Election, below).
4. Bravery induced by drinking.

Brooklyn, Kings County

New York Daily Advertiser, 5 July 1788¹

Yesterday being the Anniversary of the Independence of the United States, thirteen gentlemen (Federalists) met at Mr. Dawson's Tavern, in the town of Brooklyne, where an elegant dinner was prepared for their reception, and where all that conviviality and harmony were displayed which the importance of the occasion demanded, and the heart-felt delight of each individual gave birth to. As a proof of the political sentiments of the company, we beg leave to present our readers with their following patriotic and truly Federal toasts, together with a song, composed and sung by one of the company.

1. The United States.
2. The Illustrious Washington.
3. The King and Queen of France.
4. The day we now commemorate.—May our latest posterity have cause to bless it.
5. The New Constitution—May the year, month, and day in which it was form'd, and the Illustrious Members who subscribed it, be ever held in grateful remembrance by every true American.

6. The immortal memory of those heroes whose blood was nobly shed to establish our freedom.

7. The dignity of the people—May every American be a good man, and every good man a Federalist.

8. Peace, freedom, independence and happiness throughout the world.

9. May continual disappointment and never-dying remorse, pain, poverty and contempt, ever attend those antifederalists who, thro' motives of interest, stand opposed to a government, formed for the good of their country.

10. May the Federalists of the present æra enjoy uninterrupted political happiness under the new government, and may the benevolent spirit of unanimity speedily link the timid and misinformed opposers of it, in the golden chain of harmony and peace.

11. May literature grow and be encouraged, and may the importation and use of foreign superfluities rapidly give place to extensive agriculture and manufactures.

12. The American fair—May their sentiments be in favor of the Federal Government, and may they discard from their esteem the man who opposes it.

13. May the United States, cemented by the New Constitution, rise beautiful as a Phœnix from the ashes of contempt; and may Commerce, in all its branches, flourish unrestricted under its auspices, as long as America has a name amongst the nations.

A FEDERAL SONG.²

Composed for the 4th July, 1788.

Of their tutelal saints let the nations be vain,

And call their mock saintships divine;

Let them bow, if they will, to the ideal train;

We sacrifice not at their shrine:

There's Andrew, George, Patrick—I can't tell each name,

A groupe of such fictitious pow'rs,

Whose votaries celebrate yearly their fame;

But the FOURTH OF JULY shall be our's.

Oh, day of delight, to Columbians so dear,

Long may thy rich benefits last!

May this signal period in each circling year,

Be kept and enjoy'd like the past.

Here Thirteen are met with a patriot design

To honor an æra so great,

Here freedom and similar sentiments join—

May such concord pervade every state.

In freedom and blest Independence secure,
 Our prosperity scarce is alloy'd;
 So vast a profusion of favors, is sure
 More than country has ever enjoy'd.
 But one thing is needful; a government free,
 Just and fed'ral, efficient and strong,
 This land must adopt, or, alas! we shall see
 An end to its greatness e're long.

Ye well approv'd Patriots, whose talents and worth
 Our most grateful expressions demand,
 On this awful occasion we challenge you forth,
 In defence of the Union to stand;
 Those anti's arrest, in their daring career,
 Who for gain wou'd their country undo;
 From them we have every thing evil to fear,
 And all things to hope for from you.

Now let the charg'd glasses go chearfully round,
 Thro' this little republican band—
 In such friendship and firm unanimity bound,
 May the Thirteen fair Pillars e'er stand.
 In hilarity thus while we spend this blest day,
 While we raise the bright bumpers on high.
 (Our hearts full as our glasses) let each of us say
 Here's again to the FOURTH OF JULY.

1. This account of the Brooklyn celebration was reprinted in the *Massachusetts Gazette*, 11 July (excerpts from toasts); *Pennsylvania Packet*, 15 July; and Providence *United States Chronicle*, 24 July (excerpts from the toasts). On 5 July the New York *Impartial Gazetteer* printed a similar account of the Brooklyn celebration that it embedded in its description of the New York City celebration.

2. This federal song was reprinted in the *New York Journal*, 7 July; *Massachusetts Gazette*, 15 July; *Pennsylvania Packet*, 15 July; *Charleston City Gazette*, 26 July; and *Connecticut Gazette*, 1 August.

Fredericksburgh, Dutchess County

Antifederalist Celebration

Poughkeepsie Country Journal, 22 July 1788¹

Fredericksburgh, Friday evening, July 4th, 1788.

The Flag of the United States flying at sunrise, a number of respectable citizens of this neighbourhood assembled together at the house

of Matthew Patterson, Esq.² to celebrate the anniversary of American independence, it being the day that the Thirteen United States entered into the thirteenth year of their Freedom and Independence.

After the meeting had chose a Moderator, the following Toasts were drank by the gentlemen present, attended by a discharge of thirteen volleys, by the same number of musquiteers³ attending for that purpose, viz.

1st. The anniversary of the independence of the United States of America.

2d. The Congress of the United States.

3d. General Washington and the late army.

4th. The State of New-York.

5th. Governor Clinton.

6th. The Honorable the Convention of the State of New-York.

7th. General Montgomery, and those patriotic heroes that fell in the late war.

8th. May the Convention of this State deliberate with coolness, impartiality and wisdom, on the important business now before them.

9th. May the electors of the State of New-York, never give their suffrages to men or measures that may enslave them.

10th. Annual elections, the basis of freedom in Republican Governments.

11th. May the Constitution now offered to our consideration, be so amended as to secure freedom to the citizens of the United States, and give sufficient energy to government.

12th. The Federal Farmer, and the Plebian.⁴

13th. May the genius of America ever guard her sons against Tyranny.

The day was spent very agreeably, & the most perfect harmony, order, and friendship prevailed through the whole meeting; at sunset the flag was hauled down, the company dismissed, and every one returned to their several places of abode, fully sensible of the freedom they have enjoyed this last twelve years, and anxiously desirous that equal liberty may be preserved to the citizens of these United States, to the latest posterity.

1. This account is prefaced: "The following were received too late for last week's paper." Reprinted: Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 28 July. Fredericksburgh Precinct was organized as Frederickstown in March 1788. The present-day Putnam County communities of Kent Cliffs and Carmel are in old Fredericksburgh.

2. In April 1788 Patterson was one of several Antifederalists who had received copies of Antifederalist pamphlets from New York City Antifederalists for distribution in Dutchess County (RCS:N.Y., 896). Patterson represented Dutchess County in the state Assembly, 1782–89, 1792–93.

3. Soldiers armed with muskets.

4. For the two Antifederalist pamphlets by "Federal Farmer" and for the Antifederalist pamphlet by "A Plebeian," see RCS:N.Y., 203–45, 942–63, 976–1086.

Fredericksburgh and Southeast, Dutchess County**Federalist Celebration****Poughkeepsie Country Journal, 29 July 1788**

Fredericksburgh, Dutchess county, July 5th, 1788.

The fourth of July being the anniversary of the declaration of the independence of the thirteen States of America, a number of the citizens of Fredericksburgh and Southeast,¹ assembled on that day at Mr. Phillips's tavern, in Fredericksburgh, to celebrate the day, which gave birth to that event. That the establishment of our independence has been, under Heaven, owing to that spirit of unanimity, which in the course of our late severe struggle with Great-Britain, so happily pervaded our country, was a sentiment which possessed every breast; and that the perpetuation of those blessings, which are inseparable with a release from foreign power, depends on the continuance of that spirit of union was a sentiment equally unanimous. These considerations prepared every mind to celebrate the day with additional pleasure, arising from an assurance of the ratification of the new system of federal government by ten of our thirteen States; an event conceived of the greatest consequence to the happiness and prosperity of our country.—At about one o'clock P. M. the Continental Flag was hoisted, and the company's approbation of the decision of those States, announced by the regular discharge of Ten cannon; after which about sixty persons regaled themselves, by partaking of an elegant entertainment, where friendship and unanimity sweetened every dish, and gave a flavor to every glass. After dinner the following toasts were given, each announced by the discharge of cannon, and severally drank by each person at the table.

1st. The fourth of July, 1776.

2d. The new Federal Union.

3d. George Washington.

4th. Governor Franklin, and the State of Pennsylvania.²

5th. Governor Collins, and the State of Delaware.

6th. Governor Livingston, and the State of New Jersey.

7th. Governor Huntington, and the State of Connecticut.

8th. Governor Matthews, and the State of Georgia.

9th. Governor Hancock, and the State of Massachusetts.

10th. Governor Smallwood, and the State of Maryland.

11th. Governor Pinckney, and the State of South-Carolina.

12th. Governor Langdon, and the State of New Hampshire.

13th. Governor Randolph, and the State of Virginia.

At about 8 o'clock in the evening, the company, after expressing their most ardent wishes, that the true interest of the people may not be sacrificed to party spirit, but that the greatest wisdom may govern, and candour prevail in, and induce the now sitting Convention of this State, to adopt the proposed system of Federal Government, retired to their respective places of abode with the greatest decency and good order.

1. Southeast Precinct/Town lay between Fredericksburgh and Connecticut. The present-day Putnam County communities of Patterson and Putnam Lakes are in old Southeast.

2. Beginning with Benjamin Franklin, the toasts honored the chief executives of the ten states that had ratified the Constitution in the approximate order in which they ratified.

Hudson, Columbia County

Hudson Weekly Gazette, 8 July 1788

On Friday last being the 4th of July, the glorious anniversary of American independence, the citizens of Hudson, ever attentive to the important cause of our country, anxious to testify their willingness to support the great cause, ushered in the day by a discharge of cannon. At ten in the morning the artillery company under the command of captain-lieutenant Frothingham, paraded, and after marching through the town and performing various military evolutions, returned to the hill at noon where a discharge of thirteen cannon and three huzzas enlivened the countenances of a numerous collection of people. At two, the principal gentlemen in town, with a number of the most respectable characters in the neighborhood, assembled at Gordon's, where they partook of an elegant entertainment, prepared for the purpose. After which the following patriotic toasts were drank, under the discharge of thirteen cannon:

1. The 4th of July,—the glorious æra of American independence.
2. The United States—may their union be perpetual.
3. The new federal government.
4. The ten states which have already adopted it.
5. The convention at Poughkeepsie—may the result of their deliberations coincide with that of our sister states.
6. Our great and magnanimous ally, Louis XVIth.
7. The nations in Europe who are friends to the United States.
8. George Washington—the American Cincinnatus.
9. The statesmen and warriors throughout the United States, who have nobly stood forth in defence of the rights and liberties of their country and human nature.
10. The memory of those illustrious heroes who have nobly fallen in support of the liberty and independence of this country.

11. Success to agriculture and the manufactures of America.
12. May our commerce flourish in the four quarters of the globe.
13. May the liberties and independence of our country be transmitted unimpaired to ages yet unborn.

The whole entertainment was conducted with the utmost propriety and order. In the evening a beautiful display of fire-works concluded the entertainment. Unfortunately the evening was rainy, which prevented the full display of the evening's amusement.

A few ignorant antis, mistaking the cause of the rejoicing, began to be troublesome to the company of artillery, and really attacked them— But the soldierly vigilance of the commander, prevented any great mischief, and supported his authority with slightly wounding only one or two of the opposers.

Jamaica, Queens County

New York Packet, 8 July 1788¹

JAMAICA, (*Queen's-County*), July 7, 1788.

Friday last being the Anniversary of our Glorious Independence, the same was celebrated here in the following manner:

The ringing of bells and thirteen discharges of musquetry announced the Auspicious Day: An elegant dinner was provided, at which a very respectable number of Gentlemen (mostly Federalists) were present—The general satisfaction felt on this occasion was too conspicuous in the countenances and conduct of each person present to pass unnotic'd; in short, the utmost friendship and cordiality subsisted, and the business of the day conducted with much order and regularity.

After dinner, Mr. Francis Lewis, jun.² in the chair, the following toasts, accompanied with thirteen vollies of small arms were given. The toasts were drank with an additional relish on the news of the all important and happy event of the accession of Ten States to the new Federal Government.

1. The Congress of the United States.
2. General Washington.
3. The Memory of Gen. Montgomery, and the Heroes who fell in defence of American Liberty.
4. His Most Christian Majesty, and our Allies.
5. May Agriculture, Commerce and Manufactures flourish in the United States.
6. The Members of the late General Convention.
7. The Ten adopting States of the New Constitution.

8. Our fellow Citizens of the Cincinnati;³ may their virtues in private life, be as conspicuous, as their valor has been in the field.

9. May Wisdom and Unanimity pervade the Councils of the United States.

10. May the New Government ensure Peace and Tranquility at home, and command Credit and Respectability abroad.

11. May a spirit of Industry and Oeconomy be diffused throughout these States.

12. May the Citizens of America consider themselves a Band of Brothers,⁴ and ever nourish Federal Sentiments.

13. The DAY.

1. This account was also printed in the *Daily Advertiser* on 8 July and reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Packet* on 12 July.

2. Lewis, a Queens County delegate to the state Assembly in 1788, was the son of Francis Lewis, a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

3. The Society of the Cincinnati.

4. See RCS:N.Y., 884, note 2.

Kingston, Ulster County

New York Journal, 12 July 1788¹

The FOURTH of this inst. being *the anniversary of the freedom and independence of the United States of America*, was commemorated at KINGSTON, in ULSTER COUNTY.—The greatest harmony and decorum pervaded all ranks of citizens, during the day, affording strong proofs of their patriotism, and disposition to unanimity and peace. At six o'clock in the afternoon a number of gentlemen retired to Mr. Elmandorf's tavern, where a cold collation was provided, in the *true* REPUBLICAN *stile*; where, like friends and brethren, they passed the evening in convivial mirth and joy. After the festival, the following toasts were drank, under the discharge of thirteen cannon:—

1. Union and peace throughout the United States.

2. His Excellency the Governor of this state.²

3. The friends to the union and the rights of humanity.

4. The convention at Poughkeepsie.

5. *Roman wisdom, and Spartan virtue, in all our councils.*

6. The memory of our fallen heroes.

7. Our European friends and allies.

8. The patriots of the United Netherlands.

9. Agriculture, manufactures, and commerce.

10. The government and state of New-York.

11. The late American army.

12. *That our liberty and independence may not be impaired in its thirteenth year.*

13. The DAY.

1. Reprinted: Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 19 July.

2. George Clinton.

Lansingburgh, Albany County

Lansingburgh Federal Herald, 7 July 1788¹

Friday last, being the ANNIVERSARY of the DECLARATION of AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, a respectable number of the gentlemen of this town assembled at Mr. Platt's tavern, to celebrate the return of that auspicious day, and to congratulate each other on the fair prospect now held out to the United States, of having the blessings intended by that bold and memorable declaration, fully secured to them, by their general adoption of the federal constitution.

At three o'clock the company were seated at an elegantly furnished table, and, after dining, drank the following toasts:

1st. The DAY—And may America never want sons possessing the daring spirit and exalted patriotism which have rendered it so memorable.

2d. May the agriculture, commerce and manufactories, of America, become examples to the world.

3d. Gen. WASHINGTON, and the late American army, whose noble exertions and unparralleled perseverance secured to their country the invaluable blessings of freedom and independence.

4th. The memory of those worthies that have fallen in espousing the cause of freedom.

5th. May the first projector of the late general convention be always blest with the confidence of his country; and his future plans be as productive of her happiness as his wishes were apparently ardent for the general good.²

6th. The FEDERAL CONSTITUTION—And may the patriotic framers thereof live long, and enjoy the blessings its adoption will give to their country.

7th. The Ten States who have adopted the new constitution—and may their wise and patriotic examples be speedily followed by the remaining three; and thus united, become a terror to the enemies of their freedom and independence.

8th. The present convention of the State of New-York—and may they, in this her trying hour, remember, that she is giving birth to that which will involve thousands in happiness or misery.

9th. May the NINTH PILLAR³ never be in want of support, and, tho' small in the building, may it shine with peculiar lustre in the annals of fame.

10th. May virtue be the basis, justice the support, and union the defence of the new-erected edifice.

11th. CONGRESS—May every member of that worthy body shew themselves to be as faithful servants to their country under the new as they have been under the old constitution.

12th. The state of VIRGINIA, and the patriotic members of her late convention.

13th. May the new system of government, in its operation, prove its efficacy and perfection, by endearing its subjects to each other with its just, wholesome, and liberal principles.

The afternoon and evening were spent in perfect order; and every countenance demonstrated, that the utmost harmony, decent mirth and good humour, were attendants at the festive board.

1. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Packet*, 18 July. The *Boston Gazette*, 21 July, reprinted the first and last paragraphs.

2. Probably Alexander Hamilton who had recommended a national convention as early as 1780 (CC:Vol. 1, p. 9. See also pp. 17, 23.). Most important, Alexander Hamilton, representing New York at the Annapolis Convention in September 1786, had drafted the report of that convention which recommended that Congress call a general convention to meet in Philadelphia in May 1787 to revise the Articles of Confederation. In February 1787, after the New York Assembly rejected Hamilton's plea that it adopt the Impost of 1783, Hamilton and Philip Schuyler's supporters proposed that the Assembly direct New York's delegates in Congress to introduce the call for a constitutional convention. (See RCS:N.Y., Vol. 1, xlv–xlvi.)

3. New Hampshire.

New York City

On 25 June and 2 July, respectively, the news of the ratification of the Constitution by New Hampshire and Virginia, the ninth and tenth states, reached New York City. Enough states had now ratified the Constitution to put it into operation among the ratifying states. Overwhelmingly Federalist, New York City was overjoyed with the news, and Federalist leaders wanted to celebrate these ratifications on the Fourth of July. The leaders had been planning a grand federal procession similar to those that had taken place in some of the states when they had ratified the Constitution. With the New York Convention still in session, however, Federalist leaders decided to postpone the procession to 10 July. Nevertheless, New York City—led by the Society of the Cincinnati and the city's militia—marked the twelfth anniversary of American independence. Bells pealed, guns fired, and the militia paraded. William Duer delivered an oration before the Society of the Cincinnati, after which the Society and the militia went to different taverns, where they feasted at elegant dinners and drank thirteen toasts. At night, rockets were fired on Long Island

just opposite the city, and the day ended with the firing of thirteen cannon at the Battery.

The grand federal procession was postponed again to 22 July and finally held on 23 July, three days before the New York Convention ratified the Constitution. For this procession, see Appendix I.

New York Journal, 3 July 1788¹

TO MORROW, being the anniversary day on which America emerged from DEPENDENCE to EMPIRE—a day which, it is hoped, will be held in grateful remembrance by every true-born American until time shall cease to be—the glorious event of the DECLARATION of AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE will be celebrated, viz. by an ORATION, suited to the occasion, to be delivered by WILLIAM DUER, Esq. and a parade of the troop of Light-Horse, Corps of Artillery, and uniformed companies of Infantry.

It is said, that the oration will be delivered at St. Paul's church,² for the convenience of a concourse of citizens, which will doubtless assemble on that day, in pursuit of amusement and recreation.

1. Reprinted: *Massachusetts Spy*, 10 July.

2. In 1788 St. Paul's Chapel, located at Broadway and Fulton Street, was one of New York City's three Episcopal churches. Samuel B. Webb noted on 2 July that he would be "Master of Ceremonies" at this celebration (to Catherine Hogeboom, 2 July, above).

New York Packet, 4 July 1788

This day, the FOURTH of JULY, 1788, completes the term of TWELVE years, since the *United States of America* were declared FREE and INDEPENDENT, by that illustrious BAND of PATRIOTS, the then *Honorable Continental Congress*; who, in defiance of arbitrary power, and the menaces of a formidable nation, did solemnly declare, assert and publish, in the name of the PEOPLE of AMERICA, and in the face of the whole world, the inestimable, the just rights and privileges, to which the Citizens of these United States were entitled, by the equitable laws of nature, and NATURE'S GOD; appealing at the same time, to the SUPREME JUDGE OF THE WORLD, to witness the rectitude of their intentions, and the righteousness of their cause.—May the memory of this auspicious day, be held in sacred veneration by the free Sons of Columbia! May Posterity have cause to rejoice, and to reverberate with pleasure, the names of those magnanimous WORTHIES, who signed that sacred Instrument the DECLARATION of INDEPENDENCE! And may every fourth of July, add to the glory of our nation, and the perpetuation of FREEDOM.

In honor of our national birth-day, the Legionary troops of General Malcom's Brigade, together with Col. Bauman's regiment of Artillery, will parade at six o'clock, A. M. and will perform such firings and evolutions as are assigned for the day. The whole to be commanded by Col. Lewis.

On this day, the Honorable the Society of the Cincinnati will assemble in this City—to commemorate, in their social capacity, an event which gave birth to our nation—to perpetuate a friendship formed under the BANNERS of FREEDOM, and amidst the virtuous struggles of a PATRIOT ARMY. *“Esto Perpetua.”*¹

An Oration in commemoration of that important æra, will be delivered by WILLIAM DUER, Esq, in one of the churches of this City.

1. Latin: Be thou eternal.

Maria McKesson to Catharine Clinton
New York, 5 July 1788 (excerpt)¹

It is just ten o Clock and I am this moment got home from your house where I have been since yesterday Morning—I went to spend the fourth of July with your Mama and I staid with her all night least she might be frightened in the night if any Noise should happen, but it was very still, peace and quietness seem to reign throughout the City—the procession yesterday in passing your Door Gave as usual the Military salute with every mark of respect—A few Good friends waited on Mrs. Clinton to pay her the Compliments of the day—as to their Public parade the News papers will give you Ample information. . . .

1. RC, George Clinton Papers, NN. This letter was addressed to Catharine Clinton at Kingston and carried there by Major Adrian Wynkoop. McKesson was the sister of John McKesson, clerk of the state Assembly and state Convention, for whom she possibly kept house in New York City. Catharine Clinton (1770–1811) was the eldest child of Governor George Clinton.

New York Impartial Gazetteer, 5 July 1788¹

Yesterday being the TWELFTH ANNIVERSARY since the THIRTEEN UNITED STATES of NORTH AMERICA were declared FREE and INDEPENDENT, by the Honorable the Continental Congress, the same was ushered in by the ringing of bells, and a discharge of thirteen guns from on board the FEDERAL SHIP HAMILTON,² which were answered by an equal number from the fort.³ At 8 o'clock Captain Steak's troop of light-horse, the uniform companies of General Malcom's brigade and Col. Bauman's regiment of artillery, the whole under the command of Col. Lewis, paraded and marched to the fields, where they performed a variety of evolutions which done honor to themselves and their officers.⁴

At ten o'clock, A. M. the Honorable the Society of the Cincinnati assembled at the City-Hall, and appointed the following officers for the ensuing year.

President of the Society, Major General Baron Steuben.

Vice-President, Col. Alexander Hamilton.

Treasurer, Col. Richard Platt.

Assistant Treasurer, Capt. Edward Dunscomb.

Secretary, Capt. John Stagg, jun.

Delegates to the general society, Major General Baron Steuben, Brigadier General Samuel B. Webb, Colonel William S. Smith, Colonel Brockholst Livingston, Brigadier General Matthew Clarkson.

The President and Vice-President being absent, Major General Knox was elected Chairman for the day.⁵

At one o'clock the society marched in procession from the City-Hall to St. Paul's Church, where an elegant ORATION, suitable to the glorious occasion was delivered by Col. DUER.⁶ After the oration they proceeded, escorted by a body of artillery to the residence of his Excellency the President of Congress,⁷ where a salute of thirteen guns was fired. After paying his Excellency the compliments of the day, they returned to the city-tavern, where an elegant entertainment was prepared by Mr. Bardin.⁸—The following toasts were drank in honor of the day.

1. The United States.
2. The States which have ratified the new Constitution.
3. His Most Christian Majesty.
4. The state of New-York.
5. Our Brethren of the Cincinnati.
6. Baron Steuben, the President of the Society.
7. The memory of all who have fallen in defence of American Liberty.
8. The fair friends of the Cincinnati.
9. General Washington, President General of the Society of the Cincinnati.
10. Wisdom to our convention, and may they pursue the true interests of our country.
11. The 17th of October, 1777.⁹
12. The 19th of October, 1781.¹⁰
13. The DAY.

The society broke up at 8 o'clock in the evening, after spending the day in that conviviality, harmony, and brotherly affection, which so peculiarly characterises this class of our fellow-citizens.

Those officers of the brigade, and corps of artillery (who are not members of the Cincinnati) partook of a sumptuous repast, at Beekman's-hall, in Cortlandt-street;¹¹ at this festival the following toasts were given:

1. The day, and all who honor it.
2. The United States.
3. The Commander in Chief and the State.
4. The King and royal family of France.
5. Our European Allies.
6. General Washington and the late American army.
7. Count Rochambeau, and the army who fought under his command for the liberties of America.
8. The memory of all the faithful and brave sons of Columbia, who have fallen in support of the independence which we this day celebrate.
9. The Convention of this State.
10. Our Ministers at foreign courts.
11. The *Plough* and *Sail*.
12. Perpetual peace and prosperity.
13. The militia of this State.¹²

[At this point, the publisher of the *Impartial Gazetteer* inserted a description of the Brooklyn celebration.]

In the evening a brilliant assembly of ladies honored the President of Congress and his Lady with their company.¹³

A transparent painting of his excellency General Washington was exhibited in the evening, executed by Mr. Wright in a masterly manner.¹⁴

A brilliant display of rockets was exhibited on Long-Island opposite the city, which had a very pleasing effect.

It is with pleasure we add, that the greatest harmony and conviviality subsisted throughout the day, which was closed by a discharge of thirteen cannon from the battery.¹⁵

“In these fair climes shall Freedom fix her seat,
End her long toils, and find a calm retreat,
Then all the blessings, mortals here can know,
From GOD’s good hand, in plenteous streams, shall flow.
In purest beams shall genial suns descend;
And moons, and stars, their softest radiance lend:
The gales waft health; kind flowers the plains renew;
Morn yield her fragrance; eve her balmy dew;
With autumn’s prime the wint’ry frost conspire;
With spring’s mild influence summer’s scorching fire;
To nurse the land of virtue’s lov’d recess,
And bless the nation Heaven delights to bless.”

1. The first paragraph was reprinted in the *Connecticut Journal* on 9 July. Other accounts of the Fourth of July celebration were printed in the *Daily Advertiser*, 5 July, *New York Packet*, 8 July, and *Country Journal*, 8 July, all of which may be found in Mfm:N.Y. For

significant differences between these accounts and the one printed by the *Impartial Gazetteer*, see notes 4–7, 12–13 (below).

2. Perhaps a reference to the vessel that was constructed for the federal procession that took place on 23 July. (See “The Federal Ship Hamilton,” 8–24 July, Appendix I.)

3. A reference to Fort George. For this fort, see RCS:N.Y., 772, note 5.

4. The account of the Fourth of July celebration in the *Daily Advertiser*, 5 July, reported that “the Grenadiers, Light Infantry and Artillery of the City Militia were reviewed on the Fields, and went through several military manœuvres with great alertness and precision. Their firings were regular and well conducted, such as would not have disgraced veteran troops” (Mfm:N.Y.).

5. According to the account in the *New York Packet*, 8 July, “At 12 o’clock, the Corporation waited upon the President of Congress [Cyrus Griffin]; to whom the Recorder [Richard Varick] made a handsome speech upon the subject of the day—the blessings we are likely to enjoy under the new Constitution, and concluded with contemplating the personal virtues of the President. To which the President answered in the name of the United States, and thanked the Corporation and Recorder, for the very polite civility to him” (Mfm:N.Y.). The account in the *Country Journal*, 8 July, briefly described this event (Mfm:N.Y.).

6. The *Daily Advertiser*, 5 July, described Duer’s oration as “most excellent.” It was delivered, stated the *Advertiser*, “in that pleasing, graceful, and energetic manner, for which this gentleman is so eminently distinguished” (Mfm:N.Y.). The *New York Packet*, 8 July, said Duer addressed “a very crowded audience . . . in a manly and most elegant Oration” (Mfm:N.Y.). And the *Country Journal*, 8 July, stated that “the auditory was addressed by the honorable Orator, after a long exordium, in strains we attempt not to describe. As the DECLARATION of AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE was the glorious event to be commemorated on this occasion, no one will doubt, but that the *abilities*, the acquired *retorical proficiency*, and the *oratorial ingenuity* of Col. DUER, were sufficient amply to *grace the theme*” (Mfm:N.Y.).

7. The *Country Journal*, 8 July, described the residence of Cyrus Griffin, the president of Congress, as a “mansion.” The *Journal* stated that Griffin “was congratulated on the joyous occasion, and a salute of 13 guns fired in honor of the day. Here an elegant collation was provided for the foreign ministers, the corporation, the cincinnati, the militia, the artillery, and all sorts of persons” (Mfm:N.Y.).

8. The *Country Journal*, 8 July, reported that from the President’s house “the procession moved down Queen-street, and up Wall street, to the City-tavern in Broad-way, where the militia were dismissed, and the Society of the Cincinnati partook of an elegant entertainment” (Mfm:N.Y.). Owned by Edward Bardin, the City Tavern, located on Broadway between Thames and Little Queen (Cedar) streets, was a favorite meeting place of the New York Society of the Cincinnati since John Cape, who once owned the tavern, was a member of the Society. The tavern had a long room that was used for dinners, meetings, and lectures.

9. On this day the British Army laid down its arms following the second Battle of Saratoga.

10. On this day the British Army laid down its arms following the Battle of Yorktown.

11. Beekman’s Hall was a tavern at 49 Cortlandt Street owned by Christopher Beekman. Before Beekman purchased the tavern, it had been known, according to him, as the Boston, Albany, and Philadelphia Stage Office. Some time after the Fourth of July celebration and before the end of the year, Beekman Hall was purchased by Samuel Fraunces, the former owner of the now famous tavern at Broad and Pearl streets bearing his name. Fraunces operated the Cortlandt Street tavern until 1790.

12. Following the toasts, the *New York Packet*, 8 July, noted: “We are informed, that the Cincinnati sent a deputation to congratulate the company at Beekman’s, upon this aus-

picious occasion, which was returned with equal warmth.—This deputation gave rise to another toast, which was, ‘The Society of the Cincinnati’” (Mfm:N.Y.). This statement also appeared in the *Country Journal* of 8 July (Mfm:N.Y.).

13. The *New York Packet*, 8 July, described this event thusly: “In the evening a brilliant assembly of the Fair honored the President and his Lady with their company, where tea, coffee, ices, lemonades, &c. were provided for their refreshment. By the President’s orders, all the remains of a plentiful entertainment were immediately distributed among the poor” (Mfm:N.Y.).

14. For a portrait of Washington done by Joseph Wright, see Wendy C. Wick, *George Washington: An American Icon, The Eighteenth-Century Graphic Portraits* (Washington, D.C., 1982), 38. See also Monroe H. Fabian, *Joseph Wright, American Artist, 1756–1793* (Washington, D.C., 1985).

15. The Battery was an earthwork that extended for about 1,450 feet from Battery Place, along the water’s edge, to Whitehall Slip at the southern tip of Manhattan Island.

New York Journal, 10 July 1788¹

Last Friday the anniversary of American Independence was pompously celebrated in this city. The compliments and gratulations which passed were not all acrimonial, but the chief of them cordially harmonious. In some companies the joy of the *ratification sufficit* was consolidated with that of this ever memorable anniversary, but, with the zealous advocates for American freedom and independence, this last was procrastinated, and kept entirely out of sight by the liberal, who conceive, that every man has yet a right to enjoy his own sentiment. Col. Duer, by his oration on this occasion, gained great applause.

A *celebration*, on the 4th of July, has taken place pretty universally; we have had no accounts from any quarter of the United States but which mention the modes pursued even in small villas, to express the general joy on this anniversary, and the great event of the ratification of the new proposed constitution by ten states.

At Philadelphia, we are told, that the procession, on that day, cost but a little more than *one thousand pound*: thus demonstrating the *distresses* of the inhabitants of that populous city!²

1. The first paragraph was reprinted in the Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 14 July, and *Pennsylvania Journal*, 16 July. The second and third paragraphs were reprinted in the Middletown, Conn., *Middlesex Gazette*, 14 July, and Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 14 July, while only the second paragraph was reprinted in the *Maryland Journal*, 18 July.

2. For Philadelphia’s grand federal procession on the Fourth of July, see CC:799 E–F and CC:805.

Poughkeepsie, Dutchess County

New York Daily Advertiser, 9 July 1788¹

A letter from Poughkeepsie, dated on Saturday last, gives the following account of the celebration of the 4th of July at that place.

[“]The morning was ushered in by a discharge of cannon; at 12 o’clock 13 guns were fired by a detachment of artillery under the command of Capt. Livingston; and the citizens assembled to congratulate each other on the DAY, under an elegant and fanciful arbor that Capt. Livingston had prepared for the purpose. The Members of Convention, officers of militia and citizens, then went to the quarters of his Excellency the Commander in Chief,² where they were politely and elegantly entertained.³

At the proper hour both the Federal and Antifederal parties went to dinner, the former at Poole’s and the latter at Hendrickson’s Tavern; and in order the more socially to spend the day, a deputation from each party, dined with the other, and it is pleasing to remark, that amidst all the joy and bustle of the day, there was no notice taken of the present politics of the country—each party acting with delicacy and politeness.⁴

After dinner, the following Toasts were drank by both parties, under a discharge of 13 cannon.

1. The United States.
2. Congress.
3. The Allies of America.
4. The Governor of the State of New-York.⁵
5. General Washington.
6. The Convention, wisdom and unanimity in their councils.
7. The memory of the departed Patriots of America.
8. Science, agriculture, commerce and manufactures.
9. Public faith and private credit.
10. A Federal Government, uniting energy with liberty.
11. Happiness at home and respectability abroad.
12. The American Fair.
13. The Day.”⁶

1. Reprinted: *New York Journal*, 11 July; *Pennsylvania Packet*, 12 July; and *Albany Journal*, 14 July (minus the toasts). A shorter account of the celebration appeared in the *Country Journal* on 8 July (Mfm:N.Y.). This account has been compared to the one in the *Daily Advertiser* and significant differences between the two appear in notes 3, 5, and 6 (below).

2. Governor George Clinton, a member of the New York Convention.

3. The *Country Journal*, 8 July, reported that the invitation to dinner was extended to the Convention delegates and to “those gentlemen whose curiosity led them to attend to hear their debates, &c.” (Mfm:N.Y.).

4. Another unidentified correspondent wrote: “the day passed off very well, and in pretty good humour” and that all parties were united (*New York Journal*, 10 July, VI, below).

5. In the *Country Journal*, 8 July, this toast reads: “The Governor and State of New-York.”

6. At this point the *Country Journal*, 8 July, ended its description of the celebration with this statement: “It gives us pleasure to inform our readers that on this joyful occasion,

the utmost harmony and decorum was observed among all ranks—and the day concluded with a pleasing satisfaction to all present” (Mfm:N.Y.).

New York Morning Post, 12 July 1788¹

The celebration of the 4th of July at Poughkeepsie, had the happy effect of bringing together at the festive board the two parties of Conventioneering Politicians. ’Tis said by a gentleman of truth that they spent their time in the most engaging and convivial manner, and mutually drank the cheering glass of friendship—proclaiming in *thirteen words* their attachment to America,

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Sweet Peace stretch forth thy olive wand.
8 9 10 11 12 13
And scatter blessings through this land.

1. The original printing of this brief item has not been located. It probably originated in the no longer extant 12 July issue of the *New York Morning Post*. It was reprinted in the Connecticut *Fairfield Gazette*, 16 July; *Connecticut Journal*, 16 July; Middletown, Conn., *Middlesex Gazette*, 21 July; *State Gazette of South Carolina*, 28 July; and *Salem Mercury*, 29 July. The transcription has been taken from the *Fairfield Gazette*.

John Lamb to Nathaniel Lawrence

New York, 6 July 1788¹

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 3rd. Instant per Major Sally; to whom I shall pay particular attention; and will not fail to introduce him to our Friends here.

I am much obliged to you, for the communication, contained in your Letter; as it affords me much pleasure, to find, that, the Patriots in our Convention, stand firm—And I flatter myself, they will remain so, in spite of their Opponents endeavours to disunite them.

You will see in the Hands of the Governor, a Letter from So. Carolina; from which you will be able to form a judgment, of the disposition, of the people in that State.²

Mrs. Lamb, & the rest of my Family, join me in kind Compliments to Mrs. Lawrence, and yourself.

I am, with every sentiment of Friendship & Esteem Dear Sir Your Obdt. Servt

1. RC, Autograph Collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, PHi. Lamb replies to Lawrence’s letter of 3 July (above).

2. A reference to a letter written either by Rawlins Lowndes (21 June) or Aedanus Burke (23 June), both South Carolina Antifederalists who responded to the New York Federal Republican Committee’s circular letters sent between 18 and 20 May. An extract

from Burke's letter was printed in the *New York Journal*, 10 July. For the circular letter, see RCS:N.Y., 1097–1102. For the Lowndes and Burke letters, see CC:750–K, N.

Samuel Blachley Webb to Catherine Hogeboom
New York, 6 July 1788¹

My last was forwarded you the 3d, by the Thursday's Mail together with the Magazines, for May and June,² since which I am favored with yours of the 29th. Ultimo, my Ankle is geting well slowly, it will take time and requires patience. I was under the necessity of using it on the 4th. Instant more than was agreeable, we had a very agreeable day, much noise and great procession, Colo. Duer delivered an Oration to the Society of the Cincinnati at St. Paul's Church, which will be printed in a few days, & I will send it for your perusal,³—you are gratified e're this in the knowledge of Virginia have agreed to the New Constitution, I hope this State will no longer be blinded to their own Interest, however little is to be expected from the obstinacy of the Antifederal Characters now at Poughkeepsie,—if they do not adopt it, 'tis more than probable there will be a seperation of the State, however I yet hope they may act wisely, your Brother requested me to send him some Fish-hooks which I will do in a few days,—my lameness and the late festival has prevented my attending to any business, I was likewise to have sent him the Debates of the Convention, but the fact is they will not be published regularly untill all is over, when he shall have them,—your friends The Major and Mrs. Popham⁴—Mrs. White &c enquired very Affectionately after your health, and are all anxious to see you,—'tis probable the former will be at Claverack some time in July or Augt, I wish it might be in my power to accompany them, but I cannot expect it, I have business that calls my attention several different ways, whether I shall first go to the Southward or to Boston I am uncertain,—tomorrow I am bound to Long-Island, for three or four days—you need not fear of my reproveing you with the term *female politician*, I do not hold your Sex in that trifeling point of view, Men generally do,—I can readily conceive, that your sensations are lively when you think your friends or Country in danger—and I know not why you may not speak your opinions as well—as those who *term themselves the Lords of the Creation*,⁵—in short I would not give a halfpenny for a female void of Sentiment & feeling,—nor would I on any acct. see them wanting in Delicacy,—by this you'll perceive that I have no objections to conversing on politics with a female friend, especially when the subject is so *interesting*, but I hope we shall not long have occasion to apprehend danger from a disunion, my Love and Compliments to the family, to Doctr. Wimple and Lady,—remember to write me at least once a week, and do not

Dear Kitty be too concise,—you have much leisure—devote a little more of it to your friend.

1. RC, Webb Papers, CtY. Webb had returned to New York City on Sunday evening, 29 June, after attending some of the debates of the New York Convention in Poughkeepsie.

2. The letter to which Webb refers was probably that of 2 July to Hogeboom (above). The magazines were probably issues of the New York *American Magazine*.

3. Duer's oration does not appear to have been published.

4. Probably William Popham and his wife Mary, the daughter of New York Chief Justice Richard Morris. Major Popham, a lawyer and notary public in New York City, was aide-de-camp to General James Clinton and General Baron von Steuben during the Revolution.

5. Robert Burns, *The Two Dogs* (1786), stanza 6. "An' there began a lang digression/About the 'lords o' the creation.'"

John Swann to James Iredell New York, 7 July 1788¹

I received your favor some time since & shou'd have acknowledged it before this, but was at that time in the height of the small pox.² You will give me leave now, sir to thank you for your polite engagement in the business on which I wrote you.

From the slow & irregular conveyance which sometimes attends Letters you may possibly hear of the decision of this State on the New Constitution before this reaches you: however as there are Chances against I shall take the liberty to mention their extreme indecision on that Subject. an indecision the more astonishing since they are apprised of it's ratification by ten States. the Constitution is ably supported by Gentlemen of great literary Merit, but the Opposition who are by no means contemptible, seem determined to dispute the ground inch by inch. What they propose to themselves from their inflexibility, is hard to discover; since it is certain, if we are to judge from their situation & the disposition of a great part of the State, that they will find their concurrence sooner or later not only expedient but unavoidable. however shou'd their determination be contrary to the general Sense of the Union, I hope it will not be made an Example to influence the deliberations & Conduct of our State. We are, Sir, in the most painful Suspence for Carolina. I confess I shou'd be most sensibly mortified were Carolina to reject the Constitution however unavailing her dissent might be with regard to it's Establishment and doubly so when I reflect that in such a determination they wou'd have the *Countenance of Rhode Island alone*, who in all probability may veer about when a certain State-System of business is gone thro' with.³

The Arrangements for putting the new Government into Action have been committed for some days & in all probability will be reported on this Week⁴—

I shou'd, Sir most certainly beg the favor of a line now and then, but knowing that you are so variously employed you are seldom allowed leisure.

1. RC, Emmet Collection, NN. Endorsed "Ansd. August 1[4t]h." Swann (1760–1793), a planter, was a North Carolina delegate to Congress, 1788, and a delegate to the Fayetteville Convention, where he voted to ratify the Constitution in November 1789. He sat in the state Senate, 1791–93. Iredell (1751–1799), an Edenton, N.C., lawyer, was state attorney general, 1779–81, and president of the Council of State, 1788–89. Between 20 February and 19 March 1788, Iredell published, under the pseudonym "Marcus," five installments in the *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal* defending the Constitution (CC:548) against the objections of George Mason, a leading Antifederalist. In July and August 1788, he spoke in support of the Constitution in the Hillsborough Convention. Iredell was an associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, 1790–99.

2. Shortly after Swann took his seat in Congress on 29 May, he was inoculated for smallpox and had a favorable reaction. See Hugh Williamson to James Iredell, 11 June, Smith, *Letters*, XXV, 162, at note 1.

3. A reference to Rhode Island's payment of its state wartime debt with its depreciated paper money.

4. See "Confederation Congress Makes Provision to Put the New Government Under the Constitution into Operation," 2 July–13 September (above).

Hugh Williamson to James Iredell New York, 7 July 1788 (excerpts)¹

Virginia having confederated N Carolina in Opposition, should she be disposed to stand out, can only expect countenance from Rh: Island or N York. . . .

The Politics of N York are not so villanous in their Face—but not much more honourable considering them as part of the same Nation. They during the War agreed to give Congress the Power of collecting the 5 ₤ Ct Impost, as soon as they got Possession of this City they refused to let Congress have such Power because the[y] find the self-ish advantage of imposing a duty on Imports for their own Use.² Half the goods consumed in Connecticut or rather $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of them, half the goods consumed in New Jersey or $\frac{2}{3}$ rds of them, all the goods consumed in Vermont and no small Part of those consumed in the Western Part of Massachusetes are bought in New York and pay an Impost duty of 5 ₤ Ct for the Use of this State I say nothing of what the good Citizens of N Carolina import from N York whence they pay Part of the New Yorkers Taxes. Tis easy to discover why New York does not like the new Govt. But this very Argument must be a very good one with the Citizens of N Carolina why they should like that Govt. Consequently it is to be hoped that they will neither copy N York nor Rh: Island.

1. RC, Iredell Papers, Duke University. Printed: Smith, *Letters*, XXV, 217–18. The deleted portion of the letter criticizes Rhode Island's radical economic policy and describes some of the reasons why Rhode Island opposed the Constitution.

2. For New York and the congressional Impost of 1783, see RCS:N.Y., Vol. 1, xxxvi–xl.

David S. Bogart to Samuel Blachley Webb
Poughkeepsie, 8 July 1788¹

I came here on sunday evening about 7 O'Clock.—It is impossible to tell how the Convention will adopt the constitution yet; but things have a very gloomy aspect—The antifederalists appear to be void of reason and deaf to the most energetic arguments—The Convention have done very little since I have been here.—They have just finished their amendments, which if inserted, these wise antifederalists think will render it very nearly a perfect system—To morrow I expect to hear much debating, as they will again begin to deliberate upon the constitution with the proposed amendments—Mr. Rensselaer & Baron Steuben have just come to this place & have brought the account of the fray which happened at Albany the 4th. July, the particulars of which I have not yet learn'd²—But it seems that it was occasioned by the rejoicing of the federalists after hearing of the adoption of the Constitution by Virginia—There are several wounded on both sides—I have got into a house with anti's, where I can hardly speak without opposition—I this Morning delivered the news Papers to Col. Hamilton, who used me very politely—I every day visit the federal Hall.—The anti's here are easily distinguished, by their walking in bodies & by their confused countenances—Next friday I shall be able I think to give you an account of the speakers, and effect of the debates—

I am Sir with due respect Your friend & humble Servt.

1. RC, Webb Family Papers (Ford Collection), NN. Bogart (1770–1839) was attending the debates of the New York Convention, while on a summer break from his studies at Columbia College, from which he graduated in 1790. After graduation, he studied theology and in 1792 was licensed to preach by the synod of the Dutch Reformed Church. Six years later he was ordained a Presbyterian minister. For most of the rest of his life, Bogart held pastorates in both churches, mostly in towns on Long Island.

2. For this violence on the Fourth of July, see RCS:N.Y., 1264–75. It is not certain to which Mr. Van Rensselaer Bogart refers. Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, the chairman of the Albany Anti-Federal Committee, and Federalist Henry K. Van Rensselaer were involved in the “fracas.” The accounts of the “fracas” do not mention Baron von Steuben, who may have been in Albany after having visited his large landholdings west of that city.

Nicholas Gilman to John Langdon
New York, 8 July 1788¹

I am honored with your Excellencys obliging favor of the 28th June² and beg you to accept my sincere acknowledgements for the particulars

of the Celebration of the New Constitution³ I most heartily rejoice with you and all lovers of peace & concord, on this most glorious and unparall[el]ed occurrence in the course of human affairs.—The accession of New-Hampshire ensured the System—that of Virginia will I think ensure tranquility—though it has been confidently asserted of the latter, that their adopting the Constitution has had no effect on the Convention at Poughkeepsie—I am not much inclined, however, to believe the report—I think there is a gleam of hope that, from a principle of fear, the anties will come about—accounts last evening give some countenance to this opinion; though the case is still very doubtful. I am informed that they do not expect to close this week.—

The time for the meeting of the new Congress is not yet assigned⁴—but the general opinion is that it may take place by the first of february—if so it may become necessary to have an early session of our Legislature.—I have nothing of importance to communicate—Mr Wingate desires his Compliments—Excuse haste—and suffer me to add only, that, with the highest Respect—I have the honor to be Your Excellencys Most Obedient & most Humble servant

1. RC, Langdon Papers, Portsmouth Athenaeum, Portsmouth, N.H. Gilman (1755–1814), a former Exeter merchant, represented New Hampshire in the Confederation Congress, 1787–89, the U.S. House of Representatives, 1789–97, and the U.S. Senate, 1805–14. He was also a delegate to the Constitutional Convention, where he signed the Constitution.

2. In the previous two weeks, Gilman had received two other letters from Langdon, one dated 21 June, and the other 25 June. The first announced New Hampshire's ratification and the second, also addressed to Paine Wingate, New Hampshire's other delegate to Congress, included the state's Form of Ratification.

3. Langdon probably enclosed an account of the Portsmouth celebration that was published in the *New Hampshire Gazette*, 26 June. This account was widely reprinted in New York (see RCS:N.Y., 1193).

4. See "Confederation Congress Makes Provision to Put the New Government Under the Constitution into Operation," 2 July–13 September (above).

From Henry Izard Poughkeepsie, 8 July 1788¹

"The news of Virginia's having adopted it was productive of very agreeable consequences. Joy and hilarity were painted in the faces of the Federalists, whilst envy, malice and hatred, together with fear and disappointment, were the distinguishing lines . . . of the Antis . . . the Federalists gave up all opposition to the amendments in particular . . ." Izard then reports a dispute "between the Chancellor² and the opponents of the Constitution," mentioning Smith, Lansing, Williams and Livingston, ". . . every man with the common feelings of humanity,

must have smiled the smile of contempt . . . against the scurrilous abusers . . . They have been killing and beating each other at Albany on the fourth of July, Fed's. against Antis."³

1. Printed: Charles Hamilton Galleries, Catalog No. 11 (31 January 1966), item 52. According to the catalog, these excerpts are from a four-page letter. Izard (1771–1826) was the son of Federalist Ralph Izard, a South Carolina planter, who represented that state in the U.S. Senate, 1789–95. Before the Revolution, Ralph Izard had married Alice Delancey of New York, and his son was possibly visiting relatives in New York during the summer of 1788. Henry Izard eventually became a lawyer and planter who sat in the South Carolina House of Representatives, 1798–1802, 1821–24, and the South Carolina Senate, 1805–8.

2. Robert R. Livingston.

3. For the Fourth of July violence in Albany, see RCS:N.Y., 1264–75.

Hudson Weekly Gazette, 8 July 1788¹

Many people think the adoption of the constitution in Virginia is of more consequence to this state than its adoption in New-Hampshire, but this is certainly erroneous, for according to an hon. antifederal member in the convention at Poughkeepsie, “we are connected both in interest and affection with the New-England states; we have no animosity against each other, no interfering territorial claims: our manners are nearly similar and are daily assimilating, and mutual advantages will probably prompt to mutual concessions to enable us to form an union with them.”² This is orthodox doctrine: it decides the whole dispute. Pope, the famous English poet, who was remarkably crooked and deformed very frequently made use of the exclamation, “God mend me!”³ a man with a lanthorn having conducted him home one dark evening demanded half a crown for his trouble. The poet in astonishment exclaimed “half a crown, God mend me!” the man casting an eye at the distorted figure before him, said, “Mend you indeed; he had better make a new one.” This may serve as a hint to the antis. If the constitution is so distorted and deformed as they pretend, let them pursue the idea of the man with the lanthorn, and instead of mending, make a new one. The people expect this from their favorite delegates, and such as are not engaged much in talking, it is hoped are now employed in the business of framing a firm, and energetic plan of government that will preserve the union.

1. Reprinted: *Massachusetts Gazette*, 29 July; *Pennsylvania Packet*, 8 August; *Baltimore Maryland Gazette*, 15 August.

2. See the speech of John Lansing, Jr., Convention Debates, 20 June (V, below).

3. Alexander Pope probably borrowed this phrase from Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, Act IV, scene 1, line 189. The anecdote that follows was used by James Wilson on 4 December 1787 in a speech to the Pennsylvania Convention. (See RCS:Pa., 484.)

Hudson Weekly Gazette, 8 July 1788

The manner in which our convention proceeds in the discussion of the constitution by paragraphs, occasions great surprize to the public, a pleasing one to some, a mortifying one to others. Instead of the present fair and liberal investigation, it was supposed the convention would have been moved immediately to adjourn.

If upon the full discussion of the constitution it should turn out to be a wise and judicious plan of government calculated to preserve and give energy to the Union, “to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, promote the common defence, provide for the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty.” If it should prove thus, instead of being a system of slavery and oppression; what a fund of eloquence and ingenuity will have been exhausted in vain! How many pamphlets circulated to no purpose, how many fears and alarms excited without a cause, how many disappointed orators and broken winded horses—in a word, how much labor and industry lost to the public!¹

In imitation of the meetings in the different districts, previous to the election, for the purpose of discussing and explaining the constitution, it has been proposed as soon as the debates in convention are printed, again to call the people together, that they may derive all possible information upon so important a subject, from the arguments for and against, of the able men, on both sides of the question, now in convention.

When the subject of the federal courts comes under the consideration of the convention, doubtless some of the inhabitants of King’s and Hillsdale districts will attend, that they may be able to determine how far the controversy respecting their lands will be affected by the judiciary power.

Of all the members in convention none can stand on a more honorable footing than those of Columbia; for after obtaining their election by a very large majority upon antifederal principles, it is a frequent observation of their constituents, “We have been and are against the constitution, but as we have now representatives in whom we have confidence, should they think proper to adopt we will acquiesce, confident that whatever they do will be for the best.” In this confidence the constituents display the true principles of civil government, and the representatives, unfettered by instructions, have a latitude to act their own judgements without the fear of giving offence to the people.²

No men have ever displayed more address than some of the antifederalists in the late election. They were all things to all men, that by all means they might save their country by destroying the constitution.

That their zeal hath not been without knowledge, let the 35 Albany objections, adopted in the neighbouring counties, demonstrate.³

One excellent effect produced by the constitution is, that almost every man now is a politician, and can judge for himself upon the great and important question, and when the debates in convention are published the people at large will be able to determine for themselves, as to the weight of argument for and against, without the aid of itinerant teachers, true or false.

Some federalists are so weak as to argue that the constitution cannot be supposed to be an unwise or a wicked one, because the illustrious Washington and the venerable Franklin had a share in forming it, and are strenuous supporters of it. To this the antifederalists give a manly and spirited answer, "This argument may suit the servile sons of passive obedience; but WE disregard consequences, WE bow to no authority, but pure reason; we consult no oracle but our own judgements and the genius of liberty; and the good of our country, unplaced, unpensioned, is our only object!" Amicus Plato, Amicus Socrates, sed major Amicus Veritas.⁴

(The poor constitution lately underwent a number of very severe sentences at a certain meeting.

Says a lawyer, I will declare against it.

Sheriff, I will take it into custody.

Justice, I will issue my warrant against it.

Witness, I'll prove it false.

Grand Juryman, I'll indict it.

Apothecary, I'll pound it in my mortar.

Surgeon, I'll dissect it.

Sailor, I'll overhaul it.

2d Sailor, It must be spliced.

Taylor, I'll mend it.

Farmer, I'll harrow it.

Blacksmith, I'll beat it on the anvil.

Mason, I'll plaister it.

Carpenter, I'll bore it.

Cook, I'll baste it.

Assessor, I'll tax it.

Supervisor, I'll canvass it.

Supervisors, We wont canvass it, on account of unfair practices.

Bully, I'll belabor it.

Barber, I'll shave it close.

Tavernkeeper, I'll bring a reckoning against it.

Printer, I'll send it to the Devil.

Hangman, I'll tuck it up.

Common Hangman, I'll burn it with my own hands.

In short, this poor paper had no advocates but patriots, ministers of the gospel of peace, friends of the United States, and veteran officers and soldiers who unrewarded had spent their lives and shed their blood in the service of their country! a fine groupe for a painter.)⁵

No man ever suspects any danger of an abuse of power in his own hands; hence those who are most suspicious of others are the most grasping themselves.

If the impost had been granted to congress in 1787, Quere, whether the 34 consolidated objections of the citizens of Albany would ever have been in existence? Quere, who opposed the impost?⁶

Has not the celebrated letter of general Washington upon his parting with the army in 1783 (when he nobly resigned his extensive powers and returned to the life of a private citizen, a farmer) some such sentiment as this, Remember that the independence of America is acknowledged only as United States?⁷ From this text what improvements may be made! If we believe not our approved friends, neither would we be persuaded though one rose from the dead.

The learned Montesquieu has this sentiment in his preface to the spirit of laws, "I beg one favor of my readers which I fear will not be granted me; that is, that they will not judge by a few hours reading of the labor of twenty years; that they will approve or condemn the book entire and not a few particular phrases. If they would search into the design of the author, they can do it no other way so completely as by searching into the design of the work." May not this suggest some hints as to the new constitution?⁸

⟨If the state of New York should reject the constitution, we shall be like Ishmael every man's hand against us, and our hand against every man.⁹

The spirit of amity and conciliation which prevails in the convention is equally prevalent among the people at large, and all parties shew a return of good humor and a desire of once more becoming a united people.

The state of Vermont is laying on her oars and watching the proceedings of the convention of this state.)¹⁰

1. This paragraph was reprinted in the *Massachusetts Gazette*, 29 July; *Pennsylvania Packet*, 8 August; and Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 15 August.

2. This paragraph was reprinted in the *New York Journal*, 21 July, and *Massachusetts Gazette*, 29 July.

3. For these thirty-five objections, see "Albany Anti-Federal Committee Circular," 10 April (IV, Albany County Election, below).

4. Latin: "Plato is my Friend, Socrates is my Friend, but a greater Friend is Truth."

5. The text in angle brackets was reprinted in the *Massachusetts Centinel*, 30 July; and Newburyport, Mass., *Essex Journal*, 6 August (minus the last six words).

6. For New York's actions that eventually led to the defeat of the Impost of 1783, see RCS:N.Y., Vol. 1, xxxvi–xl.

7. The reference is to George Washington's widely circulated circular letter of June 1783 to the state executives, in which he named four things that were essential to "the existence of the United States as an independent power." The first thing was "An indissoluble Union of the States under one Federal Head" (CC:4, p. 64).

8. This paragraph was reprinted in the *New York Journal*, 21 July; *Massachusetts Gazette*, 29 July; *Pennsylvania Packet*, 8 August; and Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 15 August. The quoted text is the second paragraph of Montesquieu's preface found in the first volume of his *Spirit of Laws*.

9. Ishmael—the son of Abraham and Hagar, the handmaid of Abraham's wife Sarah—was cast out of Abraham's family after Sarah bore Abraham another son, Isaac. (See Genesis:16, 17, 21.) For the Biblical passage cited here, see Genesis 16:12. "And he [Ishmael] will be a wild man; his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him; and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren."

10. The text in angle brackets was reprinted in the *New York Journal*, 21 July, and *Massachusetts Gazette*, 29 July. The first and third paragraphs were reprinted in the *New York Packet*, 22 July.

Cato

Poughkeepsie Country Journal, 8 July 1788

To the people of the State of New-York.

Friends and fellow Citizens, In all political controversies, while open to speculation, men think and reason so differently that it is an arduous and perhaps fruitless attempt to penetrate into the secret recesses of the heart, and trace the motive to its primitive source. The welfare of the public is the real or pretended object of each party, public good the motive held out on all sides—while there is room for doubt. Moderation & forbearance with each other, are very useful qualities in good citizens, but happily for mankind there are certain crises in public affairs, that speculation is out of the question; and the road to public happiness, obvious to all, this moment I view as coming under the latter description.—While the federal constitution, now about to be organized, was under consideration, it was a subject of choice, of opinion, of speculation; but now that it is sanctioned by more than two thirds of the States, (a sufficient number for its legal organization) it is no longer a subject of speculation, but a question of *expediency*. It is no longer a question, whether this is the best of all possible governments, nor even whether this (all circumstances considered) is the best government that could be obtained: but whether we shall continue a member of the union, and enjoy the blessing of a dear-bought independence, in peace, unity and love; or, by rejecting the constitution we

throw open the doors of the Temple of Janus, and let loose the demon of discord, dissention and civil war.¹ This my countrymen, is not a time for moderation; it requires firmness and decision; view the man as a desperate incendiary who shall be hardy enough to advise the latter; place a mark on him that all honest men may shun his walks.—It would be idle to go about to investigate such a man's motives, whether he is actuated by that distempered ambition that induced the Roman to set fire to the temple, or circumstanced, like the followers of Cataline, who had "*nothing to hope but a civil war.*"² is an enquiry of no other use to the public than to put them on their guard against his designs. This is a crisis that will happily draw the line of distinction between an over zealous jealousy for liberty, and sinister designs on the public peace.—Fortunate will it be for the opposer of the Constitution, who can say, thus far have I gone and *no farther.*³—Perhaps it will be asked why this anxiety about a measure that is obviously for the public benefit? Will not the State be wise enough to adopt it?—I hope for the sake of humanity they will.—But believe, my fellow citizens, I have strong forebodings that they will not do it in time to save our reputation. It is said in our neighbouring States (who perhaps are the best judges) that a majority of the leading characters in this State, are inlisted under the banners of a party that have uniformly (whatever may have been their deliberations to the contrary) pursued a system of politics calculated to weaken the hands of the federal government: how far obstinacy, prejudice, & pre-determination may carry them, heaven only knows⁴—should it lead them so far as the rejection of the Constitution, I trust the citizens of this enlightened country will resume their native dignity, and if they have suffered themselves to be the dupes of artifice, they will not tamely fall, unlamented victims to a misplaced confidence.—To pretend to say (what the author of this address has heard urged) that the Constitution will not, nor even cannot, be organized without the sanction of this State, is shutting our eyes against the light of our own reason; it is going on in that blindfold policy that has already brought us to the verge of *dissolution*;—it is not vanity, it is madness; one step farther my countrymen, places us in a situation of hostile strangers[,] of aliens, or what is worse—of Rhode-Islanders.

1. The doors of the principal temple of Janus in Rome were kept open during times of war and closed in times of peace.

2. Cataline, a Roman noble, conspired to seize power. His plot was discovered, and he was denounced by Cicero. Cataline escaped from Rome, but the Republic's army defeated his forces, and he was killed.

3. Job 38:11. "And [the Lord] said, Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further: and here shall thy proud waves be stayed?"

4. Governor George Clinton and his followers were accused of opposing the work of

the Constitutional Convention even before that body adopted the Constitution (RCS:N.Y., 9-36).

Poughkeepsie Country Journal, 8 July 1788

THE PROSPECT. June 1788.

A POEM on the American States.

While jarring parties murmur; while our trade
 Seems nearly stagnant, and our faith decay'd;
 While jarring politicians, bring to view
 New plans, new doubts, and difficulties new;
 While many tremble at the present gloom,
 And think it pregnant with impending doom,
 The youthful muse for her *Columbia* prays,
 And humbly waits th' approach of better days;
 When UNION here her influence shall display,
 When PATRIOTISM shall drive this gloom away.
 Intrinsic union only, can procure
 Such blessings on a State, as will endure:
 Ah, had we this, how soon we might dispel
 These clouds that threaten, and these floods that swell,
 And be the commonwealth distinguish'd most
 For peace, for pow'r, for all that earth can boast!
 For of those countries, where great nature pours
 Her richest bounty from her ample stores,
 Say where can one be found, that has like this
 Obtain'd her promises for every mundane bliss?
 And when of late, her furious pow'rs engag'd,
 And war with all its bloody horrors rag'd,
 Did not the event conspicuously declare
 That our defence was Heav'n's peculiar care?
 And shall a land, that seems above the rest
 By Heav'n distinguish'd, and by nature blest,
 Be made a scene where servitude bemoans
 The chains of tyranny with hopeless groans?
 Or where dire Anarchy has spread distress,
 And shut out ev'ry source of happiness?
 Ah no! The muse predicts a happier day,
 When real patriotism shall bear the sway,
 When all our mad intestine feuds shall cease,
 And all our springs of happiness increase;
 When eastern kings shall see with wond'ring eyes
 Thy wealth and pow'r *Columbia* swiftly rise,

And all thy foes confess that very long
 Have their conjectures on thy States been wrong.
 Before thy flag on foreign seas display'd
 The barb'rous *Algerines*,¹ shall fall dismay'd;
 Thy pow'r shall set oppressed nations free,
 The nations freed, shall pay their court to thee.

But first those streams (in proper channels led)
 Shall without wasting, from their springs be fed,
 From which a State its wealth & pow'r receives:
This patriots hopes for, *this* the muse believes.
 Then joy shall reign within our ev'ry clime;
 That time will come,—the muse beholds that time:
 The muse beholds the springs of wealth & pow'r
 Led in due channels in a future hour:
 Sees wealth unlost from agriculture flow,
 And manufact'ries spread and commerce grow.
 Sees thee my nation thrive, by Heav'n below'd,
 And sees all causes of thy fears remov'd.
 —I see thy laws, by thy true patriot's plann'd,
 Wisely constructed, and as justly scann'd;
 I see thy laws, amongst thy children made,
 Encouragement to strength, to weakness aid.
 To thee thy num'rous merchants, I behold
 Come laden from the South and East with gold.
 I see thy ports with naval glory shine;
 I see the world's best gifts acknowledg'd thine.
 —I see the throng'd Ambassadors attend,
 Whom *Europe's* and whom *Asia's* monarchs send,
 Who justly praise thy sons of freedom brave,
 Admire thy bliss, and thy alliance crave.
 Nobles and Princes, from each eastern court,
 To see thy prosp'rous state, to thee resort;
 And learn of thee with wonder and delight,
 To hold the reins of government aright.
 —I see *Columbia's* sons their pow'r employ,
 To spread the seats of beauty, wealth and joy,
 To western climes, where late wild Indians howl'd,
 And savage beasts o'er all the waste land prowld;
 —See spacious champaigns cultivated there,
 Like *Egypt* fertile and like *Eden* fair!
 And there behold, new glorious cities rise
 With tow'rs that seem to emulate the skies!

Behold from fringed *Nova Scotia's* bounds,
 To *Florida's* warm sands, and scorched grounds,
 And from the *Atlantic* to the western lakes,
 Th' appearance which a land of freedom makes!
 Where justice her impartial scale maintains,
 And where uninterrupted concord reigns.
 From thee blest land! a race of heroes springs,
 The dread of infidels and tyrant kings;
 In foreign realms, their prowess must appear,
 For dire *Bellona*² shall not thunder here.
 In foreign regions, shall their deeds abound,
 As great as WASHINGTON'S, as WASHINGTON'S renown'd;
 They shall assist, where servitude complains,
 And burst Oppression's galling iron chains;
 They shall relieve the plaintive land from dread,
 And bring just vengeance on the tyrant's head.
 To future times, their deeds with glory crown'd,
 Shall future bards, in deathless song resound.—
 By their example warm'd shall heroes know
 In distant ages with zeal to glow,
 And use their valour for the public good,
 To quell those fiends, who thirst for wealth and blood.
 Hail favor'd nation! hail delightful seat
 Of patriotism, and liberty complete!
 Soon may thy happiness (which now the muse
 Delighted with anticipation views)
 Arrive (declaring all thy dangers past[])
 And to the latest ages may it last.

1. For the Barbary pirates, see RCS:N.Y., 963, note 17.

2. The Roman goddess of war.

**Abraham G. Lansing to Abraham Yates, Jr.
 Albany, 9 July 1788¹**

On sunday Evening I sent you a Circumstantial account of the difference which interrupted the Harmony of the Federalists on Friday, since that Time nothing has occurred worth communicating²—Our Friends in the Country are much Hurt and irritated—and we have had several in to see us—and we have uniformly recommended them to be peaceable and quiet—that the quarrel which we had in this City was unintentional on our side—and would not have happened had our Friends and their antoganists not been heated with Liquor—this reasoning has every effect we wish—and they Leave us well satisfied

By this Evening's Stage we have received some Accounts from our Friends, which Savor much of division among them respecting the mode of introducing the Amendments, we apprehend that the Delay occasioned by the length of the Business will be productive of much Inconvenience if not a total disappointment, to our Friends who wish to promote the True Interests of our Country—what the Event may be is rendered exceedingly doubtful—At all points I hope it will be well considered and that if the Constitution is adopted the Amendments will be so interwoven with it that the one will not work without the other.

Our Committee³ have this Moment sent for me to read the Letters which I have received.—The Family are all well and desire their respectful Compliments to you—

I am yours affectionately

[P.S.] The people that were hurt are all conceived out of Danger—

1. RC, Yates Papers, NN. The place of writing does not appear, but Lansing lived in Albany, and the letter was postmarked from that city. The letter was addressed to Yates and "recommended to the Care of Wm. Bedlow Esqr.," postmaster of New York City.

2. Lansing's letter of 6 July, which has not been located, probably described the Fourth of July "fracas" in Albany, during which several persons were injured (above).

3. The reference is probably to the Albany Anti-Federal Committee. (For this committee, see IV, Albany County Election, below.)

New York Independent Journal, 9 July 1788

There cannot be a more agreeable prospect, to a lover of mankind, (observes a correspondent) than what AMERICA presents at this moment—An energetic government, capable of producing the greatest blessings ratified by *Ten* States, and likely to be adopted by the remaining *Three*.—What a variety of interests does this government combine and promote!—The FARMER will soon be called upon to furnish the raw materials for the manufactures of woollen, hemp, flax, cotton, leather, &c. He must also provide food for the hands which must be employed in these manufactures. The manufacturer, on the other hand, will soon be enabled by the general duties and imposts to supply our home consumption, and next to supply foreign markets. The MERCHANT, who lives by the exchange and transportation of commodities, will find the objects and sphere of his profession multiplied and enlarged, while the extension of commerce and the necessity for establishing the means of a marine, will afford incessant employment for all those concerned in shipbuilding. The general morals of the people will be no longer ensnared by fictitious money, or corrupted by laws destructive of the sacred obligations of contracts. Harmony will be pre-

served, and credit extended between the citizens of the different states, by the establishment of courts where state laws can have no influence. The policy and propriety of encouraging and protecting manufactures by duties and imposts, will keep money in the country, while the duties and imposts, properly managed, will render other taxes unnecessary. From this summary view of the many interests affected by the FEDERAL CONSTITUTION, we may perceive, why it has been so generally approved; and building upon the goodness of the government, and the disposition of the people to have it wisely administered, we may venture to felicitate our dear country on long years of PEACE, HAPPINESS and PROSPERITY!

John Pintard to Elisha Boudinot
New York, 10 July 1788¹

My dear Elisha

Our procession is put off till Tuesday the 22d.² when I hope your business will permit your attendance as I can assure you the spectacle will be well worth seeing—It will fall very little short of Phila.³ if any thing. From last nights accts. from Poughkeepsie we have great reason to conclude the constitution will be adopted on the principles of Virginia which will be glorious indeed—I expect you will not forget Ludlows money I think to warrant the return of it agreeable to your engagements & will secure you by a conveyance of the amount in the [– – –] against eventual hazard—God bless you [– – –] we rise superior to all these difficulties

1. RC, Boudinot-Pintard Papers, NHi.

2. This procession took place on 23 July (Appendix I).

3. For the Philadelphia procession of 4 July, see CC:799 E–F and CC:805.

Samuel Osgood to Melancton Smith and Samuel Jones
New York, 11 July 1788¹

I am this Moment informed that Judge Ogilivie² setts off in a few Hours for Poughkeepsie—

Since I wrote Mr. Smith nothing material has occurrd here excepting that the thirteen States are now represented—And that the Committee appointed in Congress for the Purpose of Organizing the New Government have reported—The Report fixes the first Wednesday in Frebury next for convening the Members of the New Government.³

Yesterday the Report was called up—And I understand was postponed without much Objection—The Reason for postponing was—That New York would in all Probability determine in a few Days in favor

or against the New Constitution—When this should be known—The Question about Place would be more properly before the House.—

The Anxiety of the Citizens, is probably greater than you would imagine—both Parties seem to me equally to share in this Solicitude—If New York should come in—I am not sure that the Seat of the general Legislature will be New York; yet from the best Information we can get, it is almost reduced to a Certainty—If New York should hold out—The Opposition will have all the Blame laid at their Door for forcing Congress to leave this City—The Topic will be a feeling & a popular one—Philadelphia I have no Doubt is desirous New York may not come in, for the Purpose of getting Congress removed.—Whatever may be your Sentiments of the Advantage of Congress staying in New York, whether any real Benefit results from it or not, yet the universal Opinion is such now, that it is intimately connected with the Rejection of the Plan—

I know very well your Situation is extremely delicate—& that I cannot help you out of it.—I believe you wish for a good federal Government—tho' some are ready to deny this—I believe those who have been deemed antifederal, have done a great Deal of good—It appears to me they have very nearly accomplished their Views—In all the States where Amendments have been recommended—The Members in the general Convention, who were of the State Conventions also, have not dared to disagree to such Amendments; They are therefore compleatly committed; as to their own inspired Works.—In the present State of the Business, I am well convinced that those who have had, & still have well founded Objections to some Parts of the Plan; will succeed in their laudable Endeavors of getting those Objections fairly removed.—And I must confess that it appears to me there is so little Danger in assenting to the Plan now—that it has become a Matter of no small Expediency—Indeed the Danger of not obtaining Amendments such as we would wish for, will in my Opinion be greatly enhanced by the Absence of New York.—

It is easy for a Person in my Situation to give his Opinion—But if I was in your's—it is impossible for me to say, how I should receive, & what Weight I should give to such Opinion.—

I am perswaded you will decide conscientiously Be that which Way it may—it will be such as you will be perswaded is for the best Interest of your State & Country.—

I suppose you are so near a Conclusion that I shall see you in this City in a few Days—If you shall be in the Negative, it needs not the Spirit of Prophecy to foretell that your Reception will not be very cordial—I do not suggest this in Order to operate upon your Decisions—

But in peculiar Circumstances Men of the firmest Nerves have been operated upon; Witness Cornelius De Witt who altho he had sworn he would not sign the Instrument for reinstating a Stadholder—yet signed it with a V. C. & when the Populace Understood V. C. meant Vi Coacta.⁴ they obliged him to erase those Letters.—If the Populace of this City are true Descendants, they may when rowzed exhibit some of the Obstinate & ungovernable Passions of their Ancestors.—

I will not Trouble you farther for I am satisfied you know more about this great & important Business at this Crisis than I do—except what occurs immediately in the City; & no Doubt others can give you more accurate Information in this Respect than I can.—

1. RC, Collections of the Federal Hall National Memorial, National Park Service, New York City. Osgood (1748–1813), a graduate of Harvard College (1770) and a former colonel in the Continental Army, represented Massachusetts in Congress, 1781–84, and served on the three-member Confederation Board of Treasury from 1785 to 1789.

2. Peter Ogilvie, a lawyer, resided in New York City, where he was the judge of the Court of Probates of the State of New York, 1787–99. He represented Orange County in the state Assembly during the 1778–79 session.

3. See “Confederation Congress Makes Provision to Put the New Government Under the Constitution into Operation,” 2 July–13 September (above).

4. *Vi coactus* or “under duress.” Osgood describes an incident that took place in 1672, at which time the office of stadtholder in the United Provinces was reinstated. William of Orange became stadtholder, after John and Cornelius de Witt and their party had been toppled from office. Osgood refers to the inhabitants of the Dordrecht, where riots erupted because of the slowness in proclaiming William stadtholder. For the fall from power of the de Witts and their party, see Herbert H. Rowen, *John de Witt, Grand Pensionary of Holland, 1625–1672* (Princeton, N.J., 1978).

William Stuart to Griffith Evans New York, 11 July 1788¹

Dear Evans,

I have received your welcome favor giving a partial account of the Procession in your City on the 4th. inst. in honor of our *Intended*.— Critics might perhaps sneer at this Phrase and ask how can it mean the New Constitution? You I am convinced will not imitate such examples, but agree with me, that the great Body of the People in every Free Government, must always be considered as the Husband of the Constitution thereof, and consequently that as long as such Constitution performs the duties of Love Honor and Obedience to Her great Constituent Body, or Political Husband, She is entitled to be Kept both in sickness and in Health, with all possible Love and Fidelity by such her said Husband and that on a breach of her Duty she must expect to incur the Pains and Penalties of *Divorce*. Allegory having been much exhausted, in explaining and discussing this grand, National Question,

nothing unhackneyed, struck me at present, but the one I have Introduced, which, to pursue a little further, may we not reasonably conclude that the *Anti-Federalists*, are a train of Hen-pecked Husbands, who having surrendered the Breeches to their dear Domestic *Ribs*, through want either of skill, or Courage, to Know or defend their own Rights; are led to suppose that the great Body of the People, like unto themselves, will surrender the political Breeches, and suffer themselves to be *Beaten, scolded & Cuckolded* thus passing off, Generation after Generation, contentedly to Heaven—I have a better opinion of the Understanding & spirit of my Country men, and rather fear, that instead of suffering their Political *Rib* to *Atalantus*² them—they on their Part will sometimes Play the Infidel, and scold and Cuckold their faithful Wife, which should She at any time attempt to retaliate, They deaf to the doctrine of *Lex Talionis*,³ would instantly tear her in Peices!—When will Politics cease to obtrude itself into our Correspondence and Permit us to write on gentler Themes—Friendship, Love &c. &c. &c. [— — —], if possible, I am as far from both & all [“as?” Indus from the Pole”⁴ save what I retain for you and one or two others whose Goodness when I cease to esteem & acknowledge, As Othello says, “Chaos will come again”⁵—Our Procession-Politico, is to be the 22d. Current⁶—I shall write you an Account of it—unless I am previously sent Express to Jove, which is not impossible, I had almost said another word—improbable.—being almost exhausted by the intense Heat of these few days since.

I am Dr. E—Yrs. as usual

1. RC, Evans Collection, PHI. Stuart addressed this letter to the care of Matthew McConnell, a Philadelphia merchant-broker, with whom he served in the Continental Army during the Revolution. The letter was delivered by a “Mr. Parish.” Stuart (d. 1831) was a captain in the New York militia, 1775–76, and an officer in the Continental Army, 1776–83. In 1793 he delivered a learned oration (Evans 27758) on the destructiveness of political faction to the Uranian Society of New York City, a nonpartisan group that met weekly to debate a variety of issues. Evans (1760–1845) served as a clerk in the Continental Army’s medical corps during the Revolution, as secretary and storekeeper to the Pennsylvania commissioners negotiating the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, 1784, and as secretary to the commissioners attempting to settle land disputes in Pennsylvania’s Wyoming Valley, 1787.

2. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the term “Atalantis” was first used in a 1709 political satire about those persons who effected the Revolution of 1688 in England. “Atalantis” came to mean “a secret or scandalous history.” As used by Stuart, it possibly means “to scandalize them.”

3. “*Lex talionis*” or “The law of retaliation; which requires the infliction upon a wrongdoer of the same injury which he has caused to another. Expressed in the Mosaic law by the formula, ‘an eye for an eye; a tooth for a tooth,’ etc.” (*Black’s Law Dictionary*).

4. “Speed the soft intercourse from soul to soul,/And waft a sigh from Indus to the Pole” (Alexander Pope, “Eloisa to Abelard” [1717], lines 57–58).

5. “Excellent wretch! Perdition catch my soul,/But I do love thee! and when I love thee not,/Chaos is come again” (William Shakespeare, *Othello*, Act III, scene 3, lines 90–92).

6. This celebration took place on 23 July (Appendix I).

New York Packet, 11 July 1788¹

The adoption of the new form of government, by the ten United States, has inspired the most lively joy in every patriotic and rational mind; and must serve to convince its mistaken and deluded enemies and opponents, that their conjectures were altogether groundless and visionary in the commencement, as well as events. Nothing (continues our correspondent) is now wanting, but an active cultivation of political harmony, unison, and concord, to fulfil the designs of Heaven, which were calculated to make us a great and happy people.

Respected by all the nations abroad, and contented, heart-feltdly content at home, *America* has every felicity at her command, which any young rising empire could expect or desire. What hath she to fear, but her God? Yet in vain do we view our blessed situation, without it tends to make the people better men and good citizens. The best government is of no consequence, when it falls to the fatal management of bad ministers and indifferent rulers. Nor are laws, the most salutary, any security in themselves, when they are inverted and abused.

Let it, therefore, be our inflexible aim, to trust our federal affairs to men of approved probity and talents, upon whose skill we may rely with safety. For virtuous and intelligent representation is the mainspring of social happiness, and the only proper path of American glory.

1. All three paragraphs were reprinted in the *Country Journal*, 15 July; *Albany Gazette*, 17 July; and in five newspapers outside New York by 28 July: R.I. (1), N.J. (1), Pa. (2), S.C. (1). The first paragraph alone was reprinted six more times by 1 August: Conn. (2), N.J. (1), Pa. (1), Md. (1), S.C. (1).

Massachusetts Centinel, 12 July 1788¹

Gentlemen who arrived here yesterday, in the New-York packet, in 37 hours from that city, inform us, that there is a great probability that the Constitution will not be ratified by the Convention of that State, during their present session; and that an adjournment for two or three months was trying for. There are in the Convention 19 in favour, and 46 against the Constitution.

The city of New-York, and the country adjacent, are determined to *adhere* to the Union, even if their Convention should reject the Constitution—and intend applying to the federal government for support

therein. The federalists of New-York State, own 9 10ths of the property.—and are more nearly opposed to it, in numbers.

The debates in the Convention of New-York, have been conducted with a great[er] degree of warmth and acrimony, than in any other part of the Union. This retards the business on which they were met—and unless banished, will operate to the rejection of the Constitution.²

1. All three paragraphs were reprinted in the *Daily Advertiser*, 19 July. Outside New York by 24 July, the first paragraph was reprinted five times: N.H. (2), Mass. (2), Conn. (1); the second paragraph in whole or in part seven times: N.H. (2), Mass. (3), Conn. (1), Pa. (1); and the third paragraph five times: N.H. (2), Mass. (2), Conn. (1).

2. Following this paragraph, the *Massachusetts Centinel* published this paragraph on North Carolina: “Our accounts from North-Carolina are of a different complexion to those from New-York.—The sister State of Virginia and South-Carolina will not vote herself out of the family” (CC:Vol. 6, p. 393). The *Daily Advertiser* reprinted this paragraph on 21 July.

Nathan Dane to Caleb Strong **New York, 13 July 1788¹**

I thank [you] for your obliging letter of the 18 Ultó.—it gives me real satisfaction, as I think must you, to see government in Massachusetts so fully restored—the reins, by consent of the people themselves have now got into good hands—and I think good men will keep the principal share in the Government, if they do not govern too much²—

we now have thirteen States on the floor of Congress—a circumstance which has not happened before for several years past—the Committee appointed to report an Act for putting the Constitution of the United States into operation, reported last week and Congress have spent one day in considering the report—the states appear to be very unanimous in this business—except as to the place where Congress under the Constitution shall meet³—whether it shall meet at New York or Philadelphia will be a matter much contested—there will not be more than one State majority, I think, for either place but this you will understand will be a question only in Case N. York shall adopt the Constitution—if she does not there will, I presume, be no question—as it will generally be thought to be improper for Congress to assemble in a nonratifying State—if she shall adopt, from present appearances, it is probable that a majority of the States will prefer this City (N.Y.) for the meeting of the New Congress—this question will probably be decided in a few days—the Convention of this State is every day now expected to finish its business, and it is hoped it will adopt I think we shall fix the meeting of the New Government to be about the first Wednesday in February next the Delegates of Massachusetts and of

some other States wish it to be at an earlier period as the States they represent can with ease assemble sooner—but it is said to be impossible for Virginia, North Carolina, &c from their great extent sooner to make their elections and attend—In the enclosed paper you will see the amendments recommended in Virginia.⁴

with sentiments of esteem and friendship I am Dr Sir your obedt. humble servant—

1. RC, Stephen C. Strong Collection of Caleb Strong Manuscripts, Forbes Library, Northampton, Mass. (See below for Strong's reply of 24 July to this letter.) Strong (1745–1819), a graduate of Harvard College (1764) and a Northampton lawyer, was a member of the Massachusetts Senate. He was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention but left early. Strong voted to ratify the Constitution in the Massachusetts Convention in February 1788. He was a U.S. Senator, 1789–96, and governor of Massachusetts, 1800–1807, 1812–16.

2. In the spring elections, the anti-Shaysite forces won significant victories in both houses of the Massachusetts legislature (RCS:Mass., 1729–32).

3. See “Confederation Congress Makes Provision to Put the New Government Under the Constitution into Operation,” 2 July–13 September (above).

4. For the printing in New York City of the amendments of the Virginia Convention, see RCS:N.Y., 1193.

Samuel Blachley Webb to Catherine Hogeboom New York, 13 July 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . indeed Kitty the adoption of the New Constitution by Virginia gave me very great pleasure, and we fondly hoped it would be a sufficient inducement for this State to give up all further opposition, but the accounts by last evenings Post are very unfavorable, and you can have no Idea of the rage of the Inhabitants of this City—should they not adopt it in a few days, a Resolution will pass for the new Congress to meet at Philadelphia,² which will be a fatal stroke to our Commerce, & where it will end God only knows—the Southern District are determined on a separation to join the union, and I do not believe the life of the Governor³ & his party would be safe in this place, I hope they will prevent this gloomy prospect, by acting like rational beings, have the public weal, and not private emolument at heart, you must excuse my mentioning this subject, it is a serious one, & gives us much uneasiness, however let us hope for the best—my Ancle is mending as fast as could be expected from the severe strain it met with, I take moderate exercise and find a benefit from it. . . .

1. RC, Webb Papers, CtY.

2. See “Confederation Congress Makes Provision to Put the New Government Under the Constitution into Operation,” 2 July–13 September (above).

3. George Clinton. See also Nicholas Gilman to John Langdon, 15 July, at note 3 (below).

**John Henry Livingston to Eilardus Westerlo
New York, 14 July 1788 (excerpt)¹**

Reverend and dear Brother

. . . The day on which your Letter was dated proved, we hear, a very serious and disagreeable day to Albany.² what madness! what strange infatuation! what will be the end!—surely our prayers are now necessary that the Lord will overrule and direct all events to his glory and for the good of the Land. a few days will perhaps determine the fate of this State, it is said the Convention will probably finish the Business by bringing on the great question soon.

if commotions, frays and quarrels multiply, especially if any bloodshedding should once take place, it is impossible to foresee the end of the evil or tell where our Troubles will lead or terminate. . . .

1. RC, Westerlo Family Papers, Albany Institute of History and Art Library. Livingston (1746–1825), a native of Poughkeepsie, graduated from Yale College in 1762 and for two years he studied law in his native town. A member of the Dutch Reformed Church, he began to study theology and in 1766 he went to Holland, where he received the degree of doctor of divinity from the University of Utrecht in 1770. He returned to America and became pastor of New York City's Collegiate Church. He remained in that position until 1810, except when he left the British-occupied city during the Revolution. In 1784 Livingston was appointed professor of theology to the General Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church, a position he held until his death. He was also president of Queen's College (now Rutgers University) from 1810 until his death. Westerlo (1737–1790), a native of Holland and a graduate of the University of Groningen in 1760, went to America in that year as pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church in Albany, continuing in that position until his death. He was a strong supporter of American independence and the Constitution. Westerlo and Livingston were married to daughters of Philip Livingston, a New York signer of the Declaration of Independence.

2. Westerlo's letter has not been located but it probably mentioned the Fourth of July "fracas" in Albany. Westerlo's "Memoirs" for 4 July do not describe the "fracas" because illness prevented him from attending the celebration (Mfm:N.Y.). Living in New York City, Livingston probably read about the "fracas" in the New York *Daily Advertiser* of 10 July, or in one of the other four New York City newspapers that reprinted the *Advertiser's* account by 12 July. (See RCS:N.Y., 1266–67.)

Albany Journal, 14 July 1788

A WHITE GLASS Manufactory has lately been set on foot in New-Jersey, and the glass pronounced equal to the English white glass.

It is said, that the French ministry are determined to encourage manufacturing in the United States of America, as they say, the more trade Great Britain has, the richer she will be, which will make her a stronger and more powerful enemy to them, when these two countries are at war with each other; but on the contrary, if they can transfer the manufacturing business from Great-Britain to America, and can be

supplied from thence with the goods which they now get from Great-Britain, that they will thereby enrich this country and serve themselves, for as we have an alliance with them, the richer and stronger they can make us, the more they will benefit themselves. They observe, that it will not lessen their present trade with us, as we now take but few dry goods of them, and that we shall for many years continue their customers for cambricks, wines and brandy, &c.

They wish us to have a navigation act, as they say it will encourage our shipping and increase our seamen and ship carpenters; they say then when they are at war, we shall be able to assist them with our ship carpenters and sailors; in short they seem very sensible of the essential service they have rendered themselves by assisting us to procure our independence, and as they see we shall become a great and powerful nation, they like sound politicians court us for our friendship in time. We expect also, that manufacturers with large capitals, will come over to this country from England and Irelands &c. as soon as they hear that the New Constitution is finally ratified.

Nicholas Gilman to John Langdon

New York, 15 July 1788 (excerpts)¹

I am honored with your Excellencys obliging favor of the 5th instant.—Time & place of commencing proceedings under the New government is not yet determined on—It has been put off from day to day in order to give New York time to come in and take a part in the business²—but I am very sorry to inform you that the perverseness of the Anties in their Convention continues.—they stand out for previous amendments—and are attempting to persuade the populace that Congress may receive them on such conditions.—It is impossible to determine at present where this business will end—the south part of the State are highly federal and are greatly incensed against the Governor³ and his party—they threaten a derelict[i]on of the government—and if they should be unable to bring over the Country party I am inclined to think that a secession of this City and the Islands⁴ will absolutely take place—but there is still a gleam of hope, though not a very bright one, that they will accede—should we proceede to business in the new Congress without the Voice of New York and Rhode Island, it might be a gratification to Mason⁵ and a few others—but what would become of the Eastern Interest? this is, in my humble judgment, a matter of serious Consideration—and I heartily wish that measures might be adopted by the New England States to bring that little wicked State of R Island to a sense of the duty they owe to themselves and their neighbours. . . .

. . . Excuse haste

1. RC, Langdon Papers, Portsmouth Athenaeum, Portsmouth, N.H. Printed: Smith, *Letters*, XXV, 226.

2. See "Confederation Congress Makes Provision to Put the New Government Under the Constitution into Operation," 2 July–13 September (above).

3. George Clinton. See also Samuel Blachley Webb to Catherine Hogeboom, 13 July, at note 3 (above).

4. Long Island and Staten Island.

5. A reference to Virginian George Mason, who had refused to sign the Constitution and whose objections to the Constitution had been published. For these objections, which circulated widely, see CC:138, 276. See also "New York Reprinting of George Mason's Objections to the Constitution," 30 November–13 December 1787 (RCS:N.Y., 338–40). Mason advocated a two-thirds majority in Congress for the passage of commercial legislation, thereby giving the Southern States, if united, the ability to defeat commercial legislation. If New York and Rhode Island remained out of the new Congress under the Constitution, it would be more difficult for Congress to pass commercial legislation harmful to the South.

Ebenezer Hazard to Mathew Carey

New York, 15 July 1788 (excerpt)¹

... I have heard it particularly remarked that the *new Roof*,² & the Form of the Ratification of the new Constitution by *New Jersey*, have not been inserted in the Musæum:—as to the first, I observed that it probably was omitted as it contained some *Personalitie's*, & it was undoubtedly your wish to avoid giving Offence:—as to the other,—that the Form was so much like that of Pennsylvania, that perhaps you supposed it would look too much like a Repetition of the same thing:³—entre nous, as every Ratification of the new Constitution is a matter of very great public Importance, in which Posterity are much interested, & to which it may be necessary hereafter frequently to refer, I think it would be well to publish each of them *in totidem verbis*.⁴—Would it not be adviseable also to publish the *Amendments* recommended by the State Conventions, in order to give a just *history* of the new Constitution, as well as to let Posterity know what were the Objections against it.—Allow me to suggest another Idea:—in Child's Daily Advertiser (printed in this City) of 4th. July, there is a summary View of the States which have adopted the Constitution,—the Time when,—the Numbers who voted pro & con, in Convention,—& the Majority by which the vote was carried:⁵—this will be convenient, & I think worthy of a Place on that Account, when such of the three remaining States as will adopt can be added to it.—(What N York will do is still uncertain: present appearances lead to an Apprehension that she will stipulate for certain Amendments as the *Condition* of her continuing in the Union:—if she should, she will throw herself out of it. Congress have treated her with Politeness by postponing the Consideration of the Report of their Com-

mittee for organizing the new Government;⁶ but Regard for the Dignity of the Union will not let them wait very long; & if this State does not soon determine as she ought to do, the *Blank* for the Place at which the new Congress are to meet, will be filled with *Philadelphia*.⁷—Lest you should not meet with it otherwise, I send you some federal Poetry,

1. RC, Lea and Febiger Collection, PHi. Carey, a Philadelphia printer, published the monthly *American Museum*.

2. The reference is to Francis Hopkinson's "The New Roof," a lengthy allegory that first appeared in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 29 December 1787, and which was reprinted in fourteen newspapers, including two in New York, by 28 April 1788 (CC:395). The two New York newspapers were the *Daily Advertiser*, 9 January, and the Lansingburgh *Federal Herald*, 28 April. Carey, apparently influenced by Hazard's suggestion, reprinted "The New Roof" in the August issue of the *American Museum*, which appeared in early September. Thomas Allen, a New York City bookseller, also wrote Carey that "Some of the Subrs. wants to know why the New Roof is not publish'd in the Museum" (28 July, Mfm:N.Y.). For two other recommendations made by Hazard that Carey apparently acted upon, see notes 3 and 5 (below).

3. Carey printed the New Jersey Form of Ratification in the August issue of the *American Museum*. In this issue, Carey also printed the forms of ratification of five other states, including New York, and he gave his readers the volume and page numbers for five states whose forms he had already printed. By early September, then, Carey had printed the forms of ratification of all eleven states that had ratified the Constitution.

4. Latin: in so many words, or verbatim.

5. The reference is to an item that Francis Childs printed in his *Daily Advertiser* on 4 July and which was widely reprinted (CC:Vol. 6, pp. 390–91). Carey reprinted it in the August issue of the *American Museum*.

6. See "Confederation Congress Makes Provision to Put the New Government Under the Constitution into Operation," 2 July–13 September (above).

7. The text in angle brackets was printed in the *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 19 July, and reprinted in the Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 25 July.

Richard Penn Hicks to John Dickinson New York, 15 July 1788 (excerpt)¹

... Our citizen[s] now seem to wear a gloomy aspect, every man seems to dread the event of our convention which must be concluded in two or three day[s]. The antifoederals in the convention who are still superior in number seem obstinately resolved to reject it, or what answers the same end to pass it with amendments of thre[e] sorts explanatory, Conditional, & recommendatory,² a civil war in this seems to appear to be the consequence of a rejection, & yesterday it was reported the [i.e., that] Mrs Clinton was desired to leave the town;³ what the consiquences will be a fortunate at farthest will discover, but at present the City & lower part of the state seem resolved to defend the constitution by force. . . .

1. RC, Logan Papers, PHi. This letter to Dickinson, who lived in Wilmington, Del., was sent to Dickinson “to the care of Mr Barclay Philadelphia.” The letter was “favd by Mr Stocker.”

2. Hicks refers to a compromise Antifederalist plan for three different kinds of amendments to the Constitution that John Lansing, Jr., submitted to the New York Convention on 10 July. Lansing’s plan was reported in the 15 July issue of the *Daily Advertiser*, which Hicks probably read. (See Newspaper Reports of Convention Debates, 10 July, V, below.)

3. Cornelia Clinton, Governor Clinton’s wife. For the hostility aroused by the governor’s strong opposition to the Constitution, see Samuel Blachley Webb to Catherine Hogboom, 13 July, at note 3, and Nicholas Gilman to John Langdon, 15 July, at note 3 (both above).

Caleb S. Riggs to John Fitch New York, 15 July 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . *Politicks* to be or not to be is now the question, time is pregnant with som[e]thing which must soon appear, but in what shape or colour is left at present at best but to conjecture: by the last accounts from the Convention, it is yet a doubt whether they will follow the example of Virginia by adopting and recommending amendments or have the amendments to precede which I call rejecting it; the federalists by their writings from Poughkeepsie express great doubts, though some of the opposition have actually come over, and those of popular characters too—The antifederalists in this City very few excepted expect and seeme to hope for its adoption and recommend amendments as the least evil of the two—If it should not be adopted and that without previous amendments, Congress will certainly remove from hence, and Philadelphia probably will be their place of abode:² And we shall not only loose them, but I think, have riot, confusion, and blood-shed introduced amongst us—I have only to add that my prayer is Heaven give them wisdom and avert the impending danger. . . .

1. RC, Fitch Papers, DLC. This letter was addressed to “Mr. John Fitch/Manufacturer of Steam/Boats/Philadelphia.” Riggs (c. 1763–1826) was a New Jersey lawyer. Fitch (1743–1798) was a Trenton, N.J., silversmith before the Revolution and a gunsmith early in the Revolution. In the 1780s he lived in Bucks County, Pa. For a time Fitch was much interested in western lands, but around 1785 he turned to the invention of the steam boat, an activity that would occupy him for the rest of his life. In the presence of some delegates to the Constitutional Convention in August 1787, he successfully launched a steam boat on the Delaware River. The part of Riggs’s letter not printed here reports on the status of the compensation for his invention that Riggs hoped to obtain from Congress. However, a counter claim to the invention of the steam boat was made by James Rumsey so that Congress dropped the matter of compensation. (For the entire Riggs letter, see Mfm:N.Y.)

2. See “Confederation Congress Makes Provision to Put the New Government Under the Constitution into Operation,” 2 July–13 September (above).

Jeremiah Wadsworth to Oliver Wolcott, Jr.**New York, 15 July 1788¹**

I am sorry to inform you that the Federalists in this State despair of an unconditional adoption of the Constitution—and there is reason to believe this City & its vicinity will be detached from the upper part of the State—the convulsions in consequence of this business will certainly reach our State—and too much care cannot be taken to prevent any premature Steps—I will write You more particularly in a day or two—and as I shall write you unreservedly on all occurrences You will not suffer any extracts to be published from my letters without particularly marked by me.

[P.S.] A report of a committee is before the House to put the New Government in motion which will be finished in a day or two²—

1. RC, Oliver Wolcott, Jr., Papers, CtHi. Wadsworth, a wealthy Hartford merchant, was representing Connecticut in Congress. This letter has no addressee, but it was probably written to Oliver Wolcott, Jr.

2. See “Confederation Congress Makes Provision to Put the New Government Under the Constitution into Operation,” 2 July–13 September (above).

Poughkeepsie Country Journal, 15 July 1788**The HOUNDS in Couples.****A FABLE.**

A Huntsman was leading forth his Hounds one morning to the chase, and had linked several of the young dogs in couples, to prevent their following every scent, and hunting disorderly, as their own inclinations and fancy should direct them. Among others, it was the fate of Jowler and Vixen to be thus yoked together. Jowler and Vixen were both young and unexperienced; but had for some time been constant companions, and seemed to have entertained a great fondness for each other; they used to be perpetually playing together, and in any quarrel that happened, always took one another's part: it might have been expected therefore, that it would not be disagreeable to them to be still more closely united. However, in fact, it proved otherwise: they had not been long joined together, before both parties were observed to express uneasiness at their present situation. Different inclinations and opposite wills began to discover and to exert themselves: if one chose to go this way, the other was as eager to take the contrary; if one was pressing forward, the other was sure to lag behind; Vixen pulled back Jowler, and Jowler dragged along Vixen; Jowler growled at Vixen, and Vixen snapped at Jowler: till at last it came to a downright quarrel between them; and Jowler treated Vixen in a very rough and

ungenerous manner, without any regard to the inferiority of her strength, or the tenderness of her sex. As they were thus continually vexing and tormenting one another, an old hound, who had observed all that passed, came up to them, and thus reproved them: "What a couple of silly puppies you are, to be perpetually worrying yourselves at this rate! What hinders your going on peaceably and quietly together? Cannot you compromise the matter between you by each consulting the others inclination a little? At least, try to make a virtue of necessity, and submit to what you cannot remedy: you cannot get rid of the chain, but you may make it set easy upon you. I am an old dog, and let my age and experience instruct you; when I was in the same circumstances with you, I soon found, that thwarting my companion was only tormenting myself: and my yoke fellow happened to come into the same way of thinking. We endeavoured to join in the same pursuits, & to follow one another's inclinations; and so we jogged on together, not only with ease and quiet, but with comfort and pleasure. We found by experience, that mutual compliance not only compensates for liberty, but is even attended with a satisfaction and delight, beyond what liberty itself can give."

James Madison to Edmund Randolph
New York, 16 July 1788¹

My dear friend

The inclosed papers will give you the latest intelligence from Poughkepsie. It seems by no means certain what the result there will be. Some of the most sanguine calculate on a ratification. The best informed apprehend some clog that will amount to a condition. The question is made peculiarly interesting in this place, by its connexion with the question relative to the place to be recommended for the meeting of the first Congress under the new Government.

13 States are at present represented. A plan for setting this new Machine in motion has been reported some days [ago], but will not be hurried to a conclusion.² Having been but a little time here, I am not yet fully in the politics of Congress. I had on the road several returns of a bilious lax which made my journey more tedious & less agreeable than it would otherwise have been.³ At present I am pretty well again. Hoping this will find you & yours more compleatly so, I remain Yr. Affet friend

1. RC, Madison Papers, DLC.

2. See "Confederation Congress Makes Provision to Put the New Government Under the Constitution into Operation," 2 July–13 September (above).

3. Madison, a delegate to the Virginia Convention in Richmond, left Richmond on 1 July, four days after the Convention adjourned, but poor health forced him to stay at Mount Vernon from 4 to 7 July. He took his seat in Congress on 17 July, the day after he wrote this letter to Randolph.

Joshua Mersereau to Horatio Gates

New Brunswick, Ulster County, 16 July 1788¹

The favourable opportunity of informing you, that I am yet, in the Land of the Living; induces Me To Congratulate you on the adoption, of our *New Government*.—Tho our State is Tardy, I trust prudence Will Direct them to Come into the measure. Tho, the acct's of the 12 Current from my friends inform Me, that, its adoption With restrictions, recommendations, & Explanations Was on the Carpet—tho it Was intended (by the Federals) to adjorn, Should, the restrictive Clause be like to take place—Our State is more Devided as in the beginning of our Troubles²—the Gover[no]r³ has taken a part in the Opposition—I have only time to tell You that the 22 is the Day Appointed,⁴ for Launching The Federal Ship at N: York, With Every Mark of Distinction, in *all branches* of Every Description to Selebrate the adoption of the Union—it Was intended to have been sooner but put off With an Expectation of our States adoption previously—God bless you My Dear Genl. time will not permit Me to Correct this Scrawl—I am With Every Sentiment of Esteem Your Obedt. Hum: Servt.

NB. The Grand Question Was to be put Yesterday or to Day—the Northeren part of the State are in Opposition, Generally.

1. RC, Gates Papers (Collected by Emmet), NN. Mersereau (1728–1804), a lawyer, was Deputy Commissary of Prisoners during the Revolution, serving under Elias Boudinot of New Jersey. He represented Richmond County in the New York Assembly, 1777–78, 1779–83, 1784–86. Gates (c. 1727–1806), a Virginia planter, was a major general in the Continental Army, 1776–83. In 1777 he commanded the American forces at the Battles of Saratoga. Gates was elected president of the Virginia Society of the Cincinnati in 1783 and vice president of the national society the next year.

2. Probably a reference to the fact that in 1776 the colony of New York was much divided over the question of independence. The New York Convention did not vote for independence until 9 July 1776. (See RCS:N.Y., Vol. 1, xxii.)

3. George Clinton.

4. The procession took place on 23 July (Appendix I).

Nicholas Gilman to John Langdon

New York, 17 July 1788¹

This is merely to accompany the papers of the day, by which you will discover the temper of the Poughkeepsie Convention.—They are still

in session and the heart of their Pharoah² is still unrelenting—It is impossible to foresee the issue of this business—Their present situation is critical.—The People of this City are highly federal—they will adhere to the Union at all events and are making preparation for an expensive procession to take place on Wednesday next.—

1. RC, Langdon Papers, Portsmouth Athenaeum, Portsmouth, N.H. The letter is marked "Private."

2. George Clinton.

Ebenezer Hazard to Jeremy Belknap
New York, 17 July 1788 (excerpts)¹

. . . I am glad the Virginia News reached you in proper time.²—We have the same kind of *joyful Uproars* here that you have, & I am sick of them. . . .

Our Convention is yet sitting: it is impossible to conjecture how they will determine:—I am told they talk of both *conditional* Amendments, & an Adjournment. Love to Mrs. B. from yrs.

1. RC, Belknap Papers, MHi. Printed: *Belknap Correspondence*, Part II, 51–52.

2. The news of Virginia's ratification of the Constitution reached Boston on 4 July at 5 P.M., and the bells in Boston and the surrounding towns "were set to ringing, and the guns to firing again, without any mercy" (RCS: Va., 1747).

Samuel A. Otis to George Thatcher
New York, 17 July 1788¹

. . . and first I in form you That we have had Thirteen States frequently upon the floor & have been very industrious—What have you been about? Look at the Journal—One thing seems to be agreed, that new government is to take place about mid winter—Next week perhaps the Time will be agreed upon—The *place* will be a bone of Contention, Southern people are opposed to N Y, & I think the Yorkers hang back in such manner am rather of opinion it will not be here²—For my own part I am in present sentiment for N York but we are all in suspense for the doings of Convention—Probably the question will this day be taken *therein*—I am of opinion it will not be a favorable decision—Clinton is popular has a majority at command & is very violent—They may possibly adjourn which is the best expectation I form—The Yorkers are determined however to have their frolic,³ & I dont know but we are in danger of runing into excess in regard to processions—Perhaps my gravity & aversion to parade may have induced this opinion—It is an implied triumph over minority which always irritates—I think the movements of the new Govt should be mild discreet & attended with great circumspection.

Enclosed is Greenleafs⁴ which details pretty fairly, To which refering you I am With regard & esteem Your Hum[bl]e S[ervan]t

1. Printed: William F. Goodwin, ed., "The Thatcher Papers," *The Historical Magazine*, 2nd ser., VI (1869), 349. Goodwin printed no more than the excerpt printed here. Otis was a Massachusetts delegate to Congress.

2. See "Confederation Congress Makes Provision to Put the New Government Under the Constitution into Operation," 2 July–13 September (above).

3. Otis refers to the federal procession that would take place in New York City on 23 July (Appendix I). On 17 July, Paine Wingate, a New Hampshire delegate to Congress, also commented upon the upcoming procession, declaring that it would take place "with extraordinary pomp" (to John Pickering, VI, below). Four days later, Wingate referred to the upcoming procession as "pompous" and he hoped that "it will be the last I shall see or hear of this year" (to Hannah Wingate, 21 July, Smith, *Letters*, XXV, 242).

4. The reference is to Thomas Greenleaf's *New York Journal*.

New York Journal, 17 July 1788¹

Knowing that all classes of people, whether federal or antifederal, are anxious to hear the progress as well as the result of the debates in Convention, the Editor has endeavoured, from week to week, to give as exact a statement as could possibly be ascertained, and as divested of party spirit as the materials would admit. Sensible of the serious importance of the present deliberation, which keeps the state in suspense, while their freedom and independence, which cost so much blood and treasure, is suspended, as it were, upon a thread, he is not devoid of those keen sensations which he humbly conceives ought to be fathered by every patriotic breast so long as the state of public affairs are tremulously critical.—Having acted a part, in his profession, which he is sure will be justified by every free and impartial inhabitant of the United States, viz. that of preserving his press free, accessible by all parties, he presumes to justify his conduct in the face of those who have falsly avowed, *that he had rejected communications* other than those which were unfit for the public scrutiny, of which, as many have been thrown by, unnoticed, on one side as on the other. Prizing the peace, happiness and glory of his country, equally with the most zealous declaimer, he is willing to be tried at the bar of the great body of citizens, and by their decisions to stand or fall—for, before that august body one general question would suffice to condemn or acquit him, which will doubtless be—*Has every man a right to speak and publish his sentiments freely?* If it be given in the affirmative, the genius of freedom still reigns triumphant, and the editor will be acquitted; if, in the negative—blow, ye western zephers, and waft him quick from thrauldome. Politics and government are sciences he pretends not to be the master of—and all he wishes is, impartially to represent.

1. This editorial statement was not the first time that Thomas Greenleaf insisted that his *New York Journal* was open to all parties. See RCS:N.Y., Vol. 1, pp. lvii–lxi; and *New York Journal*, 19 May, RCS:N.Y., 1105.

New York Journal, 17 July 1788¹

The states are now fully represented in Congress.

When the debates came on in that hon. body, for fixing the seat of the federal government, last week, it was *resolved*, That the final decision respecting it be postponed until after the result of the debates at Poughkeepsie be known. The account of this postponement was immediately sent off to Poughkeepsie, which, says a writer from that place, *had rather a bad tendency*.²

1. Reprinted in three Connecticut newspapers between 21 and 24 July. For Congress and the location of the federal capital, the subject of this item, see “Confederation Congress Makes Provision to Put the New Government Under the Constitution into Operation,” 2 July–13 September (above).

2. On 14 July the *New York Morning Post* published an extract of an 11 July letter from Poughkeepsie which stated, in part: “We received by express, the account of the postponement in Congress for fixing the seat of fœderal government, in order to have an opportunity of establishing it at New-York—but it had rather a bad tendency; for they [the opponents of the Constitution] treated it as a feint—One of their shrewd ones ridiculed the idea, and asked whether a Spider did not always put himself in the middle of his Web” (VI, below).

Theodore Sedgwick to Governor John Hancock Stockbridge, Mass., 18 July 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . A spirit of keen animosity prevails in the convention of N York, A very great majority is doubtless antifederal. yet it is my opinion the constitution will not at the present session be either ratified or rejected. The leading characters have artfully so inflamed the people that an adoption would at present be dangerous. The popular passions must first subside. nor do I believe they possess sufficient hardihood to reject. It is therefore probable that an adjournment will be the present result.—

1. RC, Sedgwick Papers, NH. Hancock (1737–1793), a Boston merchant, was a Massachusetts delegate to Congress, 1775–78, serving as president from 24 May 1775 to 29 October 1777. He signed the Declaration of Independence. Hancock was governor of Massachusetts, 1780–85, 1787–93. He was president of the Massachusetts Convention, where he proposed recommendatory amendments to the Constitution and voted to ratify the Constitution in February 1788.

Seth Johnson to Andrew Craigie New York, 19 July 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . By accounts from our Convention, it is probable they will adopt the new constitution. this manner is proposed. that the state will ratify

it for 4 years & if during which time a general convention of the states should be called to make amendments then to continue as one of the confederated States, if no convention is called then to have the liberty of withdrawing if the state pleases.

I hope & think it probable, that it will be adopted so as to have the desired effect.—

Never were mens minds more *favorably* inclined for burning, tarring & confusion than on the other day when news came to town of prospects of a conditional adoption.² no stamp act, or Doctors,³ could have done more Despair, chagrin & imprecated looks were with the Statesman down to the butter milk woman. all seemed to say with one general voice we are undone.—

and is not time that you was done Seth you may well say? Adieu

1. RC, Craigie Papers, American Antiquarian Society. Craigie (1743–1819), a native of Boston and Continental Apothecary General during the Revolution, was a New York City apothecary, a speculator in land and public securities, and a member of the Society of the Cincinnati of both New York and Massachusetts. The portion of the letter omitted here reveals that Johnson was involved in purchasing public securities for Craigie. Johnson was possibly a member of the New York City mercantile firm of Johnson and Ogden.

2. For evidence that news about conditional amendments to the Constitution had reached New York City “the other day,” see *New York Journal*, 15 and 17 July, both in VI, below.

3. A reference to the Stamp Act riots of 1765–66, and the Doctors’ Riot of April 1788 (RCS:N.Y., 914–16).

Robert Morris to Silas Talbot

New York, 19 July 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . We are very anxious in this City for the fate of the federal constitution in the Poughkeepsie convention. The Procession & rejoicing for the Virginia adoption was postponed, as was the question in Congress for appointing the place for the meeting of the first Legislature under the Constitution, in the expectation that New York might make the eleventh adopting State. our last accounts are rather against this, but are such as to keep expectation anxiously alive.—We shall have a number of long faces here if it is rejected. In my own instance I frequently ejaculate my gratitude to heaven that I have yet a retreat in the bosom of my old state, if the circumstances of this renders living here inelligible.

1. RC, Talbot Collection, G. W. Blunt White Library, Mystic Seaport, Mystic, Conn. Morris (1745–1815), a lawyer and a native of New Brunswick, N.J., was chief justice of the New Jersey Supreme Court, 1777–79, and judge of the District Court of the United States for New Jersey, 1790–1815. Morris moved from New Brunswick to New York City in 1785 and practiced law for several years. By 1790, however, he had returned to New Brunswick, where he continued practicing law before he was appointed a federal judge.

Adrian Bancker to Evert Bancker
Hermitage, Staten Island, 20 July 1788¹

Dear Brother

Since my last to you I am favoured with yours of the 10th Instant Accompanying the News paper of the 8 Instant which did not come to hand untill the 17th. And last Night I was favoured with yours of Yesterdays date² Inclosing the 2 News papers of the 15th & 18th. Instant (NB: the paper of the 12th. not come to hand) I feel myself much Obligated to you for your kind Attention in Communicating the State of Publick Affairs & those which Relate to our familys I do hereby with truth assure you, that, yourself Sister & Children are as Near to me, as those of my immediate household, and feel myself Equally interested in their Wellfare wherefore Every intelligence I receive gives me great Satisfaction—

The last letter I recd. from my Son Abrm. was dated the 12 Instant³ wherein he Complains heavily of the Antifederal Party's Conduct, and fears they will not come into the Measures of Adopting the Constitution Recommended by the Grand Convention, But that he intends to stand Firm and Act Agreeable to the Dictates of Conscience in Dispite of all Opposition—

I Observe by the Paper of the 18 that the Federal Ship Hamilton is Launched,⁴ And that by the last Accts. from Poughkeepsie the final Answer or Resolve about the Federal Constitution was not yet passed, if the Antifederals must die they Struggle hard and are Very Obstinate tho' I hope something will yet be done by our Convention that the State of New York May not Stand Singular in the Annals of time for Rejecting that Constitution which the Other States have Adopted, and in Course must take place

I find that Doctor Crosby is no more it is what has long been Expected, I hope he is gone happy

I Observe the Grand procession is put of[f] to the 23d I think it a great Compliment paid the Jews I Do not Expect to Attend myself as my left leg is much Swelled & painfull at times, being Obligated to Stir and Stand too much on it all day, and at Night cannot sleep for Pain—

My Wife and Children are thank God in pretty Good health. They talk about Seeing the Grand Procession, but wether they will go or not is yet uncertain, they heartily Join with me in Our most Sincere Unfeigned love and best Wishes towards you Sister Children and Grand Children, & beg to be Remembered to our Enquiring Relatives & friends,

P.S. I shall be Exceedingly happy to See Evert Bancker Esqr. of New York, Wall Street at the Hermitage I would receive him as an Affec-

tionate Brother and treat him with the best that the house or farm Affords—Ay Even with the best of Cool Spring Water—

1. RC, Bancker Family Correspondence, NHi. On 25 July Evert Bancker answered his brother Adrian's letter (see below), making a copy of his reply on Adrian's letter. The verso was actually the address page of Adrian's letter; the address page included Evert's New York City address and Evert's docketing. It reads: "Staten Island 20th. July 1788/Adrian Bancker/reced. the 23th July 1788/Answered—25 July the Copy/hereto. NB reced. a Letter from Couz/Abr. Saturday evening the 26th Acquainting/That the Convention/had Adopted the New Constitution wh. letter/I sent the next morning to my Brother/with a few lines I wrote to him."

2. Evert Bancker's letters of 10 and 19 July have not been found.

3. Abraham Bancker's 12 July letter to his father Adrian has not been located, but for Abraham's letter of the same date to his uncle Evert, see VI, below.

4. Reported in the *New York Journal* and *New York Packet* on 18 July (RCS:N.Y., 1594).

Ezra L'Hommedieu to John Smith

New York, 20 July 1788¹

Your favour of the 11th. I received & had wrote you an answer to send by the post but was disappointed by the Mail being closed before my letter got to the office. After that I concluded you were so near a Close in the Business that I might see you before my Letter would come to hand.

I am very sorry that any thing I wrote to Mr Bailey should give you the lest uneasiness or in any wise divert your Attention from the great objects in which you are engaged. You were very right in your Conjecture of my Reasons, which I supposed at the Time were well founded, but I assure you I had not the least Idea of an Imputation of Neglect or Inattention, knowing that no Gentleman in that Delegation² was under the least obligation to communicate to me any thing that was passing in the Convention neither do I know that I had any reason to expect it.

That you entertain no Jealousy towards me on Account of difference of Sentiment I am glad to hear and really beleive it to be as you say.

I conclude that the propositions you mention & with some difficulty were come into by the Majority were understood by them to amount to such an adoption that this State would be considered as being in the Union. I am very clearly of opinion that the new Congress could not admit of such an adoption, having no discretionary Power and the Constitution being in the nature of a Compact it must operate equally with all. The last Propositions made last Fryday by Mr Smith³ tho they appear & are much nearer an adoption than the others are still subject to the objection of a Condition which I think will be fatal (to wit) the Liberty of withdrawing from the Union within a Certain Time, if certain

Things on the Part of the States is not done. If this should not be considered by the new Congress as an adoption many & great will be the Disadvantages besides calling a new Convention and altho the present Congress may not be competent to determine the Question they will give their sense upon it by determining another Question to wit the meeting of the new Congress, and I have every Reason to believe that this will not be deemed to be such an adoption as the Constitution makes necessary. If there is a Majority in favour of this States being in the Union I do not see the Difficulty in wording the Resolutions in such Manner, as may put it past doubt, and at the same Time fully express their sense & wishes respecting the alterations or amendments to be made in the Constitution. I will say no more on this Subject. you who are daily conversant in the business no doubt experience & see many Difficulties that do not occur to me in fixing so great a Question.

You may be assured that since the adoption by New Hampshire & Virginia a great Change in Sentiment has taken Place with those who were before opposed to the Constitution & I believe there are but few if any in this City who do not think it expedient for this State under the present Circumstances to become part of the union & as far as I am informed this Sentiment is general in the southern part of the state.

We hear that Mr Jones is for adopting the Constitution, by the Information I have had from Queens County his Conduct in that particular will be approved of by his Constituents, it is here by those who have been opposed as well as those who have approved.

If your Convention should finally ratify the Constitution, it will be a very happy Circumstance that the Majority of the Convention before the adoption by so many States were opposed to the adoption. I say a happy Circumstance because it will be a means of quieting the Minds of all & settling the state down in Peace & putting an End to Parties & Dissentions which are so destructive to the Peace Wellfare & Happiness of a People. Great preparation are making here for Rejoicing on Wednesday next as no doubt you have heard;⁴ and however premature this Business may be I am Happy in having Reason to Believe that the Business of the Day will be conducted with prudence with out insulting any one by word or Action or doing any thing by which the feelings of any one at Home or abroad may be hurt. I have wrote in a great hurry you will therefore excuse Incorrectness & not expose it, as I have not time to look over it

you know I have no intention to dictate or influence. May that Being who ruleth over all the kingdoms of the Earth so direct your Counsels in determining this great national Question that this State may long enjoy Peace & Happiness.

1. RC, Papers of John Smith of Mastic, Long Island, NHi. Smith (1755–1816), who lived in the hamlet of Mastic in the town of Brookhaven, served in the Assembly, 1784–85, 1787–94, 1798–1800, the U.S. House of Representatives, 1800–1804, and the U.S. Senate, 1804–13. He represented Suffolk County in the New York Convention and voted to ratify the Constitution in July 1788. Smith was U.S. marshal for the Southern District of New York, 1813–15, and he was a major general in the state militia.

2. A reference to the fact that John Smith was one of Suffolk County's five delegates to the New York Convention which was then in session in Poughkeepsie.

3. For Melancton Smith's propositions, see "The New York Convention," 17–18 July (V, below).

4. A reference to the federal procession that took place on 23 July (Appendix I).

**Abraham G. Lansing to Abraham Yates, Jr.
Albany, 20 July 1788 (excerpt)¹**

This afternoon to our great surprise and Mortification Mr. Swart² arrived from Poghkepsie, which place he left yesterday 10 oClock—he brought us Intelligence that a Motion for adjournment would be brought Forward yesterday and that it was expected to be carried by a Majority—If this Measure should take place, all the Exertions we have made and the anxiety we have experienced for the Liberty of our Country will end in nothing—much as it is against my wish to adopt the Constitution without previous amendments—I should prefer the Virginia Form to an adjournment—for we will have to go over all the Ground of the Election again without any prospect of Success—The Baneful Manor Interest will be exerted to obtain Instructions to the Delegates, and the poor deluded well meaning Yeomanry of our Country, not having it in their power to follow the dictates of their own Consciences will be compelled to sign these Instructions to keep well with their Masters—our Friends in the City and Numbers in the Country—will decline signing Counter Instructions, by the Meaneauvers of the Federalists who will hold out every Circumstance they can, to alarm and Intimidate—

our Friends will this Evening join in a Letter to our Delegates, and among other Matters recommend them by all Means to push the Business to a Close before they rise, and should the Constitution be adopted to place themselves in such Situation as to shew their Constituents in whom to place Confidence in Future³—

Mr. Jones it is said is so much Intimidated by the Threats of the Federalists that he does not any more take an active part—M. Smith is Likewise charged with some improper Steps—I cannot give Credit to what is alledged—but if it is True he has injured the Cause of our Country more than any Federalist—

If an adjour[n]ment should take place—our Friends recommend

you not to return to this place without giving them previous Notice—for if you return immediately after it will be construed into a determination in you to exert yourself—and by that means draw the particular resentment of the whole Federal Junto on you. . . .

PS. If the Convention does not adjourn Swart has engaged to be down again on Wednesday next—

1. RC, Yates Papers, NN. This letter was addressed “To the Care of William Bedlow Esqr.,” postmaster of New York City.

2. Antifederalist Dirck Swart was a state Convention delegate from Albany County. The arrival of Swart in Albany undoubtedly confirmed Lansing’s earlier fear that some Albany County delegates might leave the Convention early “If the Matter is not speedily decided.” On 22 June he had written Yates, requesting that Yates write the delegates and recommend that they not leave early (above).

3. No such letter has been found.

Samuel Blachley Webb to Catherine Hogeboom New York, 20 July 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . the Govr.² has rendered himself extremely obnoxious to the Inhabitants of this City, so much so, that they have lost all respect for him, however I shall be cautious not to render myself the personal enemy of him or any other Character, god mend his ways. there is indeed a great prospect that the Convention will adopt the Constitution in such a manner that Congress will receive us into the Union, it is devoutly to be wished—and it is my most ardent prayer.

Wednesday this week a Grand procession takes place in this City, before which I hope we shall hear from Poughkeepsie that all is, as we could wish, it will add greatly to the pleasures of the day, the whole expence will amount to 8 or ten thousand pounds, it would give me great pleasure was you here. . . .

1. RC, Webb Papers, CtY.

2. George Clinton.

James Madison to George Washington New York, 21 July 1788 (excerpt)¹

I have deferred writing since my arrival here in the hourly hope of being enabled to communicate the final news from Poughkeepsie. By a letter from Hamilton dated the day before yesterday² I find that it is equally uncertain when the business will be closed, and what will be its definitive form. The inclosed gazettes state the form which the depending proposition bears.³ It is not a little strange that the Antifederal party should be reduced to such an expedient, and yet be able to keep

their members together in the opposition. Nor is it less strange that the other party, as appears to be the case, should hesitate in deciding that the expedient as effectually keeps the State for the present out of the New Union as the most unqualified rejection could do. The intelligent Citizens here see clearly that this would be its operation and are agitated by the double motives of fœderalism, and a zeal to give this City a fair chance for the first meeting of the new Government. . . .

1. RC, Washington Papers, DLC. Printed: Rutland, *Madison*, XI, 190–91; Abbot, *Washington*, VI, 392–94; and Smith, *Letters*, XXV, 240.

2. See Alexander Hamilton to Madison, 19 July, and Madison to Hamilton, 20 July (both VI, below).

3. Madison probably refers to the *Daily Advertiser* and *New York Journal* of 21 July, both of which printed accounts of Melancton Smith's plan for the ratification of the Constitution. See "Newspaper Reports of Convention Debates," 17 July (V, below).

Pierse Long to Nicholas Gilman

Portsmouth, N.H., 22 July 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . I am exceedingly sorry that the Convention of New York are still obdurate—and very particularly so to find my worthy friend Melancton Smith Esqr. among the Anti's—I am sure his good sense will never suffer him to give his negative to the constitution—I could wish the Convention would adjourn for a few days that the members might consult their constituents on the question—perhaps it would not be so consistant for them to give it their affirmative in the same session they have so violently opposed it—and a short recess may at least put a better coloring to their acceding to it. a little time and cool conversation with their friends at home, no doubt will have a good effect—I really hope to hear an adjournment has taken place, for I am very much afraid of the consequences—should the question be taken and lost—for tho' the property & numbers of New York are federal yet obstinacy may make serious work—

I have not had the pleasure of corresponding with you for some time past—notwithstanding which I shall at all times be happy in the receipt of any of your favors, whenever you have a leisure moment to write—and you may be assured, that when any thing occurs in this corner of the world worth your attention it shall be communicated—

I am sorry to hear the New Congress are not likely to meet till Feby.—I could have wished them to convene in December—a procrastination can work no good²—

I have never supposed it necessary to enclose you or your Honble. Colleague, either of our news papers, as Congress receive them weekly from Mr Melcher the printer³—

Could I inform you our trade had revived—it would be a pleasing p[iece] of intelligence for me to give, and I think for you to receive but I will tell you that I believe we never had a more favorable season, all that the earth can yield, it does liberally—the best of Hay is from 18/ to 20/ ~~9~~ ton—having nothing to add—Am with Very great respect and Esteem—Your Assured friend & Most Obt. H. Servt.

1. RC, J. S. H. Fogg Autograph Collection, Maine Historical Society. Long (1739–1789), a Portsmouth, N.H., merchant, was a colonel in the New Hampshire militia during the Revolution and a delegate to Congress, 1785–86. In June 1788 he voted to ratify the Constitution in the New Hampshire Convention.

2. See “Confederation Congress Makes Provision to Put the New Government Under the Constitution into Operation,” 2 July–13 September (above).

3. “Mr. Melcher” was John Melcher, publisher of the Portsmouth *New Hampshire Gazette*. The other Portsmouth newspaper was the *New Hampshire Spy*.

James Madison to Edmund Randolph New York, 22 July 1788¹

The inclosed papers will give you a view of the business in the Convention at Poughkepsie. It is not as yet certain that the ratification will take any final shape that can make New York *immediately* a member of the new Union. The opponents can not come to that point without yielding a compleat victory to the federalists, which must be a severe sacrifice of their pride. It is supposed too that *some* of them, would not be displeas'd at seeing a bar to the pretensions of this City to the first meeting of the New Government. on the other side, the zeal for an unconditional ratification is not a little increased by contrary wishes.

There have been no late arrivals from Europe nor any news from any other Quarter.

Don't omit sending me the papers containing the series of letters announced in a late one.² Yr. Affect Friend

1. RC, Madison Papers, DLC.

2. The reference is to two letters written by the “Republican” that were printed in the *Virginia Independent Chronicle*. The first letter appeared in the extant issue of 16 July, while the second appeared in either the issue of 23 July or 13 August, neither of which is extant. Randolph sent both letters to Madison on 13 August. The “Republican” advocated the calling of a second constitutional convention to consider amendments to the Constitution. (See RCS:Va., 1710, 1754–56.)

Jedidiah Morse, Jr., to Jedidiah Morse, Sr. New York, 22 July 1788 (excerpts)¹

... This state still obstinately refuses to adopt the new constitution. Their convention are still in session, and have been since the 17th. of June. The city, & two or three adjoining counties are federal, in the

rest of the counties there is a majority antifederal. I cannot tell what will be the result. Tomorrow is to be a great day in this city. There is to be a procession of the citizens of almost every class, great preparation is making, & people collecting from almost every quarter. But we had need to rejoice with trembling, as it is more than probable if this State should reject the constitution, it will occasion a civil war. May heaven disappoint our fears in this respect. . . .

Congress are taking the necessary measures for putting in motion the new constitution.² It is a grand machine constructed by wise men; & I hope & trust that by the blessing of heaven it will diffuse peace, harmony, prosperity, & happiness throughout our land. . . .

1. Copy, Morse Family Collection, CtY. Deacon Jedidiah Morse, Sr. (1726–1819) was a Woodstock, Conn., farmer, who had represented that town in the Connecticut House of Representatives for thirty successive sessions.

2. See “Confederation Congress Makes Provision to Put the New Government Under the Constitution into Operation,” 2 July–13 September (above).

Thomas Tudor Tucker to St. George Tucker

New York, 22, 28 July 1788¹

I thank you for your several kind Favors to the 30th. June, the particular Dates of which are not at present before me. Your Poem I receiv'd & perused with pleasure. I observe that there are several Alterations made since I formerly read it, which appear to me to be for the better. I am sorry to agree with you that those Sentiments of equal Liberty which make the Ground work as well as Spirit of your whole Poem, are getting so much out of Fashion, & at this very early Period after so heavy a Sacrifice to Principles which we are but too much inclined to abandon.² The Adoption of the Constitution by your State³ has given it a firm Foundation, & will be the means of bringing in the State of New York which otherwise wou'd certainly have rejected it; and I suppose N. Carolina woud have follow'd the Example. The enclosed Paper will shew you the present State of the Business in Poughkeepsie.⁴ A temporary Adoption, to be conditionally perpetual seems to be most likely to take place. In what Light this may be consider'd, I know not. Some will deem it a valid Adoption; others will probably think that it is inadmissible & amounts to a Rejection.—It gives me infinite Pain to find that your Opinion respecting our dear Brother⁵ corresponds so much with my own first Alarms. I cou'd wish to reconcile the Circumstances to a different Explanation.

July 28th. We have receiv'd Accounts of the unconditional Adoption of the Constitution by this State, which has occasion'd a great & rather intemperate Joy in the Citizens here.⁶—We are now upon the Business

of the preparatory Arrangements,⁷ & I will not detain this to make observations on this or any other Subject.—From Mr. Madison I had reason to expect you here before this day, which is the Reason I have not been anxious to write to you.—I directed a Letter to you from the Boys this day. They are well &, I hope, going on properly in their Studies.⁸ With respect to their Expences I wish to have more particularly your Sentiments. The Disbursements for them already amount to about 60 £ this Curr[enc]y—I cannot add, for we are at this moment on a very interesting Point. God bless you.

1. RC, Tucker-Coleman Papers, Swem Library, College of William and Mary. The Tuckers were brothers. Thomas was representing South Carolina in Congress, while St. George was a Petersburg, Va., lawyer.

2. See St. George Tucker, *Liberty, A Poem; On the Independence of America* (Richmond, 1788) (Evans 21508).

3. Virginia.

4. Probably a reference to the *Daily Advertiser* or *New York Journal* of 21 July. (See James Madison to George Washington, 21 July, note 3, above.)

5. Probably Nathaniel Tucker, a Charleston, S.C., physician.

6. In particular, the “rather intemperate Joy” refers to the wrecking of the print shop of Thomas Greenleaf, the Antifederalist printer of the *New York Journal*, on the night of 26 July, when New York City received the news that the state Convention had ratified the Constitution. That same night a mob, playing the Rogue’s March, paraded before the residence of Governor George Clinton, who had opposed the Constitution.

7. See “Confederation Congress Makes Provision to Put the New Government Under the Constitution into Operation,” 2 July–13 September (above).

8. The “boys” were St. George Tucker’s stepsons, Theodorick Bland Randolph (1771–1792) and John Randolph of Roanoke (1773–1833), who were studying at Columbia College. Tucker had married their mother, Frances Bland Randolph, in 1778.

Massachusetts Gazette, 22 July 1788¹

Yesterday a report was sounded through the trumpet of common fame, for its authenticity however we will not vouch, that Governour CLINTON, President of the New-York Convention, had sent an express from Poughkeepsie to Congress, requesting of that honourable body a guard for the protection of his person, which he apprehended to be in danger from some violent threats thrown out by the anti-federalists against him, on account of his recantation from *errour*, and his embracing the federal faith. If this is true, we congratulate the federalists on the conversion of a GREAT *sinner*; but at the same time cannot help expressing our regret that the violence of prejudice should so far govern any body of American citizens as to prompt them to the attempt of depriving a man of his existence for changing his principles, as such conduct strikes directly at the root of—*liberty of conscience*.

1. Reprinted: Exeter, N.H., *Freeman’s Oracle*, 25 July, and *New Hampshire Spy*, 26 July.

Abraham Clark to Thomas Sinnickson
New York, 23 July 1788 (excerpt)¹

... We have been some time in Suspense about the event of the New Constitution in this State; The Accounts of last evening were that the Convention had Adjourned to a future day; if that is the Case they mean at next meeting to adopt it. before I seal this I may likely hear whether the above report is true or not.

P.S. I cannot find that the Acct. of the Conventions Adjourning is Supported by any good Authority.

1. RC, Conarroe Autograph Collection, PHi. Printed: CC:812. This letter, addressed to Sinnickson in Salem, N.J., was sent free under Clark's frank as a New Jersey delegate to Congress. Clark (1726–1794), the leader of the East Jersey party, was a member of Congress, 1776–78, 1780–83, 1786–88. He had declined appointment to the Constitutional Convention. In 1789 he was defeated for election to the U.S. House of Representatives but was elected in 1791, serving until his death. For his views on the Constitution, see CC:95 and Mfm:NJ. 37. Sinnickson (1744–1817), a merchant, was a member of the New Jersey General Assembly, 1777, 1782, 1784–85, 1787–88, and of the U.S. House of Representatives, 1789–91, 1797–99.

John Francis to Nicholas Brown
New York, 23 July 1788 (excerpt)¹

... The Convention at Poughkepsie are yet setting, they begin to Warp, if they do not wish to lose Congress they must bend very Soon—Some Childish Propositions have been made—Such as acceding to it for four Years only²—or Agreeing provided a New Continental Convention shall be called in four Years to alter, botch, and Mend—

These bespeak a Trifling method of Treating a Serious Subject. Characteristick of the Men who vainly dare to oppose a whole Continent from Views solely Parsimonious³—

Shew the Collector of Imposts he is an Anti,⁴ the Excise d[itt]o—the Treasurer,⁵ the Tax Gatherers, do do again and again—Gain and Not that Patriotic Commendable Spirit so Praiseworthy in every Man, actuates these Fiends to Justice and Good Government—You Righteous Men, who all believe in the dispensations of Providence, think you it will be suffer'd any longer⁶—Or will the Punishment be administred on the Next Generation? . . .

1. RC, Brown Papers, John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R.I. Francis (1763–1796), a former Philadelphia merchant, was part of the Providence, R.I., mercantile firm of Brown and Francis, which had been formed in 1786. Francis' partner, John Brown (1736–1803), became his father-in-law on 1 January 1788, when Francis married Brown's daughter Abby. In December 1787 the firm of Brown and Francis sent a vessel to trade in the Far East. Nicholas Brown (1729–1791), a supporter of the Constitution, was a

brother of John Brown, with whom he had been in partnership in trade and manufacturing. He was also a benefactor of Rhode Island College (later Brown University). The Browns were probably the most prominent mercantile and manufacturing family in Rhode Island.

2. See James Madison to George Washington, 21 July, note 3 (above).

3. Probably a reference to New York's refusal to adopt the congressional impost of 1783 on terms acceptable to Congress, primarily because some state leaders wanted to retain the benefits of the state's lucrative impost. (See RCS:N.Y., Vol. 1, xxxvi–xl.)

4. John Lamb was the collector of customs for the Port of New York, 1784–89.

5. Gerard Bancker was state treasurer, 1778–98.

6. In a portion of the letter not printed here, Francis promised to end his letter “with what Politicks I found floating in the Heads of my *Patriotic* Acquaintances, you well know my own is the most disingenious and ill calculated for Matter of that Species of any other Scull on this side the Equator.”

**Oliver Wolcott, Sr., to Oliver Wolcott, Jr.
Litchfield, Conn., 23 July 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . Whether we ought to wish that New York should adopt the Constitution, is very uncertain, That rapacious insolent State shall it exist and possess it's present territorial Claims under all it's local advantages, will in some future day more indanger the Peace of these States by being ungovernable, than that of any other—A Dismemberment of that State may therefore be best—I think that the City of N York would probably be benefited by it—But during the War and since the Peace We have seen so much of the kind Interposition of Providence, that I have that Confidence in the gracious Dispensations of the Almighty relative to these States, that I believe that the Determinations of the N York Convention will be productive of general Happiness—Their rejection of the Constitution or adopting it upon unadmissable Terms, will according to all that We can judge, be in them the extreme of Folly—but I now believe that they will risque the Consequences of such an Act of Temerity,—I am sorry that Congress have impliedly declared, that they would convene the New Congress in N York, in Case that State would adopt the Constitution, this looks like offering a Bribe, and such a Cond[e]nsation as could only gratify the Arrogance of that State²—in hast[e]. . . .

1. RC, Oliver Wolcott, Jr., Papers, CtHi. Oliver Wolcott, Sr. (1726–1797), a resident of Litchfield, Conn., held numerous legislative, executive, and judicial offices during a long political career. Among his offices were: member, state Council, 1771–86; judge, Litchfield County court, 1774–86; delegate to Congress, 1776–78, 1780–83 (signed Declaration of Independence and Articles of Confederation); lieutenant governor, 1786–96; and governor, 1796–97. He voted to ratify the Constitution in the state Convention in January 1788. Oliver Wolcott, Jr. (1760–1833), a graduate of Yale College (1778), was Connecticut comptroller of public accounts, 1788–89; auditor of the U.S. Treasury, 1789–91; comptroller of the Treasury, 1791–95; Secretary of the Treasury, 1795–1800. He was governor of Connecticut from 1817 to 1827.

2. See “Confederation Congress Makes Provision to Put the New Government Under the Constitution into Operation,” 2 July–13 September (above).

The New York City Federal Procession
23 July 1788

[Appendix I contains documents concerning the procession.]

Evert Bancker to Abraham Bancker
New York, 24 July 1788 (excerpt)¹

Your two favors of the 12th & 18th instant² I have received the first giving a gloomy and disagreeable Acct. of the deliberations and results of the Anties, and in your second the gloom somewhat brightning and more agreeable—which was agreeable to hear but since am informed that all again is disagreeable and Confusion and nothing good to be expected, but a rejection of the New Constitution in consequence our State out of the union the Congress and all its Offices to depart as having nothing more to do with us unless it be to Compel us by force of Arms to pay our ~~Debts to them~~ arrearages and an exclusion of a trade with the United States, but I do believe if the Convention Excludes this State out of the Union, that this City & County will not nor West Chester Long-Island & Staten Island and will desire the protection of the United States there in. it is terrable and disagreeable to think of the Consequences of our disunion, therefore shall not write more there on but pray to God to Alter the hearts of the Disaffected and bring order out of Confusion so that we may Live in union with all the States which God grant for Christ Sake Amen. Yesterday we had the Grandest Procession I believe that has been in America and Europeans say they have not seen any to come up to it in the Old Countries and that all in such regular Order & decorum no drunkenness fighting or quareling to be seen. I suppose a particular Acct will be in the Newspapers.³ . . .

1. FC, Bancker Family Correspondence, NHi. Docketed: “Copy of a letter to Couz: Ab:/Bancker, now at Poughkeepsie/Couz: Ab: B arrived here from Poughkeepsie on Monday 28 July.”

2. For Abraham Bancker’s letters of 12 and 18 July, see VI, below.

3. See Appendix I.

James Madison to Thomas Jefferson
New York, 24, 26 July (excerpts)¹

. . . The Convention of N. York has been in Session ever since the 17th. Ult: without having yet arrived at any final vote. Two thirds of the members assembled with a determination to reject the Constitution,

and are still opposed to it in their hearts. The local situation of N. York, the number of ratifying States and the hope of retaining the federal Government in this City afford however powerful arguments to such men as Jay, Hamilton, the Chancellor[,]² Duane and several others; and it is not improbable that some form of ratification will yet be devised by which the dislike of the opposition may be gratified, and the State notwithstanding made a member of the new Union. . . .

July, 26. We just hear that the Convention of this State have determined by a small majority to exclude from the ratification every thing involving a condition & to content themselves with recommending the alterations wished for. . . .

1. RC, Madison Papers, DLC. For additional excerpts, see CC:814. For the complete letter, see Rutland, *Madison*, XI, 196–98.

2. Robert R. Livingston.

**Caleb Strong to Nathan Dane
Northampton, Mass., 24 July 1788 (excerpt)¹**

I am much obliged for your letter of the 13th. Instant²—at the Time of receiving it I had great Hopes that the Convention of New York would ratify the Constitution, but we have now a Report that they have rejected it, if this is true I think some of the neighbouring States will be embittered against them to a great Degree, they were soured before by New Yorks hugging so closely their commercial Advantages and refusing to grant the Impost³ and their Rejection in the present Case however disinterested the Individual Members may be would be ascribed to similar Motives—The Constitution so far as I can judge grows more popular in this part of the Country and we hear no Complaint on the Prospect that its Powers will be put in exercise, perhaps this may be in part owing to the Success it has met with in the other States, the Ratification in those where it has been acted upon except New York, and the very Obstructions it meets with in that State which are attributed to selfish Considerations—be kind enough to let me know how Appearances are in Politicks. . . .

1. RC, Wetmore Family Papers, CtY.

2. See above.

3. For New York's commercial advantages and its refusal to grant Congress the Impost of 1783, see RCS:N.Y., Vol. 1, xxxvi–xl.

New Haven Gazette, 24 July 1788¹

We hear, that in the event of the rejection of the Constitution by New-York, the six most southern counties of that State, will declare their

readiness to secede from the State of New-York, and form a distinct State,—and that Governor Clinton has declared that he is determined to adhere to his party, even if hostilities should be the consequence of his obstinacy. It is even suggested that he will, in such case, seek an alliance with Great-Britain. As a prelude to war, we are well informed, that he has ordered his family to be removed from New-York to Ulster or Orange County.² It is hoped, and indeed not doubted, that the spirit of the neighbouring States, particularly Connecticut and New-Jersey, will rise as fast as the obstinacy of New-York increases. We have been long enough fleeced of our property by their impost,³ and as the great object of an equal enjoyment of the rights for which we have bravely fought, is now within our grasp, let it not be lost to gratify the avarice and ambition of a *few characters* in that State, who are now engrossing to themselves the whole of that, which ought to be equitably divided between the United States.

1. Reprinted: *Connecticut Courant*, 28 July.

2. For the alleged danger to Governor George Clinton's wife Cornelia in New York City, see Richard Penn Hicks to John Dickinson, 15 July, at note 3 (above).

3. See RCS:N.Y., Vol. 1, xxxvii.

Evert Bancker to Adrian Bancker
New York, 25 July 1788 (excerpt)¹

Dear Brother

. . . You'll find by the papers no Adoption yet of the New Constitution I pray God to Alter [the?] hearts of the Antis for if out of the Union all will fall in Confusion and disorder which I pray God to prevent. . . .

1. FC, Bancker Family Correspondence, NHi. Evert Bancker wrote this retained copy of his letter on the same sheet of paper on which Adrian Bancker had written his 20 July letter to him. See Adrian Bancker's 20 July letter, note 1 (above).

Don Diego de Gardoqui to Conde de Floridablanca
New York, 25 July 1788 (excerpts)¹

. . . By my several Official communications Your Excellency will see that ten States have ratified the new government, in spite of great opposition on the part of a large number of their inhabitants, but the cleverness of the leaders who now push its organization has prevailed. To this end a full Congress has met, and it is delayed only because the delegates to the Convention of this state are still meeting, and the results are still doubtful, but the result is expected daily. In the meantime it is known that Mr. Jay and his associates have done their best through oratory and intrigue, but without results up to the present time, be-

cause the Governor² and the residents of the rural districts are bitterly opposed [to the new Constitution]. If they refuse to ratify it, it is possible that there will be the strange case of the division of the State, because this city is in favor of the new government, and since it controls the mouths of the Rivers the use of which the people of the interior claim, they may end in a case similar to our affair³ which would be odd.

What they promise from the new government borders on insanity, but the intelligent men think more moderately, and some fear that it will be only a temporary remedy which will delay the disease but not cure it.

Be that as it may, the matter proceeds slowly because in my opinion, as I reported to you, its organization will be delayed, and its effects will not be felt for many years, especially with respect to the Treasury which is in a very bad condition because it does not possess a cuarto,⁴ nor the credit to raise one. . . .

I enclose an account of the manner of the inhabitants of this city celebrating the adoption of the new government, in spite of the feeling aroused in them by the opposition of two-thirds of their rival fellow-citizens of the State.⁵

Remembering the orders of Your Excellency that in view of the circumstances I should stay on good terms with these people and with the private persons who may influence our affairs, it seemed well to me to arrange the entertainment given by His Majesty's Mail Packet [the *Pinzon*]⁶, which pleased them very much.

It is also noteworthy that although we have no Treaty with them they had placed His Majesty's Flag in a prominent place at the base of a placard bearing the words *Treaty with Spain*, just as there was one of France, but not having a treaty with England, her flag was not flown, a distinction which was much felt by the citizens of that nation.⁷

Your Excellency will pardon me for reporting these trivialities, for although I know that they are such, they show how favorably we are looked on in this country, and the desire of these people to continue friendly.

I conclude Most Excellent Sir, by adding that the more I examine this locality and the divergence of interests between these Atlantic States and those states on the banks of our Rivers, I am even more confirmed in the belief that they cannot continue united with those that have their outlet on their waters, and although it may require a long time I can promote the policy that is fitting to the King's interests. . . .

1. RC (Tr), Estado, Legajo 3893, Apartado 3, Letter No. 20, pp. 475-84, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid. Printed in D. C. Corbitt and Roberta Corbitt, trans. and

eds., "Papers from the Spanish Archives Relating to Tennessee and the Old Southwest, 1783–1800," East Tennessee Historical Society *Publications*, XVII (Knoxville, 1945), 114–17.

2. A reference to George Clinton. Gardoqui was not surprised with the Federalists' difficulties. In early June he had written that Jay and other "able defenders" of the Constitution had reason to fear "that not even their talents will be enough to obtain that which they desire" (to Conde de Floridablanca, 9 June, Mfm:N.Y.).

3. Gardoqui refers to the need for the United States to navigate the Mississippi River through Spanish territory including New Orleans. (See CC:46.)

4. A Spanish coin worth six-tenths of a cent.

5. A reference to Gardoqui's description of the procession that he attached to this letter (see Appendix I).

6. For the *Pinzon's* involvement in the federal procession of 23 July, see RCS:N.Y., 1646, at note 18.

7. For another description of the placement of the flags of allies of the United States at the entertainment on 23 July, see RCS:N.Y., 1657, at note 37.

Don Diego de Gardoqui to Conde de Floridablanca New York, 25 July 1788¹

Since my Number 268 of 26 June, in which I informed Your Excellency of the adoption of the New System of Government by the State of New Hampshire, the same News has been received from Virginia, in which the debates were raised to a superior degree, but it is said that the Aristocratic party cleverly won the small Majority of Ten Votes from among the one Hundred Sixty-eight of which it was composed.

In view of this fact, and of being the tenth of the States that have agreed, the voters of this state were pleased that the opposition would concede its tenacity but in spite of the fact that fifteen days ago they awaited the favorable result for hours, still it is not known what their decision will be, because according to the Letters that just arrived they had exhausted the able Delegates that this City sent, all their knowledge, and strength, but without having produced considerable effects, inasmuch as the opposing party was sustained with doubled forces.

If as is generally believed it should be conditionally agreed upon, the Congress will not be able to receive it; as a consequence New York will remain outside of the Confederation, and perhaps Congress will move to another State, a circumstance most irritating to this City, which is decided in favor of the New Government, and may result in the division of the State with other very curious consequences.

As the weather continues adverse for setting sail, perhaps it will present an opportunity for further information to be received, of which I will inform Your Excellency, if it is corroborated, meanwhile remaining at Your Excellency's disposition [and] asking God to preserve the life of Your Excellency for many years.

1. RC (Tr), Estado, Legajo 3894, Apartado 1, Letter No. 283, pp. 262–65, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid.

**Comte de Moustier to the Comte de Montmorin
New York, 25 July 1788¹**

The delay that affects the arrival of the packet that has long been expected here induces me to profit from the departure of a Dutch ship that is taking the Crew of a French ship wrecked on these shores to Amsterdam, to have the honor to inform you of the Situation of public affairs.

I have had the honor to inform you on the 2nd of this month² by way of England of Virginia's accession to the new System of Government. The minority has succeeded in having various modifications recommended that must be proposed to the new Congress. The number of recommendations of this type seems to plant the germ of very lively discussions that could perhaps even lead further than is advisable for the tranquility of the American union.

Only since yesterday has there been hope of seeing the State of New York also consent to the new constitution. The opposition has been very lively for the five weeks that the convention of this State has been assembled in Poughkeepsie. The leaders still do not seem persuaded, but as the votes are being counted and pondered, the accession of the State of New York to the union in its new form will probably not take place this month. There is no news here of what is happening in North Carolina.

Congress now occupies itself with deciding at what time it is advisable to appoint the new Congress. It will determine later the place where it will assemble. It appears to have taken this step only in order to allow time for the New York State convention to declare its sentiments definitively.³ Because if it has rejected the new constitution, the State will be outside the union, and in that case it will not be too practicable nor advisable to assemble the Congress in a city that has become Foreign. It is presumed that when the state of New York accedes, the present Congress will convoke the new one in this city, which will necessitate many special arrangements for its establishment, which will be more considerable than that of the present Congress. The adoption by the State of New York will surely not take place without being accompanied by recommendations, by modifications that the opposing party has contrived to propose as conditional, which is equivalent to a refusal, which would color it in the people's eyes.

1. RC (Tr), Correspondance Politique, États-Unis, Vol. 33, ff. 233–34, Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Paris, France. This document was docketed as received on 9 September.

2. See above.

3. See "Confederation Congress Makes Provision to Put the New Government Under the Constitution into Operation," 2 July–13 September 1788 (above).

**Victor Marie DuPont to Pierre Samuel DuPont de Nemours
New York, 26 July 1788 (excerpt)¹**

My very dear Papa.

. . . I am very uneasy regarding your present situation, and still more so regarding your health. Our gazettes are filled with extracts of English accounts that suppose the Kingdom in confusion, but we know that the English love to embroider upon this subject, and the people here who follow the English in everything even surpass them when it comes to subjecting us to ridicule or humiliating us. Does this not suit them well? There is an imbecile of a printer who this morning has put an article in his gazette on the subject of these accounts and has titled it in large type *Revolution in the French government* and *Rebellion in France*. It supposed us at the point where America was when she was enduring her despotic yoke, and asserted that this country would populate itself like Ireland and England from the large number of persons of *distinction* who would abandon everything to flee a country governed by *the arbitrary will of a despotic sovereign*. When no one takes the trouble to bestow a hundred blows of the stick on a scoundrel such as this one (who is tolerated in a land of liberty), what one had better do is remain silent, and that is what you do. Nevertheless, I so forgot myself this morning in a circle of arguing politicians that I wished them nothing for their good in this matter but that their *New aristocratic constitution* should last as long without trouble and yield as good results as our *despotic monarchy*, and that I thought that they would do well not to count on the emigration of *people of distinction* to America which that will cause.

We had a federal procession here in honor of the adoption by ten States. It cost a great deal of money that could have been much better employed than by dragging a small vessel on 4 wheels through the streets and giving a dinner to 4 thousand people in an open field, the congress presiding in a body under a small shelter. You will see a description of all this in a few days. The playthings of this people, yet so young, who always have the word "Roman" on their lips, and who compare these parades to the public games of that great people, are all sometimes very amusing to a dispassionate observer, as I endeavor to be, although I have a strong penchant for falling into plans opposed to those of my predecessors, who were without enthusiasm.

The city of New York did that as a good federal city, but the state assembly at Pokeysy did not want to listen to reason, and it has paid

the violins without dancing at the feast. It is claimed that Governor Clinton is going to place himself at the head of all the antifederalists, as Washington has at the head of the Whigs, and promote a civil war. It is very possible, it is more probable, that the federalists, who are the strongest, will apprehend the governor and some others, coat them with tar, then roll them in feathers, and finally promenade them through the streets. That would amuse me highly. This is a charming English custom that sheds no blood, that does no harm to anyone, and that very strongly directs the eyes toward reason. You would perform marvels by employing it against the most obstinate of your parliament. It would produce a charming effect, in addition to which it is in the French humor. . . .

1. RC (Tr), Victor DuPont Papers, Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Greenville, Del.

John Vaughan to John Dickinson
Philadelphia, 26 July 1788¹

I have much to apologise for my Silence to your kind favors, many were the Causes, Some of them unavoidable; the two principal were my intention of visiting your place, which I have been in daily expectation of for some time & my being disappointed in the return of the Corrected papers from New York which I had reason to expect long since having written for them instantly upon receipt of yours—The delay I find can in some measure [be] accounted for [by] the Gentry having been at Poughepsie I have again pressed him to send them & have no doubt I shall Soon receive them—They have had a Very extensive Circulation in that State by means of the Newspapers & have been quoted, but where men *will not* be persuaded, inspiration itself would lose its powers.² The Manly Sober Sense of Jay & the lively eloquence of Hamilton have assisted to ward off the blow for Some time, but all this backed by the Terrors of *Disunion* seem not to affect them.—The Fœderalists in that State look upon the proposal of the other party to adopt for 4 years, [()Which adoption is to become a lasting one if a New Grand Convention is held) as a Step downwards, & promise themselves that a reform will take place but all I can learn is that So Sanguine are both parties, that it is difficult to find out where the truth lies³—

I have more than once Conversed with Mr Carey about the Insertion in his Museum & have lately Seen him—I find the whole will be inserted in this next Volume if nothing Interferes, but he is not Steady⁴—

I think it is since I saw you I heard from Mr Laurens⁵ who was much pleased with the letters & another letter from Mr Langdon⁶ who thanked me in the warmest terms for the Communication I did not

here further from General Washington⁷ but not thinking it proper to invite further Correspondence from one who had So little leisure, After the first Numbers they were sent under a Blank Cover.—We have No accounts from North Carolina but I confess from the knowledge I have of the General Situation of the Country (the State laws, large Debts, Small means, & weaker inclinations to discharge them) I fear, there will be a Strong opposition to the Adoption of the New Government—Those who have property to preserve wish for an efficient Government. Those who do not wish to pay & who have nothing to lose but what ought to be in possession of their Creditors, wish for no Government at all—

Congress it is Said have fixed March for the time of Organisation— but from what cause we know not (unless to keep in suspense till York determines) *No place* is fixed⁸—

I have *sent down by Bush's boat*—6 Setts of Mrs. Barbaulds Lessons for Children republished by Mr Bache

I remain Your friend & admirer

1. RC, Dickinson Papers, Library Company of Philadelphia.

2. The “papers” were apparently the nine Federalist essays signed by “Fabius” that Dickinson wrote and that were printed in the *Pennsylvania Mercury* between 12 April and 1 May (CC:677). However, not a single number of Dickinson’s “Fabius” has been located in any extant New York newspaper. The “Gentn” at Poughkeepsie was possibly printer Francis Childs of the *Daily Advertiser* who attended the New York Convention debates in Poughkeepsie.

3. In early June Vaughan, although uncertain, had been more optimistic about New York’s ratifying the Constitution. He stated that “It has been Said that a majority of the N York Convention were against it [the Constitution]—I am of Opinion that they are *at present* about equal, but as no Instance has yet happened of a Foederal turning antifederal, & numerous ones of the Contrary, I have no doubt that notwithstanding all that passion & influence of certain persons can do, but that all will be well—indeed all agree there is *not a doubt*, if one more State only adopts.—Virginia will be the first” (to John Langdon, 6 June, CC:775, p. 168).

4. The reference is to Dickinson’s nine “Fabius” essays that Mathew Carey reprinted in his monthly Philadelphia *American Museum* in the last six issues for 1788.

5. Probably a reference to Henry Laurens, a South Carolina merchant-planter, who was formerly president of Congress (1777–78). He was elected to the Constitutional Convention but refused to attend. In May 1788 he voted to ratify the Constitution in the South Carolina Convention. The first number of “Fabius” was reprinted in the *State Gazette of South Carolina* on 8 May.

6. A reference to John Langdon, a Portsmouth merchant, who had voted to ratify the Constitution in the New Hampshire Convention on 21 June, and to whom Vaughan had sent all nine numbers of “Fabius.” The entire series was reprinted in the Portsmouth *New Hampshire Spy* between 17 May and 21 June, while the first five numbers were reprinted in the Portsmouth *New Hampshire Gazette* between 22 May and 19 June.

7. Vaughan sent copies of the “Fabius” essays to George Washington, who praised the first four numbers in a 27 April letter to Vaughan (CC:677, p. 79).

8. See “Confederation Congress Makes Provision to Put the New Government Under the Constitution into Operation,” 2 July–13 September (above).

Hugh Williamson to James Iredell
New York, 26 July 1788

*First Letter of 26 July (excerpt)*¹

... Some days ago there was a large Procession here on 10 States having confederated and Congress were invited to dine with the Company some thousands of them under a particular Pavilion in the Fields. The other States attended but the N Carolina Delegates staid at Home. We conceived it was a Respect we owed the State not to celebrate an Event in our public Characters which the State we represent has not hitherto sanctioned by her approbation.

Hitherto the State of N York in Convention has not taken its Measures it is thought they will be curious and a species of Delphic Oracle, neither an Adoption nor Rejection or both as parties may be disposed to Construe it.

*Second Letter of 26 July*²

We give bad proofs of our Knowledge whatever we may give of our Candour while we go on making mistakes & confessing that we have made them. After the inclosed was written the information contained in the inclosed Paper came to Hand by which it would seem that the New York Ratification is not like to prove a Hermaphrodite as had been apprehended. Such have been the Effects of the weighty reasoning of the minority and other very *weighty* considerations. By the Way the antifeds were conscious that they have in many Cases carryed their Elections by imposing false Representations on their Constituents and propagating impudent Lyes. We take for granted that N Carolina will not be the only associate of Rhode Island.

1. RC, Iredell Papers, Duke University. Printed: Smith, *Letters*, XXV, 250–51.

2. RC, Emmet Collection, NN. This letter was addressed to Iredell to be delivered to him at his home in Edenton, or to Hillsborough, where he was attending the North Carolina Convention.

William Ellery to Benjamin Huntington
Newport, R.I., 28 July 1788 (excerpt)¹

... The seven peices of silver which you sent us for seven quarters of dollars, were seven fifths of dollars.—They have the forms of quarters of dollars;—but they are defective in weight:—I mention this cir-

cumstance to prevent your receiving such peices in future for more than they are worth, not on account of the trifling difference to us between 7 fifths, and seven quarters of dollars.—

When shall we be furnished with money coined by the United States?²—I do not expect that [we?] shall soon be furnished with a gold or silver currency from a Congressional mint;—but I should think that we might expect a copper currency from that quarter as soon almost as the new Constitution shall be organized.—This event will not I suppose take place until New york Convention shall have decided on the constitution, and that I think cannot be much longer protracted.—The majority of that body are clearly against the New Constitution; but the minority are very respectable.—This and the apprehension that the federal counties will, if they can, throw off their subjection and place themselves under the protection of the new government, hath hitherto prevented them from rejecting it; and this or something else will I hope induce them finally to adopt it.—Their idea of going into the union, and going out at the expiration of 4 years if their proposed amendments should not be agreed to is so childish, so repugnant to my notions of governmental federal compacts that I can hardly think that the majority could be serious in making that a condition of their acceding to the new Constitution.—I am confident that no State would be admitted into the Union on such terms.

If they should reject the constitution, and the federal counties should withdraw from the jurisdiction of the State, and request Congress to take them under their protection, what would the new Congress do in that case?—Would they give them protection?—Would they erect them into a new State; or divide them between Connecticut and New-Jersey?²—These questions I hope are premature; and that New york may embrace the new Constitution.—This State will stand out as long [as] it can;—but if New york accedes,—it will, it must soon come in.—If it should continue to be obstinate to the last;—it is not invincible. It may be annihilated, and divided between Massachusetts and your State.—

When I see two States² so much opposed to a system of government which has been adopted by ten, and perhaps eleven³ States,—and when the State I belong to is one of the two I cannot help thinking what will be the probable consequences of their persisting in their opposition.—

The [legal?] situation of New york I should think ought to influence her.—If she stands out, your State and New-Jersey will I presume pass acts prohibiting any commerce with her, and such acts she must know would prove highly prejudicial to a State which owes her wealth and importance very much to those States.⁴—This little dependent State is

fortunately placed between two States that can easily squeeze her to death;—but besides the disadvantages that these States must suffer, in case of a determined final rejection of the new Constitution, from their local situation, they will be excluded from all intercourse with all the other States;—and I cannot conceive how these detached petty sovereignties are to carry on commerce with transmarine powers.—They cannot long stand out,—they must come in or be annihilated.—I suppose the time and place for organizing the new government will be fixed by Congress as soon as New York has decided.⁵—The sooner it is then done the better;—for when it is organized the opposers of it will cease to foment opposition, and the States, will reap the United States, will enjoy the blessings of government.—The present Confederation which never was sufficiently energetick is now considered as a dead letter,—and we are all afloat.—

For the want of something new to communicate to you I have hastily thrown upon paper what may have frequently been the subjects of your contemplation.—

I should be happy in having your sentiments on the probable consequences of any State's finally rejecting [the?] new Constitution; especially what you think [would?] become of this State in that case.—I should also be much obliged to you for any information you may give me respecting congressional matters.—

Homo sum et nihil humanum a me alienum puto.⁶—I am a citizen of America, and I cannot be unconcerned about what respects her.—

P. S. A Vessel which arrived here from New York after I had finished my letter brought us the news glorious news that the Convention of that State had acceded unconditionally to the new Constitution, on which important event I most heartily congratulate with you.—This State now must yield.⁷—

1. RC, Thomas C. Bright Autograph Collection, Jarvis Library, Rome, N.Y. Ellery (1727–1820), a Newport, R.I., lawyer and commissioner of the Continental Loan Office for Rhode Island, was a member of Congress, 1776–85 (almost continuously; signed the Declaration of Independence and Articles of Confederation); and collector of customs for Newport, 1790–1820. Huntington (1736–1800), a Norwich, Conn., lawyer, served in the state House of Representatives, 1771–80 (speaker, 1778–79); the state Council, 1781–92 (but not 1790); Congress, 1780–84, 1788; and the U.S. House of Representatives, 1789–91. He was mayor of Norwich, 1784–96, and a state Superior Court judge, 1793–97.

2. The reference is to New York and Rhode Island. Ellery learned that New York had ratified the Constitution after he finished writing this letter. See his postscript and note 7 (below).

3. The reference is to North Carolina whose ratifying convention met from 21 July to 4 August.

4. For New York's commercial dominance over Connecticut and New Jersey, see RCS:N.Y., Vol. 1, xxxvii.

5. See “Confederation Congress Makes Provision to Put the New Government Under the Constitution into Operation,” 2 July–13 September (above).

6. Latin: I am human, therefore nothing human is strange to me (Terence [c. 190–159 B.C.], *The Self-Tormentor*, line 77).

7. Ellery probably wrote this postscript on 29 July. A Boston newspaper reported that “a gentleman of undoubted veracity” who arrived in Boston from Providence stated that “the New-York Packet” reached Providence with the news of New York’s ratification of the Constitution on “Tuesday morning” [29 July] (Boston *Independent Chronicle*, 31 July).

Eilardus Westerlo Memoirs

Albany, 29 July 1788¹

I am Sorry to reflect upon What has passed since my Last [previously?]. The same Day an unhappy tumult arose, among the parties; & many on both sides were wounded;² Blessed be God! no Lives were Lost & matters Speedily settled. I have also been obliged to vindicate my preaching from the Aspersions of party Ship & have reason to thank the Lord that the [decision?] was rather In my favor, having *prayed—for peace & union*.³ This—I most humbly thank the Lord—has been my frame & Disposition, all along, & now I wou’d Join with all His people, In praising His Holy Name, for the prospect of peace & prosperity throughout the Land—This state having also adopted the Constitution—may the Union, with Brotherly Love, prevail & prove a Blessing indeed; both for Church & state; I desire to wait on the Lord for Every mercy & to be found faithfull & sincere In His service—may our health & strength be reposed & we & all His ministering servants rejoice In renewed Influence of His Spirit & Grace—The Lord pity my Dr. Colleague & support & repose us both for His Work—Amen

1. MS, Westerlo Family Papers, Albany Institute of History and Art Library.

2. Westerlo’s previous entry in his “Memoirs” was dated 4 July, although he did not describe the “fracas” that took place in Albany that day because illness prevented him from attending the celebration of the Fourth (Mfm:N.Y.). For the “fracas,” see RCS:N.Y., 1264–75.

3. In his “Memoirs” for 4 July, Westerlo wrote: “I wou’d humbly pray, that no misfortune nor further discord may happen among the people—but all things be done peaceably & orderly & We yet sing of the Way of the Lord as the God of Love & peace” (Mfm:N.Y.).

Tobias Lear to George Washington

Portsmouth, N.H., 31 July 1788 (excerpt)¹

I received your very obliging favor of the 29th Ulto. and feel grateful for the pleasure it gave me by communicating the joy which was felt in your vicinity upon receiving the doubly pleasing intelligence of the accession of New Hampshire & Virginia to the proposed Constitu-

tion.—Its adoption by the latter State gave peculiar & inexpressible satisfaction to the *good people* in these parts; for, notwithstanding the ratification by New Hampshire was the Key-stone of the fabrick, they still trembled for the consequences if Virginia should reject it—they knew the importance of the *Dominion* as an acquisition to the Union—they knew its ability, beyond any other State, to support independence—they had the best grounds to beleive that a rejection there would produce similar effects in New York & No. Carolina,—and their fears were kept up by concurrent accts. from that quarter of the strong & able opposition which it met with in the Convention.—These fears were, however, happily done away by the joyous tidings of its adoption.—No. Carolina is now looked upon as certain;—and what will be the determination of New York at present they do not seem to regard, for it is not doubted but that they *must* ultimately accede to the general Government.² . . .

1. RC, Washington Papers, DLC. Printed: Abbot, *Washington*, VI, 407–9. Lear (1762–1816), a native of Portsmouth, N.H., and a graduate of Harvard College (1783), was Washington’s private secretary from 1786 to 1793. He read law while employed by Washington. Lear also took part in the debate over the ratification of the Constitution by publishing, under the pseudonym “Brutus,” a criticism of George Mason’s objections to the Constitution in the Alexandria *Virginia Journal*, 22 November, 6 December 1787 (CC:276–B; and RCS:Va., 41–42, 174–75, 212–16).

2. On 2 August the Portsmouth *New Hampshire Spy* reported that New York’s ratification of the Constitution had arrived in Portsmouth in the mail of “last evening.”

Richard Platt to Winthrop Sargent New York, 8 August 1788 (excerpt)¹

I have this day recd. your favor of the 15th. Ulto.—Knowing you to be fond of good Government & hoping the new Constitution will produce happy Effects, I congratulate you on it’s ratification by Eleven states, and hope you will soon hear of North Carolina’s Accession—and as for Rhode Island ’tis of very little moment whether she comes in or not.

There has been a most violent contest in Congress for two weeks past about the place where the new Congress shall assemble—Philadelphia, Baltimore & New York have each been warmly espous’d—All the States represented—Philada. has been negatived—next Baltimore got 7 states—but the day following on reconsideration, New York had 7 in favor of it, & there the matter stands—tho’ tis uncertain whether a strict adherence will continue (probability in our favor) upon the final vote upon the Ordinance, for putting the new Government in Motion—March is fixed on for the meeting of the first Congress.²—

Little Hamilton shines like a star of the first magnitude—Think how great his Victory in our Convention when with only 19 Fœderalists, opposed to 46 most violent Anti's with Clinton, Yates, Lansing, Smith & Jones at their head, after six or seven Weeks, he triumphed & gave us the Constitution—

We have had here a decent & splendid procession for the ratification of the Constitution by 9 States—Such was the Ardor of our fellow Citizens on this account, that they could not be restrained, till our State had come in—I send you four news papers containing but a lame acct. of it, tho' the best we could get—These please to distribute among your friends, as they may furnish some Amusement.³ . . .

1. RC, Sargent Papers, MHI.

2. On locating the federal capital, see “Confederation Congress Makes Provision to Put the New Government Under the Constitution into Operation,” 2 July–13 September (above).

3. See “The New York City Federal Procession,” 23 July, especially the “Description of the New York City Federal Procession,” *Daily Advertiser*, 2 August (Appendix I). Platt was chairman of the committee of arrangements.

John Brown Cutting to Thomas Jefferson

London, 22 August 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . There are letters in town from New York of the 6th of July. Most of those whose written opinions have been communicated to me concur in believing that a majority in the Convention of that State will refuse their assent to the new Constitution; notwithstanding the decision of Virginia has been announced to them: It seems however that they were not in haste to decide ultimately—as the debates thereafter continued. Congress as soon as the ratification of the ninth state reached them officially took order for the immediate issue of precepts to organize the national government²—This is written from Mr Contee, Delegate for Maryland to his brother here—dated July 2d. He adds, “the accession of Virginia it is thought will induce a reluctant vote for ratification on the part of New York.”³ . . .

1. RC, Jefferson Papers, DLC. Printed: Boyd, XIII, 535–36. Cutting (c. 1755–1831), apothecary of the Hospital Eastern Department and the Middle Department during the Revolution, studied law with John Lowell of Boston in 1783 and was in England to complete his legal studies. In September 1787 Cutting went to France and was given letters of introduction to Jefferson from John Adams, the painter John Trumbull, and Adams's son-in-law William Stephens Smith, all of whom recommended Cutting highly. Smith described him as “remarkably well informed” (Boyd, XII, 124, 138, 145–46). When Cutting returned to England, he often wrote to Jefferson commenting on American politics.

2. See “Confederation Congress Makes Provision to Put the New Government Under the Constitution into Operation,” 2 July–13 September (above).

3. Benjamin Contee, a Maryland merchant and lawyer, represented Maryland in Congress, 1788, and the U.S. House of Representatives, 1789–91. His letter of 2 July has not been found.

John Brown Cutting to Thomas Jefferson
London, 30 August 1788 (excerpts)¹

The inclosed paper contains some few articles of intelligence which perhaps may not have reached you by any other channel. When the last vessels quitted New York about the 8th of July the convention of that State still continued to debate upon the great question of rejecting or adopting the national constitution and it is with concern I perceive that the probabilities against an immediate adoption of the same seem so much to preponderate. . . .

The inhabitants of the City of New York, of Long, Staten and York Islands and of the Counties of East & West Chester²—in fine of most of the maritime territory in the state, seem unanimously resolute to adhere to the general government³—and talk loudly of beseeching the new congress for a dismemberment from those Counties in the rear the representatives of which are so extremely strenuous for a separate sovereignty. Certain it is that in the Convention at present, Governor Clinton's party, as it is called, outnumber their antagonists in the proportion of two to one. It is no less manifest that this gentleman and all those who are personally attached to him have uniformly acted against the general government argued against it and still continue so to do. Whether this proceeds from honest and patriotic motives or results from sinister views—they must surely perceive that the solitary opposition of New York will ultimately prove abortive. Wherefore I am inclined to think they may yet acquiesce—after having retarded their assent;—perhaps by an adjournment—or some other device which may enable them to secure for the separate use of the state, another years amount of their impost. . . .

1. RC, Jefferson Papers, DLC. Printed: Boyd, XIII, 549–51.

2. Cutting is referring to the southern counties of New York State. New York County (Manhattan or "York" Island) included New York City; Kings, Queens, and Suffolk counties comprised Long Island; Richmond County comprehended all of Staten Island; and the town of East Chester was part of Westchester County.

3. In another letter, a London mercantile firm also expressed "great pleasure" that the city was "almost unanimous" in favor of the Constitution. When the Constitution was "properly established," the firm continued, "America will rise again, & regain her Credit, and the Trade depending on it" (Bourdieu, Chollet, & Bourdieu to Nicholas Low, 6 August, Low Papers, DLC).

IV.
THE ELECTION OF CONVENTION DELEGATES
29 April–3 May 1788

Introduction

The legislature's resolution calling the state Convention provided that each county was eligible to send the same number of delegates to the Convention as they sent to the state Assembly. The election of delegates, using written ballots, was to begin on the final Tuesday in April, the 29th, and to run as long as five days if need be. Most polls probably did not stay open for the full five days. In New York County, for instance, according to newspaper reports, the polls closed on different days. On Staten Island (Richmond County) various polls also closed on different days, with the last of them not finishing until the evening of 3 May (Abraham Bancker to Evert Bancker, 4 May).

By the state election law of February 1787, once the votes had been cast and the polls closed, the county canvassers had to wait until the last Tuesday of the month before opening the sealed ballot boxes and counting the ballots. Thus the tallying of votes could not begin until 27 May. Between 27 and 30 May, all fourteen counties (Washington and Clinton voted together) completed their tallies (first for the Assembly and then for the Convention) and drew up election certificates for the victorious candidates. Since the law provided that ballots had to be destroyed immediately after counting, only letter and newspaper reports of final vote tallies are still available. (Except for Columbia County, election certificates survive. The Albany certificate is published in this volume as an example; the other certificates are in Mfm:N.Y.)

The legislature's resolution calling the Convention provided that all free adult male citizens could vote for Convention delegates. This significantly increased the number of ballots cast for Convention delegates as opposed to those cast for assemblymen and senators, both of which still had property qualifications for voting. In Ulster County, for instance, three of the six successful Antifederalist Convention delegates had also been elected to the Assembly. Each received significantly more votes as a Convention candidate than as an Assembly candidate—1,339–893 (49.9% more votes), 1,045–672 (55.5% more votes), and 1,356–562 (141.3% more votes). In Columbia County two of the three successful Convention candidates were also elected to the Assembly. They each received 364 more votes for the Convention than for the Assembly (1,850–1,486 and 1,863–1,499), slightly over 24% higher. In Orange County, Henry Wisner received 240 votes for the Assembly and 332 votes

for the Convention—a 38.3% increase. The New York *Daily Advertiser* indicated that New York City's Out Ward had 78 ballots cast for the district's senator, 137 for assemblymen, and 533 for Convention delegates. Thus, for this ward, almost four times as many electors voted for Convention delegates as had voted for the Assembly, and almost seven times as many voters cast ballots for Convention delegates as for the Senate. Although it probably would be incorrect to attribute all of these increases to the universal male suffrage used in the Convention elections, this provision of the legislative resolution significantly increased voter turnout for Convention delegates.

The county election campaigns stimulated great interest. Federalists and Antifederalists established county election committees that coordinated efforts within the county. Sometimes intricate political maneuvering was necessary to mollify disputes among precincts, towns, and wards over the selection of an "official" party slate of candidates. As the elections approached, the dissemination of literature increased locally, between adjoining counties, and throughout the state. Several new printings of the Constitution occurred. Statewide cooperation also occurred in obtaining the election of three of the most important candidates. After initially flirting with the idea of running Governor George Clinton in either New York County or Kings County, Antifederalist leaders eventually decided to have George Clinton run in his home county of Ulster although, as governor, he resided in New York City. Likewise, Melancton Smith, unelectable from his new home in New York City, was elected from Dutchess County, where he had spent most of his life and still owned considerable property. Federalist Chancellor Robert R. Livingston understood the difficulties of being elected from his home county of Columbia in which Federalist factions were embroiled, so he stood as a candidate from New York County in which he owned a great deal of property.

During the interim between the close of the polls and the counting of the ballots it was uncertain whether Federalists or Antifederalists would win control of the Convention. Each side hoped for victory, knowing that they had done particularly well in certain counties but that the balloting in most of the counties was too close to predict. The results shocked most people as Antifederalists won a sweeping victory electing 46 of the 65 Convention seats. No county split its delegation—they were either all Federalist or all Antifederalist. Antifederalists had elected their delegates from Orange County northward and also from the two largest Long Island counties (Queens and Suffolk), while the Federalists' nineteen delegates came from four southern counties—Westchester, New York, Richmond, and Kings.

Antifederalist and Federalist leaders were elected to the Convention. Governor George Clinton, Supreme Court Justice Robert Yates, Mayor John Lansing, Jr., of Albany, and party leaders Melancton Smith and Samuel Jones represented Antifederalists. Chancellor Robert R. Livingston, Supreme Court Chief Justice Richard Morris and Justice John Sloss Hobart, Mayor James Duane of New York City, Confederation Secretary for Foreign Affairs John Jay, and Alexander Hamilton represented Federalists. Fourteen past or current state senators; thirty-seven past or current assemblymen; and eleven past or current delegates to Congress were elected to the Convention.

In this compilation of election documents, counties are organized alphabetically and documents chronologically within each county. The heading for each county includes the name of the county, the names of the delegates elected, their stance when elected, and how the delegates ultimately voted on ratification. "A" or "F" indicates Antifederalist or Federalist. "Y" indicates that the delegate voted to ratify the Constitution; "N" indicates a vote against ratification; and an asterisk (*) indicates those who were either absent or abstained.

CITY AND COUNTY OF ALBANY

John Lansing, Jr. (A-N)	Anthony Ten Eyck (A-*)
Henry Oothoudt (A-N)	Israel Thompson (A-N)
Dirck Swart (A-*)	Peter Vrooman (A-*)
Robert Yates (A-N)	

On Tuesday evening, 12 February, Albany Antifederalists initiated the election campaign by holding a meeting in Albany to select a committee to nominate candidates to serve as delegates to the New York Convention. Another meeting on 13 March with representatives from various districts throughout the county met at William B. Hilton's tavern in Albany, settled on a slate of candidates, and planned the campaign. Sometime before 12 March, Federalists also met and formed a committee chaired by Albany merchant Robert McClallen to promote their slate of candidates. Federalists published their slate as a circular dated 14 March.

Both Federalists and Antifederalists published "official" lists of candidates, distributing them as broadsides throughout the county. Other recommendations were also published in the newspapers. Because few Albany newspapers remain extant, only seven lists still exist (including the two "official" lists). Of the forty-seven individuals nominated, nineteen were Antifederalists, nineteen were Federalists, and the political views of the remaining nine are unknown. Seven men were mentioned more than once. Federalists James Gordon and Abraham Ten Broeck received the most nominations, with four and three respectively. Five others, John Lansing, Jr., Henry Oothoudt, Dirk Van Ingen, Stephen Van Rensselaer, and Robert Yates, received two each. Lansing, Oothoudt, and Yates were Antifederalists, while Van Ingen and Van Rensselaer

were Federalists. Federalist Jeronemus Hoogland charged Antifederalists with planting a number of lists of Federalist nominees in the newspapers to divide the Federalist vote (to Philip Schuyler, 1 March).

The city of Albany was a Federalist bastion, while most of the surrounding country was strongly Antifederalist. The rural areas included the large manors and estates of several Federalist families, such as the Schuylers, Van Rensselaers, and Ten Broecks. Since both sides believed that a narrow margin of victory would be likely, the campaign was hard fought. Federalist Leonard Gansevoort described Antifederalists as “indefatigable in endeavouring to excite the People” against the Constitution (to Peter Gansevoort, 13 February), while Federalist Philip Schuyler indicated that Federalists “conducted the business with great propriety, and Activity, and continue unremitting in their endeavours to insure Success” (to Robert R. Livingston, 29 March). Leonard Gansevoort suggested to his brother Peter that the district of Saratoga was heavily Federalist and “if properly drawn forth” might determine the election (18 March).

Antifederalists were particularly effective at distributing their literature. Federalist William North complained to Henry Knox (13 February, RCS:N.Y., 766) that “The Centinel, the farmers letters, & every other publication against the Constitution are scattered all over the County, while the federalist remains at New York, & not a single Piece . . . is sent abroad.” Likewise, in early April the New York Federal Republican Committee recorded sending 380 copies of Mercy Warren’s “A Columbian Patriot,” *Observations on the Constitution* (CC:581) to John Lansing, Jr., in Albany for distribution (RCS:N.Y., 896). By mid-April, Federalists had managed to get at least forty or fifty copies of volume one of “Publius,” *The Federalist* (Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison, RCS:N.Y., 137–43, 878–80) to Albany to aid the Federalist election cause (Archibald M’Lean to Stephen Van Rensselaer, 10 April, and Leonard Gansevoort to Stephen Van Rensselaer, 11 April, RCS:N.Y., 906–7, 913). Apparently to counter an argument made by Albany Antifederalists that New York City Scotsmen opposed the Constitution, an address dated 12 April and signed by fifty-five New York City Scotsmen supported the Constitution and encouraged their Albany counterparts to do the same. Fifteen Albany Scotsmen endorsed and subscribed to the address on 21 April. The address and the Albany endorsement were printed together as a broadside that circulated in Albany (21 April). The Albany Anti-Federal Committee questioned the validity of at least one of the fifteen subscribers and asserted that forty-one Albany Scotsmen “have declared in writing” their opposition to the adoption of an unamended Constitution (c. 28 April).

After the election and prior to the counting of the ballots, uncertainty reigned. Alexander Hamilton noted to James Madison on 11 May that “both sides claim the victory” in Albany, which looked at that time to be the swing county. William North believed that in the town of Schoharie Antifederalists outnumbered Federalists three to one (to James Duane, 4 May); by contrast, the Lansingburgh *Federal Herald* claimed on 5 May that “in this district, there is a majority of near 300 federal voters. We are happy to add, that four-fifths of the people in Lansingburgh are federal.”

In the end, Antifederalists decisively swept the county. John Lansing, Jr., wrote to Abraham Yates, Jr., in New York City on 1 June that “the Event has

been as successful as the most sanguine expected." Antifederalist candidates received between 4,657 and 4,681 votes (Lansing, the mayor of Albany, received the most votes), while Federalist candidates got between 2,610 and 2,627 votes. The small ranges of these totals suggest voting patterns along party lines; most voters simply followed the slates provided by the two election committees. Furthermore, assumptions about Federalist and Antifederalist strongholds proved true, though Antifederalists won more overwhelmingly than some had imagined. According to Matthew Visscher, Antifederalists had the majority in all districts but the City of Albany (to Abraham Yates, Jr., John McKesson, and Melancton Smith, 30 May).

Leonard Gansevoort to Peter Gansevoort
Albany, 13 February 1788 (excerpt)¹

Dear Brother—

. . . You have doubtless heard that the Legislature have called a Convention to deliberate upon the proposed plan of federal Government and that six of the States vizt. Georgia Pennsylvania, Delaware, Jersey, Connecticut & Massachusetts have already adopted it, the New Hampshire Convention is now sitting and we may soon expect to hear the result, *there is no doubt of their accession*²—what this State will do must remain uncertain 'till next June when our Convention is to meet, the opposers to the new Constitution here are indefatigable in endeavouring to excite the People against it, and I should not regard their Industry nor their Arts if they did but adhere to Truth, they cannot however succeed the Minds of the People are well impressed that the present Government is inefficient to the exigencies of the States, and embrace the present plan as the only one held out and the most unbounded confidence in the Persons who composed the Convention that have recommended it—

The Antifederalists in this place have had a Meeting last Night and have appointed a Committee to repair to the several Districts to consult with them upon proper Persons to represent this County in Convention, and to sow the seed of opposition & dissention, but I hope the People will think & decide for themselves upon this momentous Subject.³ . . .

Your affectionate Brother—

1. RC, Gansevoort-Lansing Papers, NN.

2. For the impact on New York of the New Hampshire Convention's adjournment on 22 February without ratifying the Constitution, see RCS:N.Y., 798–800.

3. For criticism of this meeting, see "Fabius," *Albany Journal*, 18 February, at note 2 (below).

William North to Henry Knox
Albany, 13 February 1788 (excerpts)¹

Dear General,

. . . Last night the Antifedsts met here & appointed a Committee to manage the election for Convention—They use every art, & strain every nerve to gain their points²—& if the Federalists do not exert themselves (which they never have done, nor ever will do sufficiently) they will be beaten. . . .

Adieu my General, believe me to be Your friend & Servt

1. RC, GLC 2437, The Gilder Lehrman Collection, courtesy of The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, New York. For the complete letter, see RCS:N.Y., 765–66.

2. For criticism of this meeting, see “Fabius,” *Albany Journal*, 18 February, at note 2 (below).

Henry Oothoudt to Leonard Bronck
Albany, 13 February 1788¹

Mr. Nicholas Van Schack Informs me that you had requested him to Call on me to Write you if any Nomination had been made of Delagates for the Convention which is to meet in June to Consider the proposed New Constitution—I have heard of none—I Suppose it will take up some time before those Nominations are publicly known—possibly a Very Tite Election will be had—The Majority for Calling a Convention in the Assembly in the present Mode Appeared to be small which Shews a Diversity of Sentiments—This Day it is Expected we will hear the News from Bouston how the Question has been Carried. The report now is two ways some say Adopted others Adopted with Amendments²

1. RC, Bronck Manuscripts, Greene County Historical Society, Coxsackie, N.Y. Bronck (c. 1751–1828) was a wealthy landholder, mill operator, and lawyer. In the 1790 U.S. Census, he owned six slaves. He was a state assemblyman, 1786–87, 1789–91, 1792–93, and 1796, and a state senator, 1796–1800. Bronck was First Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in newly created Greene County, 1800–1810.

2. For the arrival in Albany of the news of Massachusetts ratification, see RCS:N.Y., 766, 767. For the importance to New York of Massachusetts’ ratification of the Constitution with recommendatory amendments, see RCS:N.Y., 747–54.

Fabius
Albany Journal, 18 February 1788¹

To the PRINTERS of the ALBANY JOURNAL.

Gentlemen, In vain may we talk of amendments in government; of the restoration of public credit; of the improvements of commerce, or any kind of public tranquility, if men will suffer themselves to be for ever

duped and deluded by malevolent and designing knaves. Were we to establish a government superior to any other in the known world, what could it avail us, if the citizens were determined to be misled, and to shut their hearts against *it* and reason?

From this self evident truth, I am led into a consideration of the proceedings of the antifederal party in this city—a set of men, who are now secretly plotting and contriving to defeat the adoption of every salutary measure. This junto, I am informed, originated from a few persons, who are as well known for their loose principles in private life, and low bred arts, as they are for their erroneous ideas of order and good government.—Despicable for their attachment to self-interest, self-consequence, and an unbounded popular influence—with every principle of dissimulation and treachery, they are fitter to become the leaders of a gang of Shayites, than members of a peaceable administration—with consciences as black as hell, I am informed, they have beat up for volunteers to join in their foul-hearty undertaking; and, that in consequence thereof, not less than an hundred of them have secretly convened for the purpose of devising ways and means of preventing an adoption of the proposed federal government.

A man of sense and candor, and a lover of his country, would now enquire—have those men learnt the principles of this government? have they deliberated upon its expediency? have they attended to the reasons that have been alledged in its defence? or, are they open to conviction, to receive what might now be alledged in its favor?

It is well known, sirs, they have never attended to the principles of the new Constitution, insomuch, that they have on many occasions prohibited the reading of it, so as to be able the better to inculcate their own falshoods—that they have not deliberated upon its expediency, or in any degree attended to the reasons that have been, or might be alledged in its defence, is also very certain—on the contrary, they conceived it would give energy to government, and therefore destroy popular influence, and promote men of merit. To oppose the reasons given in its defence, they have propagated the most paltry lies and misrepresentations, that ever were circulated amongst a people. In fact, there never was a question of such national importance, on which were parties, where the one side has been so miserably defended, and where its advocates have been driven to such poor, cowardly, equivocating schemes.

Divested of *reason, justice, patriotism, and public spirit*, and driven from every laudable retreat; they now find it expedient, as their *dernier resort*, to coop themselves up in the retired part of an obscure tavern—there unknown and unheard of, to project their malevolent plans.²

That *licentiousness* and *enthusiasm* are their ruling principles, cannot be doubted—by their false alarms of *offended justice* and *endangered liberty*, they assume the right of corrupting each other, and like fanatics in religion, working themselves up into an enthusiastic zeal—giving full scope to wild imagination, and to turbulent and discontented passions—who can doubt but such must inevitably produce the most desperate, and at the same time, the most wicked and imprudent of plans. So that what they cannot prevent by fair means, they are determined by force to resist. The objects of their standing committee, under the direction of a GUY FAUX,³ are, I presume, as numerous, as they are illegal and unwise—to appear *formidable* to their neighbors, may be one motive; and when they cannot coolly persuade, to threaten and terrify is their manifest intention.

For my own part, sirs, I have ever been, and shall so continue to be, a sincere lover of liberty.—I always wish, that in times of danger, citizens would convene to devise modes for the public safety, and that they deliberate coolly, upon the real object of redress—and instead of infusing corruption, falshood, and enthusiastic zeal, they lay themselves open to candor and impartiality—that their deliberations should be public; open to all parties, and every one be allowed to speak his opinion; and sophistry and falshood deservedly opposed by truth and sound reasoning. But why do this junto keep themselves private, and like negro-thieves, in the night concert their despicable plans. Why do they not convene in some public place, and give public notice? the cause is ours as well theirs—our properties and liberties are as valuable as theirs. Why are we not to be made acquainted with their proceedings, who are to be made participators of our country's fate? Or, are they, by private conspiracies, to make us a sacrifice to their madness and folly. These are questions I now challenge them to answer—and ere I brand with eternal infamy, let them come forth and defend themselves.

Wicked machinations ever require privacy and caution; and thus far they are really consistent, for it is easier to baffle ignorance, in the retreats of iniquity, than by open and public attempts, where reason cannot fail of success, and virtue rise triumphant over every obstacle.

I therefore conclude, that the *private deliberations* of those desperadoes, on the *public affairs*, are as illegal, as they are injurious, and wholly incompatible with the interests of the state—that they do but alienate the affections of the citizens from their country, and good government—that they create a contempt of every legal restraint or wholesome regulation, and turn good citizens into dangerous enemies.

But, sirs, let them, in time, consider, that though they are indefatigable in their exertions, and have framed leagues with the bad spirits

in other counties, that they are but a handful of men; an inconsiderable few, and that few, remarkable for neither spirit or abilities—and, should they attempt an outrage, they may be swallowed up in a moment—there are not wanting a large majority of the people, who, when need requires, will exert themselves in their country's cause, and punish them for their baseness and temerity.

1. For other essays written in Albany by "Fabius," see RCS:N.Y., 754n.
2. For other reports on this meeting, see Leonard Gansevoort to Peter Gansevoort, 13 February, at note 3, and William North to Henry Knox, 13 February, at note 2 (both above).
3. Guy Fawkes (1570–1606) was tried, convicted, and executed as a conspirator in the Gunpowder Plot to blow up King James I in the House of Lords in revenge for the enforcement of the penal laws against Catholics. Since Fawkes was arrested on the night of 4–5 November 1605, Guy Fawkes Day is celebrated on 5 November.

Civis

Albany Journal, 23 February 1788

To the Free Citizens of the County of ALBANY.

Gentlemen, The time is now come, when every well-wisher to his country must exert himself for its welfare—as we expect to draw from it, the protection of our civil and political liberties, so we must now by our suffrages give the finishing stroke to that system, offered for our political salvation. Let me now intreat you once for all, to exert reason and true patriotism, laying aside every selfish gratification; abandon the corrupted and all their wicked wiles. Espouse those only, who have wisdom enough to serve you, and who have integrity enough to pursue the true paths of disinterested virtue; which you may the better do, I have proposed for your consideration the following persons, as CANDIDATES for our STATE CONVENTION.—

PHILIP SCHUYLER,
VOLKERT P. DOUW,
ABRAHAM TEN BROECK,
JOHN TEN BROECK,
LEONARD GANSEVOORT,
JAMES GORDON,
HENRY GLEN,
DIRK VAN INGEN,
THOMAS SICKELS,
LEONARD BRONK.

Albany Federal Herald, 25 February 1788

To the Free Electors of the City and County of Albany.

Friends and Fellow-Citizens. It is at all times highly necessary that public offices should be filled by men of unblemished virtue—but more es-

pecially so at a time when our existence as a free people is in the greatest danger, and when the fate of the whole union, in a great measure depends on the patriotism of the men we make choice of for the State Convention—The time being near at hand when we are to elect Representatives for the next General Assembly, and also Members for the Convention,—the following Gentlemen are held up as candidates for those important trusts—all of whom are known to be men of patriotic principles, and some of them, whose lot it was to face their enemy in the field of battle, have nobly fought and bled in defence of the liberties of their country.

JAMES GORDON.
STEPHEN VAN RENSSELAER,
DIRICK VAN INGEN,
HEZEKIAH VAN ORDEN,
DIRCK TEN BROECK,
JOHN YOUNGLOVE,
ROMEO HOOGLAND.

**Albany Anti-Federal Committee Circular Letter
Albany, 27 February 1788¹**

Sir

The time fast approaches when it must be determined by the representatives of the people whether the new proposed government shall be adopted or not on this depends the happiness, or misery, of America, if we chuse men on whose principles and patriotism we can rely, we may hope that the subject will be well considered and justly determined should you agree with us in opinion, you will be pleased to consult with the inhabitants of your District on the subject and send two or three gentlemen of the best information to meet us and others from the different Districts of this county at the house of William Hilton Tavern keeper² on the Thirteenth day of March next for the purpose of fixing seven gentlemen to be held up as deligates for this county and to support the nomination—

We are Sir, your hum: Servts.

Peter W. Yates.
Abm. G Lansing
Mat Visscher

John Lansing Junr
Heny. Oothoudt
Jer V Rensselaer

1. ADS, Emmet Collection, NN. Yates (1747–1826), a lawyer, sat in the New York Assembly, 1784–85, and in Congress, 1786. Visscher (c. 1758–1793) served as Albany County clerk, 1778–90, and sat in the Assembly, 1784–1785, 1787.

2. William B. Hilton's house was located on Green Street in the City of Albany.

**Jeronemus Hoogland to Philip Schuyler
Lansingburgh, 1 March 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . As the Antifederal party are (to Divide the Federalist) publishing a Variety of Lists of persons held up for members of the Intended Convention I would Suggest to you the Idea of publishing or rather printing one or two thousand hand Bills for Albany County, recommending proper persons for our members, Setting forth the Designs of the Antifederalists & those Sign'd by a few of the most Influential Characters who are for our measures in the County—it would be well I think to have some men of Activity who can be Depended on to attend each District Election, with a parcell of those hand Bills with them—Depend on it the Enemies of the New Constitution are making great Efforts to carry thier favourite point & I have reason to think they make too great a progress in thier business They will be united while I fear we will without great care be Divided—I have Observed that Colo. Jno. Younglove of Cambrid[g]e is in nomination in one of the Albany papers; two of his Confidential friends on whom I can Depend assure me he is Antifederal.² . . .

1. RC, Schuyler Papers, NN. Hoogland was a lieutenant and adjutant in the New York militia who was captured at Long Island in August 1776 and exchanged in January 1777. He became a lieutenant and adjutant in the Second Continental Dragoons serving until the end of the war and attaining the rank of captain. Federalists nominated him as a delegate to the Convention (Albany Federal Committee Circular, 14 March, below).

2. See Albany *Federal Herald*, 25 February (above). Younglove was later nominated as an Antifederalist candidate for the state Assembly (see Albany Anti-Federal Committee Circular, 15 March, below).

Mercator

Albany Federal Herald, 3 March 1788

Messrs. Printers, The news-papers published in this city have already abounded with the names of candidates for seats in the state convention; I must acknowledge that this prerogative is due to every free elector, yet we, as the constituents, ought to recommend none to the suffrages of our fellow-citizens, but such as have been conspicuous in the cabinet and field; and who, by a sacrifice of their property, and their laudable and spirited example, have emancipated us from the encroachments of a British yoke. Such, my fellow-citizens, are the characters that demand your attention, and are well worthy your suffrages.—Step boldly forward, then, on the day of election, and convince those demagogues who connive at monopolizing every lucrative office, and who, by their insinuating wiles, are endeavouring to infuse a spirit of opposition to the proposed system, in the minds of the honest yeomanry—that your prow-

ess, influence and strength is equal to theirs—and that the political salvation of America is your *summum bonum*.¹ For my own individual self, I dare to prognosticate, that unless this federal system is adopted, millions of our posterity, yet unborn, will implicate vengeance against us. Let me then recommend the following gentlemen for your representatives—Men famous for their abilities, integrity and patriotism.

Abraham Ten Broeck,
Stephen Lush,
Stephen V. Rensselaer,
Daniel Hale,

James Fairlie,
James Gordon,
Derick Lane.

1. Latin: the supreme good.

Albany Federal Herald, 3 March 1788

To the Free Electors of the City and County of Albany.

Friends, The following gentlemen having ever sustained and supported unblemished characters, and who have on many occasions distinguished themselves by their true valor and patriotism, induces a citizen to recommend them as men worthy to represent you in the state convention.

John Price,
Peter W. Douw,
Bastian Visscher,
Abraham Bloodgood,
Gerrit Lansing,
Abm. Schuyler,
John Mersalis.

Robert Kennier,
John Moore,
Jacob H. Wendell,
Peter Sharp,
John W. Wendell,
Cornelius Wendell,

Leonard Gansevoort to Peter Gansevoort

New York, 5 March 1788 (excerpt)¹

Dear Brother—

. . . As I mentioned to you upon a former Occasion public Life is the Road to preferment, let me intreat you therefore to accept & comply with the Wishes of your Friends to suffer yourself to be elected a Member of the Convention it is a very important Appointment and great & good consequences I hope will result from it to you, as you wish therefore to promote the good of your Country for which you have risked your Life, as you wish to contribute to the good of your Ofspring and as you Esteem your Friends be persuaded to serve our County as a Member in the Convention—

The Constitution will doubtless be adopted by every State in the Union before the first Day of Jany. next in my Next shall give my Reasons for this bold assertion—

1. RC, Gansevoort-Lansing Papers, NN.

An Anti-Federalist

Albany Journal, 8 March 1788

To the FREE CITIZENS of the COUNTY of ALBANY.

The Day approaches, when you are to elect Delegates to represent you in Convention, to meet at Poughkeepsie, on the third Tuesday in June next, for the purpose of adopting or rejecting the NEW CONSTITUTION.—To perform this important Trust, it is necessary for you to select such Characters as are *virtuous* and *honest*; and who will disinterestedly defend your Cause with Wisdom and true Patriotism. The following Gentlemen I recommend to you as Candidates for this purpose,

ABRAHAM YATES, jun.
ROBERT YATES,
JOHN LANSING, jun.
HENRY OOTHOUDT,
JEREMIAH VAN RENSSELAER,
JOHN TAYLER,
ABRAHAM G. LANSING.

“W. M.”

Albany Journal, 10 March 1788¹

Messrs. Printers, No man can behold the insidious efforts of the anti-federal party, without disgust and indignation. They are straining every nerve; conjuring up imaginary phantoms, to delude those people, who have neither sense or discretion, to distinguish between the happiness they will experience if the new federal system should be adopted, and the miserable and endless confusion that will inevitably follow from its rejection. (A few of our leading men, in this city, are very active in their endeavours to divide, by dissensions, the people of this state—and, offer them, as a substitute for our present proposed system, anarchy and confusion. They, gentlemen, are, in my opinion, like the witches in Macbeth, dancing round the chaldron of sedition, each throwing in his proportion of spells, for the confusion of his country.)² It behoves every man to look forward with anxiety, to the meeting of our Convention; and to put in men of tried integrity, who have shewn themselves staunch friends to the cause of liberty and virtue.

I shall not trouble you with names, for that important trust, as your Journal has before offered some men very well qualified to guard our freedom.—The first wish of my heart is, that we may be happy and free; and, the second is, that the new Constitution be adopted.

Washington-street.

1. Reprinted: *New York Morning Post*, 22 March. For a response, see “J. M.,” *Albany Journal*, 15 March (below). The *Massachusetts Centinel*, 2 April (Mfm:N.Y.), paraphrased the text in angle brackets. This paraphrasing was reprinted in the Providence *United States Chronicle* on 10 April.

2. William Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, Act IV, scene 1, lines 1–44.

**Abraham G. Lansing to Abraham Yates, Jr.
Albany, 12 March 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . From your not writing by this Stage—I conclude that you are preparing to leave Poughkepsie² on your Return home—It is the sincere wish of [your?] Friends that you could be up in Time to take a Ride to Montgomery and Schoharrie with Col. Cuyler—and Mr Ten Eyck.

Our Measures have hitherto a most favorable aspect and if we Continue our Exertions—we have the greatest prospect of success—To Morrow we are to have the Meeting from the Different Districts in the County some are already come in.³ . . .

1. RC, Yates Papers, NN.

2. Yates was in Poughkeepsie attending the Senate.

3. For the nominations made by an Antifederalist meeting on 13 March, see Albany Anti-Federal Committee Circular, 15 March (below).

**Albany Federal Committee to James Duane
Albany, 12 March 1788¹**

Knowing your sincere attachment to the federal side of the question in the present political controversy, we take the freedom to request your influence among the Inhabitants of Duanesburgh in favor of the Gentlemen named in the two lists we now have the honor to enclose you, for members to Convention and Assembly, for this County, and in favor of Mr [Peter] Sylvester as Senator for the Western District²—

We would at the same time consider you as rendering an essential service to the *Federal Cause* by requesting Mr Watts, Mr Dirck Lefferts, Mr Augustus Van Cortlandt, Mr. Augustus Van Horn, Mr. Peter Kissam, the Proprietors of Kayaderosiras,³ and any other Gentleman who have any Connection in this County, to use their influence also by letter or otherwise, in support of the same Lists—

Any letters written for the above purpose, may be directed and forwarded under cover to Robert McClallen Esqr. Merchant of this city—who will take the most speedy measures for having them delivered agreeably to their respective addresses—

We have the honor to be with the greatest Respect Sir, Your humble. Servant—By Order Robert McClallen Chairman of the Federal Committee

1. RC, Duane Papers, NHi. Robert McClallen (d. 1817), an Albany merchant, was state treasurer from 1798 to 1803. Three days earlier, on 9 March, Duane was sent a similar letter requesting that he use his influence in the town of Duanesburgh to ensure the election of Federalists to the Convention. (Because of damage to the manuscript, the identity of the correspondent is unknown.) The correspondent wrote, in part, “I wish to call to your Mind that Circumstance, and have no doubt but every thing in your power will be done to assist us in this County to send Federal Men to the Convention and assembly. The Committee of Albany will write you on this Subject and Enclose you a List of Candidates” (RC, Duane Papers, NHi).

2. The lists are no longer attached to the letter, but presumably they were either those in the Albany Federal Committee Circular of 14 March (immediately below) or identical handwritten lists.

3. Kayaderosseras was a large land grant about twenty miles north of Albany.

Albany Federal Committee Circular, 14 March 1788¹

To the INDEPENDENT ELECTORS, of the City and County of Albany.

At a public and general MEETING of the FEDERALISTS of the City of ALBANY, a Committee, consisting of fifteen Persons,² was appointed for the Purpose of collecting the Sentiments of the different Districts of the County, on the Subject of nominating Candidates for Members of the CONVENTION and LEGISLATURE. The Committee having had actual Conference with a Number of respectable Characters in each District, *report*, That it appears to be a general Opinion, that the following Gentlemen be held up as Candidates.

<i>For the Convention.</i>	<i>Senator for the Western District.</i>	<i>For Assemblymen.</i>
Abraham Ten Broeck,	Peter Silvester.	Stephen Van Rensselaer,
Jacob Cuyler,		Leonard Gansevoort,
Francis Nicoll,		Richard Sill,
Jeronemus Hoogland,		John Younglove,
Peter Gansevoort, jun.		Isaac Vrooman,
James Gordon,		Hezekiah Van Orden,
John W. Schermerhorn,		John Knickerbacker, jr.

In forming the above Lists, Care has been taken not to hold up as a Candidate for Convention, any Person enjoying an Office of Profit under this State or the United States; considering it highly indelicate and improper, that the Peace and Happiness of our Country, should

be risked in Opposition to private Motives: It has likewise been deemed inexpedient, to add the Name of any Person who has officially determined on the proposed Plan of Government—knowing that Errors adopted casually and without Reflection, by being long cherished in the Mind, are often received and persisted in as sound Political Principles.

We are authorised to inform the Public, That the Gentlemen nominated for the Convention, are fully impressed with that Spirit of Amity and Conciliation, which has been lately evinced by the Conduct of our Sister State of Massachusetts, on the great NATIONAL QUESTION; and it is our general Wish and Expectation, that the New Constitution be adopted as nearly as possible upon the same Principles—that is, by Ratifying and Confirming the Constitution in its present Form, and strongly recommending the Amendments proposed by that State, as well as any others which may, on a full Investigation of this Important Business, be found requisite.³

It being universally admitted, that the present System of our Continental Government is totally inadequate to the great Purposes of the Nation, we therefore, as well from a Conviction that the proposed Constitution is in general well adapted to the securing the *Peace, Liberty* and *Happiness* of our Country, as from the Consideration of its having been already RATIFIED by SIX powerful States—FOUR of which are our immediate Neighbors⁴—are fully persuaded that the above Candidates, will receive the support and Influence of all those INDEPENDENT ELECTORS who wish to see HARMONY and GOOD GOVERNMENT rise superior to a State of *Anarchy* and *Confusion*.

By the unanimous Order of the Federal Committee.

Robert M'Clallen, Chairman.

ALBANY, 14th March, 1788.

1. Broadside (Evans 45378). The colophon reads: "Printed by Charles R. Webster, No. 36, State-Street, near the English Church, Albany." Webster printed an identical version of this broadside dated 16 March (Evans 45257). The circular was reprinted in the *Albany Journal* on 15 and 17 March; in the *Albany Federal Herald* on 17 and 31 March, and 7 April; and in the *Albany Gazette* and the *Hudson Weekly Gazette* on 27 March. On 28 April, the eve of the election, the circular was reprinted for the fourth time in the *Federal Herald*. (With this issue, the publishers of the *Federal Herald* moved to Lansingburgh.) The *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, 13 May, reprinted both the Federal Committee Circular of 14 March and the Anti-Federal Committee Circular of 15 March under the heading "Proceedings of the Federalists and Anti-Federalists, at Albany." Four of the reprints kept the 14 March date at the end of the circular, the last three reprintings in the *Federal Herald* omitted the date, one changed the date to 15 March, and another used the 16 March date. See also note 3 (below.)

2. For the names of the fifteen committee members, see Albany Federal Committee, *An Impartial Address*, c. 20 April (below).

3. This paragraph was reprinted in the *Massachusetts Centinel* on 2 April (Mfm:N.Y.), and was reprinted in both the Portland, Maine, *Cumberland Gazette* and the Providence *United States Chronicle* on 10 April. Massachusetts ratified the Constitution on 6 February with nine recommendatory amendments. See "New York and the Massachusetts Convention's Amendments to the Constitution," 6 February (RCS:N.Y., 751-54).

4. Delaware and Georgia, as well as the neighboring states of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, had already ratified the Constitution.

Albany Anti-Federal Committee Circular, 15 March 1788¹

*To the Independent Electors,
Of the City and County of ALBANY.*

At a public Meeting of a Number of the Anti-Federalists, inhabitants of most of the districts of the city and county of Albany, who had formed themselves into a Committee for the purpose; the following persons were unanimously nominated to represent the city and county in Convention and Assembly.

DELEGATES.

ROBERT YATES,
JOHN LANSING, Jun.
HENRY OOUTHOUTD,
PETER VROOMAN,
ISRAEL THOMPSON,
ANTHONY TEN EYCK,
DIRCK SWART.

SENATOR for the Western District,

PETER VAN NESS.

ASSEMBLYMEN.

JOHN LANSING, Jun.
HENRY K. VAN RENSSELAER,
CORNELIUS VAN DYCK,
JOHN THOMPSON,
JOHN DUNCAN,
JEREMIAH VAN RENSSELAER,
JOHN YOUNGLOVE.

In forming the list for Members of Convention, who are to decide on a subject of the utmost importance, as well to ourselves as to posterity, particular attention was paid to exclude from nomination every person, whose very large possessions and intimate connection with a man of the first property in the state, would afford him a hope that, if the government became vested in the hands of a few, his interest would be among the first particularly promoted by it—from a conviction, that

it must be injurious and dangerous to a free people, to send a representative whose situation is so peculiar as to render him little affected by any changes in government, which may abridge the liberties of his fellow citizens.—Every person suspected of being interested in the establishment of a constitution which holds out an impunity for speculation, and a total oblivion for all sins of that nature—persuaded that the same disposition which first prompted an appropriation of the monies entrusted to him, under the sacred sanction of an official oath, would induce a further sacrifice of the dearest rights of mankind, to secure his ill gotten wealth—Every person who has, by the general tenor of his conduct, during a struggle which unmasked the most latent propensities of the mind, evinced that he preferred a disgraceful submission to the yoke of British servitude to a generous effort to shake it off—convinced that the same inclination to support tyranny, or the same imbecility to oppose it, would render him a very improper object for a public trust, of so important and affecting a nature as the one we are now about to devolve—Every person, whose immorality, common habits of blaspheming and swearing, and continual efforts to reduce all characters to a level with his own, induces a presumption, that he is as destitute of principle as of common sense: sincerely impressed with the idea, that the man who blasphemes his God, and malevolently scandalizes his neighbor, cannot be so eminently qualified in other respects, as to prefer him to all the other inhabitants of the county—Every person who, long conversant with military life, has imbibed an opinion and not hesitated to declare, that the WILL of ONE is much preferable to the LIBERTY of ALL—Every person who can submit to have an opinion dictated to him, and will vote as *one person*, who brought him forward, shall direct:—Knowing that where opinions are given privately and decidedly influence a public conduct, the soundest reason and argument, urged against those opinions, must be unavailing and fruitless—persons not sufficiently qualified to judge and determine on the great and important Business of Government, and persons who have determined first to adopt a defective Constitution, and afterwards, *contrary to their own sentiments*, affect to depend on a precarious recommendation for future amendments.

A Committee of the Anti-Federalists in this city, vouch to the public that, though the Convention of the United States, *who were delegated for the sole and express purpose of revising and amending the Confederation*,² have presumed to form an entire new System of Government; and although the Gentlemen nominated for the State Convention, conceive the New Constitution dangerous to the Liberties of the People, they are not averse to the cultivation of a spirit of conciliation; but they are not

disposed to trust to the feeble effects of a recommendation of future amendments, while they have it in their power to make it a condition of accession.

The defect of the present Confederation, is no reason for depriving the individual States of their most important rights of sovereignty; nor can it from thence be infered, that we must at all events, adopt a Government more exceptionable—as it will probably leave us no alternative, but that of changing for one which deposits more power in the hands of the *few*.

The consideration that six States (including the three small States of *Georgia*, *New-Jersey*, and *Delaware*, by some Federalists called *powerful States*) have already adopted it, may be urged to influence us to pursue their example: but two of them have, by the best information, been precipitated into the business—In the others very little time was afforded to deliberate on the important *National Question*.³ In Massachusetts, the Constitution is adopted; but it appears to have been the sense of a large proportion of its Convention, probably a majority, that amendments were essentially necessary—& that notwithstanding the proposed amendments, they adopted the Constitution by a small majority of only *nineteen* of near *four hundred* members.⁴

In New-Hampshire, the manner of the adjournment leaves it out of doubt, that very few of the Delegates beyond the majority, wanted instructions, *as has been asserted*, as the question for adjournment was carried by no more than three; and the expedient of an adjournment must have proceeded from a conviction that otherwise the Constitution, if the question had then been decided, would have been rejected.⁵

But whatever may be the sentiments, whatever the conduct of our brethren in the neighboring States, we are to judge for ourselves; and we hope and believe, that the Candidates nominated for *Delegates in Convention* and *Members in Assembly*, will be supported by all such in the county, who prefer the fixing a Government which will secure our Liberties and Happiness, to a servile reliance on the assurances of any men whatever, possessed of unlimited powers, and of the PURSE as well as the SWORD.

By order of the Anti-Federal Committee,
MAT. VISSCHER, Clk.

Albany, 15th March, 1788.

1. Broadside (Evans 45379); printed by Charles R. Webster. The complete circular was reprinted in the *Albany Journal*, 17 March, and *Albany Gazette*, 27 March. The *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, 13 May, reprinted both the Federal Committee Circular of 14 March (immediately above) and the Anti-Federal Committee Circular of 15 March under the heading "Proceedings of the Federalists and Anti-Federalists, at Albany."

John Lansing, Jr., and Abraham G. Lansing had written John Lamb on 23 March saying that Albany Antifederalists no longer needed the assistance of an Antifederalist printer from New York City. Instead, they had “made explicit Arrangements here which we have every Reason to suppose will answer our purpose.” Apparently, Federalist printer Charles R. Webster had agreed to print the Antifederalists’ circulars. See “The Albany Anti-Federal Committee Attempts to Establish an Antifederalist Printer in Albany,” 1–23 March (RCS:N.Y., 834–36).

2. The text in italics paraphrases the 21 February 1787 resolution of Congress calling the Constitutional Convention and the 6 March 1787 resolution of the New York legislature authorizing the election of delegates to the Convention (CDR, 187, 210–11; RCS:N.Y., 507–14).

3. Pennsylvania and Connecticut were said by Antifederalists to have “been precipitated into the business.” The conventions of Delaware, New Jersey, Georgia, and Connecticut each met for only a few days before ratifying the Constitution. The Federal Committee Circular, 14 March (immediately above), referred to the “SIX powerful States” that had already ratified the Constitution.

4. The Massachusetts Convention voted 187 to 168 to ratify the Constitution on 6 February with nine recommendatory amendments.

5. See “New York and the Adjournment of the New Hampshire Convention,” 22 February (RCS:N.Y., 798–800).

“J. M.”

Albany Journal, 15 March 1788¹

Messrs. Printers, No man can behold the insidious efforts of the FEDERAL party, without disgust and indignation. They are straining every nerve and conjuring up imaginary phantoms, to delude the people. A few of our leading men in this city are very active in their endeavours to divide by dissensions, the people of this state—and, offer them a system of anarchy and confusion. These gentlemen, are in my opinion, like the witches in *Macbeth*, dancing round the chaldron of sedition, each throwing in his proportion of spells, for the confusion of his country.² It behoves every man to look forward with anxiety, to the meeting of our Convention; and to put in men of tried integrity, who have shewn themselves staunch friends to the cause of liberty and virtue.

I shall not trouble you with names, for that important trust, as your Journal has offered some men very well qualified to guard our freedom.

The first wish of my heart is, that we may be happy and free; and the second is, that the Constitution may be rejected, unless it is previously amended.

1. “J. M.” responds to “W. M.,” *Albany Journal*, 10 March (above).

2. William Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, Act IV, scene 1, lines 1–44.

Leonard Gansevoort to Peter Gansevoort
New York, 18 March 1788 (excerpt)¹

Dear Brother—

. . . I do not know any Communication that could have been made to me which would have afforded me half the satisfaction & happiness, than, that you had consented to be held in the nomination for Delegates to the Convention, the District of Saratoga being well affected upon this great national Question is a very important piece of intelligence and from their Numbers if properly drawn forth they will have it in their Power to turn the Scale of the Election, give my best Compliments to Coll Van Veghten, Mr. Neil, Graham, Schuyler[,] Lansing &c. &c. assure them of my Friendship and my best wishes for their success. . . .

1. RC, Gansevoort-Lansing Papers, NN. The complete letter is on Mfm:N.Y. Other excerpts are in Washington and Clinton County Election and Westchester County Election (both below) and RCS:N.Y., 864.

Albany Federal Committee Circular, 26 March 1788¹

ALBANY, March 26, 1788.

SIR, On the last Tuesday in April next, it becomes our Duty to give our Votes for Members of the STATE CONVENTION, and LEGISLATURE: A Number of Gentlemen in the different Districts of our County have been consulted, and have agreed upon the Persons mentioned in the Lists, which we now send you; and which, we have Reason to believe, will be approved of by the County at large: They are the Men we shall vote for, and you will much oblige us, by giving them your Vote and Interest.

We would, in a particular Manner, call your Attention to the *List of Delegates for the Convention*, as being a Matter of the *highest Importance*; for upon their Determination will depend, whether our State shall *adopt* or *reject* the *Constitution proposed for the United States*: Should our County send such Members as would reject it, the Consequence would be bad to you, to us, and to the whole Country; for the Question is clearly come to this, *Shall we continue to be UNITED with the other STATES?* or, *Shall we rashly oppose them?* You, or any other thinking Man, will undoubtedly say, *Let us go Hand in Hand with the other States*, with whom we have fought and conquered—If we are UNITED, we shall be a happy Country, but, if DIVIDED we shall be miserable.

Therefore we strongly advise, That *you vote every Individual on the Lists*,—for if we omit *one* Man, it will open a Door for one of another List to go in, and of Course tend to destroy the great Object of NA-

TIONAL UNION; And, as it is a common Cause, suffer us to intreat you to be in EARNEST on this Occasion, and come forth to the Poll and support the inclosed Lists, and promote the Happiness of your Country.

Your sincere Friends, in the Welfare of the State,
 ROBERT M'CLALLEN, Chairman,
 Of the FEDERAL COMMITTEE.
 Members of the Committee.

JAMES BLOODGOOD,	THEODORUS V. WYCK GRAHAM,
LEONARD GANSEVOORT, Jun.	CORNELIUS GLEN,
DANIEL HALE,	STEPHEN LUSH,
JOHN D. P. TEN EYCK,	THOMAS HUN,
JAMES CALDWELL,	JEREMIAH LANSINGH,
THOMAS L. WITBEEK,	PHILIP VAN RENSSELAER,

N. B. The Law requires all Ballots to be in Writing.

We, the Subscribers, Inhabitants of the City of Albany, strongly impressed with the Opinion that the New Constitution should be adopted by our State, do agree in Sentiment with the above Letter from the Federal Committee of this City—and do wish all our Friends in the Country to comply with their Request.

John H. Ten Eyck,	Volckert P. Douw,	Peter Gansevoort,
Harme Gansevoort,	Barent Ten Eyck,	Robert Henry,
Jacob Lansing,	John M. Beekman,	Samuel Stringer,
John Ja. Lansing,	Lucas Van Veghten,	Henry Glen,
Peter Lansingh,	John Maley,	Jacob Vander Heyden,
Gerardus Lansing,	Thomas Barry,	John Robison,
Jacob Jno. Lansing,	Jacob Bleecker, jun.	John H. Wendell,
Elbert Willett,	Walsh & Staats,	James Vernor.

1. Broadside (Evans 45216); probably printed by Charles R. Webster. The only extant copy of this broadside, located in the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R.I., is torn so that the first names of five of the committee members are not completely legible. These five first names have been supplied from Albany Federal Committee, *An Impartial Address*, c. 20 April (below), which contains a list of the names of all fifteen committee members.

Philip Schuyler to Robert R. Livingston
Albany, 29 March 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . The Foedral Committee here, have in my [opinion?] conducted the business with great propriety, and Activity, and continue unremitting in their endeavours to insure Success, their Attention is Equally extended to Montgomery, and I believe we shall obtain a majority of

foederal conventionalists [there?]¹—In this County we shall have all or none, but as far as It is possible to appreciate the result, we have well founded hopes of compleat victory.—but these hopes will not permit us to forget the danger of relying to[o] much on our strength, or the weakness of the opponents, who are also equally Active, tho they have been less prudent, for they propagated falsehoods, relative to the Constitution, which could be made apparent to the meanest capacities, and were made so, to the great Injury of those who had detailed them, and to the prejudice of their Cause—

If any thing Material arises in Columbia, or any part of this district, worth communicating, I shall advise you thereof. . . .

1. RC, Livingston Papers, NHi. Schuyler is responding to Livingston's letter of 20 March, which was written from New York City. For Livingston's letter and the remainder of Schuyler's, see Columbia County Election (below).

Philip Schuyler to John B. Schuyler
Albany, 1 April 1788 (excerpt)¹

Dear Child

. . . I intended to have been at the town meeting in Saratoga this day but I have daily such severe fits of the Gout that I cannot venture from home. I trust a little moderate weather will restore me, and enable me to be with you on the day for electing state officers.

Be prudent at the Election If improper heat is shewn, or too much precipitancy It will injure the cause. . . .

1. RC, Schuyler Papers, NN. John B. Schuyler (1761–1795), the son of Philip Schuyler, served on the Board of Supervisors of Saratoga County (formerly a part of Albany County) and as a justice of the peace, 1791–95, and represented it in the state Assembly, 1795.

Henry Oothoudt to John McKesson
Albany, 3 April 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . With respect to Politicks in this Quarter I am at a Loss where to Begin to give you an Idea thereof I Do believe Since the Settlement of America Such Exertions have not been made upon a Question of any Kind as the present upon the New Constitution Those who Advocate the Measure are Engaged from Morning untill Evening they Travel both night and Day to prosolyte the unbelieving Antifederals—They have printed in hand Bills ~~their~~ three lists with observations by thousands²—on the first Day of this Month being the General Town Meeting Day the City was almost Destitute of the Better Kind of People they were at Several Polls in the Country Dispensing their General Letter

Hand Bills Lists of Delagates and Assemblymen Even the two Last order of Men have been on the Mission The Gentlemen are Indifaticable They use Many Measures in the Manor of Ranslear the Militia is Called by 2 and 3 Companies I may not Charge them with Design but have reason to believe they want the Oppertunity to have the people Collected—I Cannot Predict what will be the Event of all those Exertions Possibly the people will Judge Right that they may be Deceived and Work well—The Poor Antifederalists are pursuing their old line of Conduct to follow after and Endeavour to Dele [i.e., deal] in plain Simple Truth—We have Good Accounts from Many parts of the County the Anties Do not Dispair of Success—Let me Know how Stands Matters in New York—

I had almost forgot to Inform you that we have not amongst us the Resolutions which Direct the Mode of the Election of this State Convention I am told they are printed and Directed to the Several Counties I Cannot learn that any person has seen them amongst us if you have a Printed Copy Transmit me one I will Do as much for you.³

1. RC, McKesson Papers, NHi.

2. See above for the Albany Federal Committee Circulars of 14 and 26 March.

3. On 2 February 1788 the Assembly ordered that 500 copies of the legislature's resolution calling the state convention be printed "to be distributed in the several counties of this State" (RCS:N.Y., 729).

**Leonard Gansevoort to Stephen Van Rensselaer
New York, 6 April 1788 (excerpts)¹**

I am exceedingly sorry to observe that your prospects of the succeeding Election are not more flattering than they appear from your Letter of the 30th. Ult your Opinion that my presence in the County is indispensably necessary places me in one of the most disagreeable situations that is possible on the one hand, I could wish to comply with your wish, because I long to see my Family & from a conviction that I could be more useful to promote the good of the Country in taking an Active part in the Election and also from your Opinion which carries with it almost the force of a Law, on the other hand, Congress earnestly wish to retain a sufficient Number of States to transact the ordinary Business, and when you consider the peculiar situation of my Colleagues in the delegation² you will perceive that I can be better spared than either of the others except Yates who is not wanted here at all. Mr. Benson cannot attend as well on Account of his private Business as the general Election, and Mr. L Hommedieu and myself had some Conversation on the Subject when he returned from Poughkeepsie he assured me that he was very apprehensive of the Issue of the Election in

Suffolk unless he could be at Home to concert Measures to procure a federal representation from thence to the Convention and thought and indeed insisted hard that I should remain untill after the Election when he would relieve me—add to all this the constant fear of the Gent: in this place that Congress may on some day when the State is not represented revive the Motion for removing farther South³—What must I do in this dilemma? will I not incur the just Censure of the State by breaking up the representation in the national Councils? do I not neglect the true Interest of the State by remaining here, when I could render the federal Cause perhaps essential service in our County? your Answers to these Questions will determine my Conduct irreversibly—

The first Volume of Publius is published⁴ & the Numbers for Albany will go by Peter Schuyler on Wednesday in the Care of Robt. McClallen Esqr. to whom I have caused them to be directed, will it not be well for the Committee to appoint a proper Person to issue them and receive pay for them in behalf of the Printer—

The Debates of the Pennsylvania Convention⁵ as well as the Commissions for your Regiment will go up by the next Stage, Mr. Scot has promised that they should be finished on Wednesday next. . . .

Contrary to all expectation Westchester & Queens it is now thought will elect federal Characters to represent them in Convention, Kings is decidedly well disposed to a Man, and from Suffolk we hear that Floyd & L Hommedieu are very active—

The federal Cause gains ground fast to the Southward, and from Rhode Island we learn that the federalists disatisfied with the Method adopted by their Legislature, instead of polling themselves in favor of the Constitution have remonstrated against the Method, hence all the Votes taken in the different Towns are for its rejection,⁶ and tho' it is conceded that a Majority of the Electors in that State are opposed to the plan, yet a very respectable Number composed of the Wealth & abilities in that State are warm Advocates for it. . . .

Mr. Gross will go up soon with an Address from the German Society he is warmly federal and I promise myself much good from his Excursion,⁷ I have endeavoured to promote a similar Measure by the St. Andrews Society in this place which consists of near 300 Members⁸ of all which Number there is but one Anti man, to wit, Genl. Malcom,⁹ our friend James Caldwell¹⁰ has seconded this application to Wm. Maxwell¹¹ the Vice president and the Society will meet to Morrow for the purpose, they cannot believe that the Scotch in Albany differ so widely from them in sentiment, many of the leading Members of that Body have promised to give their Attendance and promote this necessary

Measure, they will at least write to the Scotch in the Upper Counties as well as in Albany¹²—

Coll North has assured me that he will go up this Week, I have impressed his Mind with the absolute Necessity of affording all the assistance in his Power—

Palmer in Ballston has been written to by Dirck Lefforts pr. post, but fear his Letter will remain in the post office unless some step is taken to forward it, can't you procure some unsuspected Person to take it up & forward it to him—Hamilton says others have written Palmer on the same Subject—

1. RC, Accession no. 4069, N.

2. Along with Gansevoort, Abraham Yates, Jr., Ezra L'Hommedieu, Egbert Benson, and Alexander Hamilton had been elected to Congress on 22 January 1788. Only Gansevoort attended Congress on 6 April.

3. For the maneuvering in Congress over the location of the federal capital, see Kenneth R. Bowling, *The Creation of Washington, D.C.: The Idea and Location of the American Capital* (Fairfax, Va., 1991), chap. 2.

4. See "Publication, Sale, and Distribution in New York of Volume I of the Book Edition of *The Federalist*," 22 March (RCS:N.Y., 878–81).

5. The single volume of *Debates of the Convention, of the State of Pennsylvania . . .* was published on 7 February 1788 (CC:511).

6. A reference to the Rhode Island statewide referendum of 24 March on the Constitution which Federalists in some of the major towns boycotted. (See CC:664.)

7. The Reverend Dr. John Daniel Gross was pastor of the German Church in New York City, professor of German and Geography at Columbia College, and a member of the German Society of New York. The society was founded in 1784 to encourage immigration from Germany, assist needy immigrants, and spread useful knowledge among Germans in New York.

8. The St. Andrew's Society of the State of New York was established in 1756.

9. William Malcolm, a colonel in the Continental Army during the Revolution, was brigadier general of the militia of the City and County of New York. He represented the City and County of New York in the state Assembly, 1784, 1786–87.

10. James Caldwell of Albany was a wealthy manufacturer of glass, mustard, starch and powder, snuff, tobacco, chocolate, etc.

11. William Maxwell, a director of the Bank of New York, was a tobacco manufacturer and merchant in New York City.

12. See the New York City Scotsmen's Address, 21 April (below). The New York City Address is dated 12 April and was endorsed by Albany Scotsmen on 21 April.

Albany Anti-Federal Committee Circular, 10 April 1788¹

Albany, 10th April, 1788.

On the last Tuesday of April instant, Delegates are to be chosen, by the people, to determine the important Question, whether the proposed New Constitution shall be adopted or rejected—A determination of the utmost consequence to the Citizens of the State and to posterity.—From an apprehension that the Constitution, if adopted in its present form, would deprive the people of their dearest rights and

liberties, a Number of Gentlemen, from different parts of this county, met for the purpose of nominating and recommending DELEGATES for Convention, and unanimously resolved on the following Gentlemen:

*Robert Yates, John Lansing, jun. Henry Oothoudt, Peter Vrooman, Dirck Swart, Israel Thompson, Anthony Ten Eyck.*²

As we have been informed, that the advocates for the New Constitution, have lately travelled through the several districts in the county, and propagated an opinion, that it is a good system of government; we beg leave to state, in as few words as possible, some of the many objections against it—

The Convention, who were appointed for the sole and express purpose of revising and amending the Confederation, have taken upon themselves the power of making a new one.

They have not formed a *federal* but a *consolidated* government, repugnant to the principles of a republican government; not founded on the preservation but the destruction of the state governments.

The great and extensive powers granted to the New Government over the lives, liberties and property of every citizen.

These powers in many instances not defined or sufficiently explained, and capable of being interpreted to answer the most ambitious and arbitrary purposes.

The small number of members who are to compose the General Legislature, which is to pass laws to govern so large and extensive a Continent, inhabited by people of different laws, customs and opinions, and many of them residing upwards of 400 miles from the seat of government.

The members of the Senate are not to be chosen by the people, but appointed by the Legislature of each state for the term of six years. This will destroy their responsibility, and induce them to act like the masters and not the servants of the people.

The power to alter and regulate the time, place and manner of holding elections, so as to keep them subjected to their influence.

The power to lay poll taxes, duties, imposts, excises and other taxes.

The power to appoint Continental officers to levy and collect those taxes.

Their laws are to be *the supreme law of the land*, and the judges in every state are to be bound thereby, notwithstanding *the constitution or laws* of any state to the contrary. A sweeping clause, which subjects every thing to the controul of the New Government.

Slaves are taken into the computation in apportioning the number of Representatives, whereby 50,000 slaves, give an equal representation with 30,000 freemen.

The provision that the net produce of all duties and imposts, *laid by the legislature of any state*, on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States.

The provision that none of the states shall coin money or emit bills of credit.

The power to raise, support and maintain a standing army *in time of peace*. The bane of a republican government; by a standing army most of the once free nations of the globe have been reduced to bondage; and by this Britain attempted to enforce her arbitrary measures.

The power to call forth the militia to any part of the Continent, without any limitation of time or place, under the command of the President, or such Continental officers as shall be appointed over them.

Men conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms, made liable to perform military duty.

The power of the New Government to establish the salaries for their own services.

The power with respect to the payment of the salaries to *Inferior Court Judges in the several states*; and which salaries the New Constitution declares are not to be diminished.

Their power relative to the migration or importation of foreigners.

The not securing the rights of conscience in matters of religion, or granting the liberty of worshipping God agreeable to the mode thereby dictated; whereas the experience of all ages proves that the benevolence and humility inculcated in the gospel, are no restraint on the love of domination.

The vast executive power vested in *one man* (not elected by the people;) who, though called *President*, will have powers equal if not superior to many European Kings.

His legislative power of negating all laws, resolutions and votes, thereby to prevent their passing unless agreed to *by two thirds of both Houses of the Legislature*.

His long continuance in office, and even at the end of four years capable of being again chosen, and continued for life.

The great powers granted to the grand Continental *Supreme Court*, extending to all cases *in Law and Equity*, and the allowing that Court *original* jurisdiction in certain cases.

The granting of *appeals* to that Court on *both Law and Fact*. A powerful engine in the hands of *the rich*, to oppress and ruin *the poor*.

The power to establish *Inferior Courts in every state*.

No provision being made to prevent *placemen and pensioners*.

Nor for the Liberty of the Press, that grand palladium of liberty and scourge of tyrants.

The *Trial by Jury*, that sacred bulwark of liberty, is not provided for in *Civil Cases*.

The power of appointing as many Continental officers as they shall think proper *in every state*, and thereby extending their influence over every part of the United States.

The great *additional expences* of the New Government, and the burthensome and heavy *taxes* which will thereby be occasioned.

Their guaranteeing to the several states, not the *substance*, but a Republican *form* of Government, and the states left at the mercy of the General Government, to allow them such a *form* as they shall deem proper.

They have declared, that if the Conventions of *nine* states ratify the Constitution, it shall be established *between the states so ratifying the same*, by which means, if all the states should not adopt it, they have laid a foundation to defeat the Confederation and dissolve the Union of the States. A clause dictated by the same genius of Aristocracy, which prompted the Convention to enjoin secrecy on their members, to keep their doors shut, their journals locked up, and none of the members to take any extracts.

By the Articles of Confederation each state retains what is not expressly granted to Congress; but in the New Constitution, there is no provision or Bill of Rights, to secure any of the fundamental rights and liberties of the people.

Notwithstanding so many and such powerful objections to this Constitution, some of its zealous advocates, have industriously attempted to persuade the people to adopt it. Is it for the sake of the *poor* and common people, that the *rich* and *well born* are so indefatigable? or is it because they and their friends and connections expect to possess some of the many lucrative offices under the New Government?

They have asserted, that the present Confederation is defective and will tend to anarchy and confusion.

That the expences of the New Government will be less.

That the value of produce will be raised.

That the concurrence of nine states will bind the whole.

That the Constitution may hereafter be amended.

As to the *first*, it is the weakest of all weak reasons, to adopt a *bad Constitution* because the present one is defective. A person of a sickly habit or constitution might as well put an end to his existence, for fear that his sickness or infirmity would be the cause of his death.—As to the *second*, a man must be very credulous and ignorant indeed, who can suppose that the New Government will not be more expensive—Will not the raising and supporting an army and navy, in time of peace,

create additional expence? Can the multitude and variety of the salaries of the *Continental* Supreme Court Judges, the *Continental Inferior Court Judges in the different states*, and other civil officers in the judicial department, be paid without great additional expence? Can a *federal town*, for the seat of the *National Government*, be built without additional expence? Will not the *furniture* necessary for the *Continental President, Vice-President, Secretaries, Treasurers, Comptrollers, Ministers* &c. &c. &c. to grace their tables and adorn the rooms of their stately palaces, be costly and expensive? Can all these things, with many others, be accomplished without great additional expence, and without laying heavy and burthensome taxes on the people? As well might the Israelites of old, have made brick without straw.³

With respect to *the Regulation of Trade*, this may be vested in Congress under the present Confederation, without changing the fundamental principles of the general as well as all the State Governments—nor is it probable that, if the New Constitution should be adopted, the value of produce would be thereby increased—As well might it be said, that our soil will be better and our lands more fruitful.

The assertion, *that the adoption of the Constitution by nine states will bind every state*, is not true. This falshood is contradicted by the express words of the last clause;⁴ and the *threats* given out that the *dissenting* states will be *compelled* to adopt it, is the language of tyrants, and an insult on the understandings of a free people.

With regard to *amendments*, some of the strongest and most zealous advocates for the New Constitution, *at first* and for a long time, affected to hold it up as a good system of government—but after various and repeated journies into the country (having discovered that the people were generally opposed to the Constitution, and that they can and will judge on a matter of such consequence to themselves and their posterity) these same zealous advocates have since changed their ground, and altered their plan of operations: They now acknowledge it to be defective, but endeavor to prevail on the people, *first* to adopt it, and *afterwards* (like Massachusetts) *trust to a recommendation for future amendments*.⁵ Would it be prudent or safe for the people to surrender their dearest rights and liberties, *to the discretionary disposal of their future rulers?* *First* to make a *surrender* and *afterwards* ask for terms of *capitulation*.

The freemen of America have fought and bled to oppose the oppression and usurpation of Great-Britain; and shall they now resign these rights and privileges, to a government which, if possible, may be still more arbitrary and despotic?—Sacred as well as profane history afford abundant examples to prove that the most strenuous assertors of liberty, in all ages after having successfully triumphed over tyranny,

have themselves become tyrants, when intrusted by the people with unlimited and uncontrollable powers.

No amendments can be obtained without the consent of *three fourths* of the states—Is it probable that such consent will ever be obtained, to amendments which will tend to *abridge* the powers of the New Government? Is it not rather more probable, that if any amendments are made, they will rather *enlarge* those powers? Will not those in power have influence sufficient at all times, to prevent more than *one fourth* of the states to consent to future amendments? From this source then, amendments are not to be expected, nor is it to be presumed that if the people once resign such great and extensive powers, they will ever be enabled to wrest them from a National Government, having *the command of the purse as well as the sword*.

The 5th article of the *Constitution* points out a mode to obtain amendments, *after it is adopted*, which is to call a Convention for the purpose—and we conceive that a Convention may be called to amend the Constitution, *before* it is adopted with so many material and radical defects.

These among many others, are the reasons that have induced us to oppose the New Constitution in its present form. A Constitution destructive of the fundamental principles of the general as well as all the State Governments—dangerous to the rights and liberties of the people, and which, if adopted without previous amendments will, in our opinion, terminate in slavery.

If therefore you entertain the like sentiments, relative to this Constitution, we beg leave to request your vote and interest in favor of the above Delegates, whose opinions, we have reason to conclude, agree with ours on this important subject.

We are, Gentlemen, your most humble Servants,

By order of the COMMITTEE,

JER. VAN RENSSELAER, CHAIRMAN,
MAT. VISSCHER, CLERK.

The Subscribers being of opinion, that the Reasons abovementioned, are conclusive against adopting the New Constitution without previous amendments, recommend the above named Gentlemen, as Candidates for Members of Convention, and the following, for Members of Senate and Assembly: to wit, Peter Van Ness, for Senator; John Lansing, jun. Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, Cornelius Van Dyck, John Duncan, John Thompson, Henry K. Van Rensselaer, and John Younglove, for Assemblymen.

Jacob C. Ten Eyck,
 John R. Bleecker
 Gerrit Lansing, jun.
 Cornelius K. Van Den Berg,
 Abraham Yates, jun.
 Gysbert Fonda,
 Cornelius Wendell,
 Volkert A. Douw,
 Abraham Cuyler,
 Henry Ten Eyck,
 Henry Wendell,
 Peter W. Douw,
 Wm. Mancius,

Robert Lansing,
 John Price,
 Arie Lagrange,
 Henry Lansing,
 Jacob G. Lansing,
 John W. Wendell,
 Abm. Bloodgood,
 Gysbert Marselus,
 Peter W. Yates
 Dirk B. Van Schoonhoven,
 Jacob Roseboom,
 Richard Lush,
 Peter Sharp.

1. Broadside (Evans 45215); probably printed by Charles R. Webster. Reprinted: *New York Journal*, 26 April. The broadside listed in Evans (located at the Wisconsin Historical Society) is damaged and partly illegible. A better copy is located at the Rome, N.Y., Historical Society. A photostat of this broadside is at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park. For a point-by-point response to this circular, see Albany Federal Committee, *An Impartial Address*, c. 20 April (below). In response to the Albany Antifederalists' burning of the Constitution on 4 July, Albany Federalists burned a copy of this Anti-Federal Committee Circular. See Fourth of July Celebrations: Albany, New Jersey *Brunswick Gazette*, 22 July (RCS: N.Y., 1274-75).

2. For the nomination of this list of candidates, see the Albany Anti-Federal Committee Circular, 15 March (above).

3. Exodus 5:6-19.

4. Article VII, the last article of the Constitution, provided that after nine state conventions ratified the Constitution, it was to go into effect "between the States so ratifying the Same."

5. See "New York and the Massachusetts Convention's Amendments to the Constitution," 6 February (RCS:N.Y., 751-54).

New York Daily Advertiser, 10 April 1788

Mr. PRINTER, If you think the following Extract of sufficient importance to the public, you are at liberty to insert it. It is a true copy of the original, *verbatim & literatim*.¹

Extract of a letter, dated Albany, April 3, 1788, to a Gentleman in New-York.

"Antifederal measures stands well with us and if we do not relax in our duty there is all hopes that we may carry the day. Altho' the unremitting exertions that is made by the better sort of people, how stands matters with you in New-York, let me have a line on the subject. We are in close action from morning to night so that little time is spent with me on any other subject

I am yrs. &c J— V— R——"²

1. Latin: "Word for word and letter for letter."

2. Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, chairman of the Albany Anti-Federal Committee.

**A Tenant: To the Tenants of the County of Albany
Albany, c. 10 April 1788¹**

Permit a fellow tenant to address you in plain language, on the great importance of the next election for delegates in Convention.

I am an inhabitant of the county of Albany, and a tenant. My farm is subject to rents and services. These are moderate, nor do I complain that they are exacted with rigor; but such I believe are the natural effects of all tenures, that they produce a kind of dependence, for I have often given my assent to the will of my landlord in supporting his political importance, without enquiring into the propriety of it; nor do I now complain that I hold my farm under him, I inherit it as such, nor do I wish to invade the right or property of another, but to secure my own.

Time brings with it experience, and this has at last convinced me that my landlord has been, and may be *wrong* as well as others—That he may be for a mode of government very convenient for a great man, but not so for a common farmer; in fact, that he may have an interest to support, at the expence of my own, and that whatever be the event of our present contest, I know my rents will be demanded and that I must pay them: I know too, that in voting by ballot, neither my landlord nor any other person can find out how, or for whom I give my vote.²

At the beginning of our troubles with Great-Britain, I was ignorant of my own rights—but the great men of America took pains to inform me in what they consisted. They told me that power in government originated with the people and that the Parliament of Great-Britain had no right to tax us, because the people of America did not chuse them, this was self-evident; and, it convinced me that I had a right to oppose them. Under this firm persuasion, I stepped forward at an early period, to defend my rights, against the British troops. During the long war I was often called into the field, and suffered with others the distresses incident to it. My family were poorly and coarsely clothed—my sons grew up into manhood without any improvement but in the use of arms—the produce of my farm I freely parted with, to support our army: all this I bore with manly fortitude—My freedom, my farm, and the constitutional rights of my state are secured by the blessings of peace. But our great and rich men are still unsatisfied—They want a new plan of Government—They have by writing, printing and harranging, endeavored to shew it to be good, and the danger if you do not adopt it—you have also heard the many objections which have been made against it—the subject is fairly before you, and I presume that you have read and well considered the arguments for and against it.

You now are to come forward to determine by your votes the fate of yourselves, and your posterity, and I thank kind Heaven, that the appeal is made to you.

If therefore you wish to exclude yourselves forever hereafter from voting for an executive and senate;

If you wish that the national government shall have the power, by a capitation or *poll-tax*, to rate the poor equal to the rich;

If you chuse to exclude yourselves in civil cases from a trial by jury;

If you wish a standing army in time of peace subject to the will of one man;

If you wish to be at the expence of following a cause upon an appeal to a far distant country;³

If you will subject yourselves as militia-men to be called abroad to any state in the Union, under the command of continental officers;

If you chuse to double the expence of government;

If you wish the establishment of a national government with powers to usurp and destroy your constitutional rights and liberties;—Then *go* and give your votes for the establishment of this New Constitution.

But if, on the contrary, you, my fellow tenants, would retain your constitutional rights, and not surrender them to the will and pleasure of a few great and rich men;

If you wish the proposed Constitution properly amended before it is adopted—Then let us join our interest in voting for such persons, whose sentiments and principles agree with our own.

1. Broadside, Albany Institute of History and Art Library. Reprinted in the *New York Journal*, 29 April, with the following preface: “Mr. GREENLEAF, Please to insert in your useful paper the enclosed address to the Tenants of the county of Albany, it is written with candor and judgment, and in the most important parts applies to the cause of every MECHANIC.” Two Philadelphia newspapers—the *Independent Gazetteer*, 16 May, and the *Freeman’s Journal*, 21 May—reprinted “A Tenant” from the *New York Journal*. (The former newspaper included the preface; the latter did not.)

2. For a technique devised to allow landlords to determine how their tenants voted, see Albany Anti-Federal Committee to Benjamin Egbertsen, Jonathan Niles, and others of Stephentown, 28 April, at note 5 (below).

3. A reference to the high cost of appealing court cases to the federal supreme court, which would sit in the federal capital.

Editors’ Note
Albany Anti-Federal Committee to the
New York Federal Republican Committee
12 April 1788

This letter (RCS:N.Y., 898–99) responds to letters from the New York Federal Republican Committee of 6 and 8 April which indicated that

copies of Antifederalist Mercy Warren's "A Columbian Patriot" (CC: 581) and an Antifederal anthology were being sent to the Albany Anti-Federal Committee for dispersal. The Albany Committee was to receive 380 copies of "A Columbian Patriot" for its own county and another 100 copies each for Montgomery and Washington counties to be distributed "as early as possible to the one in those Counties, who will forward them with the most Expedition."

Albany Federal Committee: An Impartial Address, c. 20 April 1788

The full title of this twenty-eight-page pamphlet (Evans 21167) is *An Impartial Address, to the Citizens of the City and County of Albany: or, the 35 Anti-Federal Objections Refuted. By the Federal Committee, of the City of Albany*. The printer's colophon reads: "Printed by Charles R. Webster, at his *Free Press*, No. 36, State-Street, near the English Church, Albany." (Webster was the last of seventy-eight men who subscribed their names on the last page of the pamphlet endorsing the Constitution and the committee's response as "fully satisfactory to us.") The pamphlet is a point-by-point response to the Albany Anti-Federal Committee Circular, 10 April (above). Antifederalists claimed that Federalists hoped to have this pamphlet signed by 400 individuals. The Antifederalists doubted whether they would succeed. For two responses to *An Impartial Address*, see Albany Anti-Federal Committee circulars, c. 23 April and c. 28 April (both below).

AN IMPARTIAL ADDRESS.

We have lately seen, with no small degree of surprize, a publication which contains thirty-five objections to the New Constitution.

This publication was evidently intended to be dealt out in a private, underhanded way, by designing persons, a few days previous to the Election; with a view to prejudice the ignorant and uninformed citizen against the true interest of his country, and at so critical a time, that his prejudices might not be removed before he had given his final vote to condemn the New Government: but its having been accidentally exposed, has caused it to be circulated earlier than was intended.—We shall just observe, that it contains not only a variety of the most palpable improprieties, but also a number of sentiments which, if admitted, must strike at the root of all government whatever, and leave us nearly in a state of nature—We well know, that the gentlemen who stile themselves "Anti-federalists," are in direct opposition to the Union of the States; but we cannot help expressing a great degree of pain on seeing them condescend to such low and designing arts, on a subject so sacred as that of the establishing a Constitution for three millions of their countrymen.—The Federalists have, at their own expence, circulated many thousand copies of the New Constitution, in three different languages,¹ with no other view than that every man may judge for himself—The

Anti-federalists present publications, which express their private prejudices only, without pretending to offer a better system for the government of our country—Had their thirty-five objections been founded on truth and reason, ought they not to have circulated them publicly, and defied us to contradict them?—instead of which, they have attempted to impose them upon the public, at so late a period as, in some measure, to preclude the opportunity of obviating in time, the false prejudices they might occasion.—We shall take them up, and state replies to each.

Objection. That the Convention who were appointed to revise the old Constitution, have made a new one.

Answer. Whether the proposed Constitution be entirely new or only amended, is of very little consequence at present, as the Convention do not undertake to establish it, but send it to us for examination; if we think it good we can accept of it, if we do not approve of it, we can reject it. But the old Confederation of the States, be it good or bad, was adopted and confirmed, without being submitted to the great body of the people for their approbation.

Obj. That it is not a federal, but a consolidated government; repugnant to the principles of a republican government, and destructive of the state governments.

Ans. It is consolidated only as to national purposes, and is founded on pure republican principles—deriving all powers from the people, the only criterion of a republican government. It expressly guarantees the same kind of government to each state in the Union; and if the state governments are destroyed, the Continental system must fall—as the several state legislatures have the sole power of appointing senators, and of directing the manner of appointing electors to choose the President.

Obj. Nine states ratifying the New Government, it is to be binding on the states so ratifying, which will dissolve the old Confederation.

Ans. States in an empire are so far like individuals in a state, that the majority must govern: the voice of three fourths of the states are here made necessary—A strong proof of the republican spirit of the New System—But the remaining states may continue independent if they please; though policy must dictate all of them eventually to join the Union.

Obj. The great powers of the New Government over the lives and property of the citizens.

Ans. This objection is an address to the passions, and not an appeal to reason, and is aimed at no particular part of the proposed system; of course, it cannot receive a direct answer—The powers in the New Government are well balanced with each other, and properly checked.

Obj. These powers not defined, and may be interpreted to arbitrary purposes.

Ans. This objection will stand equally good against the government of this state, and all other republican forms whatever, as it tends to destroy that degree of confidence in our rulers, without which no government, but an absolute monarchy, can exist.

Obj. Their laws to be the supreme laws of the land—Called a sweeping clause, that subjects every thing to the controul of the New Government.

Ans. The words “made *in pursuance of the Constitution*,” which are fully expressed in the form of government submitted to us, are wilfully omitted by the objectors, to deceive the people into a belief that the New System of Government will have power to make laws in all cases whatsoever; whereas they very well know that the New Government can make such laws only as will respect the United States: and should they not have this power, the small state of Rhode-Island might, on every occasion, obstruct the most important national measures.

Obj. The small number of members who are to compose the National Legislature, and to pass laws to govern the Continent.

Ans. The new Congress will consist of upwards of ninety members. The present Congress who are, by the Articles of Confederation, vested with powers, in many cases, equally extensive, can legally transact the most important concerns of the nation with only eighteen members; which under the New Government, must require at least forty-six²—A great acquisition on the part of the people. Their laws will only respect Continental matters: the administration of justice between citizens of the same state, must and will remain the same as at present.

Obj. The members of the Senate are to be chosen by the Legislatures and not by the people. This will make them act like masters and not servants.

Ans. The members of the present Congress are chosen in the same way,³ and they never yet have been charged with acting as masters or betrayers of their country. The Chancellor, Judges of the Supreme Court, and other great officers of our state, are chosen by the Council of Appointment,⁴ who are a remove from our Legislature, and generally make their appointments by only three persons; yet these wise observers will not pretend to say, that our state officers have ever acted corruptly—However, under the New System, the rights of the people will be perfectly well secured, as no law can be made by the Senate unless their Representatives agree to it.

Obj. That slaves are computed in apportioning Representatives.⁵

Ans. Agreeable to the New System, taxation and representation must

go together. These objectors should have been so candid as to add, that all direct taxes must be laid, on each state, in proportion to the number of its inhabitants; that by this computation five slaves will pay taxes equal to three free men; which will be a great advantage to New-York and the eastern states, who have very few slaves.

Obj. The power to regulate the times and places of holding elections.

Ans. Every Government must have the power of supporting its existence within itself, or it can have no stability; consequently, if the General Government cannot direct individuals of each state to elect their Representatives for Congress, on their state's neglecting or omitting to do it, it would be in the power of any little state to destroy the General System, and bring confusion into the Government, by neglecting to pass election laws. The Convention of Massachusetts have recommended an explanation of this clause,⁶ and we wish our Convention to do the same.

Obj. The power to lay poll taxes, duties, imposts and other taxes.

Ans. All Governments must have the right of taxation; which power, including that of laying a poll tax, is now vested in our state Government; but we have every security that reasonable beings can possibly ask, as by the Constitution no tax or revenue law can be passed in Congress, but what must originate or have its beginning in the lower House, who are elected by the people at large. A poll tax has never been laid by this state nor by any of the southern states, and we have every reason to believe never will, as by the Constitution five slaves must pay as large a poll tax as three white men; and, consequently the southern states must ever be opposed to poll taxes. The principal and only sure dependence for the New Government, must be the impost or duty on trade, which will be paid by the merchant who imports foreign merchandize, and the wealthy citizen, and will be scarcely felt by the poor inhabitants of the country.

Obj. The power to appoint continental officers to collect those taxes.

Ans. Whatever revenues are granted to Congress for our national benefit, must be collected by persons who are amenable to Congress for their conduct—should not this privilege be granted to the General Government, it would remain, in a very essential point, in the same situation it is at present. It is a sufficient security for the people at large, that should Congress make improper appointments or laws, on this or any other occasion, it must disgust the state so injured, and of course tend to the dissolution and destruction of the United Government.

Obj. That the net produce of all duties on imports and exports, laid by the several states, shall be for the benefit of the United States.

Ans. That Congress should have the benefit of the impost on all

foreign goods imported into the United States, no one can object to, who wishes for a Union of the States, and has a sufficient share of common honesty to admit, that we ought to attempt to repay France and Holland the monies lent us in the course of the late war, and who would wish for the Government of our Country to have the means of protecting and defending us from all foreign foes and invaders;—for all must know, that the impost on trade, is the only solid dependence the United States can have for raising a revenue for our general benefit.

Obj. That none of the states can coin money or emit bills of credit.

Ans. The emitting of a paper currency by the different states, has occasioned many difficulties and much confusion between their citizens, as the funds on which it has been emitted, have been more or less adequate to its redemption:—In many of the states, formerly as well as latterly, it has opened a door to fraud, villany and discord—in Rhode-Island it is at present a lawful tender, though going at twelve for one—in Pennsylvania and Jersey it is also going at a very large discount—in this state, although its credit has been tolerably well supported, so much has been counterfeited that many poor men have been thereby greatly injured and distressed.⁷ It is therefore, high time that the wicked and fraudulent system of paper money be checked, in order that those who have gold and silver laying by them, may be induced to bring it into circulation, without the fear of having a depreciated, counterfeit paper tendered in its stead.

Obj. The power of supporting a standing army in time of peace.

Ans. The words “time of peace” are not in the Constitution, but are made use of, on this occasion, as a scare crow, to frighten people. The authority must be vested in every Government to raise troops to defend the country, and this power must be discretionary, to be used by the Government whenever it may be necessary; and, when it can only be used by our immediate Representatives, it can be attended with no possible danger—our present Congress, not only have this power, but have actually several hundred men in pay, on the back parts of Virginia and else where. Our frontiers must be garrisoned in time of peace; and, should Congress not have power to hire men to do this duty, the militia must be dragged from their families for the purpose.

Obj. The power to call forth the militia to any part of the Continent, without limitation as to time or place.

Ans. What would have been the fate of our state in the late war, had not Congress called forth the militia of other states to defend us? and, was it not through the assistance of Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Hampshire, that Burgoyne with his army were captured? As our situation makes us a frontier to four or five states, we do not know how

soon we may stand in need of assistance, against savage and other enemies, though in all probability those states may never stand in need of assistance from us.

Obj. Men conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms, made liable to perform military duty.

Ans. Those citizens who have conscientious objections against bearing arms, have ever been carefully attended to by the laws of their country, and there can be no doubt whatever, but the same generous attention will be paid to them by the laws of the New Government.

Obj. The power of the New Government to establish the salaries for their own services.

Ans. Is not this the case with our own and all the other state governments, and with every government in existence? and what superior power can possibly exist in a government that can regulate the salaries of persons who hold the governing powers?⁸

Obj. The power of payment of the salaries of judges, which cannot be diminished.

Ans. To enable judges to be just, they must be independent. This principle has wisely induced the framers of the Constitution to put the judges in office during good behavior, and to put it out of the power of government to lower their salaries, lest it might deter them from doing their duty with firmness against men in power.

Obj. The power relating to the migration or importation of foreigners.

Ans. It is well known, that this clause principally respects the importation of slaves into any of the United States. It is probable the eastern states in Convention wished to prohibit this infamous traffic immediately, but that the southern states retained the privilege of importing slaves till the year 1808; but admitted of a tax or duty of ten dollars upon each, which is expressly mentioned to be on *such importation*, and consequently alludes to slaves, as the word migration can only allude to freemen coming into our country.⁹

Obj. The not securing the rights of conscience in religious matters.

Ans. How weak and idle is this observation? No powers that can interfere with the rights of conscience are to be given to the New Government, consequently they can make no laws that will interfere with those rights: And shall we not then be contented with the retaining the privilege of worshipping our Maker according to the free and untroubled dictates of our own consciences—or would we wish to have one sect of religion established over all others, this has been done by all the nations of Europe, and has caused more bloodshed than even the wicked ambition of princes.

Obj. 22, 23 and 24. The vast power vested in one man, not elected by

the people, who has power equal to many European kings; and who, though elected for four years, may be again elected and continued for life.

Ans. The President is to be chosen by Electors, appointed in such manner as the different Legislatures shall direct; and his power ceases of course at the end of four years, which is only one year longer than the time for which the Governor of this state is elected. It is true he may then be re-elected for the same time, and so may our Governor. His power does not extend to rejecting a single law, that two thirds of the Legislature think proper to pass; which power answers directly to that of the Council of Revision in our own state.¹⁰ He cannot touch a shilling of money unless a law is passed for the purpose—He can make no treaty, no permanent appointment to offices, nor, in fact, do any thing whatever but by and with the consent of the Senate; except receiving Ambassadors, and the common official powers that are vested in the Governor of our state by our Constitution—and in general, his powers are so far from being superior to an European king that, on many occasions, they are inferior to the Governor of our state.

Obj. The trial by jury not provided for in civil cases.

Ans. The Continental Court, as far as private citizens of different states may be concerned, is a Court of Appeals, and may, perhaps, in some instances, be compared with our Chancery Court, as well as to the Courts of Law in many of the other states, where no jury is called; and as nothing is said to prevent a jury on cases of appeal to the Continental Court, it must remain to be established by the future laws of our Representatives in Congress. The Massachusetts' Convention have proposed an explanation of this section,¹¹ and we have no doubt but our Convention will do the same: but all trials, between citizens of this state, must and will be conducted in future, just as at present, and determined by a jury as usual.

Obj. 26, 27 and 28. The great powers of the Continental Supreme Court, extending to all cases in law and equity—allowing the court original jurisdiction in some cases, and granting appeals to that court on both law and fact.

Ans. This court is confined to those cases only, which arise under the Constitution—all transactions between citizens that live in the same state must be determined, in future, just as they are at present, that is, by jury and the laws of their own state. The Continental Court is intended to try all cases that respect Ambassadors and other public Ministers, and where a whole state may be a party, it therefore must have the right of original jurisdiction in all such cases—and on cases of appeal from partial state Courts, by citizens who live in, or claim lands

under grants of different states; it must have a right to determine on law, equity and fact, or it can never answer the necessary purposes: but that it will in the most distant manner enable the rich to oppress the poor, or that it has a power in *all cases*, arising in law and equity, is a false and groundless insinuation, only made to answer party purposes; for every other matter of dispute that can be brought into this court, must subsist between inhabitants of different states, who will, in all probability, be men of property, merchants or great landholders, and not poor men.

Obj. The power to constitute Inferior Courts in every state.

Ans. The clause here alluded to is, that Congress may constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court. This will be attended with conveniency, but that it can be a grievance no one can suppose, as such tribunals must be inferior to the Supreme Court, whose powers are explained in the foregoing article, and who can have no controul over citizens residing in the same state.

Obj. No provision is made to prevent placemen and pensioners.

Ans. No Government can make universal provision in such cases, without doing injury to the common feelings of humanity. Would any one wish to put it out of the power of our Representatives, to save the old soldier who is wounded and maimed, in fighting the battles of his country, from starving, or begging on his crutches from door to door? We think not.—This is therefore, one of those powers which must be left to the caution and discretion of those men whom we shall in future appoint to make laws for us.

Obj. Nor for the liberty of the press.

Ans. The Continental laws can have no controul over the internal regulations of the states; consequently powers of this nature must remain where they are at present, that is, with the different state Legislatures. The Convention of Massachusetts has recommended a general explanation of all those state rights and privileges,¹² and we have no doubt but our Convention will follow their example.

Obj. The power of appointing as many Continental officers as they shall think proper, in every state, and thereby extending their influence.

Ans. Every regular Government must have the privilege to appoint such inferior officers as may be necessary—their numbers must differ as circumstances occur, and cannot be particularly defined—it is a sufficient security, that we have the power of electing the persons who will make such appointments, and whenever they conduct improperly we will elect others in their stead, and bring them to punishment for their mal-conduct.

Obj. The great expence of the New Government, and the additional taxes which will be thereby occasioned.

Ans. It is an undoubted fact, that the expence of supporting a Federal Government will not in any degree stand in competition with the great advantages which will be derived therefrom—our trade and navigation will undoubtedly be greatly encreased—foreign markets will be opened to our vessels, which must serve to raise the price of our produce—the Western Posts with the extensive Fur Trade will undoubtedly be given up to our Government, soon after it is established.

Obj. That the General Government guarantees to the several states the form, not the substance of a republican government.

Ans. The words of the Constitution are, that *the United States shall guarantee to each state in the Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion*, and what more can the General Government do? Should they dictate in what particular form each state Constitution should be made? A republican form of government is that which derives all its powers from the people—but the particular manner in which the people are to use that power, must remain with themselves, or they would not be free. In short, this objection appears to have been introduced with no other intention but to swell up the number.

Obj. It is not expressed that the several states retain the powers not given to the General Government, and that there is no bill of rights.

Ans. By the first section of the Constitution it is declared, that all legislative powers therein granted, shall be vested in the Congress of the United States, consequently the powers not granted remain with the people of the different states.—Bills of rights are grants by absolute sovereigns to the great body of the people, to secure their privileges from encroachments of power; but in republican governments, where all power is derived from the people, the Constitution of the country, which gives certain privileges from the people to men whom they appoint as temporary law-makers, is to all intents and purposes, a bill of rights, granted or surrendered by the people, who are sovereigns in all republican countries. However, as Massachusetts' Convention have recommended an explanation on this subject,¹³ we expect our Convention will do the same.

They likewise add, “*is it for the sake of the poor and common people, that the rich and well born are so indefatigable? or is it because they and their friends expect lucrative offices under the New Government?*”

We answer, that when the general welfare of our country is at stake, when a peaceable, happy and united Government stands on one hand, and nothing but poverty, discord and confusion on the other—as hon-

est and sincere well-wishers to our common country, we step forth, with no other views than to counteract false prejudices, and to state the principles of the Constitution with truth and candor—that the great and important subject may be impartially investigated.—If there are men who think as we do, that have more property and more good sense than the general run of the opposers, we trust that no honest man will object to the system only on that account; for all must know that upon the principles of the New Government, the poor man's vote is as important as the rich man's, and when taxes are to be collected the rich man's estate must pay a large sum, when the poor man will pay very little or nothing.

It is further said, in order to hold up to view the enormous expences of the New Government, that Congress will run into the most ridiculous and unheard of expence, of building a federal town, ten miles square—erecting stately palaces, fitting out rooms with the most elegant furniture, decking their tables with the most costly plate, &c. as if our Representatives, the moment the New System is established, must begin to act like mad men and fools, and all at the expence of our poor country. Here the gentlemen have been wandering a very considerable distance “in the flowry fields of invention.” That part of the Constitution, from whence only all this absurdity can be conjectured, is in these words, “The Congress shall have the power to exercise exclusive jurisdiction, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of a particular state, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States.” The whole amount of which is, that in whatever state the Congress shall sit, such district as the Legislature of that state shall assign to Congress, which may not exceed ten miles, and probably will not be one, shall be subject to the laws of Congress. Must not the resentment of every well-meaning man, rise against a set of men who, from this small yet necessary privilege to be granted to Congress, by the voluntary cession of any state, can wantonly and wickedly conjure up flaming ideas that are not only void of truth but even of probability.

Though we are inclined to believe the system, with very few exceptions, as good as can be obtained in a country like this, where there are a variety of people, states, and climates: we do not suppose it perfect, for we know perfection of wisdom is not with man; but, we are most assuredly convinced, that should we now reject this system on account of those few imperfections, of which as a single state, we should not allow ourselves to be the sole judges, particularly after its ratification by six states, we shall never get so far as we are at present on any other system whatever; and the consequence must be anarchy, confu-

sion, and ruin to our country. Amendments, like the Constitution itself, must be previously arranged and agreed upon, by the united wisdom of the Continent, and not by any particular state; otherwise instead of a General Government capable of defending and protecting the Union, each state will eventually have a separate system, and the whole business after all, end where it begun, without any other effect than banishing, perhaps for ever, the prospect of obtaining a General Government, unless usurped by violence—Massachusetts has led the way in recommending amendments, which will be considered as standing instructions to their Representatives until Congress in their wisdom, meet the wishes of their constituents.¹⁴

A Convention could no doubt be easily obtained to agree upon amendments after the adoption of the system, whenever three fourths of the states should unite in calling one for the purpose;¹⁵ but we have no reason to believe that if the proposed plan should be rejected or adopted with amendments, which amounts to the same thing, and is but another expression for a total rejection, that we, in such case, could obtain a new Convention. Georgia, Delaware, New-Jersey and Connecticut, have adopted it with an unanimity before unheard of, and the minority in Massachusetts, have expressed the most noble sentiments of giving it their support.¹⁶ These states, therefore, would reluctantly yield to a new Convention, in compliment to New-York. And even granting the states would agree to another Convention, of whom would it be composed? most surely of the partizans who, with warmth, have either opposed or defended the system now under consideration—would unanimity be expected from such a Council? would not each member feel obligations to support the views of those by whom he was honored? Could that calm, dispassionate spirit of enquiry, which pervaded the former Convention, be expected to prevail in a new one formed under such circumstances? Beware then, that under the specious and plausible idea of previous amendments, you are not led to an act which will, eventually, defeat a system which you shudder at the thought of wholly rejecting. Experience will be the surest guide to what amendments are really necessary, and the Constitution has pointed out a mode of making them without hazarding our national existence. Be not deceived with the threadbare comparison of the New Government to a *private contract*; a contract, true it is, of the most solemn nature, but remember there are no less than THIRTEEN parties, SIX of whom have already sealed and delivered; how can we expect the other twelve will submit to receive alterations from one, and that one too which has already shewn no friendly disposition to her neighbors—THE GRAND AMERICAN UNION has already encircled us, except on the one side,

where our haughty enemy still bleeds with the wounds of our conquest; and on the other a defenceless sea-coast, invites the avarice of an adventurous invader: our neighbors and friends extend their arms to embrace us—UNITE then, ye lovers of our common country; betray no unmanly jealousies of those who have fought your battles and guided your counsels with success, and by one rational act convince the world, that AMERICANS, as in war, they have been firm and intrepid, so in peace they will be UNITED and HAPPY.

By Order of the Federal Committee,

ROBERT M'CLALLEN, Chairman.

Members of the Committee.

STEPHEN LUSH,
DANIEL HALE,
THOMAS HUN,
JOHN D. P. TEN EYCK,
CORNELIUS GLEN,
THEODORUS V. W. GRAHAM,
JAMES CALDWELL,
RICHARD SILL,
PHILIP VAN RENSSELAER,
LEONARD GANSEVOORT, jun.
JEREMIAH LANSINGH.
STEPHEN VAN RENSSELAER
JAMES BLOODGOOD,
THOMAS L. WITBEEK.

We whose names are hereunto subscribed, deeply impressed with the importance of improving the present critical moment for establishing a Free, Republican Form of National Government; upon a full and deliberate investigation of the Plan proposed to our consideration, do approve of the same;—the foregoing reasons, alledged by the Federal Committee, in answer to the objections taken by the enemies of our National Union, are fully satisfactory to us, and we trust they will have the same weight with all True Friends to our common country—we caution all such, to beware, least under an idea of amending the proposed Plan, by a single state, previous to its adoption, an intention [is?] not covered to defeat the whole System.

John H. Ten Eyck,
Philip Schuyler,
John M. Beekman,
Volkert P. Douw,
Peter Lansingh,

Herme Gansevoort,
Abraham Ten Broeck,
Henry Glen,
Samuel Stringer,
John J. Lansing,

Sander Lansing,
 Thomas Lansing,
 Jacob Jno. Lansing,
 Jacob Bleecker,
 Isaac Van Aernam,
 David Groesbeek,
 John H. Wendell,
 Isaac D. Forest,
 Jacobus Van Sante,
 Teunus Visscher,
 Cornelius Swits,
 James Sharpe,
 Peter Van Bergen,
 Jacob Bleecker, jun.
 Anthony Hallenbake,
 Jacob Vander Heyden,
 Matthew Watson,
 John Maley,¹⁷
 Elbert Willett,
 William Van Wie,
 William Hun,
 Gerrit Witbeek,
 Abraham Eights,
 Jacob Cuyler, jun.
 Maus R. Van Vranken,
 Henry Van Woert,
 Benjamin Wallace,
 Edward Cumpston,
 Peter D. Van Dyck,
 Dirck Ten Broeck,
 John Fonda,
 Lawrence Tremper,
 Casparus Hewson,
 Jacob Winne,

Gerardus Lansing,
 Abraham A. Lansing,
 Barent Ten Eyck,
 Marte Mynderse,
 Peter De Wandeler,
 Abraham H. Wendell,
 John A. Wendell,
 Peter Gansevoort,
 John J. Bleecker,
 Thomas Barry,
 John Ten Broeck,
 Jelles Winne,
 Barent Van Alen,
 Lucas Van Veghten,
 John Boyd,
 John F. Pruyn,
 Joseph Caldwell,
 Casparus Pruyn,
 Thomas Barrett,
 Jacob Pruyn,
 John Fulsome,
 Thomas D. Hun,
 Jacob Cuyler,
 John Tunnicliff,
 James Van Rensselaer,
 David Blakeney,
 James Vernor,
 Henry Bleecker,
 John D. P. Douw,
 Barent G. Staats,
 David Fonda,¹⁸
 John Bleecker,
 Daniel I. Hewson,
 Charles R. Webster.

1. In New York, the Constitution was printed in many English-language editions and as a German-language pamphlet in Albany and a Dutch-language broadside and pamphlet in Albany. See "The Publication of the Constitution in New York," 21 September 1787–June 1788 (RCS:N.Y., 42–47).

2. Under the Articles of Confederation the vote of nine states was necessary for most important matters. A state delegation needed to have two delegates in attendance to be officially represented and able to cast its vote (CDR, 87, 92, 93). If all of the states ratified

the Constitution, the new Congress would consist of sixty-five Representatives and twenty-six Senators. Since a quorum consisted of a majority of each house, the minimum number of members of Congress needed to transact any business was forty-seven.

3. The Articles of Confederation provided that delegates to Congress were to be “annually appointed in such manner as the legislature of each state shall direct” (CDR, 87). Only the legislatures of Connecticut and Rhode Island provided that delegates to Congress were to be chosen by a popular election of the people. The other eleven state legislatures appointed delegates.

4. For the New York Council of Appointment, see RCS:N.Y., Vol. 1, pp. xxiv, 501–2. The governor, lieutenant governor, state senators, and assemblymen were elected by the freeholders, while delegates to Congress were elected by the legislature.

5. For a table showing the population estimates used by the Constitutional Convention and the population totals from the Census of 1790 and how they affected the apportionment of the U.S. House of Representatives under the three-fifths clause, see CDR, 297–301. With over 21,000 slaves, New York had more slaves than all of the other Northern States combined (excluding Delaware) and only 8,000 fewer slaves than Georgia.

6. Massachusetts ratified the Constitution on 6 February with nine recommendatory amendments as part of its Form of Ratification. The third amendment provided: “That Congress do not exercise the powers vested in them by the fourth Section of the first article, but in cases when a State shall neglect or refuse to make the regulations therein mentioned or shall make regulations subversive of the rights of the people to a free & equal representation in Congress agreeably to the Constitution” (RCS:Mass., 1469).

7. For the discounting of the paper money in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island, see John P. Kaminski, *Paper Politics: The Northern State Loan-Offices During the Confederation, 1783–1790* (New York, 1989).

8. Under the Articles of Confederation, the compensation of delegates to Congress was paid by their states (CDR, 87).

9. For the positions taken on the African slave trade in the Constitutional Convention, see John P. Kaminski, ed., *A Necessary Evil?: Slavery and the Debate Over the Constitution* (Madison, Wis., 1995), 41–42, 55–64.

10. For the New York Council of Revision, see RCS:N.Y., Vol. 1, pp. xxiv, 501.

11. The eighth recommended amendment proposed by the Massachusetts Convention provided that “In civil actions between Citizens of different States every issue of fact arising in Actions at common law shall be tried by a Jury if the parties or either of them request it” (RCS:Mass., 1470).

12. The first recommended amendment proposed by the Massachusetts Convention provided “That it be explicitly declared that all Powers not expressly delegated by the aforesaid Constitution are reserved to the several States to be by them exercised” (RCS:Mass., 1469).

13. See note 12 (immediately above).

14. See “New York and the Massachusetts Convention’s Amendments to the Constitution,” 6 February (RCS:N.Y., 751–54).

15. Two-thirds of the states were necessary for Congress to call a constitutional convention. Three-fourths of the states were necessary to ratify amendments.

16. For the acquiescence of the minority of the Massachusetts Convention, see RCS:Mass., 1487–88, 1645–57.

17. According to the Albany Anti-Federal Committee Circular, c. 23 April (below), John Maley’s and David Fonda’s names were added without their approval. See also Albany Anti-Federal Committee Circular, c. 28 April (below).

18. See note 17 (above).

Schenectady Farmer, c. 20 April 1788¹

To the Inhabitants of the District of Schenectady.

Our antient and respectable Town, has long been famous for being the most delightful Situation in the New World—our Air is wholesome, and our Lands fertile to a Proverb: Yet, how art thou changed, oh, Place of my Nativity! thy Streets are no longer the Resort of the Industrious and Enterprising—the Bustle of Business is no longer heard—the Silence of Night reigns at Noon-Day—the Noise of the Hammer sounds no more—the Windows of thy Merchants are always barred, and thy Streets are become green and pleasant Pastures—Peace brought Blessings to all but thee—The Eyes of thine Inhabitants have long looked *West* for the Rising of thy Commerce; until Weariness has closed them—Thy FUR TRADE, which once enriched thee, is fled to those who lately drew the Sword against thee—and with it has vanished the Bread of the Poor and Industrious—Are not many, who once enjoyed a decent Support by transporting Merchandize by Land and Water, now wandering in Idleness and Want, while their Wives and Children lack a Morsel of Bread?—Be wise then in this thy Day, and trace the Cause of thy Wretchedness—Listen to the Voice of Reason and not of Party—Why are the WESTERN POSTS locked against thee? Why are Niagara, Detroit, and Meshellimackanec visited no more? Did they not once fill thy Stores with the Treasures of the Wilderness? Did not Savage Nations labour to enrich thee? Were not these Western Garrisons ceded to us by solemn Treaty? And why are they now withheld?—The Weakness of the Government of the United States was such, as left it in the Power of the Ambitious and Designing to break over that solemn Treaty—States and Individuals trampled upon it with Impunity—Great-Britain laughed at our Folly and Weakness—withheld the Garrisons, and took to herself this great Source of Wealth.—The tracing the Cause of our Wretchedness, points out the Remedy: Give Powers to your own Representatives which will be sufficient to compel the Performance of Treaties as well as to make them—These Posts will be surrendered, and the Evil removed—Come forward then and give your Votes for the adopting a Government, planned by the wisest Patriots of America, and already ratified by Six States—Then shall thy languishing Commerce again lift its Head; Thy Merchants lament no longer the Want of Business; Thy Farmers no more complain of low Markets, want of Money and hard Times; Thy Mechanics eat the Bread of Cheerfulness; Thy Carriers by Land and Water sing for Joy—and PEACE and PLENTY, take the Place of Want and Sadness.

1. Broadside (Evans 45381); probably printed by Charles R. Webster.

**New York City Scotsmen's Address
Albany, 21 April 1788**

In response to the argument of Albany Antifederalists that New York City Scotsmen opposed the Constitution, an address dated 12 April was written denying the allegation, which was signed by fifty-five New York City Scotsmen. For the origin of the Address, see Leonard Gansevoort to Stephen Van Rensselaer, 6 April (above). All but one of the signers (James Tyrie) were members of New York's St. Andrew's Society. The address (probably the manuscript version) was sent to Albany where on 21 April fifteen Albany Scotsmen subscribed their names to it. The address was printed as a broadside (presumably in Albany) (Evans 45313) with the fifty-five New York City signatures and the fifteen Albany names subscribed.

In an undated circular (c. 28 April, below), the Albany Anti-Federal Committee questioned the validity of all of the subscribers, stating that at least one of the fifteen merely subscribed as "*a compliment in answer to the address from New-York*" City. The committee asserted that forty-one Albany Scotsmen "have declared in writing, that they are decided against adopting the New Constitution, unless the intended amendments are made a condition of adoption."

NEW-YORK, 12th of April 1788.

Friends and Countrymen,

From a sincere Attachment to yourselves, and a Regard to our mutual Interest, we are induced to apprise you of our Opinions on a Subject, which we view as of the most essential Consequence to both.

Your Countrymen in New-York, in Union of Sentiment with the true Friends of America, have long lamented the want of a FIRM, NATIONAL GOVERNMENT; without which they consider Property as insecure, and Liberty without a substantial Basis.

In Order to avert the Calamities incident to such a Situation, and to riscue us from one so truly Dangerous, a respectable Body of the most tried Patriots of America have digested, and *submitted* to the PEOPLE, a PLAN OF GOVERNMENT, which we have good reason to believe, if accepted, will *deliver* this Country from the Misfortunes with which it is now threatened.

From the fullest Persuasion, that it will be ADVISEABLE for the People of the State of New-York to join in supporting a Federal Government for the United States—and from the most entire Conviction that the New Constitution is well calculated to PRESERVE all the Rights and Privileges which FREEMEN hold dear, we cannot refrain from recommending it to your most serious Consideration—we had almost said to your hearty support. We conceive it more especially our Duty to do so, at this Time, because we have the best Authority to believe, that the Influence of some Characters, whose political Conduct we do not approve, is employed to engage your Suffrages at the ensuing Election,

in supporting a Cause which we believe to be hostile to the Happiness of this Country: We have Reason to suspect also, that our Sentiments on this Subject have been industriously misrepresented to you; a Circumstance which first suggested the Propriety of the present Address— We assure you, Friends and Countrymen, that the SCOTSMEN of this City, with very few Exceptions, are friendly to the New Plan of Government.

We beg you to believe that whilst we are thus anxious to communicate to you our Sentiments on this important Subject, we by no means aim at any improper Influence over your Opinions—we know and we feel that we are addressing Freemen—we therefore intreat you, maturely to reflect before you give your Votes, where your Confidence may most safely be reposed: whether in men who it is to be feared may have an Interest in artfully misrepresenting Facts, or in such whose political Conduct is directed to the Public Good.

We trust that before the ensuing Election, you will weigh very seriously, the Counsel which we now offer to you:—be persuaded, that it has proceeded from the best Intentions, and flows from the best Judgement, of

Your affectionate Countrymen,

Robert R. Livingston	Alexander Hamilton	William Wilson
Robert Lenox	Will: Blackburn	John Ramsay
George Douglass, jun.	James Farquhar	Ph. V. Cortlandt
Walter Buchanan	Robert Troup	P. V. Cortlandt, jun.
James Tyrie	Charles Smith	John Murray
Hay Stevenson	George Gosman	Henry Troup
James Tillary	Robert Gosman	James Johnston
Collin MacGregor	Thomas Stevenson	Geo. Douglass
Robert Gilchrist	John Thomson	Peter Bruce
William Cuninghame	John Mason	George Service
George Turnbull	Lewis A. Scott	Robert Bruce
George Lindsay	Andrew Brown	J. Watts
Robert Hunter	Charles Robertson	Alexander Robertson
Peter M'Dougall	Robert Gourlay	Arch. Currie
William Maxwell	James Renwick	David Currie
William Shedden	Thomas Allen	Samuel Campbell
Samuel Kerr	Alexander Hosack	George Bond
James Saidler	David Galbeath	Robert Campbell.
John Taylor		

We, the Subscribers, of the City of Albany, having with Pleasure, perused the above Address, signed by a worthy and respectable Number of our Coun-

trymen of the City of New-York, are well convinced that their Sentiments flow from the most sincere Attachment to their Countrymen in the Northern Part of this State, who may be placed out of the true Line of impartial Information; we do fully agree with them in Sentiment, and as such would wish to recommend the same to all our Friends and Countrymen, who may attend the ensuing Election. Albany, 21st April, 1788.

Peter Sim	Tho's M'Murray	Alex. Carson
Donald MackLeod	John M'Harg	John Grant, jun.
John Grant	Gregor Grant	Samuel Hannah
Wm Falconer	T. V. W. Graham	Angus M'Donald
John Kirk	Joseph Newlands	Hugh Orr.

Albany Anti-Federal Committee Circular, c. 23 April 1788¹

To the Citizens of the City and County of Albany.

Another publication of the Federal Committee, has at length, *but with difficulty*, been obtained in this city, though copies of it have for some-time circulated in every part of the county, *to be read only by the trusty and well beloved of the Federal Committee*, but not to be delivered to any but such who were of approved fidelity. This elegant performance, while it imputes to us *lameness and confusion*, and publishes to the world, that our last address contains *the last words and dying speech of an expiring party*, speaks in every line, the language of disappointment; and while it declares, that the Federalists, *as a body*, have ever held themselves superior to retorting on us; from that fancied superiority, they look down with *pity and contempt*, upon those they cannot persuade to think with them, and lavish abuse, *in the certain persuasion* that, as we were otherwise employed, we should not have leisure to resent it.

The Federal Committee, *as a body*, published some abusive, false and injurious imputations, on those who were against adopting the New Constitution with amendments²—They have, as a body, countenanced, unprovoked and undeserved, attacks on individuals, who are opposed to the New Constitution—This is not mere assertion, the proofs are in our power, and some of them rest in the recollection of almost every man who has read the *newspapers* printed in this county.

We will relate in a few words a matter, which it is necessary, on this occasion, the public should be acquainted with, as it explains the management of the Federalists.—When the New Constitution became a particular object of enquiry, several publications, *personal in their nature*, and *confessedly false as to their subject*, were successively given to the public, to hurt the feelings and injure the characters of several persons

who, it was supposed, would oppose the adoption of the New Constitution—This was often complained of without effect—At last the nomination of the Federal Committee made its appearance, with remarks, announcing to the public the characters who were excluded from the list of Candidates.³

Let every impartial man review the Federal publications before that period, and he will observe them filled with the most venomous invectives against the Anti-Federalists, collectively and individually; all which was silently submitted to, till the Federal Committee shewed that they meant to pursue the same line of conduct—Then, and not till then, were THEIR INIQUITIES VISITED ON THEIR OWN HEADS⁴—they felt sore—a compromise took place, and it was agreed that all personalities should cease. They did so for a considerable time. This is proof conclusive, that the Members of the Federal Committee or some of them, were privy to those publications and influenced them—If not, how could they stop these publications? If they could stop them, why was not this done sooner? The reason is clear—as long as the Federalists remained untouched, they were content to let their scurrility go on without interruption—But the instant personalities were retorted on them, and applied to their feelings, they shrunk from them with the most undisguised abhorrence. If therefore, scurrility reflects dishonor on those who have recourse to it, as it undoubtedly does, all the dishonor may be justly claimed by the Federalists.

Terms of distinction, on a difference in political sentiments, are frequently arbitrary, and often, in their origin, without any precise meaning affixed to them. Thus, in the present instance, the term FEDERALIST, is applied to a man who is for destroying the Confederation—That of ANTI-FEDERALIST to the one who is for preserving it. It is unnecessary to explain the measures which led to this distinction. The principles of both we are fully acquainted with.

We have neither time nor inclination, to answer the remarks which are made respecting the sentiments of individuals—But we make no doubt, that every person who is alluded to, in the last publication of the Federal Committee, can give a satisfactory explanation of the opinions he has maintained.

If the term “travelling partizan,” is intended as an odious one, let the men take it to themselves, who have been galloping from this city, in every direction, to the extremities of the county, for the purpose of making proselytes to a cause, which, the good sense of our fellow citizens has, in most instances, induced them to decline approving.

A few days will determine whether the Federalists could have procured 400 signers in this city, to the publication subscribed with the

names of Philip Schuyler, Stephen Van Rensselaer, Philip Van Rensselaer, James Van Rensselaer, Abraham Ten Broeck, John Ten Broeck, Dirck Ten Broeck, and others. We doubt it, and we have great reason to believe the Federal Committee did so themselves.—If the names of the persons who were subscribed to that publication were intended to give weight to the arguments of the Federal Committee, adding the name of Mr. [John] Maley to it was an imposition on the public—if not it is only less criminal, as it is more harmless. The name of David Fonda, we are informed, was also added without his privacy.

It is said a paper, addressed to the inhabitants of Schenectady, has been published by the Federalists, stating the advantages to be derived from the Indian Trade to the inhabitants of that place.⁵

It need only be observed, that the General Government has a power to establish a monopoly. This the State of Massachusetts apprehended would take place,⁶ and the conduct of the British officers, at the Western Posts, shews how easily it may be effected.

Thus objects are in general presented to you to be viewed on one side only. Examine them with attention on ALL, and let the result determine your conduct.

By order of the ANTI-FEDERAL COMMITTEE,

JER. V. RENSSELAER, Chairman.

1. Broadside (Evans 45221); printed by Charles R. Webster. This circular responds to the Albany Federal Committee, *An Impartial Address*, c. 20 April (above).

2. A reference to those Antifederalists who opposed ratifying the Constitution even if accompanied by recommendatory amendments.

3. See Albany Federal Committee Circular, 14 March (above).

4. Perhaps derived from Ezra 9:6 (“for our iniquities are increased over our head”) or Psalms 38:4 (“For mine iniquities are gone over mine head”).

5. See “Schenectady Farmer,” To the Inhabitants of the District of Schenectady, c. 20 April (immediately above).

6. Massachusetts ratified the Constitution on 6 February with nine recommendatory amendments as part of its Form of Ratification. The fifth amendment stated, “That Congress erect no Company of Merchants with exclusive advantages of Commerce” (RCS:Mass., 1470).

**Albany Anti-Federal Committee to Benjamin Egbertsen,
Jonathan Niles, and others of Stephentown, Albany, 28 April 1788¹**

Gentlemen,

We herewith send you some Publications which you will please to use and distribute among the People²—

Pray attend at the Poll constantly until it is closed to see that all Matters are properly conducted.³

We rely on your Exertions and from the fair Prospects in every Part of the County we have no doubt of Success—We expect a decided Majority in this City.

Your hum. Servt.
By order of the Committee.
Jer V Rensselaer, Chairman

PS. We hope that the evasive & flimsy Answer of the federal Committee to the Objections of our Committee⁴ will have no weight in your district, and that you will Judge and vote like Freeman on this important Occasion.

We are told that the Patroons Tenants⁵ are to fold up their Ballots in a particular Manner—if they do, you will direct the anti Voters to do the same—

1. RC, Accession no. 2135, N. Stephentown, made a town in 1784 from the “East District of Rensselaer Manor,” was about twenty miles east of Albany.

2. Perhaps a reference to the pamphlets the Albany Anti-Federal Committee had recently received from their counterparts in New York City (see Editors’ Note under 12 April, above) or to the circulars of 10, c. 23, and c. 28 April printed for the Albany Anti-Federal Committee by Charles R. Webster. See “Albany Anti-Federal Committee to New York Federal Republican Committee,” 12 April (above).

3. Despite this admonition, the county supervisors invalidated all of the Stephentown ballots because the election inspectors failed to sign them properly. (See “Supervisors of the City and County of Albany, Canvassing the Ballots for the Convention,” 27–29 May, below.)

4. A reference to Albany Federal Committee, *An Impartial Address*, c. 20 April (above).

5. That is, the tenants of Stephen Van Rensselaer, widely known as “The Patroon,” one of the largest landholders in the state.

Albany Anti-Federal Committee Circular, c. 28 April 1788¹

To the Citizens of the City and County of Albany.

At this late day, it is impossible to enter into a minute consideration of the address to you from the Federal Committee—From its title page, it imports to be a *refutation* of the objections offered by us to the New Constitution in its present form: but when we examine it with attention, we find it to consist chiefly of positive assertions, without any arguments to support them—unmeaning denials, or reluctant admissions of points which have been stated by us, and which the force of truth ought and will, sooner or later, carry home to the bosom of every man who is in the least degree disposed to a dispassionate enquiry.

Among their admissions in the 6th page, is a concession, that if nine states ratify the New Government, *the others may remain independent*, though policy must dictate to all of them *eventually to join the Union*.

They have, it seems, at last discovered, that we may *think for ourselves*,

and that should we not be able to prevail upon our sister states to join us in opinion, we may still *join the Union* at any future day, after we have discovered that our attempts to procure amendments are unavailing.

The objection that the powers of the General Government are not defined, is answered in the 6th page, by saying that it will equally apply to our state government, without attending to this essential difference, that in our state government, the right of election is secured to the people, to be exercised in the different counties, but, it is not so by the new system.

The Federal Committee have at last discovered, that our state officers have ^(a)*never acted corruptly*—they have also discovered ^(b)that *taxation and representation* ought to be in proportion, and if so (so the same reasoning must apply to individuals) one of that Committee who has more wealth, and consequently ought to pay more taxes than all the rest of the Committee and signers of that address collectively, ought to give more votes than all the rest of them—this is a very convenient doctrine for the rich, but the citizens who are poor or in midling circumstances of life, will not agree to it—The language to those citizens who are not rich is, take your choice, pay an equal tax with a man who holds ten times your property, or give up a proportion of your importance in this government—This idea connected with that in the 10th page, that the southern states *must ever be against a poll-tax*, because their slaves are to be taken into the computation, need only to be mentioned, to induce every man of sense to laugh at the attempts of a set of men, who advance such glaring inconsistencies. If, at all events, the southern states must contribute towards the general expence in proportion to the number of their inhabitants, *three fifths of the slaves included*, now can their interests, as states, be affected whether that proportion of the general expence is raised in each state by a poll-tax or by assessment. To the states it is of no consequence—to the very rich men of those states, as well as of the others, it will ever be considered as of the first importance.

In the 17th page it is asserted that, as nothing is said *to prevent a jury in cases of appeal*, it must remain to be established by future laws. *The Emperor of Morocco may order a trial by jury*; but if he is not disposed to do it, nobody can controul him—and his people must be content.—We are freemen, and for every right we give up, we ought to have some adequate advantage secured—But what can compensate for the loss of a right of being tried by our equals?—Need an answer be given to this question, when addressed to men who have held the deprivation of the right of trial by jury as one of the most important reasons for waging

a long and bloody war, against a King who had made some progress in invading it—we trust not. It is said the jurisdiction of the Federal courts is limited—One instance is sufficient to shew how easily this limitation may be avoided—If two men, citizens of this state and inhabitants of it, claim land under titles unquestionably derived from this state—one of them, by making a title to a citizen of a neighboring state, *merely to have the benefit of a trial in the great Federal courts without a jury* carries his point beyond a doubt. A thousand other instances may be given, in which the same object may be obtained in as direct a mode—And if the controversy should not happen to be between “*two rich men, merchants or great landholders,*” but between one of this description and a man of moderate property, would it not be the wiser mode, if the New Constitution takes place, for the latter to give up his right, than to risk the certain loss of at least the whole property in contest, with a chance of losing more?

Standing armies, the right of calling out and directing the militia, and a variety of other powers, important in their nature, are more or less dangerous under every form of government—but they are rendered less so, while the people are certain of retaining *free elections*. The reason given by the Federal Committee, in the 9th page, for permitting the general Government to interfere in elections, *that some of the states might refuse to elect Members of the Legislature*, is the only one which will justify their interposition at all: But was it necessary to give them the uncontrolled right of making regulations respecting the *manner, time and place* of holding elections? Would not a power to direct an election in the manner and at the place in which the last preceding election was held, and a right to fix the same day of election on which the last annual election was held, if the state should neglect either, answer the purpose?—Cannot the general Legislature, with the present powers, in fact, abolish free elections? They can unquestionably. This, combined with a number of other dangerous powers, may enable the general Government to take away our liberties, whenever the members find or think their interest may be promoted by it.—This has been done in every other part of the world, and we have men not less wicked, ambitious, and enterprising among us than other nations.

Wherever the advocates for the New Constitution were defective in reasoning on it, they have uniformly supplied the deficiency by abuse. But your attention has been too long diverted from the *great question*, whether you will still continue to exist as a free and happy people, or be reduced to the same situation with almost all the other nations on earth.

A number of persons have been brought forward by the Federalists

as approving the New Constitution. If their sentiments or examples are to have weight, it must be considered—

1st. Whether they have not some particular object to obtain at the expence of the citizens at large.

2dly. Whether they think for themselves: and

3dly. Whether they are better informed than you are.

Before you put implicit faith in their opinions, consider their situation, ability and characters with attention—take from them first, the men who are possessed of over grown fortunes—secondly, those you have reason to think are influenced by others—thirdly those who are not possessed of information superior to your own, and pay that deference to the remainder which one freeman will always unreluctantly afford another.—Consider their arguments—If they deserve weight, let them have it—but if not, think for yourselves, and reject the council dictated by interested, designing or ignorant persons.

It has been boasted that three fourths of the inhabitants of this city are in favor of the New Constitution—If it is so, why have not the Federal Committee, whose exertions have been unremitting, to effect it, procured them to subscribe to their certificate, at the bottom of their elaborate pamphlet?—Why have they given you the names of persons who disavow the sentiments contained in it, as approving them?—why have they given you the name of a man, as subscribing it, who has been at New-York for three weeks last past? Have you reason to place much confidence in the testimonial, with which they have furnished you, when you are informed, that five of the persons whose names appear as subscribers to the last extraordinary production of the Federal Committee, publicly declare, *that they were unacquainted with its import, or they would not have signed it*, and that some of those persons declare, that the *paper they signed did not contain above three or four lines?*—Have you reason to trust to the declaration, that three fourths of the inhabitants of this city approve of the New Constitution in its present form, when you find the name of Mr. *John Maley* among the subscribers, who, it is notoriously known, has been three weeks absent at *New York?*—What is the inference? Either that they considered the acquisition of one name of so much consequence, as to induce them to send all the way to New York to obtain it, or that it has been annexed *without his privity or consent*. If the former, it exposes the weakness of the Federalists in this city, and pointedly contradicts the assertion, that they had a very short time to answer our objections; for if they had time to send their pamphlet to Mr. Maley at New-York, before it was completed, for his approbation, they certainly ought not to complain, that they had no time to consider its contents, and give it whatever dress they thought

proper—If Mr. Maley never saw the pamphlet, the making use of his name is an imposition, and an insult on the public, which the best cause could not palliate, much less justify.

The Federalists have procured the signature of *fifteen Scotsmen*, to a recommendation of an address of their countrymen *Robert R. Livingston, Ph. Van Cortlandt, P. Van Cortlandt, jun.* and others; and among those, we have undoubted information, that one of them supposed, when he put his name to it, that it was *a compliment in answer to the address from New-York*²—How many of the others were properly informed of what they were about, we know not—However, *forty one* of our fellow citizens of the Scots nation, inhabitants of this city, differ in their opinions with them; and have declared in writing, that they are decided against adopting the New Constitution, unless the intended amendments are made a condition of adoption.

But, in a matter of this consequence to ourselves, we must determine as freemen have an undoubted right to do, as sound reason and the prosperity of our country shall dictate—unawed by the insolence of wealth and uninfluenced by the arts or insinuations of the designing—for it is certain, that that government which will most effectually secure our liberties, must ever be the most worthy and desirable object of pursuit, and ought to receive the support of every disinterested friend to his country.

By Order of the ANTI-FEDERAL COMMITTEE,
JER. V. RENSSELAER, *Chairman.*

(a) 8th page.

(b) 9th page.

1. Broadside (Evans 45222); probably printed by Charles R. Webster. This broadside is a response to the Albany Federal Committee's pamphlet, *An Impartial Address*, c. 20 April, which responded to the Albany Anti-Federal Committee's Circular, 10 April (both above).

2. See the New York City Scotsmen's Address, Albany, 21 April 1788 (above).

William North to James Duane
Duanesburg, 4 May 1788 (excerpt)¹

... The roads are exceedingly bad—I went with three or four of the people to Schohara to vote for the Constitution—I suppose there were a Majority of 3 to 1 against it there.

1. RC, North Papers, N.

Lansingburgh Federal Herald, 5 May 1788¹

Who will represent this county in convention is a secret which time must develop—yet it is supposed, by even the antifederalists, that, in

this district, there is a majority of near 300 federal voters. We are happy to add, that four-fifths of the people in Lansingburgh are federal.

1. Reprinted in the *Daily Advertiser*, 21 May, and in nine out-of-state newspapers by 4 June: N.H. (1), Mass. (3), Pa. (4), Va. (1).

Alexander Hamilton to James Madison
New York, 11, 19 May 1788

*11 May (excerpt)*¹

My Dr Sir

I believe I am in your debt a letter or two, which is owing to my occupations in relation to the elections &c.

These are now over in this state, but the result is not known—All depends upon Albany where both sides claim the victory²—Our doubts will not be removed till the latter end of the month. . . .

*19 May (excerpts)*³

Some days since I wrote to you. . . .

I then mentioned to you that the question of a majority for or against the constitution would depend upon the County of Albany. By the latter accounts from that quarter I fear much that the issue there has been against us. . . .

1. RC, Madison Papers, DLC. Printed: Rutland, *Madison*, XI, 41.

2. James Bruyn of Kingston wrote his brother-in-law Peter Elmendorf that the results in Albany might be crucial. "I am pretty sure Albany will decide and give the Majority" (13 May, Mfm:N.Y.).

3. RC, Madison Papers, DLC. For the complete letter, see RCS:N.Y., 1102–3.

Abraham Oothoudt to James Duane
Schenectady, 19 May 1788 (excerpt)¹

Kind Sir,

. . . my neglect in not mentioning to you about the Late Election for a Convention was Ocasioned t[h]ru the unexpected Exertions there was made in this place in oposition to the Adoption of the Constitution, Suffitient to make one feel for the Distress we are going to bring on our Selves t[h]ru the Dread that is brought on us that are no Judges of the necessity of a form of Government at the time of Election. it could be Easily perceived that those few of us that were in favour of the Constitution were Looked upon as belonging to the tyrannicle party, I hope however that we may Still carry the Majority t[h]ru the State . . .

1. RC, Duane Papers, NHi. Oothoudt (1744–1822), a Schenectady surveyor, served on the Albany County Committee of Safety and in the New York militia during the Revolutionary War, rising to the rank of colonel.

**Supervisors of the City and County of Albany
Canvassing the Ballots for the Convention, 27–29 May 1788**

*Oath of Office, 27 May 1788*¹

[“]I _____ Supervisor of the City and County of Albany, do Solemly and Sincerely Swear and declare in the presence of Almighty God, That I will faithfully honestly and impartially Canvass and Estimate the Votes for members of Assembly and Delagates to the State Convention for the City and County of Albany Contained in the inclosers delivered into the office of the Clerk of the Said City and County, and that I will publish and declare the persons who have the greatest Number of Votes for Members of assembly and delegates to the State Convention, to be Severally Elected to the said offices respectively and that if I shall discover any of the other persons who shall attend with me for the purpose afore-said Conducting or demeaning himself or themselves partially unduly or Corruptly in the premises that I will divulge or discover the same to the End that the person so offending may be brought to justice”

Elbert Willett
Daniel Dickinson
John Younglove
Jacob Cuyler
Marcus Bellinger
Israel Thompson
John B: Dumond
Daniel B. Bratt
Nicholas Veeder
Stephen Van Rensselaer
James Gordon
Jacobus V. Schoonhoven
John W. Schermerhorn
Leonard Bronk
Anthony Ten Eyck

Sworn this 27th day of May 1788 before Mat: Visscher Clerk of the City and County of Albany

*Proceedings of the Supervisors, 27–28 May 1788*²

At a meeting of the board of Supervisors at the House of William B. Hilton in the City of Albany on Tuesday the 27th May 1788

Present

Elbert Willet James Gordon John Younglove Daniel B. Bradt Daniel Dickeson Nicholas Veeder Stephen Van Rensselaer	}	Esqrs.	Jacob Cuyler Israel Thompson Marcus Bellinger Jacobus V. Schoonhoven Anthony Ten Eyck Leonard Bronk John W. Scherme[r]horn John B. Dumond	}	Esqrs.
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The board having met pursuant to the adjournment of the 8th april last, and taking into Consideration the business for which they Were met, resolved that agreeable to Law they ought to proceed to the Canvassing of the Votes for Members of Assembly and Delegate[s] to the State Convention before any other business.—it was then moved that Such members as were not qualified at the former Meeting should take the oath of office, when John Younglove Esqr. was accordingly sworn, and Daniel Dickeson produced a Certificate that he had taken the Oath of office before Samuel Bacon Esqr.—The board then adjourned to the City Hall of the said City & County of Albany in order to proceed to Canvass the Votes of the assembly & Delegates to the State Convention But before they Entered on that business all the members present took the oath prescribed by the Election Law before Matthew Visscher Esqr Clerk of the County, and Caused the said oath to be Entered in a Book kept for that purpose.—

Tuesday 7 Oclock P.M. adjourned to morrow morning at 9 oclock—

Wednesday morning 9 OClock AM. Met pursuant to Adjournment present the same members as yesterday, the board then proceeded on the further Canvassing of the Votes for members of Assembly.—

Whereas it appears that the Polls for members of assembly and Delegates to the State Convention for Stephen Town District, and delivered to the board by the County Clerk, have not been Signed by a Majority of the Inspectors of said Election, it was thereupon agreed that the said Polls are not lawful, a motion being therefore made it was Accordingly resolved that the said Polls of Election be rejected—

The board having gone through Canvassing the Votes for members of assembly find that the following persons had the greatest number of Votes Vizt. John Younglove John Lansing Ju[nio]r Cornelius Van Dyck Jerimiah Van Rensselaer John Thompson John Duncan & Henry K. Van Rensselaer³

Wednesday 7 oclock P.M. adjourn'd to morrow morning at 9 oclock.—

Thursday morning 9 o'clock in the morning met pursuant to adjournment present the same members as yesterday, the board then Entered on Canvassing the Votes for delegates to the State Convention, and after having gone through that business find that the following persons had the greatest number of Votes Vizt. Robert Yates John Lansing Ju[nio]r Henry Oothoudt, Peter Vrooman Israel Thompson Anthony Ten Eyck, and Dirck Swart—

The board then adjourned to morrow morning at 9 o'clock to the house of William B. Hilton

Certificate of Election, 29 May 1788⁴

We the subscribers a Major part of the Supervisers of the City and County of Albany do hereby pursuant to a joint resolution of the Legislature passed 1st February 1788, Certify that we have Severally Canvassed and Estimated the Votes taken in the said City and County at the last Election for members of Convention and upon such Canvass and Estimate determine that the following Persons Vizt. Robert Yates, John Lansing Junr. Henry Oothoudt, Peter Vrooman, Israel Thompson, Anthony Ten Eyck and Derick Swart have had the greatest number of Votes for members of Convention at the said Election—

Albany 29th. May 1788

Elbert Willett
 Stephen Van Rensselaer
 Jacob Cuyler
 Jacobus V Schoonhoven
 Nicholas Veeder
 Daniel Dickinson
 John W. Schermerhorn
 Daniel B Bratt
 James Gordon
 John Younglove
 Marcus Bellinger
 John B. Dumond
 Leonard Bronk
 Anthony Ten Eyck
 Israel Thompson

1. MS, Board of Canvassers, Recorded Returns, Albany County Courthouse. The document is signed by each of the supervisors and attested by Matthew Visscher, the clerk.

2. MS, Proceedings of the Supervisors of the County of Albany, Albany County Hall of Records.

3. Abraham G. Lansing wrote Abraham Yates, Jr., on the evening of 28 May: "This Evening the Supervisors finished Canvassing the Votes for the Assembly in this County—

and I have the pleasure to inclose you a State of each poll taken from the Books of the Board of Supervisors.—The Majority of the Assembly is much greater than we had reason to expect—our antagonists are much Crest fallen and have very Little to say. communicate the agreeable information to his Excellency and all our Friends—Letters will be forwarded from our Committee on the Subject but they will probably not be in Time for the Mail as it is to be closed immediately” (Yates Papers, NN).

4. MS, Board of Canvassers, Recorded Returns, Albany County Courthouse. The document is in the handwriting of an amanuensis and signed by each of the supervisors. Two election certificates with virtually the identical wording and the signatures of the supervisors are in the McKesson Papers at the New-York Historical Society (Mfm:N.Y.). One is docketed “Robert Yates Esqr” and the other “John McKesson/Esqr Clerk to the Assembly.” Both are marked “read.”

**Henry K. Van Rensselaer to Nicholas Fish
Greenbush, 28 May 1788 (excerpt)¹**

I take this earliest opportunity of answering your letter of the 2nd. April last, it was delivered to me two or three days ago in a tattered situation—scarcely legible. It has been suppressed I suppose by some zealous Federalist, who has feared that it came from his Excellency, the Governor, & must not be given me till after the Election—

Be pleased therefore to send your Letters to me by the Mail, for fear of future miscarriage. . . .

1. RC, Fish Family Papers, NNC-RB. Van Rensselaer (d. 1815) had served in the New York militia and was wounded severely in battle at Fort Ann in July 1777 sustaining lifelong injuries. He was colonel (and then general) of the New York militia. He represented Albany in the Assembly, 1788–90. Fish (1758–1833) attended the College of New Jersey (Princeton) and read law with John Morin Scott. He was a militia officer rising to the rank of brigade major in 1776 and was commissioned by Congress a major in the Continental Line in November of that year. At the end of the war he was brevetted lieutenant-colonel. He served as adjutant general of the New York militia from 1784 to 1793. In 1793 President Washington appointed him supervisor of the revenue for the district of New York. From 1806 to 1817 he was an alderman of New York City.

**Matthew Visscher to Abraham Yates, Jr., John McKesson,
and Melancton Smith Albany, 30 May 1788¹**

The Supervisors of this County finished canvassing the Votes taken for Convention and upon such Canvass the Votes stood as follows vizt

Robert Yates	4670
John Lansing Jun	4681
Henry Oothoudt	4678
Peter Vrooman	4671
Anthony Ten Eyck	4657
Dirck Swart	4673

Abraham Ten Broeck	2627
Jacob Cuyler	2620
Francis Nicoll	2617
Peter Gansevoort Jun	2621
Jeronemus Hooghland	2613
James Gordon	2617
John W Schermerhorn	2610

Mr. Abraham Lansing will send Mr. Yates a List of the number of Votes taken in each District, in the mean time let it suffice to be informed that the Antifederalists had a Majority in every District except the City of Albany, the whole number of Votes taken for Convention 7449. Let our friend the Governor know this as soon as possible, the Sloop is waiting

1. RC, Yates Papers, NN. The information in Visscher's letter was printed in the *New York Journal* on 3 June (below). Visscher inadvertently omitted the Antifederalist delegate Israel Thompson, who received 4,666 votes.

**John Lansing, Jr., to Abraham Yates, Jr.
Albany, 1 June 1788 (excerpt)¹**

My Brother informs me he has given you the Result of our Election²—the Event has been as successful as the most sanguine expected. . . .

1. RC, Lansing Papers, Gansevoort-Lansing, Vol. 1, NN. For the complete letter, see RCS:N.Y., 1122–23.

2. Abraham G. Lansing wrote Abraham Yates, Jr., on 1 June saying “By Mr. Leonard I forwarded you a particular State of the Election for Delegates in this County.” (For the complete letter, see RCS:N.Y., 1120–22.) On 28 May Abraham G. Lansing had written Peter Vrooman that “We have every prospect of succeeding in the Election—last night we had the Canvass of the Districts. . . .” According to Lansing the Antifederalist candidates for the Assembly had a 634 vote majority (Random Collections of Albany, Accession no. A 974.743 fw 93a32, N).

Printing of Election Results, 2–9 June 1788

The newspaper reporting of the results of the Albany election of Convention delegates was confused and inept. The *New York Journal*, 2 June, was the first to report—but did so incorrectly. Instead of reporting the results of the Convention election, the *Journal* reported the results of the Assembly elections, under the heading “Members of Convention.” This error was repeated in the *New York Packet*, 3 June; *Independent Journal*, 4 June; *Impartial Gazetteer*, 7 June; and in four Philadelphia newspapers and one Boston newspaper by 16 June.

On 3 June, after seeing the letter from Matthew Visscher of 30 May (above), the *New York Journal* corrected its error, except that, like the Visscher letter, it omitted Israel Thompson and his vote total from the list of victorious Antifed-

eralist candidates. This incomplete version was reprinted in the *Daily Advertiser* on 4 June and the *Pennsylvania Journal* on 11 June. Realizing its error, the *New York Journal* corrected this incomplete version on 5 June, but this time the *Journal* printed Israel Thompson's name and vote totals at the bottom of the defeated Federalist ticket. This version was reprinted in the *Lansingburgh Federal Herald*, 9 June, *Pennsylvania Packet* and *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, 10 June, and Providence *United States Chronicle*, 12 June.

A correspondent signing himself "R." submitted a piece to the *New York Journal* (7 June, below) demanding that the correct voting results be published. An editorial statement appeared directly beneath the statement by "R.," promising that the corrected list would appear on Monday, 9 June. On that day, the *Journal* printed the correct report, with this preface: "Agreeable to the request of our correspondent, R. we have corrected the error in Thursday's paper, as follows." Another correct list without vote totals was printed in the *Country Journal* on 10 June, while the North Carolina *Wilmington Centinel*, 2 July, printed a correct list with vote totals.

See Mfm:N.Y. for the reports of the Albany County election returns appearing in the *New York Journal*, 2, 5, and 9 June.

New York Journal, 3 June 1788

In our paper of yesterday, through mistake, was inserted the names of the gentlemen who are returned *Members of ASSEMBLY for ALBANY county*, as returned for the *CONVENTION*.—We have since been favoured with the following statement, extracted from a letter dated Albany, May 30, viz.¹

"The supervisors of this county have finished canvassing the votes taken for members of Convention, and the numbers are as follow.—**ANTI-FEDERAL TICKET**—Robert Yates 4670, John Lansing 4681, Henry Oothoudt 4678, Peter Vrooman 4671, Abr'm TenEyck 4657, Dirk Swart 4673. [Israel Thompson 4666]²

FEDERAL TICKET.

Abr. Tenbroeck 2627, Jacob Cuyler 2620, Francis Nicoll 2617, P. Gansevoort j. 2621, Jerom. Hoagland 2613, James Gordon 2617, John W. Schamerhorn 2610."

1. See Matthew Visscher to Abraham Yates, Jr., John McKesson, and Melancton Smith, 30 May (above).

2. Israel Thompson's vote total was not printed in the *New York Journal* of 3 June. It appeared at the end of the list of defeated Federalist candidates in the *Journal* of 5 June and was correctly placed with the other Antifederalist victorious candidates in the *Journal* of 9 June.

"R."

New York Journal, 7 June 1788¹

Mr. GREENLEAF, One of your subscribers has undoubtedly an equal right with the impertinent Mr. Q. to be gratified; therefore, I call on

you to favour the public with the whole of the Anti-Federal ticket from Albany county, together, as I think one of that respectful nomination (who has very near double the number of votes for convention, than the highest number of the Federal ticket, for the city and county of New-York amounts to) very much disgraced in having his name placed at the bottom of the Federal ticket in your paper of yesterday. The situation is rather degrading as no real patriot can possibly acquire either credit or reputation by being connected with those, who, at this crisis, stile themselves the *well-born*. You may also assure the public (notwithstanding Mr. Q's assertion) that only one of the members for convention from Richmond county is federal, and even that one declares himself open to conviction, which by the way is not the character of a fed.

New-York, June 6th 1788.

☞ *The above shall be inserted on Monday next.*

1. For "Q," *New York Journal*, 6 June, see City and County of New York Elections (below).

John Myers to James Duane
Duanesburg, 23 June 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . hope you will Lett me know a Lettel how our present Plan the New Constitution Comes on as I am Sure that I have had a good Dele of trubel for mr Cuyler in behalfe of the Same Not to my profit thow he knows I am allways to Serve him whean i think it for good a Number of our Settlers went to Scancantay to vote in the Last Election as I am informd and theam and the most that went to Schohare was Antefederal Electors . . .

1. RC, Duane Papers, NHi.

COLUMBIA COUNTY

**Matthew Adgate (A–N) John Bay (A–N)
Peter Van Ness (A–N)**

Columbia County was created out of Albany County by an act of the New York legislature on 4 April 1786. In 1788 the county was composed of the City of Hudson and seven towns. According to the 1790 U.S. Census, Hudson had a population of 2,584, while the other towns had the following totals: Canaan (6,692), Kinderhook (4,661), Livingston (4,594), Hillsdale (4,556), Claverack (3,262), Clermont (867), and Germantown (516).

In addition to the split between supporters and opponents of the policies of Governor George Clinton, Columbia County politics was strained by the conflicts between the two Federalist factions of the Livingston family. The Livingstons of the Upper Manor (including John, Henry, and Peter R., all sons of Robert Livingston, Jr.) were estranged from the Livingstons of Clermont led by Chancellor Robert R. Livingston. The Upper Manor consisted of 150,000 acres and about 600 tenants, while Clermont comprised 13,000 acres and about 80 tenants. The Upper Manor Livingstons were politically and economically connected with New York City Mayor James Duane, whose Duanesburgh manor in Albany County included 36,000 acres and 235 tenants. Residents of Hudson disliked the powerful Upper Manor Livingstons and consequently were more sympathetic to the Clermont Livingstons. Chancellor Livingston at this time was aligned with Philip Schuyler and Alexander Hamilton against the Upper Manor Livingstons. Thus the elections in Columbia had as much to do with local politics and interests as with consideration of the Constitution.

Columbia County Federalists began campaigning by holding a meeting on Tuesday, 11 March, in Claverack. While this meeting produced a slate of three candidates for the Convention, three for the Assembly, and one for the Senate, the appearance of cohesion only hid the political divisiveness of Columbia County Federalists. In particular, individuals were unhappy about the nomination of the Upper Manor's John and Henry Livingston (for the Assembly and Convention, respectively), a move Peter Van Schaack described as "injudicious" (to Robert R. Livingston, 19 March). Opposition from Hudson and from the Clermont Livingstons was strong. Chancellor Robert R. Livingston suggested that Federalists had "acted with too much precipitation," believing that "The nomination of two brothers in a county where they are already jealous of family interest is to the last degree imprudent" (to Philip Schuyler, 20 March). Various others were offended by not having been invited to the meeting, not having been included among the nominees, not having had their friends named among the nominees, or having had their political enemies listed among the nominees.

Federalist leaders—Philip Schuyler, James Duane, and Robert R. Livingston—all tried to smooth over the discontent. "A Citizen" (*Hudson Weekly Gazette*, 27 March) pleaded with "the Independent Electors of Columbia County" "to sow the seeds of harmony, and unanimity, among your countrymen." A second Federalist meeting on 8 April in the village of Spencertown sought to formulate a compromise slate of candidates, but produced a slate almost identical to the original one, substituting only William Powers for William H. Ludlow as an Assembly candidate.

Meanwhile, Antifederalists had met at Captain George Philip's "house" in Claverack on 18 March to nominate their delegates. Federalist Peter Van

Schaack considered their nominations “as injudicious as ours *was*” (to Robert R. Livingston, 19 March) because they named only four people to seven positions (three Convention delegates, one senator, and three assemblymen). He also believed that “Our Opponents forego all these partial Considerations & flock to one Standard” (to Philip Schuyler, 3 April), thus giving them a unanimity Federalists lacked. Antifederalists further strengthened their position by effective campaigning, especially in the distribution of literature. The *Hudson Weekly Gazette*, 10 April, reported that “antifederalists are circulating with amazing assiduity the reasons of dissent of the minority of Pennsylvania. . . . They have by their insinuating wiles brought over a few to their side.” About two weeks later, Ashbel Stoddard of the *Gazette* reprinted the Constitution as a reminder to readers—Federalist and Antifederalist—of what was at issue in the upcoming election.

The voting itself was controversial. A Mr. Delemeter was jailed “for challenging Hezekiah Dayton, one of the board, for putting a different ticket into the box, from the one he received from one of the electors” (Alexander Coventry Diary, 30 April). Likewise, Peter Wynkoop, Jr., suggested the possibility that “Compulsive Measures has been used to lead the Tenants” (to Peter Van Gaasbeek, 5 May), referring to the pressure exerted by manor lords on their tenants to vote a certain way.

In the weeks following the elections and prior to the counting of votes, observers were uncertain of the final results. Peter Wynkoop, Jr., reported the prevailing opinion that Antifederalists had narrowly won in Kinderhook, and that they were also successful in Hillsdale, Claverack, Kings, and German Camp, but that Federalists held Hudson and Clermont. He believed Federalists would carry Livingston Manor and with it the entire county (to Peter Van Gaasbeek, 5 May). Robert R. Livingston writing from Clermont informed Philip Schuyler that he doubted Federalists had succeeded in Columbia County, though “at least in this quarter we have turned out in considerable force” (9 May). In the end, Antifederalists won all three Convention seats with more than 55 percent of the vote.

Federalist Meeting in Claverack, 11 March 1788¹

County of Columbia, March 11, 1788.

At a meeting of a number of very respectable citizens, and some of the first characters in the county, from each district, held this day at Claverack—it was unanimously agreed that the following gentlemen, in the present alarming situation of our country, were proper persons to represent this county in Convention—and in Senate and Assembly for the ensuing year.

It is therefore recommended—To the Laborer, if he wishes to be employed, and to receive pay for his labor—To the Tradesman, if he desires to be supported in his industrious calling—To the Farmer, if he is willing to receive a good price for his produce—To the Merchant, if he is willing to have a sure commercial treaty—And to every HONEST

MAN, who has a regard for GOOD GOVERNMENT, and bears a true respect and love for his country; to support them with their votes and interest.

PETER VAN SCHAACK, HENRY LIVINGSTON, JACOB FORD,	}	Esqrs.	Delegates to Convention.
PETER SILVESTER, Esq. Senator.			

JOHN LIVINGSTON, THOMAS JENKINS, WILLIAM H. LUDLOW,	}	Esqrs.	Assembly.

1. Printed: *Hudson Weekly Gazette*, 13 March. The *Gazette* printed this piece again on 3, 10, and 15 April. It was also reprinted in the *Albany Journal*, 17 March.

**William Wilson to Robert R. Livingston
Clermont, 13 March 1788 (excerpt)¹**

Judging that it may not be disagreeable to you to know a little of the political transactions of Columbia, with pleasure I communicate them I attended at a meeting of the foederalists at Claverack on Tuesday last.² A committee was formed of the most respectable charracters from each district—They formed a list which the Gentlemen present approved of & pledged their honors to support. For the Convention Peter V. Schaack, Henry Livingston, Jacob Ford. Senator Peter Sylvester—Assembly John Livingston—Thomas Jenkins—Wm. H. Ludlow Your name would certainly have been first on the list, but that it was positively asserted that your Election was secured for New York³

I was sorry however to see this business so much blended with another matter which appeared to me foreign to the purpose & even prejudicial. It seemed to be as much a meeting of the Associates in the Indian Purchase as any thing else & indeed this gave a bias to the whole⁴ It was with great difficulty that the Hudson people got Mr. Jenkins on the list—the Livingstons &c. &c. insisted on Mr. Gilbert—but at last yielded.

As the time for electing town officers is on the first tuesday of April & I am affraid you will not be present; If it is any object it will be worth your trouble to write Major Ten Broeck & Cooper.

The family at Clermont are well—The weather for some days has been very pleasant & the snow leaving us fast. . . .

1. RC, Livingston Papers, NHi. Wilson (b. 1755), a Scottish physician, was Livingston's estate manager and confidant and later his executor.

2. For a report of the Federalist meeting at Claverack, see immediately above.
3. Although Livingston's manor, Clermont, was located in Columbia County, he owned extensive property in New York City, where he often resided and from which he was elected to the Convention.
4. A reference to John Livingston's attempt through the Genesee Company to purchase large quantities of land in western New York directly from the Iroquois.

Antifederalist Meeting in Claverack, 18 March 1788

*Hudson Weekly Gazette, 20 March*¹

At a meeting of a number of very respectable citizens from a majority of the districts of this county, though perhaps not the *first characters* in point of property, yet as such in point of attachment to the liberty, independence and happiness of America, held at the house of Capt. George Philip, it was agreed that the following characters be recommended to Columbia's electors, as candidates for a seat in Convention, and in Senate and Assembly for the ensuing year.

PETER VAN NESS,	}	Delegates for Convention.
JOHN BAY,		
MATTHEW ADGATE,		

PETER VAN NESS, Senator.

MATTHEW ADGATE,	}	Assembly.
JOHN BAY,		
JOHN KORTS.		

The important period is fast approaching, when the citizens of this state will be called upon to decide in one of the most important questions, that ever came before a people, in the decision of which the liberty and happiness of America is deeply interested—And as every individual has not an opportunity of declaring his own opinion on the grand question, whether the proposed constitution is to be adopted or rejected, but must speak by delegates, it will therefore be of the utmost importance to elect such persons on whose judgement and fidelity the fullest confidence can be placed.

The characters of the aforesaid gentlemen being well known throughout the county, supercedes the necessity of a particular recommendation, which often hurts the feelings of the candidates or disquiets the public and sometimes both.

Claverack, Columbia county, March 18, 1788.

Albany Gazette, 27 March

Columbia County, March 18, 1788.

At a meeting of a number of respectable citizens, (composed chiefly of the most conspicuous and patriotic characters in the county) from each district, this day, at the house of Capt. George Philips in Claverack, among whom were the honorable committee, heretofore appointed, for the district [of King's?]; the meeting proceeded to make [choice of?] a committee for each of the other districts [in the county?]- which committee, after the most [- - -] deliberation, unanimously agreed, that the following gentlemen were the most proper persons to represent this county in Convention, and in Senate and Assembly, for the ensuing year.

D E L E G A T E S.

PETER VAN NESS,	}	Esqrs.
MATTHEW ADGATE,		
JOHN BAY,		

S E N A T O R.

PETER VAN NESS, Esq.

A S S E M B L Y.

MATTHEW ADGATE,	}	Esqrs.
JOHN BAY,		
JOHN KORTZ,		

Notwithstanding the recommendation of so respectable a committee, the sense of the meeting was taken, by holding up each candidate, for their different offices, and although the meeting was very numerous, there was only four dissenting voices.

1. The *Hudson Weekly Gazette* printed this article again on 3, 10, 15, and 22 April.

**Peter Van Schaack to Robert R. Livingston
Kinderhook, 19 March 1788¹**

Your Br.² was with Us from last Evening till this Day Noon, which gave Us an Opportunity of discussing fully the Situation of our County Politics. I took an Opportunity of introducing him to Some of our Friends and have communicated his Intentions which are well received. His Candor has much ingratiated him with Me and I made him happy in telling him that his Name had been before mentioned by a Zealous & active Partizan in this District. J. L's Resignation renderd Edward's arrival peculiarly Opportune.³ All depends on the Upper Manor and a Letter I have from P R L affords a favorable Omen.⁴ Next Week We

shall form a new Arrangement which I trust will be unexceptionable—My present Ideas are Edward for the Convention instead of H. L. and for the Assembly Henry Livingston, Capt Thurston & Wm Powers. I have written to Mr Jenkins who has expressed his Readiness to decline in Favor of any Man not inimical to Hudson. Mr Ludlow (good Man as he is) will perhaps not be free from the Suspicion of this Disqualification mentioned and reasonably mentioned by Mr Jenkins. On the other Hand Thurston is Ludlow's Friend—But I am sliding into Minutiæ. Our Opponents met yesterday and if possible have made a Nomination as injudicious as ours *was*. Van Ness for the Senate & Convention too, Bay & Adgate for both Assembly & Convention and Curse of the Camp for the Assembly⁵—Four Men to fill Seven Places! Some of their own Folks objected to this at the Time. The Eastern People are much divided and I have not Grounds for a rational Conjecture as to the comparative Numbers. The Westenhook Petition was most unseasonable.⁶ If Edward can reconcile to himself a Renunciation it might produce a happy Effect. But this is delicate Ground for *me* to interfere in and I wo[ul]d not so much as mention it to him. If I *should* hint it to him it will be merely for his *Consideration*, nor will I suffer his Zeal to precipitate him into any Measure concerning it, by my Manner of touching the Subject: But if you think it proper, it might be well to give him your Sentiments relative to it.

I spent a Day and an Evening at the Upper Manor when Mr. Patterson repeated the Substance of his Letter with some Particulars wh. Mrs P confirmed. The old Gentleman also addressed me very Seriously upon the Subject of the contested Creek.⁷ It would lead me into too great a Length to be explicit, but will reserve Particulars for the Meeting I hope to have with You Soon. I have not been inattentive to the Business but have not had Time to digest what I have collected in my Researches.

I beg you will do me the Honor to present my respectful Compls to Mrs Livingston, and to our worthy Friend Mr Jay, and believe [me] with Cordiality and Esteem Dear Sir Your most Obed Servt.

1. RC, Accession no. 1160, N. Van Schaack (1747–1832), a 1768 graduate of King's College (Columbia) and a Kinderhook lawyer, was a legal and classical scholar of considerable reputation. During the Revolution he refused to take the oath of allegiance to New York. In 1778 he went to England to see an oculist and did not return to America until 1785. The next year an act of the New York legislature restored his citizenship and that of several others, and he was readmitted to the bar. He was one of three Federalist candidates nominated for the state Convention.

2. Edward Livingston.

3. John R. Livingston, another brother, who had been nominated by Federalists for a seat in the Assembly.

4. Peter R. Livingston, the brother of John and Henry Livingston of the Upper Manor.

5. A reference to John Kortz.

6. On 1 March 1788 “A petition of Peter Van Brugh Livingston, Nicholas Bayard and others, on behalf of themselves and the other proprietors of lands called *Westenhook*” was read in the state Assembly. The petition asked “leave to present a bill for appointing trustees for all the proprietors of Westenhook, vesting in them all the said Lands not conveyed to John Van Rensselaer, with full powers to the said trustees, to compromise with any persons settled upon the said Lands, to enter upon any parcels of them that are not actually occupied and possessed by others, to bring such actions for the trial of their title as they may judge expedient, and to divide such parts as they may obtain the possession of, and any sums of money that may be paid to them for their releases, among the proprietors and the State, according to their respective interests in the same.”

The petition was referred to a committee, which reported on 15 March “that the prayer of the petitioners should be granted; and that they should have leave to present a bill at the next meeting of the Legislature, for the purposes in their said petition prayed for, upon giving due notice thereof, by advertisements in the public news-papers.” After the report was read, the Assembly resolved not to approve the committee’s report.

See *Assembly Journal* [9 January–22 March 1788] (Poughkeepsie, 1788), 100, 132–33 (Evans 21314).

7. In the 1780s the two branches of the Livingston family were engaged in a bitter dispute over Robert R. Livingston’s construction of a gristmill on the Roeliff Jansen Kill without the consent of the Upper Manor Livingstons. The stream separated the Upper Manor from Clermont.

Robert R. Livingston to Philip Schuyler **New York, 20 March 1788¹**

I forgot when I left you to give you the name of William Wilson whom I much wish to be appointed one of the justices for the county of Columbia, he lives in Clermont district & is a sensible man of liberal education. Our friends in Columbia I fear have acted with too much precipitation—They have named Ford without being sure of his principles, they have passed by Powers, who[se] conduct in the legislature has been strait, to make room for Wm. Ludlow & they have in some measure connected the business of the convention with that odious business of the western Lands—If they still persist in persuing this unpopular & dangerous plan, they will not only destroy their own consequence & ability in the state but involve their friends & connections & perhaps the state itself in ruin—The nomination of two brothers in a county where they are already jealous of family interest is to the last degree imprudent²—If you have any influence with them exert it upon this occasion—This business grows every day more serious—The folly & precipitation of the governing party in Pensilvania has occasioned associations to resist by arms³—Should this State *not* accede to the proposed government It may place the parties upon such ground that arms may determine the controversy. [Egbert] Benson & our friends in Dutches County as far as I have yet learned are unpardonably negligent endeavour if possible to rouse them to exertion, This County & *Kings* there is no doubt about, I hope there is as little of Albany, & that

Montgomery is not neglected—Present my compliments at federal Hall & believe me to be Dr. Sir

1. RC, Schuyler Papers, NN.
2. A reference to the nomination of Henry and John Livingston of the Upper Manor for seats in the Convention and Assembly, respectively.
3. A reference to the high-handed tactics of Pennsylvania Federalists in getting the Assembly in late September 1787 to call a state Convention to consider the Constitution that triggered strong Antifederalist opposition. This opposition eventually manifested itself in violence at Carlisle in late December 1787 and in a petition campaign in March 1788 for legislative rejection of the state's ratification. See RCS:Pa., 670–708, 709–25.

Federalist Meeting

Hudson Weekly Gazette, 27 March 1788¹

At a numerous and respectable meeting of the principal freeholders of the two eastern districts of Columbia county,² it was unanimously resolved, That the following gentlemen, as patrons of freedom and liberty, be held up as proper persons to represent us in Convention, Senate and Assembly. The awful period soon arrives, when the people will have it in their power to shake off the trammels of aristocracy, and be free.

Convention—Peter Van Schaack, Henry Livingston, Jacob Ford.

Senator—Peter Silvester.

Assembly—John Livingston, Ezekiel Gilbert, William H. Ludlow.

1. The *Hudson Weekly Gazette* printed this article again on 3, 10, and 15 April.
2. The two eastern districts were Hillsdale and Kings.

A Citizen

Hudson Weekly Gazette, 27 March 1788

To the Independent Electors of Columbia County.

Gentlemen, The awful period is approaching when you are to elect delegates to represent you in convention: for this important trust you cannot be too circumspect in your proceedings: it not only involves your own future happiness, but that of your posterity. If ever there was a time, when your exertions were demanded it is now; it is this time when all the engines of corruption are busily employed to enslave you; and take the remnant of that dear freedom for which you have expended your blood and treasure. This recent instance for which you are justly the admiration of the world, will, I hope, stimulate you to a similar conduct; and to spurn the man, however great and opulent, who should contribute to bind you in the fetters of slavery, which your virtue and your valor have so nobly rent asunder.

By rejecting the new constitution you sign the death warrant of your country; and reduce yourselves to the lowest situation of human infamy

and shame. Exert then your utmost efforts to perpetuate that liberty, which, if you once let slip, you will never have another opportunity to regain. No nation ever had a greater question to decide on; whether you will be respectable and opulent; or miserable and despicable¹—Virtue, O ye Americans! will lead you, invincible as you are, to happiness permanent and indubitable. Seize then the precious moment, and in the interval of your election, endeavour to sow the seeds of harmony, and unanimity, among your countrymen, and you shall reap the blessings of your labor in abundance; and those not yet in existence will bless you, for the nobleness of your conduct.—Do not let yourselves be imposed upon, by the artifice of designing men, who are only waiting for an opportunity to establish a system of tyranny and oppression, for which they have been long watching. Accept, with thanks, the proposed system, and rather put your trust in the virtuous band of patriots, who have rescued you from British tyranny, than these detested hypocrites, who were, during our contest, lurking in the bosom of the enemy, and contributing to our downfall.

1. This idea was perhaps inspired by George Washington's circular letter to the states in June 1783 in which he wrote "there is an option still left to the United States of America, whether they will be respectable and prosperous, or contemptible and miserable as a nation." See CC:4, esp. p. 64.

Philip Schuyler to Robert R. Livingston
Albany, 29 March 1788 (excerpts)¹

Your favor of the 20th. instant came to hand, on the day, previous to that, on which the legislature adjourned, my attendance in senate, and in the council of appointment, did not leave me a moments leisure, to answer your letter from Poughkeepsie.

Mr. Wilson was appointed agreeably to your request.—

Your fears relative to the conduct of our friends in Columbia, are unhappily but too well founded;—all was in confusion there, on my arrival at Claverack. I advised a reconsideration of their nominations, in a meeting of the most respectable characters of the County. It was promised me to attempt It. I am not yet informed If such meeting has been had, nor, If It has been, what has been the result.²—Mr John Livingston before I left Poughkeepsie, informed me, that he would not stand a Candidate for a member in the assembly, and that he would oppose the election of Mr. Jenkins,³ and that of every person unfriendly to his family.—I expostulated with him on the impropriety, If not danger of such a determination; attempted to shew, the disgrace which must result to his family, to ours, and to all our friends.—but in vain, he adhered to [his?] opinions.—I requested Mr Duane to converse

with him on the Subject. I believe he did, but with as little success [as?] I had experienced;—on my way hither I stopped at Colo: Peter Livingstons.—communicated what had passed between John & me, he appeared alarmed, and offered to accompany me to his brothers house, he did so.—I renewed my apprehensions of the consequences which would result If he adhered to his former determinations. after a long conversation, he promised not to interfere one way or the other, but still refused to stand a candidate.—I then hinted my wish, If the nomination for delegates to the Convention should be reconsidered and altered, that Your Brother Edward might be proposed. but as this proposition was not relished I forbore to urge It farther there;—At Claverack I learnt that Mr Jenkins had also declared, least he should injure the common cause, as Mr John Livingston was so much opposed to him.—there I was also informed that Mr Isaac Goes⁴ was offended, that he had not been called to the first meeting, and that he would probably be in opposition. all those circumstances Induced me to advise the meeting I have mentioned.—

At Kinderhook I had a long Conversation with Mr. Goes.—I found him much Chagrined, but not totally divested of those principles which had induced him so invariably to adhere to us in our politics, and found him a decided foederalist but determined to take no Active part. I then informed him of the meeting I had proposed at Claverack, and assured him that Colo: Renselaer was sincerely chagrined at his brothers. The generals inattention in not requesting him to attend at the first meeting, that he would be called to the one proposed, and that I trusted to the Generosity of his temper to forget what was passed.—he will attend,—and I believe will sincerely Join in every measure which may promise to promote the foederal Interest.—but after all, my hopes of Success in that County, are small indeed. . . .

If any thing material arises in Columbia, or any part of this district, worth communicating, I shall advise you thereof.

[P.S.] If Henry Livingston can be prevailed on to decline the delegation to Convention Your Brother⁵ will be proposed—and I believe will then be in the nomination—

1. RC, Livingston Papers, NHi. For the omitted portion of this letter, see Albany County Election (above).

2. Schuyler is probably referring to the meeting reported in the *Hudson Weekly Gazette*, 27 March (above). Another Federalist nominating meeting was held at Spencertown on 8 April (below).

3. Thomas Jenkins, a wealthy Hudson merchant and manufacturer (oil and candle works), was a county supervisor, 1786, and a Hudson alderman, 1788–90. He succeeded Seth Jenkins as the second mayor of Hudson, 1793–1808.

4. Isaac Goes of Kinderhook was a judge of the Columbia County Court of Common Pleas, 1786–92.

5. Edward Livingston, a lawyer, was a 1781 graduate of the College of New Jersey (Princeton), who (along with Alexander Hamilton, Aaron Burr, and James Kent) had studied law with John Lansing, Jr.

**Peter Van Schaack to Philip Schuyler
Kinderhook, 3 April 1788 (excerpt)¹**

I have this Moment only, recd your Letter of 27 Ult.—I am truly sorry I had not the Opportunity of seeing you in your Way up, as Subjects like those we have corresponded upon require too great a Detail for a Letter. As to what you heard while in this Town, I must tell you that in my Opinion it must be set down for Nothing, and so thoroughly convinced am I that no Dependence is to be put on any Thing that Man says that I certainly shall never admit him to the least Confidence, since it co[ul]d answer no other Purpose than to be betrayed. This is not the Dictate of Passion, but the Result of long, long Experience.—From what you mention to have passed below, I conclude that the Business is up in this County unless old Mr L.² will personally interfere. A Family that can so disjoin themselves upon so momentous an Occasion, whilst they have shewn they will coalesce on any Point of County Politics must not be relied upon. Our Opponents forego all these partial Considerations & flock to one Standard.—The Westenhook Petition has had an admirable Effect to cement this Union.³

We had a Meeting at Claverack, where Colo P R L declared that his Br. wo[ul]d serve if the *County requested* it⁴—! Mr. Ludlow & Mr. Jenkins will both decline if it is deemed expedient—We are to have a more numerous Meeting at Spencer Town on Tuesday the 8th. instant. If such discordant Ingredients still prevail, I shall withdraw my Name from the Nomination.—People's Minds are wonderfully poison'd, nor do I believe that there can be any Antidote applied to the Eastward, where the ill fated Controversies about their Lands make this in their Idea a Contest pro Aris et Focis.⁵—The Insinuations against Colo [Jacob] Ford are base and calculated to stab to the Heart the Cause they ostensibly favour.⁶

What you say of J L's [John Livingston's] Declarations about Mr [Peter] Silvester would surprize if any Thing co[ul]d surprize Me after what I have lately been Witness to—I suspect it may induce Mr Silvester to withdraw as his Inclination has long been from all public Employments. I am however obliged to you for your free Communications, for by such only can We know the Ground, perhaps in this Case the Precipice, whereon We stand. Colo Peter sho[ul]d have been equally explicit to the Atty General⁷—, which he certainly was not. Unless old Mr L. will interpose his *Authority* it is clear to Me that the Business is at an End.

I sincerely wish We sho[ul]d exhibit a faithful Imitation of the Conduct pursued in your County; but hitherto our Proceedings have been of a very different Complection

[P.S.] I took an Opportunity to ask the Atty Genl in Colo Peter's Presence about the Regularity of moving the Poll, as the Manor People had done last Year—he was decidedly against such a Measure; yet I suspect our Opponents will do it upon the Strength of the Precedent abovementioned. As I co[ul]d wish to act in Concert with our Friends in Albany County, I think a Select Meeting a few Days before the Election wo[ul]d be eligible—suppose at Scotack.⁸ . . .

1. RC, Schuyler Papers, NN. Schuyler replied on 8 April (immediately below).

2. Robert Livingston, Jr. (1708–1790), third lord of the Manor.

3. See Van Schaack to Robert R. Livingston, 19 March, note 6 (above).

4. A reference to Peter R. Livingston and his brother John Livingston, who was a candidate for the Assembly.

5. Latin: for our altars and our hearths, that is, for civil and religious liberty.

6. On 20 March, Robert R. Livingston wrote to Philip Schuyler that Federalists had nominated Ford “without being sure of his principles” (above).

7. Egbert Benson.

8. Probably present-day “Scotack” which was in 1788 “Schotack Landing,” on the border of Albany and Columbia counties about ten miles south of Albany; but perhaps it was present-day Schodack, fourteen miles east of Albany in present-day Rensselaer County (which used to be part of Albany County).

Philip Schuyler to Peter Van Schaack

Greenbush, Albany County, 8 April 1788 (excerpts)¹

Your favor of the 3d instant came to hand yesterday.

Immediately on my return to this place, I wrote to Mr Duane and stated what had passed between his brothers in law an[d] me, on the Subject of the politics in Columbia,—and most earnestly intreated him, to interfere by letter to the Old Gentleman at the manor,²—attempted to show that the conduct of the family would not only ruin our cause in the present instance, but tend ever hereafter to embarrass themselves and the friends to the weal of the State.

I am Surprized that Colo: Peter should assert, that his brother would serve If the County requested it: he most certainly had no authority, to make such declaration, from what passed when *I was present*.³

You stand so well at Hudson, Claverack & Kinderhook that I must entreat you not to withdraw your name from the nomination If you do, the opponents will gain a decided victory,—If you do not we shall at least have one from Columbia to support the Cause—

I believe with you that Mr Ford is injured he is a man of sense, and I have reason to believe that he has the principles of honor strongly impressed with a sense of honor

pray make my complements to Mr Sylvester, inform him that he stands perfectly well in this County and that of Montgomery and that he will *certainly* be Elected unless he should withdraw his name from the nomination.—I conjure him to all that is Dear to him and his friends, not even to hint indifference on the Subject—

I am on my way to Schotack to attend at a meeting to be held there this day, and on my return I shall propose the meeting you mention.⁴ . . . [P.S.] Appearances here are very favorable—

1. RC, Schuyler Papers, NHi. The letter was “favored by John V Renselaer Esq.” Schuyler responds to Van Schaack’s letter of 3 April (immediately above). Greenbush, a part of the then Albany County town of Rensselaerwyck, was just east of the Hudson River and north of Columbia County. See also Schuyler to Robert R. Livingston, 29 March (above).

2. James Duane was the son-in-law of Robert Livingston, Jr., the “Old Gentleman at the manor.”

3. A reference to Peter R. Livingston and his brother, John Livingston, who was nominated by the Columbia County Federalists for the Assembly.

4. See Van Schaack to Schuyler, 3 April, at note 8 (immediately above).

Federalist Meeting at Spencertown, 8 April 1788¹

At a meeting of a number of respectable citizens of the county of Columbia, held at Col. Matthew Scott’s, at Spencertown, the following gentlemen were agreed to be held up as candidates, for the year ensuing.

Delegates for Convention.

Peter Van Schaack, Henry Livingston, Jacob Ford,	} Esqrs.
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Senator for the Western District.

Peter Silvester, Esquire.

Members of Assembly.

John Livingston, Thomas Jenkins, William Powers,	} Esqrs.
--------------------------------------------------------	----------

1. Printed: *Hudson Weekly Gazette*, 10 April. The *Gazette* printed this report again on 15 and 22 April. Spencertown was a village in the town of Hillsdale in Columbia County. It was about five miles west of the border with Massachusetts, about eight miles southeast of Kinderhook, and fifteen miles northeast of Hudson.

Hudson Weekly Gazette, 10 April 1788

A correspondent informs us that he was last week in the interior parts of this county, where he says the antifederalists are circulating with

amazing assiduity the reasons of dissent of the minority of Pennsylvania.¹ It is a quere humbly submitted to the federalists, whether, they ought not to cause something to be circulated, as an antidote against this artful and designing piece—They have by their insinuating wiles brought over a few to their side; and it behoves all who wish to see this country happy and free, to send forth (especially through this county) the beauties of the new constitution, before these pernicious sentiments spread their baneful influence any farther.

1. See “New York Reprinting of the Dissent of the Minority of the Pennsylvania Convention,” 27 December 1787–April 1788 (RCS:N.Y., 477–78).

Amor Patriæ

Hudson Weekly Gazette, 22 April 1788

Mr. STODDARD, Having collected the sentiments of a number of federalists concerning the republishment of the new constitution—I find it their unanimous wish that you should serve the cause of liberty and virtue, by giving it a second insertion in your next gazette:¹ And, as the decision of the United States is likely to close on the subject of its adoption, it is highly necessary that a copy of it should again be handed to the people—those who have not perused it carefully at first, will be more anxious now to preserve it from that unworthy fate, and lay it up unimpaired—on failure of memory they can have recourse to it. It must appear evidently necessary to the opposers as well as the advocates of federal government, that every man may judge for himself and his posterity, with a cautious and unprejudiced deliberation, that he may see who to place confidence in—who to trust to guard his property—and lastly, whether he will consent to delegate those patriots who freed their country in the field, to finish, in the cabinet of the United States, the permanent independence of America.

1. Ashbel Stoddard had printed the Constitution and accompanying documents in two installments in his *Hudson Weekly Gazette* on 27 September and 4 October 1787. Stoddard printed the Constitution and accompanying documents again in the *Gazette* on 22 April immediately below “Amor Patriæ.”

Alexander Coventry Diary

Hudson, 24, 28, 30 April 1788 (excerpts)¹

24. . . . Received a [hand]bill from David Lawrence, Esq, recommending the constitution named by the convention.

28. Wet, rainy by intervals, cloudy south wind. Visited Lobdell’s child. Messrs. Lawrence and Thurston here from Hudson, canvassing for the election. They are Federalists, as are most of the Hudson people. They hold up Judge Sylvester for Senator. . . .

30 Wednesday. Pleasant, pretty warm and almost calm. What wind there was came from the south. Got up before sunrise and set out for Hudson, where we arrived about an hour after sunrise, but the sloop did not move to-day. Few people at the election. Mr. Delemeter comitted to jail for challenging Hezekiah Dayton, one of the board, for putting a different ticket into the box, from the one he received from one of the electors. . . .

1. Typescript, Coventry Diary, NHi. Coventry (1766–1831), a native of Scotland, was a farmer and physician trained in Scotland. He had emigrated to America in 1785 and had settled in Hudson.

Robert Livingston, Jr., to James Duane
Livingston Manor, 30 April 1788 (excerpt)¹

Dear Son

. . . your Brs. Peter & Henry² with Mr. [John] Wigram are now out attending the Election² they had good Success Yesterday at Millers. this day they are [at] Tachkanick: & to morrow,³ wish them the desired Success, there are a number of emissaryes daily going about to poison the Tenants among which is Ten Broeck the Deputy Sherriff of Columbia Mr. Hogeboom⁴ [Jacob] Platnar &c. they do considerable mischief among the Ignorant but hope all they can do will not prevent our obtaining the desired End. . . .

Dr. Sr. Your Aff[ectionate] Father

1. RC, Duane Papers, NHi. Livingston (1708–1790), third lord of the Livingston (Upper) Manor, had represented the Manor in the New York Assembly from 1737 to 1758. His daughter, Maria, was married to Duane.

2. A reference to Duane's brothers-in-law, Peter R. and Henry Livingston.

3. Taghkanick and Ancram were polling places (later towns) in Columbia County situated in the south-central and the southeastern corner of the county.

4. Lawrence Hogeboom was sheriff of Columbia County, 1786–89.

John C. Wynkoop to Adrian Wynkoop
Kinderhook, 3 May 1788¹

Dear Uncle

If Major Peter Van Gaasbeek wishes to see the Copy of my Letter to Mr Addison which I sent you, let him *read*, but *not* copy it²—

Our Poll was closed yesterday afternoon (I mean for this district) when 719 Votes were taken by the most accurate computation which we, as well as our opponents, can make. The Division is *equal* at Hudson on Fryday, when the Poll was not closed There were upwards of 300 federal Votes, upon the whole, we are sure of a federal delegation from this County. Montgomery is certainly federal, and our Friends in Albany

are confident of Success. I write from *the best information* our antagonists in this district are much dejected. Van Ness certainly fails of being A senator as even the antifederalists both here and in Albany County (I mean a Majority of them) vote for Mr Silvester. Will not the Governor if he should be chosen a delagate for your County (which I am informed is Probable) if a majority of the convention should be federal, give his Vote for the constitution, to Preserve his popularity at the next election, as I believe him to be an excellent Politician. This will probably be his aim

with our love to Aunt and all Friends

I Remain your dutiful Nephew

NB. This goes under cover to Van Gaasbeek

1. Copy, Peter Van Gaasbeek Papers, NKiSH. The original of this letter was sent by John C. Wynkoop as an enclosure to his letter of 3 May to Peter Van Gaasbeek via stage-coach. John C. Wynkoop (1761–1796), a lawyer, was postmaster of Kingston, N.Y.

2. See John C. Wynkoop to John Addison, 7 April (Ulster County Election, below).

Peter Wynkoop, Jr., to Peter Van Gaasbeek
Kinderhook, 5 May 1788¹

Your favour of the 17th. Ulto. ☞ Stage with the Inclosed for John C Wynkoop Esqr. was detained at the Stage House till last Thursday [1 May] about the time the Stage went down when Mr. Kinney delivered it [to] me at our Election Mr. Wynkoop happened to be present I delivered him Yours Immediately. We both Checked Mr. Kenney for his Negligence in detaining the Letters he confessed it, and owned that he had my particular directions to forward my Letters to me without delay, but that this had not been done designedly but through Negligence; Mr. Wynkoop said that he would write you an answer notwithstanding and send it to me which if he does will be here Inclosed and forwarded by this Days Stage to the care of Mr. Tremper agreeable to your request;

We have had a warm Election, As the Federal & Antifederal were both in good Earnest No pains has been Spared in Collecting the Votes upwards of 700 have been Taken for Delegates. It is not expected that the Difference is great but it seems to be the Opinion that there will be a Majority in favour of the Latter. I cannot give an Acct. of the other Districts in this County further than from Common report Vizt. Kings District the Majority in favour of the Anties, Hills Dale Ditto, Claverack Ditto, Hudson Federal, [German] Camp Anties. Clermound, Federal, Manor [Livingston] Ditto, it is expected that the Latter will decide the Matter which I expect will be in favour of the Federal Party If it is true what has been reported to wit; That Com-

pulsive Measures has been used to lead the Tenants, I am with respect in haste

P. S. Have recd. Mr. Wynkoop's Letter which you have herewith inclosed. I intend to pay my friends at Esopus a Visit the Latter end of this week please to give my Complts. to them

1. RC, Roosevelt Collection, NHyF. Wynkoop (1744–1818) served in the New York militia during the Revolutionary War.

**Robert R. Livingston to Philip Schuyler
Clermont, 9 May 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . I am very anxious to hear the event of your election entertaining I confess great doubt of your success[.] here I believe we have succeeded[.] at least in this quarter we have turned out in considerable force[.] from the upper part of the county I have heard nothing since the poll closed—In Dutches I believe we have no ground to hope for success—My accounts from Westchester are much more favorable than I expected—I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you in a few days

1. RC, Schuyler Papers, NN.

**Peter Van Schaack to Henry Walton
Kinderhook, 3 June 1788 (excerpt)¹**

MY DEAR HARRY

. . . I have lost my election, without being much mortified. The popular tide was against us, that is, (to be sure,) against what was *right* and *good*. I recommend the new Constitution to your attentive perusal, and you should dip into Montesquieu, 13 B. 6 Ch.,² and 1 Blackstone, upon the English government.³ European strictures upon our *federal* Constitution, I should like to see; as I verily believe it will take place, *maugre*⁴ all the objections of this State. A frame of government held out to the people at large for discussion, is a phenomenon in political annals. You cannot conceive what agitation it has occasioned; it was a war of tongues, but a few bloody noses have been the consequence. I have mounted the rostrum several times, and harangued the multitude on law, government and politics. Our Convention meets soon, and I will hint to your uncle G. W.⁵ to send you the debates. We have some very great men among us, and a wonderful degree of information among the common people. Public speaking is much in vogue, and were you here you would be reminded of the days of ancient Greece and Rome. In free governments there will always be much intrigue. But, I will perhaps take up this subject more methodically hereafter. Make your-

self master of the new Constitution, and also of one or two of the State Constitutions, which you can buy opposite Burlington House.⁶ . . .

1. Printed: Henry C. Van Schaack, *The Life of Peter Van Schaack* (New York, 1842), 425–26. Walton (1768–1844), the son of a New York City merchant and Van Schaack’s nephew, was sent in 1780 to England, where he was residing under his uncle’s guardianship and tutelage. Walton returned to America in the late 1780s and studied law with Aaron Burr. In 1790 he moved to Ballston and became surrogate for Saratoga County in 1794, serving until 1808.

2. Montesquieu, *Spirit of Laws*, Book XIII, chapter 6, “Of a despotic Government in the like Case.”

3. Blackstone, *Commentaries*. Book I of this work has no single chapter on the English government, but it has, among others, chapters on the laws of England, the rights of individuals, Parliament, the king, and various administrative bodies.

4. “In spite of” or “notwithstanding” (archaic).

5. “Uncle G. W.” was Gerard Walton, a New York City merchant, who had been a Loyalist during the Revolution.

6. In order for Walton to obtain copies of the American state constitutions, Van Schaack was recommending that he purchase a volume entitled *The Constitutions of the Several Independent States of America* . . . , first printed in Philadelphia in 1781 by Francis Bailey (Evans 17390). In 1782 it was reprinted in London by J. Stockdale, who printed a second edition the next year. Burlington House was a great mansion located on a London street called Piccadilly that was known for fashionable shops, clubs, and residences.

Columbia County Election Returns New York Journal, 5 June 1788¹

For CONVENTION.

ANTI-FEDERAL-TICKET.		FEDERAL TICKET.	
Peter Van Ness,	1848	Peter Van Schaick,	1483
Matthew Adgate,	1850	Henry Livingston,	1498
John Bay,	1863	Jacob Ford,	1482

MEMBERS OF ASSEMBLY.²

ANTI-FEDERAL TICKET.		FEDERAL TICKET.	
Matthew Adgate,	1486	John Livingston,	1089
John Bay,	1499	Thomas Jenkins,	1019
John Kortz,	1404	William Powers,	1060

1. Reprinted in the Lansingburgh *Federal Herald*, 9 June, and in four out-of-state newspapers by 2 July: R.I. (1), Pa. (2), N.C. (1).

2. John Bay reported to John McKesson “that the anties had Carried [the Assembly elections] in Columbia by a Majority of above 300 of the Lowest anti to the Highest federal.” See Abraham Yates, Jr., to Abraham G. Lansing, 1 June (RCS:N.Y., 1123).

DUTCHESS COUNTY

Jonathan Akin (A–N)	Zephaniah Platt (A–Y)
John De Witt, Jr. (A–Y)	Melancton Smith (A–Y)
Gilbert Livingston (A–Y)	Jacobus Swartwout (A–N)
Ezra Thompson (A–*)	

Because Dutchess County had a long tradition of supporting the policies of Governor George Clinton, Antifederalists were expected to be elected to the state Convention. One Federalist writer estimated that only one-twentieth of the voters in the county were Federalist (*Country Journal*, 3 June). Nevertheless, both sides campaigned vigorously, distributing partisan pamphlets sent from New York City.

Antifederalists met on Tuesday, 26 February, in Oswego (in Beekman's Precinct) to nominate their slate of candidates, which included Quaker Jonathan Akin, Senator Jacobus Swartwout, Assemblyman John De Witt, Jr., First Judge Zephaniah Platt, Surrogate Gilbert Livingston, Ezra Thompson, and, most notably, Melancton Smith. About three years earlier, Smith, one of Governor Clinton's closest advisers and one of New York's leading Antifederalists, had moved to New York City from Poughkeepsie, where he had lived most of his adult life and where he still had substantial land holdings and numerous business and personal ties. In choosing Smith, who had little hope of being elected in Federalist-dominated New York County, Antifederalists overlooked other qualified candidates, perhaps angering some Antifederalists and providing an opening for Federalist criticism.

Federalists hoped to defeat Smith's candidacy, thereby depriving Antifederalists of his leadership in the Convention. They also sought to divide the Antifederalist vote so that one or two Federalists or perhaps a Federalist slate of candidates might be elected without a majority of the vote. Dr. Thomas Tillotson, Chancellor Robert R. Livingston's brother-in-law, hinted at the Federalist strategy: "We preferred secret to open measures in order that the other party might divide before we come forward with our nomination." To begin their secret campaign, Federalists planted a competing list of candidates in the *Country Journal* on 4 March under the signature "Many Antifederalists." This item—addressed "To the Free Electors of Dutchess County"—questioned the need to nominate Smith when other qualified men resided in Dutchess County. "Are there not seven men," stated "Many Antifederalists," "who have firmness and honor enough to oppose tyranny, and defend the rights of their county? Must we call in the assistance of strangers and New-York merchants?" "Many Antifederalists" also suggested that Smith had moderated his opposition to the Constitution after the ratification by Massachusetts. "Many Antifederalists" offered an alternative to the Oswego slate, retaining only Swartwout, and replacing the others with a mix of Federalists and Antifederalists.

Several Antifederalist writers criticized "Many Antifederalists" as "an unprincipled man of the [Federalist] party" whose aim was to divide the Antifederalist vote. On 1 April, four of "Many Antifederalists'" seven candidates announced their withdrawal from the election because of the danger of splitting the Antifederalist vote.

On 17 March three Dutchess County assemblymen and a state senator issued a public call for a meeting of supporters of the Constitution to nominate dele-

gates to the state Convention. On 8 April Federalists met in Nine Partners and nominated a slate of candidates that consisted of Judge Joseph Crane, Assemblyman and Attorney General Egbert Benson, Martin Wiltse, Isaac I. Tallman, Dr. Ebenezer Cary, Robert Sands, and Richard de Cantillon. The meeting, moderated by Judge Crane, agreed to an address to accompany the nomination, which was printed and circulated throughout the county. The address asked “the Independent Electors in Dutchess County” “to search after truth” as the country faced “a Crisis in the progress of our national Existence.” The “bond of Union” was threatened and only the new Constitution could provide the central government with powers that would be “equal to the proper objects of a national Government” while retaining for the states “a due portion of power as a safe guard against usurpation and oppression.” Since no plan of government could be acceptable to all, and since no plan devised by human beings could be perfect, the meeting hoped that the New York Convention would first ratify the Constitution and then, according to its provisions, propose amendments to the first federal Congress. Such a mode of revision would be “practicable and safe, every other pursuit is fallacious and may be ruinous.” After the meeting adjourned, those who remained in attendance unanimously agreed to recommend seven candidates for the Assembly.

Coincidentally on 8 April, the Constitutional Society of Dutchess County met in Amenia and recommended the same seven Convention candidates nominated by the Oswego meeting of 26 February. The society also recommended an altered list of Assembly candidates.

On 15 April the *Country Journal* printed a piece from some of the citizens who had met in Oswego on 26 February recommending unanimity. A defective Constitution so obviously in need of immediate revision was “unworthy the adoption of a free and enlightened people.”

A week later Federalist Joseph Crane published a “certificate” in the *Country Journal* accusing Antifederalist Jonathan Akin of being a monarchist. “Philander” defended Akin and then a number of authors severely criticized “Philander.” Numerous barbs were exchanged and printer Nicholas Power, after being accused of favoritism, called a halt to such partisanship. He refused, at least for a time, to publish such pieces that alienated many of his readers.

Antifederalists easily won the election with two-thirds of the vote. The Oswego candidates received an average of 1,750 votes each compared to only an average of 881 votes for the Federalist candidates. A Federalist correspondent in the *Country Journal*, 3 June, viewed the election as a moral victory because Federalists had started from so far behind. Had John Jay’s pamphlet (“A Citizen of New-York,” *An Address to the People of the State of New York*, 15 April, RCS: N.Y., 922–42n) been able to circulate longer, he stated, more converts would have been made.

Antifederalist Meeting in Oswego, 26 February 1788¹

At a meeting of a large number of respectable citizens from ten precincts of Dutchess county, on the 26th instant, at Barnet Veile’s,² in Oswego, it was unanimously agreed to hold up the following persons as candidates at the ensuing election, to represent this county in the

Convention of the State, to be held at Poughkeepsie, on the third Tuesday in June next, to take into consideration the proposed Federal Government for the United States, to wit.

ZEPHANIAH PLATT,
MELANCTON SMITH,
JACOBUS SWARTWOUT,
JOHN D'WITT,
JONATHAN AKINS,
GILBERT LIVINGSTON,
EZRA THOMPSON.

February 29th, 1788.

1. Printed: *Country Journal*, 4 March. For a criticism of this meeting, see "Many Antifederalists," *Country Journal*, 4 March (immediately below). For a reaffirmation of this meeting's nominations, see *Country Journal*, 15 April (below).

2. Barent Viele's first and last names were variously spelled in several newspaper reports. The U.S. Census for 1790 lists a Barent Veilee and a Bartus Vielee from Beekman Town in Dutchess County (p. 75).

Many Antifederalists

Poughkeepsie *Country Journal*, 4 March 1788¹

To the Free Electors of Dutchess County.

Friends and Fellow Citizens, It appears that a number of Gentlemen, on Tuesday last, hastily met in Beekman's precinct, and nominated Delegates for this County to the Convention.² As we are all, we trust, equally anxious for the liberties of our country, and equally determined in our opposition to the new system of government which has been submitted to the people; it is greatly to be regretted, that there was no more moderation and propriety manifested in the nomination. We well know, even from what some of us saw, that there was a considerable collection from some of the neighbouring precincts; but we know also, that two precincts were entirely unrepresented in the meeting, and that two more (and those very respectable precincts too) had each but one man present. We feel therefore the more freedom in our animadversions on the very singular choice. In our humble opinions, they have injuriously neglected some of our most respectable and deserving citizens, and as if with studied design to wound their feelings and diminish their reputations, no less than the reputation of the county; they have gone as far as New-York, to seek for proper characters to represent the discerning and independent yeomanry of Dutchess. What is the plain English in the nomination of Mr. Smith of New-York? It is this, that seven men cannot be found in this large county, who are fit to be entrusted on the momentous question.—And is this the fact?—Are

there not seven men, let us ask our insulted fellow citizens, are there not seven men, who have firmness and honor enough to oppose tyranny, and defend the rights of their country? Must we call in the assistance of strangers and New-York merchants? If so, we had better at once, renounce our existence as a county. Experience however, teaches us a contrary lesson. We find the impost system to have been opposed the last year by our members in Assembly,³ and the bow string fastened around its neck by a magnanimous band in defiance of the machinations of Congress, the struggles of genius, and the charming persuasions of eloquence.

We mean not, however, to insinuate any thing disrespectful to the character of Mr. Smith.—It is not the individual singly, but the individual *as a Citizen of New York*, that we object to. It is said however (and we apprehend the information may be relied on) that Mr. Smith has grown *cool* on the question, and that he considers the adoption of the new Constitution by Massachusetts, as decisive for the continent, and that it would be as fruitless as it would be inexpedient for this State, even if there should be a majority against it, to stand out against the general sense and ardent feelings of America. If this be the case, we should oppose such a Delegate even if he lived in this county. We have such a deep & calm conviction of the despotic tendency of the *new scheme*, that we think it the duty of every true patriot and intelligent citizen, to oppose it to the greatest extremity—that we ought to set at naught all consequences, or account them as but dust in the balance, in comparison with our freedom, and that rather than submit ourselves and our posterity to the galling yoke of tyranny—we had better at once shake and subvert the very foundations of the Union. For surely the means ought to be sacrificed to the end, and not the end to the means. The means in the present case is the Union of the State[s], but the great end is the freedom and happiness of the people.

We are by no means satisfied with some other parts of the nomination. We wish however, to express ourselves with a prudence and delicacy which become men embarked in the same common cause, but still we cannot but be of opinion, that in a case of such magnitude as the present, our representatives ought to consist of the highest and most distinguished officers in the county, provided they happen not to live too close together, and provided they happen to be of the same way of thinking with ourselves. If there be any departure from this rule, it ought to be only in favour of those who have been heretofore in public office, and proved themselves faithful stewards of their trust. We are further of opinion, that representatives ought to be pretty generally distributed in the county. This is a rule never departed from among a

free and intelligent people. Men on the spot can always know better the situation, the wants, the interests and the wishes of their immediate constituents, than men at a distance, and who must generally depend for their knowledge, on the fallacious evidence of hearsay and report. Hence it is, with particular indignation in the present case, that we observe two gentlemen nominated from one precinct, and especially from the little overbearing precinct of Poughkeepsie, and more especially still, since one of them from his profession is not quite so well calculated to represent the landed interest, or the wants and burdens of the peaceable and industrious poor.⁴

We presume no sincere and candid man can object to the principles here brought into view. They certainly apply forcibly to the feelings and opinions of the public. Shall we not trust men whom a discerning government has advanced to some of the highest civil and military offices in the county, when at the same time we know they are open and explicit in their abhorrence to the new Constitution? Would it not be tacitly censuring the wisdom of administration, should we ourselves neglect them and search even to New-York for suitable characters in their stead? Let every unprejudiced man lay his hand on his heart, and answer these questions for himself.

Upon the whole, we are unanimous in one opinion, that the nomination on last Tuesday [26 February], was a very premature, partial and injudicious thing, and we have come to a firm resolution to amend it by the following list of Candidates, which we would submit for the approbation of our fellow citizens with the utmost deference—which we trust will be very generally acceptable, as they are distributed among seven of the most considerable precincts, and which we are determined at all events to support with our votes and influence—so say Many ANTIFEDERALISTS.

The LIST proposed.

JUDGE HUMFREY,
GENERAL SWARTWOUT,
GENERAL DUBOYS,
SHERIFF HOFFMAN,
COL. GRAHAM,
COL. JOHN DRAKE,
DOCT. BARNABAS PAYNE.

1. For criticisms of “Many Antifederalists,” see “A Real Federalist,” and “Cassius,” *Country Journal*, 11 and 18 March (both below). For a defense and a renomination of the candidates supported by “Many Antifederalists,” see “One of Many,” *Country Journal*, 8 April (below).

2. See “Antifederalist Meeting in Oswego,” 26 February (immediately above).

3. In February 1787, the New York Assembly reconsidered its conditional ratification of the Impost of 1783 and voted not to alter it (RCS:N.Y., xxxix–xl). All seven Dutchess County assemblymen (Dirck Brinckerhoff, John De Witt, Jr., Lewis Duboys, Jacob Griffin, Henry Ludenton, Brinton Paine, and Matthew Patterson) voted with the majority.

4. Gilbert Livingston, a lawyer, and Zephaniah Platt, a farmer and large landowner, were both from Poughkeepsie. Platt was first judge of the Dutchess County Court of Common Pleas.

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 4 March 1788 (excerpt)¹

Extract of a letter from Poughkeepsie, dated February 19, 1788.

“The strongest federalists in this place acknowledge they believe they will lose their election in this county, a majority being against the new constitution. . . .”

1. Reprinted: *Maryland Journal*, 14 March; *Winchester Virginia Gazette*, 26 March. For the last sentence of this letter, see Ulster County Election (below).

Philip Schuyler to Stephen Van Rensselaer Poughkeepsie, 11 March 1788¹

In a consultation with Mr Benson, It was thought proper that I should communicate the substance of your letter to Colo: Hamilton which I did, The post is Just arrived but no letter from him—

The Anties here begin to divide Amongst themselves, and It is hoped that by that [means?] one or two foederalists will be returned from this County as members of the Convention.—

We have *certain intelligence* that there was a majority for the new constitution in the new hampshire convention—but so many of those who were fettered with Instructions to vote against It, desired an Adjournment that they might return to their Constituents to communicate the [conversion?] they had experienced, that It was thought most prudent to Adjourn.² The letter adds “be under no Apprehension It will certainly be adopted”

My Love to my Dear Daughter and Child.

1. RC, Sage Estate Collection, 1697–1830, Albany Institute of History and Art Library.

2. See “New York and the Adjournment of the New Hampshire Convention,” 22 February (RCS:N.Y., 798–800).

Thomas Tillotson to Robert R. Livingston Poughkeepsie, 11 March 1788 (excerpts)¹

. . . The Antis of this County have had a meeting in Oswego when they nominated a List which they have pledged themselves to support²—Gilbert L—— is upon the Assembly & Convention Lists—Nei-

ther Dubois or Paine are upon either which I find gives dissatisfaction to their friends—I expect they will divide in this business, which will be favorable to our party—They have put Aikins a Quaker upon their Assembly ticket,³ who they say is much opposed to the New Constitution—Remember the Letters for the Quakers here, as I am told they are mostly in opposition

We have unfavorable accounts from New Hamshire, but not so direct as to deserve much attention; However it has revived the drooping spirits of the Opposition.⁴ . . .

If you could come up early enough to take [some?] pains in the Elections I think you might serve the Fœderal cause in Columbia & this County. . . .

1. RC, Livingston Papers, NHi. The letter was “Hon[ored] by Mr. De Hart.”

2. See “Antifederalist Meeting in Oswego,” 26 February (above).

3. Jonathan Akin was elected on the Antifederalist ticket to both the Assembly and Convention.

4. See “New York and the Adjournment of the New Hampshire Convention,” 22 February (RCS:N.Y., 798–800).

A Real Federalist

Poughkeepsie Country Journal, 11 March 1788

Mr. Power, The Electors of the County of Dutchess in your last paper, have been addressed by many Anti Federalists,¹ as a certain writer has stiled himself; this writer appears to have supposed himself so closely entrenched within his duplicity, as that his true character might not be discovered, or even suspected; for this purpose he has even been obliged for once to be honest, and to take to himself his proper signature; though my friends those persons among you who are great sticklers for the adoption of the newly proposed Constitution, affect to call themselves *Federalists*, (this gross abuse of which term, as well as ideas, cannot perhaps find a parallel in any case) yet the whole tenor of their conduct tends directly to the annihilation of the *federal league* now in full force in the United States.—This writer’s intention is easily discovered, even at first glance; it is manifestly designed to divide you in your suffrages at the ensuing election for members of Convention, he however, could not help showing his Cloven-Foot—when he fantastically observes that we ought to set at naught all consequences, or account them as but dust in the balance, in comparison with our freedom, and that rather than submit ourselves and our posterity to the galling yoke of tyranny—we had better at one stroke subvert the very foundation of the union; this sentiment my friends is by no means applicable to you, and I trust your future conduct will evince to this

impostor, and his associates, to their everlasting disappointment, there is still a sufficiency of virtue remaining in a vast majority of the citizens of this county of Dutchess not only, but we trust in the State at large, to refuse the gilded pill proffered in this newly fangled constitution—never a time more proper than the present for the recollection of the motto which the United Netherlands adopted, when they combined to oppose the tyranny and insidious machinations of their public as well as intestine enemies—their ensigns waved as well as lips and hearts pronounced and entertained this sentiment, “Unite or die.”

Poughkeepsie, 7th March, 1788.

1. See “Many Antifederalists,” *Country Journal*, 4 March (above).

**Federalists Call for a Meeting to Nominate Candidates
Poughkeepsie Country Journal, 18 March 1788¹**

A meeting is requested, at the house of Timothy Bedle in the Nine-Partners, on the second Tuesday in April next [i.e., 8 April], of those of the Electors in this County, whose convenience will permit them to attend, and who are persuaded that it will, preferable to any other alternative, be for the peace and interest of the Community to ratify the new Constitution in its present form; and then, if it shall be deemed necessary, to suggest propositions of amendment, confiding that such, as may be proper, will be adopted, in a mode agreeable to the provisions, for amending, contained in the Constitution itself.—The design of the meeting, is to agree on the persons to be proposed as Candidates at the election for Delegates to the Convention.

ANTHONY HOFFMAN,
THOMAS TILLOTSON,
PETER CANTINE, jun.
EGBERT BENSON.

Poughkeepsie, March 17th, 1788.

1. The men who called for the nomination meeting were all Dutchess County legislators. Hoffman was a state senator for the Middle District, while the other three were assemblymen. For the nominations and address of this meeting, see “Federalist Meeting in Nine Partners,” 8 April (below).

Cassius

Poughkeepsie Country Journal, 18 March 1788¹

To the Opposers of the New CONSTITUTION in Dutchess County.
Permit a fellow citizen, who has your welfare most sincerely at heart, to address you on a subject of the utmost moment to your freedom and happiness—a fellow citizen, who has considered with the deepest

regret, the daring attempts to involve you in slavery and ruin, and who looks up to your patriotism and discernment, as the only resources, to avert the impending dangers of despotism. That the advocates of the new Constitution, have put in practice every art to accomplish their end—that they stop at nothing to promote a measure which you justly conceive, will reduce you to vassallage and misery, must be obvious to you all. You will then have no reason to wonder, when I impute the piece in Mr. Power's paper of the fourth instant, under the signature of *many Antifederalists*,² to one of them—when I consider it as purposely designed, to divide your votes at the election of delegates for the ensuing State Convention, and consequently to place it in their power to obtain a majority of voices for the friends of the new system. They are sensible that you greatly exceed them in number and respectability.— They well know, that unanimity in you, will defeat and ruin their projects in this county, and, that the only method for them to bring about their purposes, is, to raise up jealousies among you, and to set you at variance. For this end (I believe) an unprincipled man of the party, wrote the performance, signed *many Antifederalists*. The greatest part of you have unquestionably seen through the thinly veiled design of the author, have penetrated into his base deceit. It may not however, be improper to make some remarks on his production. I lay it down as an uncontrovertible position, that the only requisite qualifications in your Delegates to the State Convention, are firmness, character, ability, and an entire concurrence in sentiment with yourselves, on the subject of the new Constitution, and that the only thing essential for them to be acquainted with, as to your situation and feelings, is your opinion of the proposed government. Try the gentlemen in the first nomination³ by this standard, and if I am not greatly deceived, you will find them unexceptionable.

The observations of the writer of the *many Antifederalists*, as they respect your representation in the Convention, must necessarily appear more like the ravings of a Bedlamite⁴ than the deductions of sober reason; however applicable they may be to your members of the Legislature. This writer, instead of convincing your reason, appeals to your passions, and endeavours to alarm your pride, by torturing into an insult, the nomination of Mr. Smith. With an air of exultation, he enquires “What is the plain English in the nomination of Mr. Smith, of New-York? It is this, that seven men cannot be found in this large county, who are fit to be entrusted on the momentous question.” I answer, that this is supposing an absurdity, that no man acquainted with human nature, would advance such an assertion—for is it not, in other words, saying that the gentlemen who held up Mr. Smith, had an indifferent opinion not only of their friends, their acquaintances and

connexions, but of themselves? The most candid construction of his nomination, is this—Mr. Smith has considerable property in Dutchess county, he has resided for a long time in it, and always acted the part of a patriot, republican, and worthy citizen; he has filled with eclat and credit, the offices of Sheriff and Judge:—Since his removal to New-York, the Legislature have repeatedly chosen him in Congress—a station which has given him an opportunity of prying into the designs, and seeing through the schemes of the advocates of despotism. He is a man of unquestionable integrity, and great abilities and information; notwithstanding the high honors he enjoyed, he has always persevered in his attachment to liberty—and consequently he is a strenuous, a formidable enemy to the infamous scheme of tyranny. In testimony of the high opinion a number of the respectable inhabitants of Dutchess, entertain of his virtues and abilities, they unanimously agree to nominate him as a Delegate to the ensuing State Convention—where it will be solemnly and finally determined, whether the yeomanry of this State shall be free-men or slaves. I appeal to you, my fellow citizens, if this looks like an insult—if it has the smallest appearance of a design to wound your feelings—to disparage your understanding—to question your probity. You may rest satisfied, that the author of the insidious performance deviates from the truth, when he asserts that Mr. Smith has changed his opinion, and is now favorable to the adoption of the proposed constitution: If this was the case, the writer above referred to would, I dare affirm, have no objections to his election; but the contrary is universally known, and I am convinced that there is no man in the State more firm in his opposition to the new constitution than Mr. Smith; no man that more fully harmonizes in sentiment with you concerning it; and no man that would serve you with greater fidelity in the convention.

I would wish to be properly understood. I entertain the greatest respect for the gentlemen in the second nomination;⁵ and, if they were not respectable, their being nominated would not have answered the wishes of the writer of *Many Antifederalists*. I doubt not but that many other characters, high in your esteem, will be recommended as worthy your suffrages; and unless you shut your ears against the syren voice of insinuation and deceit—unless you stifle the incitements of ambition and the stirrings of pride—unless you guard against the influence of dissimulation and the machinations of your enemies, the death-warrant of your liberties will be signed, and you will be converted into hewers of wood and drawers of water.⁶ I cannot conceive what the advocates of the new government propose to themselves, by the practice of such mean and unmanly arts, as they are frequently guilty of. Can they suppose that a government, established by fraud and sanctioned by imposition, can be satisfactory or lasting? Will the objects of their deceit tamely submit

to such unworthy treatment and suffer themselves to be led like lambs to the slaughter?

I shall say no more—I rely on your good sense and patriotism, and beg leave to recommend to your serious attention, the following remarks of a celebrated writer, as well adapted to the situation of the friends of equal liberty in this State—“Our *vigilance* and our *union*, are success and safety. Our *negligence* and our *division*, are distress and death. They are worse. They are shame and slavery. Let us equally shun the benumbing stillness of over-weening sloth and the feverish activity of that ill-formed zeal which busies itself in maintaining *little, mean* and *narrow opinions*.”⁷

March 14, 1788.

1. For criticisms of “Cassius,” see “One of Many,” and “A Landholder,” both in the *Country Journal*, 8 April (below).

2. See “Many Antifederalists,” *Country Journal*, 4 March (above).

3. For the first nomination, see “Antifederalist Meeting in Oswego,” 26 February (above).

4. That is, a resident of Bedlam or St. Mary of Bethlehem, a London hospital for the mentally ill.

5. The second nomination was made by “Many Antifederalists,” *Country Journal*, 4 March (above).

6. Joshua 9:21, 23, 27.

7. John Dickinson’s *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies* (Philadelphia, 1768), Letter XII, 66–67 (Evans 10875).

Anarchy

Poughkeepsie Country Journal, 18 March 1788

To the *Anti-federal Electors* of the County of Dutchess.

Gentlemen, As you appear to be something at a loss in the nomination of candidates for the ensuing election for members of convention, I flatter myself that the following advice (from one well acquainted with your political views) will not be unacceptable.

By no means choose a man possessed of a large estate as he will make a very improper member, because every possessor of wealth wishes to keep it, and if so, will readily give his assent to any government calculated for the security of property; but on the other hand, a man embarrassed in his circumstances, will never consent to the establishing a government that will not open a door for the discharge of his debts some other way than paying them. Learning has ever been considered by all wise men, from the followers of Jack Cade¹ down to the Ulster, Orange and Dutchess Anti-federalists, to be the bane of republicanism, as it creates distinctions among men, who are made by nature equal, you therefore cannot be too cautious of men of education of every denomination; besides the men the most distinguished for genius and

learning, are friendly to that system of tyranny planned by those usurpers at Philadelphia, and therefore unfit to judge it; for a man is not to be a judge in his own cause, but even if they were advocates for your cause, their learning might prompt them to an attempt to defend it by reason and argument, a test it is by no means calculated to bare, and by that means hazard the reputation of the whole party; a *silent vote* is the shortest and surest method of deciding your business; *probatum est*.² It will be dangerous to choose an officer of the late army because by travel and an acquaintance with the world, he has extended his ideas of humanity and public utility over the union, when they ought to be confined to the precinct he is chosen from, however if he either resigned or was deranged before the war was over, it is probable he is disgusted with the federal government, and therefore may make a good instrument in opposing of it.

By no means choose a member of the *cincinnati*:³ because he is bound by the sacred institution of his order to promote the union, happiness and welfare of America, and of course must give his assent to the proposed government—on the other hand choose a man either in a profitable office under the State government, or in expectation of being so, for if he is doing comfortably now, he will not wish a change. If you have a man among you of a haughty imperious temper, and so far protected by his present office as to insult with impunity private citizens that happen to differ from him in opinion, he wishes no change, choose him. If you have a man among you of a turbulent factious disposition, who wishes to be dabbling in troubled waters, choose him, if he happens to be tinctured with vice, so much the better, he will vote against reason and conscience with a better grace.—If you have a man among you who never had firmness enough to speak his own sentiments, but who has ever been a cringing sycophant to his superiors in office, he is a fit man, choose him; should he happen to be embarrassed in his circumstances, it is a good qualification, as it will make him shudder at a permanent government.

By all means collect together in some factious part of the county, previous to the election, call all your friends; the discontented grumblers in every government, admit no advocates to the new constitution, as they ought not to have any voice in the election, being parties in the controversy; and then make explicit arrangements to promote the glorious cause of disunion, by distributing your adherents through the county to disseminate lotteries of increase of taxes, aristocratic government, standing armies, national navies, armed militia, liberty of the press, trial by jury, unequal representation, ill-balanced government, and system of Congressional oppression; perhaps these measures may

excite some drunken tavern-keeper to call together a thoughtless mob, in imitation of your brethren of Ulster, burn the constitution;⁴ this will give your friend, Mr. Greenleaf,⁵ an opportunity to display his talents of misrepresentation, in giving the history of another riot—if the whole should be unraveled afterwards, it will be considered only a federal contradiction.

May success attend you, adieu! my dear friends adieu!

1. Jack Cade led a rebellion against Henry VI in 1450. With an army of nearly 40,000 he entered London, executed several royal officials, and was killed in battle in July 1450.

2. Latin: It has been proved.

3. A reference to the Society of the Cincinnati.

4. See "Reports of the Burning of the Constitution in Ulster County," 23 February–12 April (RCS:N.Y., 802–8).

5. Thomas Greenleaf was the publisher of the Antifederalist *New York Journal*. For examples of charges of misrepresentation against Greenleaf, see RCS:N.Y., Vol. 1, lix.

Robert R. Livingston to Philip Schuyler
New York, 20 March 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . Benson & our friends in Dutches County as far as I have yet learned are unpardonably negligent endeavour if possible to rouse them to exertion. . . .

1. RC, Schuyler Papers, NN. For the complete letter, see Columbia County Election (above).

Thomas Tillotson to Robert R. Livingston
Poughkeepsie, 22 March 1788 (excerpts)¹

Yours of the 19th. Inst came Yesterday to hand wherein you express a desire to know what the Fœderalists have done, which you may form an Idea of from the inclosed—We preferred secret to open measures in order that the other party might divide before we came forward with our nomination I hope the plan will meet your concurrence. . . .

. . . Our affaires wear a very gloomy appearance at this time & *The Great Superintendant* of human affaires only can brighten the scene. . . .

1. RC, Livingston Papers, NHi. Tillotson and Livingston were brothers-in-law. The letter was "Hon'd by Mr. Farlie."

Editors' Note
Withdrawal of Four Candidates
Poughkeepsie Country Journal, 1 April 1788

Lewis Duboys, Cornelius Humfrey, Morris Graham, and Harmon Hoffman had been included in the nomination list recommended by "Many Antifederalists" on 4 March (above). The 1 April issue of the

Country Journal, which is not extant, apparently contained a statement by these men asking that they not be considered as candidates for the Convention.

One of Many

Poughkeepsie *Country Journal*, 8 April 1788

To General D——, Judge H——, Col. G——, and Sheriff H——.¹

So gentlemen, you have seen fit in Mr. Power's paper of the 1st inst.² to tell the good people of this county that it is their duty not to chuse you their representatives in the approaching convention. If you were in earnest how mistaken your policy! you have taken the very step, to insure yourselves and the other gentlemen named with you in a former paper, a seat in that interesting assembly.

Your address is so humble, so modest, and so self-denying that it charms me. How superior to the assuming self sufficient declaration from Barent Viele's!³ transcending it, as much as the blushing diffident *Virgin*, rises in conscious dignity above the obtruding brazen *trapes*.

As in the concerns of the tender passions commend me to the coy withdrawing maiden, shrinking even from herself; so in politics, give me the men who must be *forced* from their retreats to mount the important theatre of public life, and who evidently suffer pain from the compulsion.

Pray gentlemen in what manner does it appear to you that the nomination I before mentioned, and which includes yourselves, is "an insidious attempt to divide the suffrages of the people?" I believe it is pretty certain that more than one of your own number thought otherwise, till some interpreters, skillful in mistery, gave you the idea that you have now adopted.⁴

Gentlemen, judge for yourselves respecting that publication—call it by as many hard names as you please, and tell the people you perfectly disagree with it: I gentlemen, and with me many, very many Antifederalists, have also judged for ourselves respecting the piece you have been pleased to condemn, and of the gentlemen recommended in it. The publication we think unexceptionable, and the persons therein proposed as candidates we approve of, we fully acquiesce in, we will support, and they are the men, and only the men, on whom we will ultimately confide.

One *Cassius*⁵ too (a meek, mealy mouthed, honey-suckle kind of author) has seen proper to blame this writer, for imagining the reputation of the county injured by the Oswego Junto's associating Mr. Melancton Smith, a New-York merchant, among their intended conventionalists—and you too gentlemen seem to believe this measure not very disgraceful, inasmuch you have made their nomination your own. However your

qualifications may have fitted you to represent us, and however determined we may be that you shall do it, yet in this particular; gentlemen, I must beg leave to think you are not altogether right. Do you know gentlemen, that Dutchess county contains 3000 souls more than all Long Island, and exceeds by several hundreds the whole city and county of New-York?⁶ and must this great and important county when in want of *seven wise men* go begging, cap in hand, to the paltry Island of Manhattan for assistance? humiliating situation! tell it not at Albany! publish it not at Sopus!

That Mr. Smith is a worthy citizen I believe no one gainsays, and that he is at swords point with the new Constitution not a soul doubts; but in the name of propriety, let his own circle, and that only, avail themselves of his powers.

Besides gentlemen, what do you mean by fearing the consequences of dividing among ourselves? Do we not count legion? And are not the poor pitiful federalists less than nothing? Yes gentlemen, after frittering ourselves into half a dozen fragments, each particle can bear down these forlorns with as much ease as a mountain would a mouse.

Believe me, Generals, Judges, Colonels and Sheriffs, ye build up and strengthen our opponents by these unmanly fears and timid concessions—A wise general never gives his foe an ideal importance.

To conclude gentlemen; you may say what you will, you may write as you please, and subscribe your names to ten thousand advertisements if it is your wish, but you shall never make me, (nor thousands with me) swerve from giving our votes for—

Judge Humfrey,
General Swartwout,
General DuBoys,
Sheriff Hoffman,
Col. Graham,
Col. John Drake and
Doct. B. Paine.⁷

1. The piece is directed to General Lewis Dubois, Judge Cornelius Humfrey, Colonel Morris Graham, and Sheriff Harmon Hoffman. All four men were nominated as candidates for the Convention by "Many Antifederalists," *Country Journal*, 4 March (above), and all four asked not to be considered as candidates (Editors' Note, 1 April, immediately above).

2. The 1 April issue of the *Country Journal*, published by Nicholas Power, is not extant.

3. A reference to the Antifederalist meeting in Oswego on 26 February (above).

4. See "Cassius," *Country Journal*, 18 March (above).

5. *Ibid.*

6. According to the U.S. Census of 1790, Dutchess County had a population of 45,266, while the City and County of New York had a population of 33,131 and the three counties of Long Island had a total population of 36,949.

7. These same seven men had been nominated by "Many Antifederalists," *Country Journal*, 4 March (above).

A Landholder**Poughkeepsie Country Journal, 8 April 1788¹**

To the Independent ELECTORS in Dutchess County.

GENTLEMEN, I have seen no list as yet proposed publicly, of members of Assembly for the ensuing year—however anxious we may be as to the representation for the Convention, still we ought not to be totally unmindful of the other very interesting appointment. I have revolved the matter in my own mind, and have taken the liberty to suggest seven candidates and shall very freely leave it to your discernment, whether they are not extremely proper representatives for the county of Dutchess. They are all as you will perceive, merchants residing in the city of New-York. This however, I take it can be no manner of objection, since the only requisite qualifications are *character, firmness and ability*, and since I have too much well-grounded respect for the doings of the gentlemen who met a few weeks since in Beekman's precinct,² to believe we have suitable timber in our own county. This county has on the best calculations, but only eight or nine thousand souls more than the city and county of New-York³—It has a great number of very able freeholders, and more than twice seven men, whom I *formerly* did think were men of pretty good character, firmness and ability, for *country gentlemen*. All these things however, but show us more strongly the propriety of my nomination, and teach us our proper duty to *stifle the stirrings of pride*, and acquiesce. After we have got cleverly into the practice, I think we may as well as not get rid entirely of the whole burden of elections, and yet reap all their salutary blessings, by letting New-York choose seven men for us, as well as nine for themselves.—They know their own characters better than we know them, & (excepting the list which I am now going to propose, and which I trust is as unexceptionable as can be expected from a stranger to them) they can certainly make a better choice for us than we can for ourselves.

CANDIDATES for ASSEMBLY for Dutchess County.⁴

COMFORT SANDS,
NICHOLAS LOW,
HENDRICK WYCKOFF,
THOMAS RANDALL,
SAMUEL FRANKLIN,
DANIEL Mc. CORMICK,
MELANCTON SMITH.

1. This satirical piece criticizes "Cassius," *Country Journal*, 18 March (above).

2. See "Antifederalist Meeting in Oswego," 26 February (above).

3. See "One of Many," *Country Journal*, 8 April, note 6 (immediately above).

4. In addition to being merchants, Sands, Low, Randall, Franklin, and McCormick were also directors of the Bank of New York.

Federalist Meeting in Nine Partners, 8 April 1788*Nominations**Poughkeepsie Country Journal, 15 April 1788*

In consequence of the notification from Messrs. Hoffman, Tillotson, Cantine and Benson, four of the Members of the Legislature,¹ a very respectable number of persons assembled at Mr. Beadle's, in the Nine-Partners, on Tuesday last, and unanimously agreed on the following Gentlemen to be proposed as Candidates at the Election in this County for Delegates to the Convention, viz.

Joseph Crane,
 Martin Wiltse,
 Egbert Benson,
 Isaac I. Tallman,
 Ebenezer Cary,
 Robert Sands,
 Richard D'Cantillon,

An address to the other Electors in the County, and to accompany the nomination, was also agreed to and directed to be signed by Judge Crane, as Moderator.

The address has been printed in hand bills, and circulated through the County. We are informed that the meeting was conducted with great order and propriety, and the nomination of Delegates the only formal business intended, having been completed, the Moderator dissolved the meeting.—A number of persons from the different Precincts, and who still remained at Mr. Beadle's, unanimously agreed to recommend the following Gentlemen to be Elected Members of Assembly, viz.

Isaac Bloom,
 Thomas Tillotson,
 Ebenezer Husted,
 Egbert Benson,
 Isaac Van Wyck,
 Samuel Augustus Barker,
 Isaac I. Tallman.

*Address**Poughkeepsie Country Journal, 15 April 1788*

To the Independent ELECTORS in Dutchess County.

An ADDRESS from the ELECTORS assembled in consequence of the Notification by four of the Representatives in the Legislature, dated the 17th of March last.²

Friends and Fellow Citizens. From the notification in consequence of which we have assembled, you are already informed of our sentiments on the important Question which is now submitted to the Electors within this State.—You are also informed, that, “the design of our meeting was to agree on the persons to be proposed as Candidates at the Election for Delegates to the Convention.”³

We have unanimously agreed on—Joseph Crane, Martin Wiltse, Egbert Benson, Isaac I. Tallman, Ebenezer Cary, Robert Sands and Richard D’Cantillon, whom we recommend to your choice.

Being seriously impressed with the belief, that in the fate of the new Constitution is involved the happiness of ourselves and posterity, we have thought it our indispensable duty to accompany this nomination with a short address to our Fellow-citizens on this most interesting subject.

If ever a people were called upon to search after truth, and to divest themselves of passion and prejudice—If ever they were required impartially to examine for the welfare of their country, and with unceasing activity, it certainly must be at the present moment, which we regard as a CRISIS in the progress of our national Existence—an occasion, which we believe if once lost, will, in the natural course of human events, be lost forever.

We shall not, and we trust that it will not be expected that we should, minutely examine the merits of that form of Government which is now submitted to your consideration.—We feel ourselves, however, impelled from an ardent solicitude for the general good, to mention some of those obvious principles and facts which have fixed our opinions, and which we hope may have an equal influence on your minds.

We would then suggest to you that UNION is most certainly essential to our national happiness.—That the present Confederation is by the unequivocal language of experience, declared to be neither a bond of Union nor a mean of protection; and that a general and efficient Government is indispensable to preserve us together as a free and happy people. We entreat you to recollect that these sentiments universally prevailed, and effected the assembling of the late General Convention, which was composed of men who for Experience, Patriotism and Talents, require no testimony from us. You will further recollect, that considering the business on which they deliberated, and the various interests and prejudices of Thirteen Sovereignties which they had to reconcile, they agreed to the Constitution with an unanimity hitherto unparalleled in the history of civil Society, and the most flattering to the Honor and Dignity of Mankind. We would also mention to you that we are convinced, that this new Constitution is founded on the [— —] Principles

of Republican Liberty—that its powers are no more than equal to the proper objects of a national Government, our general Union, Protection and Prosperity; and that a due portion of power as a safe guard against usurpation and oppression is still to remain in the several State Governments.

That this System has been generally approved by the more enlightened part of the Community, that it hath already been ratified by several of the States,⁴ and the mere possibility only that they will revoke their regular ratifications,⁵ and trust their Interests and Happiness to the sport of contingencies are considerations not to be disregarded in our deliberations on this subject.

We believe that mankind never did and never will universally agree in any plan of civil Government, and we also believe, that every plan of Government devised by mortals will be imperfect. With these impressions we have assembled, and therefore do not hesitate to declare that we conceive it would be advisable for the Convention after having ratified the Constitution to propose such amendments as on discussion shall appear proper, and to be referred to the Congress.

Such a mode of Revision is practicable and safe, every other pursuit is fallacious and may be ruinous.

Let us then intreat you as you regard your own happiness, as you feel a generous concern for the Honor of our Country, as you wish to preserve and perpetuate the blessings of Freedom, that you would seriously and impartially deliberate for yourselves, and that you would endeavour to realize the consequences of rejecting this Constitution, and we must indulge ourselves in a hope that the conclusion will be in your minds as it is in ours, that “it will, preferable to any other alternative, be for the peace and interest of the Community, to ratify the New Constitution in its present form, and then if it shall be deemed necessary, to suggest propositions of amendment, confiding that such, as may be proper, will be adopted in a mode agreeable to the provisions for amending, contained in the Constitution itself.”⁶

By Order of the Meeting,
JOSEPH CRANE, Moderator.

April 8th, 1788.

1. For the 17 March call of this meeting, see *Country Journal*, 18 March (above).
2. *Ibid.*
3. Quoted from the call of the meeting (*ibid.*).
4. At this point, six states had ratified the Constitution: Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, Connecticut, and Massachusetts.
5. Only in Pennsylvania was there a movement to overturn ratification.
6. See note 3 (above).

**Constitutional Society of Dutchess County
Annual Meeting, 8 April 1788¹**

Mr. POWER,

SIR, At the annual meeting of the Constitutional Society of Dutchess county, holden at the house of Edmund Perlee in the town of Amenia, April 8th, 1788; the Society, after finishing the business of the day, took into their serious consideration, the propriety of adopting or rejecting the proposed Constitution—It being an event of the greatest importance, whereon depends our liberties, privileges, and national safety; not only ours, but unborn millions. We being uninfluenced by prejudice or private views, openly declare, that in our candid opinion, if the proposed Constitution is adopted, we shall involve ourselves in many difficulties incompatible with a free people. And whereas a number of respectable freeholders and inhabitants of this county did, in February last, meet at the house of Baltus Vieley, and there nominated the following persons to represent this county in Convention.²—We conceive it our duty, for the regard we owe to ourselves and posterity, to support that nomination with our suffrages, and recommend the same to the Electors of Dutchess county, that an entire union may subsist, viz.

Judge Zephaniah Platt,
General Swartwout,
Melancton Smith,
Ezra Thompson,
Gilbert Livingston,
John De Witt,
Jonathan Akin.

We likewise recommend the following persons to represent this county as members in Assembly, viz.

Lewis Dubois,
Brinton Paine,
James Talmadge,
Jacob Griffin,
Matthew Paterson,
John De Witt,
Jonathan Akin.

Published by order of the Society.

JABEZ FLINT, Sec'ry.

1. Printed: *Country Journal*, 15 April. Reprinted: *New York Journal*, 21 April. On occasion, the *Country Journal* announced meetings of the Constitutional Society. See, for example, the issues of 10 January and 26 December 1787, and 19 August 1788. On 16 September 1788, the *Journal*, at the Society's request, printed "A brief Dissertation on the Necessity

of Manufactories in the United States of America, in or to their Prosperity, delivered before the Constitutional Society, at their Meeting in Amenia, on the 26th of August, A. D. 1788, by a Member of that Society.”

2. A reference to the Antifederalist meeting in Oswego on 26 February (above)

Poughkeepsie Country Journal, 15 April 1788

To the Electors of the County of Dutchess, who are opposed to the new Constitution.

The important occasion is approaching for the election of Delegates, to deliberate on the propriety of adopting or rejecting the new plan of government. Attempts have been made by several late publications to divide your suffrages, and among other artifices the proposition for amendments has been held up to view—be not deceived by the fallacious idea: after the necessary amendments are made, then will be the proper season for yielding it your unconditional assent. Certainly a system of government which contains such obvious defects as to require immediate correction is unworthy the adoption of a free and enlightened people—be persuaded that the strength of a party in a great measure consists in their unanimity; adhere therefore to this maxim, and you may be assured of success. Impressed with these sentiments, a large number of respectable citizens convened at Barent Viele’s, in Oswego, in February last, for the purpose of nominating candidates to represent the county in Convention; at which meeting the persons whose names are annexed, were unanimously agreed on.¹—They are gentlemen who have been uniformly opposed to the new scheme, and are men of known firmness and integrity. At the particular request of many of the persons present at that meeting, they are again recommended to your choice.

Delegates for Convention.

Zephaniah Platt,
Melancton Smith,
Jacobus Swartwout,
Jonathan Akins,
Ezra Thompson,
Gilbert Livingston,
John De Witt.

1. See “Antifederalist Meeting in Oswego,” 26 February (above).

Jonathan Akin Charged With Being a Monarchist Poughkeepsie Country Journal, 22 April–1 July 1788

On 22 April the *Country Journal* printed a “certificate” from Judge Joseph Crane charging that Jonathan Akin was a monarchist. Akin had been nomi-

nated as a candidate for the state Convention by the Antifederalist meeting in Oswego on 26 February, while Crane had been nominated as a candidate for the Convention by the Federalist meeting in Nine Partners on 8 April. Crane also served as moderator of the latter meeting. (Akin represented Dutchess in the state Assembly, 1788–89, 1791–93, and in the state constitutional convention in 1801. Crane served in the Assembly from Dutchess, 1778–79, 1789–90, 1796–97.)

Akin did not respond to the charge that he was a monarchist. “Philander” criticized Crane personally as being “unmanly,” but the piece, although internally dated 28 April (the day before the election commenced), was not printed in the *Country Journal* until 27 May (the day the canvassers met to count the votes). “T. Atticus” (below) and “Ezekiah, alias Genl. Hubbard” (Mfm:N.Y.) replied to “Philander” on 10 June. The former even leveled a veiled threat that he would challenge “Philander” to a duel. A week later an anonymous correspondent criticized printer Nicholas Power for filling his newspaper with “the productions of party spirit” (17 June, Mfm:N.Y.). The correspondent charged that he had submitted several pieces to Power which the printer did not print. The writer threatened “that there are a considerable number of us determined to quit taking your papers, except you convince us of your impartiality, by printing what comes to hand from either party.” Immediately below this piece, Power stated that “The Printer denies ever receiving any piece to publish, which he did not print, without giving sufficient reasons for it—and whether he has been more partial to one than the other party, he cheerfully submits to public judgment.”

On 1 July “Philander” responded to “T. Atticus,” if for no other reason, to show that he was not afraid of a duel. On 8 July two new combatants entered the fray—“Unprejudiced Person” and “Pompey Blackamoor” (both Mfm:N.Y.). Disgusted with the partisanship, Power inserted this editorial statement in his issue of 15 July: “T. Atticus to Philander, and Tom Jones, have been received by the Printer—and as a respectable number of his customers declare themselves dissatisfied at the publication of so many party pieces, he wishes them to subside at least for a short time.”

The Charge Made By Joseph Crane

Poughkeepsie Country Journal, 22 April 1788

The following certificate was sent to the printer for publication from Judge Crane.

On the 17th of April 1788, Mr. Jonathan Akin was at the house of the subscriber, and in conversation said that he was not opposed to the constitution on account of too extensive degree of power thereby delegated, for he had always thought the degree of power inadequate to the purpose of government—that he never expected the people of America would be happy, touching government, till an absolute monarchy took place—that he thought we should be in a state of anarchy whether the constitution was adopted or rejected, till some person put

himself at the head of an army, and made himself a monarchial governor, which he supposed would be in favour to the people, as government would be administered at less expence.

I will attest to this.

J. CRANE.

Philander

Poughkeepsie Country Journal, 27 May 1788

Well Mr. Akin, however mortifying the disappointment may be, I fancy you may relinquish every fond hope you have hitherto entertained of being returned either a representative or a delegate to the Convention; for have you not observed that your political principles were exposed to the public in a certain certificate from that *noble* and justly celebrated Judge Crane, published in Mr. Power's paper of the 23d [22d] instant, seasonable to inform the people what you were at heart?

How shall the well meaning inhabitants of New-York ever sufficiently return their thanks to the *candid, honorable, manly* and *impartial* Judge Crane? They have no other way to evince their gratitude than by contributing an immediate *reward* and to petition the next setting of the Legislature to vote him a yearly allowance of ____ as a manifest token of the high sense they have for the honor such a character doth to America, and for the signal services he hath rendered them by his *laudable, manly, ingenious* detection of the disloyal principles of a person who it is possible otherways might have had a few votes for the office of a *law maker*.—But should the suspicions of some malicious persons be true (which is utterly impossible) who have slyly insinuated that Mr. Akin never said those words nor any thing like them; why then if this be true, why the Judge was but *a little* to blame.—They further say that as the *good* Judge was under a nomination to the same offices with Mr. Akin, it is probable to them the Judge was fearful whether Mr. Akin would not get the greatest number of suffrages, did he not take some timely measure to prevent it, and that this was the most likely method he could pitch upon—but as such a motive would have been *unmanly* and *dishonorable*, we hesitate not to pronounce it a most scandalous insinuation, and could never have been harboured by any person who had but only heard the name of JOSEPH CRANE, JUDGE.—I could therefore wish for the public to be persuaded against harbouring the least suspicion that Mr. Akin did not say those words, nor that they were by the *manly* (I cannot often enough repeat MANLY) Judge so rendered as to convey a worse meaning than what Mr. Akin intended to convey when he spoke them—but rather think with me, that they

are abundantly *palliated* and upon the whole I firmly believe that Mr. Akin said three or four times as much as what the *honorable* and *manly* Judge thought proper to offer the public, and was I to offer my sentiments, I should think it very probable that the *manly* Judge hath suppressed *many* sentiments, which if made public, and which Mr. Akin then uttered would be sufficient to hang him, and that without any further proof than its coming with "I will attest to this."—This circumstance is alone sufficient to convince any candid mind that the *honorable*, *ingenious* and *manly* Judge had no malice to Mr. Akin, but that his only motive for acquainting the public with just enough to let them know what a person they had nominated was to do the public a signal favor—and happy was it for us that the information came from so *wonderful* GOOD authority, otherwise it might possibly have been disputed; but thanks to the almost adorable Judge CRANE, it hath now had so good an effect that I am confident Mr. Akin had not a single vote in this county, and not more than five in the whole State.

That Columbia may to the latest period enjoy such a distinguished blessing as the having one such a character as that of JOSEPH CRANE, in each State as a pattern for inferiors to endeavour to imitate, is the sincere and hearty prayer of PHILANDER.

Dutchess County, April 28th, 1788.

T. Atticus

Poughkeepsie Country Journal, 10 June 1788

To PHILANDER.

SIR, It has been long ago observed that in all subjects of great national discussion, it is of the utmost consequence that the channels of public information should flow pure and incorrupt—The reason is obvious.—A depravation of them may be productive of a prejudicial, nay some times of a dangerous influence on the minds of the people, and may be the means of eventually destroying their happiness.—How careful ought we therefore to be in preserving unsullied, the impressions which the Press may transmit to the present and future generations.—And how much reason have we not to deprecate the person who should attempt to pervert so beneficial an institution to mischievous purposes.—Instances of this kind however occur; and though we are ever so solicitous to avert such events—daily experience evinces that they are yet to be expected.—Humanity is pained at the thought, and the delicate feelings of honor suffer a pang at the idea that the Press should become a conveyance for the personal calumny and detraction of anonymous authors.—Not even pre-eminence in virtue is a sufficient defence against their malice—Nor is the violation of truth

and decency an unsurmountable obstacle to the accomplishment of their uncharitableness. Facts of recent dates warrant these observations; and you cannot be surprised, should your production of the 28th be cited as one of the numerous instances which may be offered to support them—its very nature authorises this conclusion, and bears strong marks of its being the offspring of a partizan whose passions preponderate his reason.—The unprovoked manner of attack,—the ironical expressions and illiberal insinuations all lead to the same inference—nay the very stamp from which its leading features have received their impressions, appears to have been coined at the mint of malicious envy, and involves in it an officious interference in a matter which prudence and decency would have taught you to have beheld with silence, or at least to have confined yourself to a candid investigation how far the charge exhibited against your favorite politician was just.—To advocate the one and reprobate the other in any other light, is a most flagrant violation of modesty, and is to oppose personal invective to an unprejudiced inquiry. Yet you, however dishonorable it must seem, have been guilty of this very conduct.—A circumstance exceedingly unfavorable to your honor, and derogatory to your character as a public writer. Affording just cause for doubting the purity of your motives, and arguing an inconsistency in your principles. But independent of these considerations, it does not allow of a supposition, that the people are to be imposed upon by your insidious stratagems.—Envy is generally its own punisher, and when its object is acknowledged, merit may for a time obscure the brightness of its appearance, but like a temporary eclipse of the sun, occasions on its emerging from behind the cloud, an increase of its lustre, and serves only to demonstrate the grossness of the interposing body. Thus will your disingenuous artifice more contribute to show the folly of your malicious invectives, than degrade the character of Mr. Crane. The public is too well acquainted with his patriotism and virtue, to be made the dupe of such illiberal imputations; and Mr. Akin's conduct admits of a construction too unfavorable to his innocence, to receive a satisfactory vindication from an unknown writer.—To suppose the contrary of this, would be to acknowledge credulity; and however sanguine you may be in accomplishing this favorite end, be assured that minds unclogged by prejudices must view your piece (considered in the most favorable point of light) as a composition of invectives and assertions, advanced in the most vague and general forms unsupported by argument, or warranted by fact. Thus are the fairest characters sacrificed to meanness and falsehood—thus our most generous benefactors become the subjects of the petulant animadversions of uncharitable and prejudiced persons—and thus are the fruits

of a life devoted to the public care, rendered bitter and sorrowful, and the grey hairs of wearied politicians made burthensome and intolerable—How humiliating the reflection, and how much to be lamented, and yet stubborn facts, too stubborn to admit of a denial, obtrude themselves upon us, and enforce the conclusion.—Pause here my friend; and with a generosity of temper consider how much gratitude instead of reproach, is due to those meritorious friends of liberty, whose names have become eminent by their patriotic exertions—Reflect candidly whether they merit such ungenerous treatment: I am confident humanity will answer in the negative. Suffer not then the gentle name of Philander to be prostituted to the base purpose of ushering into the public, such pusillanimous and pointed attacks—otherwise perhaps a mode of defence may be adopted less agreeable to your feelings than the present. Recollect that your name is left with the Printer, and from motives of policy forbear to justify the lovers of monarchy, lest should the detestable monster be introduced, the execrations of the present generation, and of injured millions yet unborn, should devolve on your devoted head.

I am, &c.

Dutchess County, June 2, 1788.

Philander

Poughkeepsie Country Journal, 1 July 1788

To ATTICUS.

Had I not suspected my entire silence at this time, would have been construed into a fear of that “other mode of defence,” I should have returned no answer to your performance.—I will now ask, why you could not have followed the heels of J. Crane’s certificate, as close as you did Philander’s piece? For certainly your’s was far more applicable to *that* than it was to *this*. Philander had no malice to J. Crane; whereas malice, and an invidious desire to lessen the number of Mr. Akin’s votes at the election, appear to have been the sole motives with the Judge, in publishing his certificate. He could have no other end in view, but to prejudice the minds of the people against Mr. Akin. I therefore think it might be justly called an insidious and ignominious attempt.

You are pleased to say, that, “the very leading features of my performance, appear to have been coined at the mint of malicious envy.” I will only say, that in this, dear sir, you are grossly mistaken—you further say, that “prudence, and decency, ought to have taught me to behold this affair with silence.” Now, although the gentleman whose character Mr. Crane endeavoured (& but endeavoured) to injure, thought the certificate unworthy of further notice than what he gave it.—Yet might

not the entire silence of this county have been construed into a tacit confession of the truth of the charge exhibited against him, by those who were unacquainted with the character of both gentlemen? You also add, “that I ought to have confined myself to a candid investigation, how far the charge exhibited against my favorite politician was just[”]: I assure you that I did; and my piece was not wrote until I had satisfied myself in that particular: And it still remains with forcible conviction on my mind, that Mr. Crane very materially misrepresented the discourse that passed between him and Mr. Akin at that time; and this perhaps may be considered but as a softer name for a falsehood; for in what doth a falsehood essentially consist, but in endeavouring to make a person believe *that* for truth which in reality is not? And therefore I think I am warranted to say the charge was unjust, unmanly, and that it evidently “appeared to have been coined at the mint of malicious envy.”

I think present circumstances sufficiently evince, that my “favorite politician’s” conduct hath been so favorable to his innocence, as to stand in no need of a justification with those who were acquainted with the character from whence the charge published against him proceeded.

There are people in the world my friend Atticus, whose characters suffer loss upon a candid investigation; such people whether they are Judges, Colonels, Captains, or Lieutenants, generally think it for their honor, to keep the *lighted candle still under a bushel*:¹ for this reason (although I perfectly recollect that my name is left with the Printer) I fear not the use which may be made of it, even was your other mode of defence to be adopted.

Dutchess county, June 15th, 1788.

1. Matthew 5:15 and Luke 11:33.

Poughkeepsie Country Journal, 29 April 1788

This day comes on the election for Delegates throughout this State, to represent it in Convention, which is to meet at the Court-house in this place in June next, for the purpose of ratifying or rejecting the proposed new constitution.

Poughkeepsie Country Journal, 6 May 1788¹

The people in this county at the late election were much divided; tho’ it is thought there is a large majority against the proposed Constitution.

1. Reprinted: *New York Journal*, 12 May.

Poughkeepsie Country Journal, 27 May 1788

This day the Supervisors are to attend at this place to canvass the votes taken at the late election in Dutchess county for Delegates in Convention, who are to meet at the Court-House in Poughkeepsie, with such members as are delegated in the other counties of this State, on the third Tuesday in June, for the purpose of adopting or rejecting the proposed federal Constitution. In our next we hope to be able to inform our readers who are elected in some of the others as well as in this county.

Poughkeepsie Country Journal, 3 June 1788¹

The following are the particulars of the late election, as far as we have been able to collect them. In this county, when the Supervisors had finished canvassing, the votes stood as follows. For Convention,

Anti federal List.

Zephaniah Platt,	1765
Jacobus Swartwout,	1755
John D'Witt,	1753
Ezra Thompson	1749
Gilbert Livingston,	1749
Melancton Smith,	1748
Jonathan Akins,	1732

Federal List.

Egbert Benson,	892
Isaac I. Tallman,	889
Joseph Crane,	887
Robert Sands,	885
Ebenezer Cary,	883
Martin Wiltse,	880
Richard D'Cantillon,	854

Members of Assembly.

Isaac Bloom, John D'Witt, Gilbert Livingston, Mathew Paterson, Jacob Griffen, Jonathan Akins, & Samuel A. Barker.

1. Reprinted: *Daily Advertiser*, 6 June.

Poughkeepsie Country Journal, 3 June 1788¹

A correspondent remarks, that it is a circumstance highly favorable to the federal cause, that in this county there should be at least one

third of the votes for members in favor of the Constitution. It is what the most sanguine could scarcely have expected, had they calculated on probable grounds—at the beginning of the year it was the better opinion that there were hardly one twentieth of the Electors inclined to the federal side; so sudden and so great a change in the public sentiment, and that too in opposition to the current of prejudice, and to the addresses of warm men, and of warmer publications is almost without parallel; and can only be imputed to the force of reason on one side, the examples of our sister States, and the menacing consequences which to all human probability appear to await a rejection of the Constitution. For my part (continues our correspondent) so far from being chagrined at the result of the Election in this County, I view it as a source of consolation and triumph. Had the pamphlet attributed to Mr. Jay² made its appearance a little sooner, I am well persuaded there would have been a still more compleat Revolution in the minds of the people. That publication treated the subject as relative to us in its proper light: As the States one after another came into the measure the great political controversy gradually changed its ground, and what was once a question on the *merits* of the Constitution now becomes only a question of public *expediency* and policy. As there is much well grounded reason to apprehend that the friendly sympathy and intercourse between this and the neighbouring States will be totally rescinded if we finally reject the system, it must be the prayer of every truly honest man that the gentlemen who are speedily to pronounce our fate will mutually forget that they are the heads of a party, will mutually endeavour to divest themselves of passion, and to be governed by Reason.

1. Reprinted: *Daily Advertiser*, 6 June; *New York Packet*, 6 June; *Independent Journal*, 7 June; and seven times out-of-state by 25 June: Mass. (1), R.I. (1), Conn. (1), Pa. (2), Md. (1), Va. (1).

2. "A Citizen of New-York," *An Address to the People of the State of New York*, 15 April (RCS:N.Y., 922–42).

KINGS COUNTY

Peter Lefferts (F–Y) Peter Vandervoort (F–Y)

Little is known about the election in Kings County. Some Antifederalists considered nominating Governor George Clinton as a delegate from Kings, in the hope of preventing the election of one or two Federalist delegates there, while simultaneously opening a space for another Antifederalist delegate in strongly Antifederalist Ulster County, Clinton's home county. (For further details, see Ulster County Election, below.)

A correspondent in the *Daily Advertiser*, 20 February, advised citizens of Kings County to "Look about . . . for two honest, thinking, independent freeholders" to elect to the state Convention. But the same writer recommended that two men compatible with the interests of New York City should be elected because the interests of Kings County were "inseparably connected with *that* of the city." Furthermore, the electors were told "that a general energetic Government is best calculated for *both*" and that all who opposed the Constitution were "enemies to your prosperity." The writer warned against electing Kings County assemblymen Charles Doughty and Cornelius Wyckoff, who had voted the Antifederalist position on the resolution calling the state Convention. "Dismiss them therefore from your service, they are unworthy of your confidence. To say nothing of their abilities, they are both" (especially Doughty) under the influence of Queens Assemblyman Samuel Jones, who was himself a tool of Governor Clinton. Although the writer did not nominate any particular candidates, he warned people "to beware of that insidious influence which will very probably creep under various disguises among you when you take this important business up. Caution and cunning will be practised, which must be opposed by steadiness and circumspection."

Federalists eventually decided to nominate Judge Peter Lefferts and Sheriff Peter Vandervoort. Chancellor Robert R. Livingston and Congressman Leonard Gansevoort predicted an overwhelming Federalist victory (Livingston to Philip Schuyler, 20 March [Columbia County Election, above], and Gansevoort to Peter Gansevoort, 18 March [RCS:N.Y., 864]). Antifederalist leaders also realized that it would "not be prudent to hazard" Governor Clinton in Kings. He would have to be run in Ulster County (Melancton Smith to Cornelius S. Schoonmaker, 6 April, Ulster County Election, below). In Kings, it seemed, most men agreed with "A Flat-Bush Farmer," who wrote "that every time I read it [the new Constitution], I think it more perfect than I before believed it to be." As the election closed, Morgan Lewis, Chancellor Livingston's brother-in-law, announced that Federalists "have succeeded in Kings County beyond Doubt" (to Margaret Beekman Livingston, 4 May, General Commentaries on the Elections, below).

New York Daily Advertiser, 20 February 1788¹

ADDRESS to the People of KING's COUNTY, Long Island.

The very important subject, the New Federal Constitution, which has already engaged the attention of the people, in several of the sister States, will soon be submitted to a Convention of the people of the State of New-York. It is admitted by all parties that no subject equally inter-

esting, has ever been deliberated on by the people of the Western world: If this be true (and where is the man who will dispute it) how much does it behove you to give it such a share of your consideration, as will induce you to reflect on the probable consequences of its adoption or rejection by *this State*. It is not my intention to enter into a detail of the many advantages which may reasonably be expected to result from the adoption of this Government; nor is it in the least necessary for me to do so. Discussions not less ample than satisfactory, have teemed from every press on the Continent; nor will it be thought presumptuous, if I say, those of our own State have done particular honor to the subject. It may, however, be remarked, that the present temper, which generally prevails from one end of the Continent to the other, in some measure speaks the happiness which the people fondly anticipate from the operation of it. Not all the efforts of its most strenuous enemies, have been able to delude the people so far, as to prevent its adoption by any one State, who in Convention has deliberated on it. Deception, (blessed be God) has nearly lost its efficacy, and threats can no longer intimidate.

I am very sensible, while addressing you at this time, that (active and industrious as you are, in the pursuit of your several avocations) there are few amongst you, who have leisure or disposition, to employ any part of your time in reflecting on the present state of our country, and of the calamities which seem *only to be suspended*, but which Heaven itself, is mercifully disposed *to avert*, if we will have virtue enough, to profit by its apparent interposition. I know also, well, (for I am not unacquainted with your tempers,) that many of you will be ready to say; what avails this address to *us*? Of what consequence are *we* on such a subject? What can *we do*, to give efficacy to such measures as may be judged proper for the people at large? Or even admitting, that we had some weight, it is a matter of little moment *to us*, whether we live under one form of Government or another. Safety to our persons, and security to property honestly acquired, is all we wish to enjoy, or hope to obtain. Sentiments like these, I know you are fond of indulging, and you triumph in the satisfaction with which they appear to furnish you;—but be not deceived, you are of more importance than your native modesty will permit you to assume; you have been estimated so, else much pains would not have been taken to suck you within the vortex of *insatiate power*. The pride and vanity of a few leading men of your County, as well as those adjoining, has been gratified, in order to fit them more effectually for the accomplishment of designs, ultimately destructive even of their own happiness, as well as yours. The times require that I be explicit. You are nourishing an interest in your bosoms, which if not destroyed, will 'ere long prey upon your vitals, and which, in spite of your industry and œconomy, will, by its operation, extort from you all

the advantages of your enviable situation. At this moment you are the devoted creatures of the G*****r;² made so by his inimitable management in selecting such among you, as are calculated to mould *you* to *his* purposes. I beseech you, my friends, look at your humiliating situation. Will you allow yourselves to continue the dupes of Sycophants, who would trifle with your best interests, for the honor of smoaking a pipe of tobacco with a great man? Will you make no exertion to effect the establishment of a Government, which, by the blessing of God, promises to give permanency to peace; encouragement to industry; and security to property; by laws, not made for the *few*, but for *all*? Such a Government is now within our reach, as is fully adequate to these glorious purposes, and it is well worth contending for.

Rouse then from that unconcerned torpor, which appears to have seized you; shake off without hesitation, that baneful influence which has laid such fast hold of the County; say, that you will think for yourselves; that you are resolved to knock off the shackles of those *ambitious men, who owe their own power, to their talents of deceiving the people.*

Methinks I see many of you rise with honest indignation, and with fervor exclaim, What, is this our abject condition! Are we unwittingly made slavish instruments, for the iron hands of power to make mischief with! It is high time to look round us. But what *shall* we; what *can* we do? Now this is coming to the point, and I will tell you in a few words, what I honestly believe, will extricate you from all your difficulties.

A Convention will be chosen in April to decide whether the new plan of Government submitted to the people of America shall be adopted or rejected by this State. This is a business of infinite moment to the Union, to this State, and to yourselves in a proportionate degree. Already *six States have given it solemn ratification*, and it is worthy of your reflection, that we are surrounded on all sides by enterprising people, who view the conservation of the Union as the only means of happiness to America;³ should we defeat their patriotic design by selfishly and unreasonably rejecting the proffered Constitution, I shudder at the probable (I might have said) the certain consequences which will ensue. Look about then without loss of time for two honest, thinking, independent freeholders, to represent you in Convention; be governed as much as may be in your choice, by the policy on this subject, which predominates in the city of New-York; be persuaded that *your interest* is inseparably connected with *that* of the city, and be assured at the same time, that a general energetic Government is best calculated for *both*, and that they are enemies to your prosperity, whether they know it or not, who maintain the contrary.—Your present Representatives in Assembly have abused their trust; by their late vote in the Legislature, they attempted to deprive you even of the *power of deliberating* without

passion and prejudice on this great concern.⁴ Dismiss them therefore from your service, they are unworthy of your confidence. To say nothing of their abilities, they are both (the B—yne member particularly⁵) under the absolute Government of the Queen's County member, S—l J—s, who, by the address of the G—r, has been made an active tool to serve the interests of his own party.⁶ On this occasion, I do not presume to offer a nomination of such as I deem worthy of your suffrages. I only intreat you to beware of that insidious influence which will very probably creep under various disguises among you when you take this important business up. Caution and cunning will be practised, which must be opposed by steadiness and circumspection. I have no words to express how much I think it concerns you to make a judicious election for this Convention. "If you shew wisdom in this instance, you can scarcely err on any political subject in future. I offer no apology for calling your attention to this address, nor [is] it very material from whence it comes. I must acknowledge however, that it is dictated by a spirit which while it sincerely avows a friendly intention towards the solid advantages of the County, is at the same time actuated by motives of a selfish nature." I frankly own that I am personally interested in the prosperity of it, and will never knowingly suffer any political manœuvring to be practised among the well-meaning part of the people (which I have substantial reasons to believe will prove hostile to their future happiness) without giving them timely intimations of it. If there is more matter disclosed in this address than may be palatable to *a few characters*, my only apology to them must be, that the necessities of our situation make it indispensably necessary.

If the people of King's County profit by it, my end is answered; for myself I have no personal fear nor private interest in view, other than a common share as an unimportant individual *of the great whole*, and the only reward which I solicit from you for this paper is, that you will, before you throw it aside, have the goodness to read it twice.

King's County, Feb. 16, 1788.

1. On 19 February, the *Daily Advertiser* announced the receipt of this essay and promised that it "will appear to-morrow."

2. Governor George Clinton.

3. Delaware and Georgia, as well as neighboring Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, had already ratified the Constitution.

4. Charles Doughty represented Kings in the Assembly, 1784–88, 1792; and Cornelius Wyckoff represented Kings, 1787–88. In the Assembly's debate in January 1788 over the resolution calling a state convention, both Doughty and Wyckoff supported language which criticized the Constitutional Convention for exceeding its instructions by drafting a completely new Constitution and suggested that the state Convention could propose amendments to the Constitution. See RCS:N.Y., 690, 703–5, 707–14, 728–29.

5. Probably Charles Doughty of Brooklyn.

6. Samuel Jones, who represented Queens County in the Assembly.

A Flat-Bush Farmer, 21 April 1788¹

To the Inhabitants of KING'S COUNTY.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS, You were addressed a few days since, in *Dutch*, by a person under the signature of *A King's County Farmer*, intended as a reply, to a publication of mine, to you on the 23d day of March.² I will not insult your understanding, by addressing you in the same language, as I well know you all can read English. The author prefaces his address with a dirty attack upon my character—he has done it in a language, which no man who respects character would have done; it is, however, a sure proof of his having engaged in a bad cause—men who cannot oppose argument to argument, almost always, descend to low attacks, on the character of their adversary. I will not, however, condescend to take any further notice of that part of his pitiful performance, but pass it by with contempt, and proceed to examine his objections to the *New Federal Constitution*.—This trifling opponent to the Constitution, acknowledges, that you will not be compelled to receive State paper money in payment of your debts, but says you will be obliged to receive Continental paper money; no person possessing a particle of understanding, who will take the pains to read the Constitution, but must acknowledge that it declares that nothing but gold and silver coin shall be a tender in payment of debts. He goes on and tells you, if you have a debt due to you in another State, that you will be obliged to bring suit against your debtor in the Federal Court, and that you may perhaps be compelled to travel some hundreds of miles to accomplish your business;—Of all the stupid assertions that I have met with against the Constitution, this exceeds. The truth, my fellow citizens, is, if a man is indebted to you who lives in another State, you can, as you now may do, institute your suit in the courts of the State where the person resides, if you chose so to do. But should you think, that you as a stranger in another State would not have equal justice done you, by instituting your suit in a State Court, you will then have it in your power to bring your suit in the Federal Court. This will be optional with yourselves, and not compulsory, as this *nominal* King's County Farmer asserts. To establish some of his doctrines, he has, in repeated instances, quoted the sacred scriptures; with what degree of propriety, I shall leave to you to determine;—My opinion is, the scripture ought never to be introduced by such a foul scribbler as he is. This *allwise* farmer proceeds to tell you, what you all know, that you received certificates from the commissary for boarding the American prisoners, which certificates have none of them been paid—I can, without the gift of prophecy, tell you, that unless the New Constitution is

adopted, not one farthing of it ever will be paid. From whence is the money to come? Congress make requisitions on the several States for monies, for the purpose of paying their debts; one or two of the States, in some measure, comply with the requisitions of Congress, some others very partially, and others not [at] all; are Congress therefore to be blamed for not paying their debts?—Who can pay his debts without money? This four eyed farmer contrasts the punctuality of Congress with that of this State; he says many of *us* loaned money during the war to the State, and that the State has punctually paid both principal and interest. The State by an unjust *partial tax*, takes your money first from you, and then pays you what she owes you; this is much to the credit of the State to be sure. If the State had done justice to this County, after it had laid the *partial tax*, she would have applied the money to the payment of the prisoners board, and have charged Congress with it.—About two years ago the Legislature of this State passed an act directing the Treasurer to issue Interest Certificates, which they pledged themselves to pay in one year. Has this been done? I assert not.—The State, therefore, you see, can violate promises, as well as Congress. This double sighted politician goes on to tell you, that no person will dispute that Congress ought to have the regulation of trade. The very party in this State which now opposes the New Constitution, are the very men, who two years ago, prevented the Congress from having the regulation of the commerce of this country;³ and you may rely on it, they will be opposed to any thing, or any plan of government, which is likely to lessen their consequence and power, or to diminish their exorbitant salaries. He also tells you, that it was for the regulating trade, that the Convention sat at Philadelphia—This is an untruth. The Convention who met at Annapolis two years ago were sent to regulate commerce; they did nothing with that business, but reported to the different States the impropriety of merely regulating trade, and recommended a new Convention to be called, with full powers, to correct the defects of the Confederation;—and these powers were given to the Convention who sat at Philadelphia:—And this New Constitution is the product of these powers. He has also in that instance attempted grosly to deceive you. This consummate politician, intreats you in repeated instances to read the Constitution, and judge for yourselves; at the same time strives with all *his* abilities, by false assertions, to prejudice your minds against it. I sincerely join with him in wishing that you may all read it. I have read it repeatedly, and honestly confess, that every time I read it, I think it more perfect than I before believed it to be. This King's County Farmer, as *he* styles himself, has thrown out a great many bug bear tales against the Constitution, without offering arguments to

support what he asserts. He tells you that the President will have more power than many Princes in Europe;—The President has not, in many instances, as much power as the Governor of this State. He tells you also, that the President has the power to call out the Militia, when, where, and how he pleases; this is not a fact. The power of calling out the Militia is vested in Congress:—Congress ought to have the power of calling out the Militia in cases of invasions or insurrections; for instance, if our State was to be invaded by a numerous enemy, too powerful for our Militia to oppose, ought not Congress to have power to call on the Militia of the other States to assist us? Surely they ought: Or are we to be destroyed because we have not force sufficient to drive the enemy from amongst us? This is the monstrous power which the Congress have over the Militia, and which this man relates such frightful tales about.—The Governor of this State has more power over the Militia of the State, than the President will have over the Militia of the United States. These are mere tales asserted with an intention to wheedle you into an opposition to a Constitution, on the adoption of which, the peace, happiness, and prosperity of our country depends. This King's County Farmer tells you, that the expences of the government of this State will not be lessened, should the New Constitution take place; I assert that the expences of the government of this State will be lessened—that the Legislature of this State, instead of sitting three or four months in the year, will not have business to keep them more than as many weeks; this therefore will lessen the expences of the State government, at least three thousand pounds a year. Besides this, the expences of the State will be lessened in many other instances. He talks to you about being obliged to pay the President, Vice-President, Judges of the Supreme and Inferior Courts, &c. &c. I would ask this man, whether we do not under the present confederation pay a President of Congress, Judges of Courts of Admiralty,⁴ and a long list of other necessary officers. The New Constitution only changes the title of these officers, and not their salaries. He proceeds on, and informs you, that Congress will tax your meat, liquors, clothing, beds, and all other property; these assertions are very easily made, and I believe are as easily refuted. I do believe that the commerce of this country, under the regulations of the New Federal Constitution, will be so extensive, and so advantageous, that the revenue arising therefrom, will be fully adequate to the exigencies of that government. This wise man also tells you, that he has not lately met with one man of understanding who does not allow that the New Constitution has defects, and wants amendments. I believe there is no government under the Sun that is not more or less defective; and we cannot expect to arrive at a state of perfec-

tion:—And I further believe that this New Constitution is as little defective as any one whatever; and an ample provision is made in it for correcting of defects, whenever experience teaches us it contains any. When you construct a machine, it is impossible to know how it will work exactly, until it is put in motion. Thus, my fellow citizens, I have gone through this man's long, stupid performance, and I hope have satisfactorily answered all the objections he has made to the New Constitution; and I sincerely invite you to join with me in putting into Convention men, whom we know are firmly in favor of it. As to the propriety of the assertions, which he has made against my character, I shall leave entirely with you to determine. That health, happiness and prosperity may ever attend you, is the sincere wish of A FLAT-BUSH FARMER.

Flat-Bush, 21st April 1788.

1. Broadside (Evans 21502), printed by Francis Childs of the *Daily Advertiser*.
2. "A Flat-Bush Farmer," 23 March, and "A Kings County Farmer" (in Dutch) have not been located.
3. Perhaps a reference to those men who opposed the March 1785 amendment to grant commercial powers to Congress (CDR, 154–56) or to those who opposed granting Congress the Impost of 1783 in April 1785. A third possibility is to those who, in May 1786 and February 1787, saddled New York's approval of the Impost of 1783 with conditions unacceptable to Congress (RCS: N.Y., Vol. 1, xxxvi–xl).
4. A reference to the Court of Appeals in Cases of Capture created by Congress in January 1780 (RCS:Va., 1439, note 2).

A Flatbush Farmer, 28 April 1788¹

To the Inhabitants of *KING'S COUNTY*.

Friends and Fellow-Citizens! I must beg leave to trespass once more on your patience, by a short reply to the *King's County Farmer's* Address of the 26th instant. He has trod again in the same dirty path in which he first set out, as if he expected to carry his point by mere abuse. I well know your sentiments and feelings, with respect to a language of that kind, and I am convinced you will universally condemn the mean subterfuge of this man.—It matters not whether I am a madman or fool, whether I am in office, or in pursuit of an office; the point is, whether or not my arguments in favour of the New Constitution are founded on truth.—If they are not, this King's County Farmer ought to have endeavoured, by reasoning, to convince you of it. Has he attempted this? Or has he not contented himself with dealing out low, mean invective, against my character. He may rest assured, that such kind of attacks are, and ever shall be, treated with due contempt by me—a mind conscious of its own rectitude, despises every accuser. What I have

asserted, and reasoned on, in favor of the New Constitution, he cannot confute. He is the mere tool of a party; and is determined, notwithstanding he knows he is wrong, still to persist in the error. That it is your interest to adopt it I most righteously believe. He tells you that I have insulted you; if I have, it has been done without an intention, or wish so to do. Had I, in any of my addresses to you, have made use of the same low mean declamation that he has done, I should then stand convicted of having grossly insulted you. You will find in his best address he has not even attempted to oppose the Constitution by any kind of argument whatever. He rests his cause upon bare assertion, and wishes you to oppose the adoption of it, because men in office have directed him to do so. I am sure his objections to the Constitution will have no weight with you, for they merit none. He tells you that you will be taxed by the State, and by Congress; you are already taxed by the State for State purposes, and by the State for the supplies of Congress; what difference, therefore, will this make? It matters not, whether you pay your taxes immediately into the Continental Treasury, or into the State Treasury; for, if they are paid into the State Treasury, they must go from thence into the Treasury of the United States. But I continue, my friends, to be of the same opinion with which I set out, which is, that the revenue arising from the commerce of this country, under proper regulations, will be amply sufficient to answer the demands of the New Government; your taxes therefore will be made much lighter than they now are. It now rests with us to determine whether we shall adopt the New Constitution, and thereby secure to ourselves, and our posterity, peace, happiness, and a good government; or reject it, and have discord, misery, and wretchedness amongst us. I most sincerely pray that you will, with one heart, and one voice, join with me in proclaiming, adopt it! adopt it!—

Flatbush, 28th April, 1788

1. Broadside (Evans 45380), printed by Francis Childs of the *Daily Advertiser*. This broadside responds to “A Kings County Farmer,” 26 April, which has not been located.

New York Daily Advertiser, 29 May 1788¹

PETER LEFFERTS and PETER VANDERVOORT, Esqrs. are elected Members of CONVENTION for King’s County.

1. Reprinted: *New York Journal*, 31 May; *Country Journal*, 3 June. The *New York Journal*, 5 June, reported that Lefferts and Vandervoort were elected and that they were Federalists. This account was reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 10 June; the *Providence United States Chronicle*, 12 June; and the *North Carolina Wilmington Centinel*, 2 July.

MONTGOMERY COUNTY

John Frey (A–N)**William Harper (A–N)****Henry Staring (A–N)****Volkert Veeder (A–N)****John Winn (A–N)****Christopher P. Yates (A–*)**

The Constitution's prospects in New York's westernmost Montgomery County were uncertain. By early January 1788 many residents of Montgomery were still "uninformed, or as usual much divided." Abraham Van Vechten, a Johnstown lawyer, wrote to two members of the Albany County Anti-Federal Committee expressing his uncertainty. Although the majority "of the best informed People" were said to be Federalists, Van Vechten believed that most people had not yet "made up their Minds." Montgomery's six assemblymen allegedly were divided over the Constitution: four were strongly Federalist, one was "lukewarm," and the last was a strong Antifederalist. Former assemblyman William Harper, an Antifederalist, was said to be "the only Man who takes Pains to make proselytes amongst us." One "violent Antifederalist" landlord, reportedly "denounces Vengeance against all who dare to differ from him, but unfortunately in the Transports of his Zeal he does not hesitate to declare that he scorns even to read the new Constitution" (Van Vechten to Henry Oothoudt and Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, 11 January, RCS:N.Y., 600–601).

Federalists and Antifederalists from outside of Montgomery attempted to influence the electorate by sending literature to local leaders for redistribution. Chancellor Robert R. Livingston wrote to Philip Schuyler on 20 March hoping "that Montgomery is not neglected" (Columbia County Election, above). Schuyler responded nine days later assuring the chancellor that the Albany Federal Committee had been diligently working—"their Attention is Equally extended to Montgomery, and I believe we shall obtain a majority of foedral conventionalists [there?]" (Albany County Election, above). Before the elections, Federalists had delivered to Montgomery copies of the Constitution and the first volume of *The Federalist* (RCS:N.Y., 901–2, 906–7).

On 2 January Albany County Antifederalists Henry Oothoudt and Jeremiah Van Rensselaer sent a copy of the "Federal Farmer's" *Letters* to Abraham Van Vechten, who told them that he would pass it along to others after he read it (RCS:N.Y., 600). The Antifederalist New York Federal Republican Committee (located in New York City) sent 100 copies of a reprint edition of the Massachusetts pamphlet written by "A Columbian Patriot," and an undetermined number of copies of a pamphlet anthology that included nine essays by "Centinel" of Pennsylvania. These pamphlets were to be delivered to Christopher P. Yates, Volkert Veeder, John Frey, and William Harper (RCS:N.Y., 896).

Both Federalists and Antifederalists had a degree of optimism about the campaign in Montgomery. On 12 April, the Albany Anti-Federal Committee reported to the New York Federal Republican Committee that "our political Affairs wear a favorable Aspect" in Montgomery County (RCS:N.Y., 898). By early February information had reached New York City from Montgomery that "the federal cause gains strength daily" (*Massachusetts Centinel*, 13 February, CC:Vol. 4, p. 515). One Federalist reported that before the arrival of a shipment of Constitutions, "you might here behold the honest, uninformed (or rather misinformed) peasantry almost ready to fight against that MONSTER, the CONSTITUTION;—but, happy event! their fears are daily vanishing—and

their political sentiments are quite different from what they were while kept in the dark” (Albany *Federal Herald*, 7 April, RCS:N.Y., 901–2).

As the election neared, Federalists suffered a setback. On 7 April, after returning from Albany, Abraham Van Vechten, Philip Schuyler’s son-in-law, informed fellow Federalist candidates Peter Schuyler and Josiah Crane, who seem to have been coordinating Federalist activities in Montgomery County, that he wanted to be removed from the Federalist ticket. Van Vechten said that “a variety of Circumstances have concurred to render it impossible for me to attend either the Convention or Assembly.” Schuyler and Crane were upset with Van Vechten’s last-minute action. They had put Van Vechten on the Federalist ticket, and they had campaigned strenuously for him. Now, the removal of Van Vechten’s name would “Create Confusion amongst the Electors.” What motivated Van Vechten is uncertain. He had studied law with Antifederalist John Lansing, Jr., and he corresponded with Henry Oothoudt and Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, Albany County Antifederalist leaders. Whether they convinced Van Vechten not to run as a Federalist is uncertain.

Antifederalists elected all six of their candidates. Christopher P. Yates, the county clerk, received the highest number of votes (1,209), while Henry Staring received 1,105 votes, the smallest total for a victorious candidate. Federalist candidates received between 756 and 811 votes. Van Vechten received 806 votes.

**Abraham Van Vechten to Peter Schuyler and Josiah Crane
Johnstown, 7 April 1788¹**

Gentlemen

Since my Return from Albany a variety of Circumstances have concurred to render it impossible for me to attend either the Convention or Assembly—You’ll therefore oblige me much by striking my Name out of the List of Candidates held up in your District—Should it be agreeable to the upper Districts, we shall I believe hold up Mr. Cornelius Cuyler in my Stead.

1. RC, Van Vechten Papers, NHi. The letter has no place of writing, but it was probably written from Johnstown, Van Vechten’s home. It was addressed to “Peter Schuyler and Josiah Crane Esquires” in “Palatine.” Peter Schuyler (1745–c. 1792), Philip Schuyler’s nephew, represented Albany in the Assembly, 1784, and served as a state senator from the Western District, 1787–92. He was on the Council of Appointment in 1787 and 1791. Crane represented Montgomery in the Assembly, 1789–91, and served as county surrogate, 1790–1800, and as county sheriff, 1795–98.

**From Peter Schuyler and Josiah Crane
Palatine, 8 April 1788¹**

Gentlemen

your Joint Letters of the fourteenth of March we hereby Acknowledge the receipt of, We are Sorry to remark that the Inclosed² will

Cause you to imbibe different Sentiments from those, which you Conveyed to us in your Letter respecting Mr. V: Veghten, on Receiving yours, we not only proposed him as a Candidate, but Likewise used Strenuous Exertions for his Success, Lists have been distributed with his Name inserted thro different Quarters of the County; you will Observe on the perusal of his Letter, that he now declines serving, and requests his Name may be Erased from the List; What Mr. V: Veghtens Motives may be will not be the Subject of our investigation, yet if we may be permitted to pass our animedversions on the Subject, We deem it a late period for Mr. V: Veghten to retract his intention and destroy the Effect of his Assurances, knowing that his Friends are Solicitous for preferring him as a Member to Convention, We are Apprehensive that the Consequence of his declining at this Crisis, will Create Confusion amongst the Electors—

With Great respect & Esteem we Remain your most Obt. humbl. Servts.

1. MS, Peter Schuyler Papers, NH. The addressees are not known. The letter was written by Schuyler and signed by him and Crane.

2. The "Inclosed" was probably a copy of Van Vechten's 7 April letter to Schuyler and Crane (immediately above), declining nomination for a seat in the Convention.

**Christopher P. Yates to George Herkimer
Fry's Bush, 9 April 1788¹**

In a Meeting of the Anti-Fœderalists in the four lower Districts of this County it hath been agreed to hold up the persons named in the inclosed Lists for Convention, Assembly & Senate—to which I am directed to desire your Approbation and Support—

The adoption of the New Constitution will be attended with such bad Consequences that we conceive it our indispensable duty to oppose it—we cannot doubt your being of the same opinion

Colo. Frey has entered heartily into this Business & desires me to inform you so—

1. RC, Herkimer Papers, Oneida Historical Society, Utica, N.Y. The lists mentioned have not been found. Yates (1750–1815), a lawyer, served on Tryon County's Committee of Safety, and as a deputy to the First and Third Provincial congresses, 1775, 1776. He served as Tryon (later Montgomery) county clerk, 1777–1800, county surrogate, 1778–87, and assemblyman, 1784–85, 1788–89, and 1800–1802. Although elected to the New York Convention, Yates did not vote on the Constitution. Herkimer (1744–1788) served in the Tryon County militia and on its Committee of Safety, 1775. Yates had been commissary under General Nicholas Herkimer, George Herkimer's brother.

New York Journal, 5 June 1788¹

For CONVENTION.

Montgomery County. ANTI-FEDERAL TICKET.

William Harper,	1206
John Frey,	1201
John Winne,	1202
Volkert Veeder,	1199
Henry Staring,	1105
Christopher P. Yates,	1209

FEDERAL TICKET.

Abraham Van Horne,	756
James Livingston,	811
Abraham Arendt,	796
Peter Schuyler,	803
Josiah Crane,	805
A. Van Vechten,	806

1. Reports of the Montgomery County election results also appeared, in whole or in part, in the *Daily Advertiser*, 6 June; *Impartial Gazetteer*, 7 June; *Lansingburgh Federal Herald*, 9 June; *Country Journal*, 10 June; and in four out-of-state newspapers by 2 July: R.I. (1), Pa. (2), N.C. (1).

CITY AND COUNTY OF NEW YORK

James Duane (F–Y)	John Jay (F–Y)
Alexander Hamilton (F–Y)	Robert R. Livingston (F–Y)
Richard Harison (F–Y)	Nicholas Low (F–Y)
John Sloss Hobart (F–Y)	Richard Morris (F–*)
Isaac Roosevelt (F–Y)	

Little suspense existed in the elections for the City and County of New York—most observers believed Federalists would win handily. A widely reprinted paragraph in the Federalist *Massachusetts Centinel*, 20 February 1788, stated that “thirty-nine fortieths of the people of that city are in favour of the adoption of the federal Constitution: The opposers consisting only of a small group of salary-men” (CC:Vol. 4, p. 521). The Antifederalist Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer* reported on 7 March that “except in the city there is few advocates” for the Constitution in New York. It was “expected the city members will be alone in the [state] convention in favor of” the Constitution (CC:603). In late February, City Council member Peter Elting wrote that “I think its Likely” that the Federalists “will be represented in Convention from this City” (to Peter Van Gaasbeek, 27 February, Mfm:N.Y.). Two days before the election, Samuel Blachley Webb wrote Joseph Barrell, “there is not a doubt we carry the Fœdral ticket in this City four to one” (27 April, below).

These circumstances, however, did not stop both sides from campaigning vigorously, nor did it seem to lessen interest in the elections if the number of newspaper items and broadsides related to the election are any guide. Between 16 February and 29 April, New York City newspapers published twenty-four lists of candidates; one list appeared as a broadside. Eighteen were original, seven duplicated previously recommended lists. A total of fifty-one men were nominated, including such notables as Governor George Clinton, Chancellor Robert R. Livingston, Mayor James Duane, Chief Justice Richard Morris, Associate Justice John Sloss Hobart, Assembly Speaker Richard Varick, and Confederation Secretary for Foreign Affairs John Jay. The suggested names also included nine current or former delegates to Congress, seven state senators, nineteen assemblymen, and nine city aldermen. Nine men were nominated ten or more times: Alexander Hamilton received the highest number of nominations, with nineteen; John Jay and Robert R. Livingston received eighteen; James Duane and Isaac Roosevelt, sixteen; John Sloss Hobart, fifteen; Richard Morris, thirteen; and Richard Harison and Nicholas Low, ten. Perhaps not surprising, all nine were on the “official” Federalist slate announced in the newspapers three weeks prior to the elections. The Antifederalists mentioned most frequently were Isaac Stoutenburgh, on eight lists; John Lawrence, on seven; George Clinton, on six; Melancton Smith and Marinus Willett on five; and John Lamb, on four. Twenty-five persons were on only one list; six on only two lists; and three on only three lists.

Although Antifederalists knew from the beginning that their opponents would dominate the elections, they hoped that Governor Clinton’s personal popularity and the scheme of placing Clinton at the top of an otherwise Federalist ticket might get the governor elected thereby depriving Federalists of at least one of New York’s nine seats in the Convention. These efforts failed as Federalist voters turned out in large numbers, significantly increased by the

lack of a property qualification for voting for Convention delegates. In fact, 2,836 voters cast ballots for Convention delegates as opposed to 1,650 for assemblymen for whose elections a property qualification was still required. (For the Assembly results, see the *Independent Journal*, 31 May, Mfm: N.Y.)

Sensitive to the Antifederalist charge in Pennsylvania that the Federalist-dominated Pennsylvania Convention had been elected by a small minority of eligible voters, New York City Federalists encouraged their supporters to vote even though Federalist candidates were assured of easy victories. When the polls closed, Federalists were certain that their ticket had been elected. Not until the canvassing occurred, however, was the full extent of the Federalists' overwhelming victory known.

A Federalist

New York Daily Advertiser, 16 February 1788

FELLOW CITIZENS, The Legislature having submitted the new form of Federal Government to a Convention of delegates, to be chosen by the free citizens of this State; it becomes your duty to reflect in time, upon the persons proper for your choice. The business upon which they all have to decide, it is well known to you, involves your dearest interests. Lay aside every thing, therefore, which looks like the spirit of party. Be unanimous, and strain every nerve to unite the influence of patriotism, talents and property. With this view, the following list of candidates are offered to your consideration.

John Jay,	John Sloss Hobart,
Isaac Roosevelt,	William Constable,
Rob. R. Livingston,	James Duane,
Alexander Macomb,	Nicholas Cruger.
Alexander Hamilton,	

New York Daily Advertiser, 18 February 1788

Mr. CHILDS, In the following list of Candidates for a seat in the ensuing Convention (which you are requested to submit to the public) respect has been had to Federalism and talents, without totally disregarding property, and care has been taken to avoid holding up any person whose vote might be influenced by the possession of a lucrative office under the present Congress:

Mr. Chancellor Livingston,	John Alsop
Alexander Hamilton,	Robert Harpur,
Isaac Roosevelt,	William Duer,
Judge Hobart,	William Constable.
James Duane,	

Feb. 16.

New York Journal, 19 February 1788

MR. GREENLEAF, Will please to insert the enclosed in his Patriotic Register. A SUBSCRIBER.

The following respectable citizens are submitted to the public, as worthy of their election in the choice of the representatives for this city, to the state convention.

His Excellency GEORGE CLINTON,
 WILLIAM MALCOM,
 MARINUS WILLET,
 MELANCTON SMITH,
 JOHN LAMB,
 JOHN RAY,
 ROBERT TROUP,
 ROBERT BOYD,
 LEWIS A. SCOTT,
 ISAAC STOUTENBURGH.

February 18th, 1788.

Montgomery**New York Daily Advertiser, 20 February 1788¹**

To the ELECTORS of the City and County of New-York.

Friends and Fellow Citizens, The several States which have appointed Conventions for the consideration of the Federal Constitution, have generally deputed their most dignified and important characters as members, under the impression that their abilities can never be more usefully employed in the service of their country: We should certainly be influenced by the same considerations, as far as the known principles and opinions of the parties, on this most important question will justify.

As the object of deliberation is definite, and every elector, perhaps has, by this time, made up his mind on the subject; we are rather to nominate those who coincide with us in opinion, than to chuse on the score of general abilities: But still, a preference is undoubtedly due, where abilities are united with integrity, and a hearty concurrence in sentiment.

Under these convictions, I hold up to your consideration, a nomination in which all the foregoing requisites are included; and in which the several interests of the communities are equally represented, viz.

Chancellor Livingston, Chief Judge Morris,

As the heads of the departments of law & equity, must be supposed the most proper and competent judges of the judicial subjects; and to whose revision the constitution of the State submits all her laws.²

James Duane, Esq.

Being the chief magistrate of the metropolis of the State, and of unquestionable abilities.

John Jay, Esq.

From his long services abroad and at home, and the nature of his present office as minister of foreign affairs, must be supposed to possess the best information of any man in the United States, on our relative situation with foreign nations.

Alexander Hamilton, Esq.

Whose presence and information will be essentially necessary, to counteract the antifederal efforts of his less faithful colleagues to the Federal Convention.

Isaac Roosevelt, and Nichs. Low, Esq'rs.

Well qualified by probity, information and property, to represent the mercantile interest, and already distinguished by their fellow-citizens, as their representatives in senate and assembly.³

Wm. Gilbert and Anthony Post, Esq'rs.

In whose knowledge and abilities, the mechanic interest may place a firm reliance.⁴

As unanimity was perhaps never more important than at this moment, it may be worthy of remark, that those are very little qualified to effect the work of conciliation and gain proselytes, who, requiring an unlimited submission to their opinions, are accustomed to urge their arguments rather by ridicule than reason, which often hurts the feelings of the candid, and excites an opposition from principles of resentment; an effect which has been known to result from the conduct of some who have been held up in former nominations.

St. Paul's Church, Broadway.

Feb. 19.

1. This piece also appeared in the *Independent Journal* on 20 February, with only minor differences in wording, capitalization, punctuation, and spelling. The *Massachusetts Centinel*, 1 March, reprinted an excerpt.

2. According to the New York Constitution, the governor, the chancellor, and the three justices of the Supreme Court served as the Council of Revision. The council could veto all bills passed by the legislature, subject only to the override by a two-thirds vote of both houses of the legislature (RCS:N.Y., Vol. 1, pp. xxiv, 501).

3. Roosevelt, a sugar refiner and president of the Bank of New York, served as a state senator from the Southern District, 1777–86, 1788–92. Low represented New York in the Assembly, 1788–89.

4. Gilbert was a silversmith, while Post is listed in the 1789 New York City Directory as a "house carpenter."

A Free Citizen**New York Journal, 28 February 1788**FRIENDS, *and* FELLOW-CITIZENS.

Several respectable lists have made their appearance for candidates in convention, with elucidations of the gentlemen's abilities. The one in Mr. Child's paper, of the 20th current¹ I cannot forbear remarking, as great pains was therein taken, to prove that nomination the most requisite. I presume, if the ghost of that immortal hero² selected them in preference, we ought most cheerfully to acquiesce, as the contrary would forbode *ominous* events. I am persuaded, could that illustrious soldier be consulted, he would not totally exclude the band of worthy patriots whose names are here respectfully offered, as their abilities and integrity have been fully proved. It is certain, that the hon. body of mechanics are too liberal to suppose, they will not be fairly represented in this nomination.—

ALEX. HAMILTON,
 BROCK. LIVINGSTON,
 BENJ. WALKER,
 ROB. TROUP,
 MORG. LEWIS,
 EBEN. STEVANS,
 AARON BURR,
 JAS. NICHOLSON,
 CHANC. LIVINGSTON.

Smith-street, Feb. 27, 1788.

1. See "Montgomery," *Daily Advertiser*, 20 February (immediately above).

2. General Richard Montgomery (1738–1775), Chancellor Robert R. Livingston's brother-in-law, captured Montreal in November 1775, but was killed during the subsequent assault on Quebec in December 1775.

An Adviser**New York Daily Advertiser, 1 March 1788**

It will be of great consequence to chuse men of talents, integrity, property and confidential character, to represent this city in the Convention. There are men mentioned, whose defence of the Federal cause may injure it, as Mrs. Candor's vindication, in the Comedy, generally blasted the character she seemed inclined to defend.¹ The Grand Convention was not filled with the first characters of America; and though they may, in the page of history, be called the *Worthies* of America, yet cotemporaries must laugh at some being introduced into political life, upon the wretched principle of indolence, and having nothing to do.

1. The character "Mrs. Candour" appeared in Richard Brinsley Sheridan's play, *The School for Scandal* (1777).

An Independent Elector

New York Daily Advertiser, 6 March 1788

Mr. CHILDS, From the happy coincidence of choice which has been exhibited in the different lists of Delegates to Convention published in your paper, I was induced to hope any new nomination would be unnecessary. But this disposition having been assailed *from another quarter*, by those sordid passions which are too apt to dethrone reason, and substitute their own creatures in its stead; and this being a crisis when a concurrence of sentiment and conduct in the citizens of New-York may be of the last importance to themselves and mankind, I shall not apologize for recalling to their minds the objects of that merited unanimity. They are

Robert R. Livingston,
Alexander Hamilton,
John Jay,
James Duane,
Isaac Roosevelt,

John Sloss Hobart
Robert Troup,
Richard Morris,
Nicholas Low.

In this nomination, besides a certain veneration, which it is impossible not to feel for men of their integrity and abilities, I have not a motive but the public welfare. If I have any apology to make for a list which appears to be of the public's and not of my nomination (they having been most frequently held up,¹ and the greater part of them almost unanimously, and their merits even surmounted the barriers of private, political and typographical animosity) it should be, that they have so much a sameness of worth, character, and probably of sentiment. But when it [is] considered, how difficult it is to unite a desirable degree of the contrary properties with more essential qualities, how interesting and decisive of our fate the occasion! That besides the best abilities, they enjoy with their fellow citizens a common and inseparable interest, independence and firmness, with a moderation, candor and political forbearance useful at all times, but indispensably necessary to combat that narrow spirit of party, illiberality and passion, too fatally predominant in some of our Counties. A combination of these, will I hope, meet with approbation and success, and that by recommending them, I shall injure the feelings of no candidate or author of any nomination, when I inform them that *they* are omitted not from a distrust of *their* qualifications, but because it is impossible all can be inserted, and because these I was persuaded, as well from their more frequent mention as from their intrinsic and known recommendations, would best embrace and discharge the interests and confidence

of the public. I only beg that no one sensible to the happiness of his country, will endeavor to destroy the harmony I recommend, without the best of public spirited reasons, and not to wreak resentment or indulge vanity.

1. Each of the men suggested here had been included in at least one of the five lists printed to date. Robert R. Livingston had appeared in four of the five lists, the most of any of them.

A Citizen

New York Daily Advertiser, 10 March 1788¹

As the time approaches when the citizens of New-York will be called upon to make their choice of proper characters to represent them in the Convention, the following gentlemen are submitted to the public consideration: Their qualifications for this important trust, are too well known to need any comment; and as an union of sentiment is peculiarly necessary at this crisis, it is presumed that the present nomination will effect this object with more certainty than any other which can be proposed.

*John Jay,
Isaac Rosevelt,
Robert R. Livingston,
Nicholas Low,
Richard Morris,*

*Richard Harrison,
John Sloss Hobart,
Alex. Hamilton,
James Duane.*

1. "A Citizen's" nomination list was praised and endorsed by "A Citizen, and real Friend to Order and good Government," *Daily Advertiser*, 21 March (below). It became the "official" Federalist slate. (See *Independent Journal*, 9 April, below.)

A Freeman

New York Journal, 13 March 1788¹

As the important period approaches, when we must decide on the most interesting of subjects, to the liberty, independence and happiness of America, I submit the following characters, with a few observations, as candidates for a seat in convention:

ROBERT TROUP,
WILLIAM GILBERT,
ROBERT BOYD,
NATHANIEL LAWRENCE,
JAMES M. HUGHES,
WILLIAM MALCOLM,
ISAAC STOUTENBURGH,
JOHN RAY,
SAMUEL JONES.

On a subject which requires in its judges the best virtues of the heart, with the utmost soundness, penetration, and free agency of the head; the impropriety of delegating men, whose profits, or immediate prospects, are at all affected either way, need not be discarded on. Private loss or gain is ever dangerous, and its workings are, if possible, to be avoided. With this deduction, or even without it, the above list will appear as little exceptionable as any, at least to the candid and dispassionate.

The opinions of several of them on the great question, I believe are, as they should be, unknown. They possess the essentials of a general interest, ability, and coolness, if not disinterestedness. The last I fear is not now to be attained, but the others ought by all means to be secured; and this can only be done, by omitting the most violent and ambitious, and preferring others who possess and regard the feelings of the community, and are selected from among them. Great and obvious interest on either side, will excite suspicion and calumny, if it do not warp the judgment and defeat itself.

As the above are all moderate men, they will judge coolly and fairly, and act prudently. These are all the real benefits we can justly expect from any other nomination, and will have this signal advantage, that should this state have the luck, or misfortune (for which it will be time must determine) to be obliged to differ and dissent from her sister states, they cannot attribute it to factious or other unworthy motives. But should the friends of liberty be obliged to yield to tyrannical members, which patriotism forbid, their pacific dispositions will best guard us from the horrors of civil war, which Heaven avert from our devoted country.

1. The *New York Journal* had announced on 12 March that "A Freeman" would "appear in the *Weekly Register*," its Thursday issue that had "a more *general Circulation in the Country*, than that of any other day in the Week" (RCS:N.Y., Vol. 1, lx).

A Citizen

New York Journal, 17 March 1788¹

MR. GREENLEAF, The important period is now advancing when we must chuse men we think most worthy to represent us in convention. It is a matter of great moment; we ought to consider it maturely, and deliberately, and point out such characters as we think merit so important a station. I think it my duty to recommend the following gentlemen to the public as highly proper to give us a true and just decision of the new constitution.

R. R. LIVINGSTON,
 JAMES DUANE,
 MELANCTON SMITH,
 JOHN JAY,
 RICHARD VARICK,
 ISAAC ROSEVELT,
 JOHN LAWRENCE,
 SAMUEL JONES,
 ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

March 15, 1788.

1. "A Citizen's" nomination list was praised and endorsed by "An Old Man, and a Friend to Impartiality," *New York Journal*, 19 March (immediately below).

An Old Man, and a Friend to Impartiality
New York Journal, 19 March 1788

MR. GREENLEAF, Amongst the many pieces I have read respecting delegates which are to be chosen, none appear to me so candid and free from party spirit, as one in your paper the 17th instant, signed a Citizen.¹ He has pointed out such characters as the public in general, and the citizens in particular, are fully convinced are possessed of the first abilities, and by long experience have been found to be worthy our confidence in every respect. I will add that I am confident they will not go precipitately to work; I believe they will invite investigation, and be themselves open to conviction.—That they may be chosen is the sincere wish of

AN OLD MAN, and a FRIEND to IMPARTIALITY.

New-York, March 18, 1788.

1. See "A Citizen," *New York Journal*, 17 March (immediately above).

A Citizen, and real Friend to Order and good Government
New York Daily Advertiser, 21 March 1788

Robert R. Livingston,
Richard Morris,
John Jay,
John S. Hobart,
James Duane,

Alex. Hamilton,
Isaac Roosevelt,
Nicholas Low,
Richard Harrison.

Mr. CHILDS, The above gentlemen, being held up in the Daily Advertiser of the 10th inst.¹ as proper persons to be elected Delegates to serve in the ensuing Convention for the city and county of New-York, must afford real satisfaction to every honest and disinterested man; but as many persons who will vote upon this great and important occasion, have arrived in this city since the revolution who must necessarily be

unacquainted with the public conduct of these gentlemen during the late war, render some observations on that subject necessary; particularly as other nominations have been held up in some of the public prints.

Early in the late war, when the United States were surrounded with danger, and to all appearance devoted to destruction, Mr. LIVINGSTON announced to his tenants, by a publication in the news-papers, that the leases of such of them as should be slain or disabled in the service of their country, should be renewed to their children at the old rent, without fine or other consideration;² and after the British burned Esopus, Mr. Livingston made a present of an estate in fee to the sufferers, worth upwards of 10,000 l. dollars, tho' his own and his mother's dwelling houses, offices and mills were at the same time destroyed by the enemy.³ If these are not proofs of magnanimity and patriotism I do not know what are.

Mr. LIVINGSTON'S *legal knowledge, integrity and virtue are eminently conspicuous in his decisions in the Court of Chancery of this State*; his address is elegant and easy, and his manners fascinating, his speeches are replete with information, and delivered with propriety; his power of reasoning uncommonly great, like the torrent of a mighty river, he bears all before him; and as a statesman and an orator, he is not excelled in the United States.

Mr. MORRIS's attachment to the interests of his country is unquestionable. This gentleman possessed the Office of Judge of Admiralty, and also Clerk of the Circuit Courts, for the late Province of New-York, under the British Government, previous to the late war; the emoluments of the first of which Offices, he must have been fully convinced, would in the course of that war, have been extremely productive, from his experience in the same office, during the late French, or Canadian war in America; notwithstanding which, he left his seat near Kings-bridge, retired to Clavarack, and served his country faithfully in a public station, during the war, by which, he sacrificed 50,000 guineas, which his successor in that office accumulated. Mr. Morris, has had long and great experience in public business, and now discharges the exalted station of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of this State, with a disinterestedness and fidelity, which reflect the highest honor on him.⁴

The distinguished abilities, and unshaken integrity of Mr. JAY, recommended him at an early period in life, to all his acquaintance, as well as to the notice of the British Government, in the late Province of New-York, antecedent to the war; insomuch, that he would have been appointed to one of the first offices in that Province, upon the first vacancy that should happen: Nevertheless when the rights of his country became invaded by the British, he took a decided and active part in her favor; his uniform services since, both at home and abroad, particularly in the formation of the Treaty of Peace, so peculiarly advantageous and bene-

ficial to the interest of the United States; in the management and prosecution of which, he had a principal share. Mr. Jay's legal knowledge is incontrovertible; his arguments are methodically arranged and drawn forth with judgment; he reasons logically and well, and excels most men in dissecting the arguments of his opponents, and rendering them futile and nugatory; he is able and pointed in reply, and possesses the powers of persuasion in an eminent degree; in short, Mr. Jay is endowed with the necessary qualifications to constitute a Statesman.

Mr. HOBART, served his country during the war, in Congress, Convention and Committee, with great integrity and zeal; he is a gentleman of considerable political abilities, and experienced in public business, and an upright Judge.

Though Mr. DUANE was foremost on the list of preferment under the British Government, in the late Province of New-York, before the war, and at the same time perfectly sensible, that he would secure a very large landed property, worth at least 100,000 l. or the value thereof, by adhering to that government, which by taking a different part he must inevitably have lost; yet he took a decided part in favor of his country, and has by the revolution lost all that great property. He has been indefatigable in the service of his country as a member of Congress during almost the whole of the war. Mr. Duane's legal knowledge is universally acknowledged. As a judge he gives general satisfaction to the public, and is much esteemed and respected by the gentlemen of the bar; his manners are easy and his private character irreproachable. Mr. Duane is a good politician; he reasons closely, and with perspicuity and judgment, possessing the powers of persuasion in no small degree; his arguments are well calculated both to conciliate and enforce conviction; and as a man of business, he is excelled by none in this country.

The publications of Col. HAMILTON, in defence of the liberties of America previous to the late war, when a youth in the college of New-York; his great military services, and the confidential line in which he stood with that good and great man General WASHINGTON, during that war, are indubitable proofs of his virtue. As a lawyer, a politician, and a statesman, Col. Hamilton is certainly great; as a public speaker he is clear, pointed and sententious; he excels most men in reply, being possess'd of the powers of reasoning in an eminent degree, and he is endowed with a most benevolent and good heart.

Mr. ROOSEVELT is an honest, virtuous and respectable gentleman, possessed of a large property in this city, which he risked in the service of his country during the war, and by which he suffered largely.

Mr. LOW, who quitted all his relations in New-York and Jersey, and joined the friends to his country in the late war, is a gentleman of

probity and honor, possessed of considerable information and great mercantile abilities; he also reasons well upon most subjects.

Tho' Mr. HARRISON was as much opposed to the unjust principles upon which the British Government taxed this country, before the late war, as any man in it, yet he differed in opinion from many of his contemporaries and relations, respecting the war. He dreaded the power of Great-Britain, and feared that the United States would be unable to procure foreign alliance[s], and that the consequences of the war, would be fatal to this country; but Mr. Harrison at an early period, publicly declared, that he would take no part against this country. This declaration he *religiously* and uniformly adhered to, having positively refused to practice in the Court of Admiralty in New-York, during the war, or be concerned either directly or indirectly in the condemnation of the vessels and cargoes owned by the Americans, and other friends to his country; tho' repeatedly and earnestly solicited to undertake the management and prosecution of business in that Court, by which he could have accumulated a large fortune, *as others have done*; but he absolutely declined, assuring the several persons who applied to him on this head, that he never would be concerned against the interest of his country. This conduct drew on him the resentment of the British, before the arrival of General Carleton, who with-held his house and brewery, at the North-River, for a long time, without paying for the same. If these are not proofs of disinterestedness and virtue, I do not know what are. After the Preliminary Articles were signed, and hostilities ceased, Mr. Harrison, to serve a number of his countrymen, accepted the appointment of a Commissioner for examining, and settling the accounts of some people on Long-Island and Staten-Island, who supplied the British with forage, and were not paid, before General Carleton's arrival; in this station, Mr. Harrison rendered these poor people, who were *staunch Whigs*, the utmost justice; *those under the denomination of Tories, having been paid before*.

Mr. Harrison's private character is unsullied; his address easy, and his manners pleasing; his legal knowledge incontrovertible; he reasons closely and well; his language is pure and correct, and his arguments methodically arranged, and well calculated to enforce conviction; and as a man of business, he is equalled by few in this country.

1. See "A Citizen," *Daily Advertiser*, 10 March (above).

2. According to Robert R. Livingston, tenants on the manors balked at enlisting because their leases extended only for their lifetimes, and thus their families would be destitute if they were killed. "To deprive them of all excuse," Livingston reported that "my father has declared to them that a new lease shall be given to the family of every man who is killed in the service and Mr. Livingston [Robert Livingston, Jr., the third lord of the Manor] has come to the same resolution" (to John Jay, 17 July 1775, Richard B. Morris, ed., *John Jay: The Making of a Revolutionary, Unpublished Papers, 1745-1780* [New York, 1975], 159).

3. After the British captured Forts Montgomery and Clinton in the Highlands of the Hudson in October 1777, they marched northward burning Esopus and Kingston and

hundreds of houses, barns, and other buildings in their path. Livingston's mansion and out buildings at Clermont were destroyed. Livingston subsequently presented a grant of 5,000 acres of land to the inhabitants of Kingston to aid in the rebuilding.

4. Morris served as a judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court for New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut from 1762 until 1775. He was a state senator, 1778–79, when he was appointed chief justice of the Supreme Court of New York, a position he held until 1790.

Minerva

New York Daily Advertiser, 22 March 1788¹

Mr. CHILDS, As the time approaches when we must decide on that critical subject, our virtuous Constitution, it is highly important and very interesting to every patriot and friend to his country. I beg and expect that those who have distinguished themselves by their patriotism and conduct, will have preference given with respect to a seat in Convention: I therefore take the liberty as a freeman to offer my sentiments on the subject.

Alex. Hamilton,
R. R. Livingston,
James Duane,
J. Stoutenburgh,²
Richard Morris,

Rich. Harrison,
J. Lawrence,
J. Lamb,
Melancton Smith.

1. For a similar item, see "A Freeman," *New York Journal*, 22 March (immediately below).

2. Probably a typographical error substituting "J" for "I" in Isaac Stoutenburgh.

A Freeman

New York Journal, 22 March 1788¹

Mr. GREENLEAF, As the time approaches, when we must decide on that critical subject, our virtuous constitution, a time highly important, and interesting to every patriot and friend to his country, I beg, and expect, that those who have distinguished themselves, by their patriotism and valor, will have preference given, with respect to a seat in convention. I therefore take the liberty to offer the following characters.

May heaven be in the midst of them, and guide their council.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON,
R. R. LIVINGSTON,
JAMES DUANE,
ISAAC STOUTENBURGH,
RICHARD MORRIS,
RICHARD HARRISON,
JOHN LAWRENCE,
JOHN LAMB,
MELANCTON SMITH.

New-York, March 21, 1788.

1. For a similar item, see "Minerva," *Daily Advertiser*, 22 March (immediately above).

Election Circular, 2 April 1788¹

—ONCE MORE—FOR THE—
LIBERTIES OF THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA.

The present *Election* is important—it may give *Peace* or *War* to this state, and, perhaps, to the union.—The sons of liberty (who are again called upon to contend with *sheltered aliens* and *strangers*, who have, by the courtesy of our country, been accepted as citizens) do therefore invite all, who wish for the peace, liberty, and honor of the state, to vote for the following nomination, as members of the *legislature*, being men who have uniformly manifested their attachment to the *liberties* of America.

For *SENATORS*,

Ezra L'Hommedieu, Stephen Ward, David Gelston.

For *MEMBERS of ASSEMBLY*,

William Denning,	Thomas B. Stoughton,
Melancton Smith,	Marinus Willett,
Isaac Stoutenburgh,	Aaron Burr,
Henry Rutgers,	Nicholas Bayard.
Gabriel W. Ludlow,	

April 2, 1788.

1. Broadside (Evans 21350).

Appointment and Meeting of Election Inspectors, 3, 10 April 1788

New York Daily Advertiser, 3 April 1788¹

The following persons are appointed *Inspectors* in the respective Wards of this city, of the ensuing election for Senators, Members of Assembly, and Members of the Convention, viz.

South Ward.

William Cock,
Aert Huysman,
William Brown.

Dock Ward.

Gabriel W. Ludlow,
Lewis Ogden,
Abraham Brinckerhoff.

East Ward.

John Keese,
Ezekiel Robbins,
Elias Nixen.

West Ward.

Isaac Stoutenburgh,
Edward Griswold,
Henry Roome.

North Ward.

Jacobus Lefferts,
Wm. Wilcocks,
White Matlack.

Montgomery Ward.

Corn. J. Bogart,
Wm. De Peyster,
Peter Schermerhorn.

Out Ward.

Morgan Lewis,
Henry Rutgers,
John Franklin.

*New York Daily Advertiser, 10 April 1788*²

The INSPECTORS of the ensuing Election, for the City and County of New-York, are requested to meet at the House of John Simmon's, Inn-holder, in Wall-street, near the City-Hall, on TUESDAY EVENING next, at 7 o'clock.

April 9, 1788.

1. Reprinted: *New York Packet*, 4 April; *Independent Journal*, 5 April. An almost identical report was printed in the *New York Journal*, 3 April.

2. This item also appeared in the *New York Journal*, 10 April, and was reprinted in the *Independent Journal*, 12 April.

A Citizen

New York Journal, 5 April 1788¹

Mr. GREENLEAF, The following gentlemen are recommended to the citizens of New-York, for members of Convention and of Assembly, by A CITIZEN.

For ASSEMBLY.

Isaac Stoutenburgh,	White Matlack,
David Brooks,	Henry Rutgers,
Marinus Willett,	Morgan Lewis,
Melancton Smith,	William Malcom.
William Maxwell,	

For CONVENTION.

Governor Clinton,	Robert Troup,
John Jay,	John Laurence,
John Sloss Hobart,	Marinus Willett,
Isaac Stoutenburgh,	Morgan Lewis.
Gabriel W. Ludlow,	

For SENATORS.

David Gelston,
Ezra L'Hommedieu,
Stephen Ward.

1. The Boston *American Herald*, 14 April, reprinted the nomination list for only the Convention.

Customers

New York Journal, 5 April 1788

MR. GREENLEAF, Please to publish in your paper the following list of CANDIDATES for CONVENTION, and members of ASSEMBLY, and oblige a number of your CUSTOMERS.

Assemblymen.	Convention.
Gulian Verplank,	John Jay,
Alexander McComb,	Robert R. Livingston,

David Brooks,
Wm. Maxwell,
Comfort Sands,
Samuel Kerr,
Isaac Stoutenburgh,
William Denning,
Marinus Willett.

James Duane,
John Sloss Hobart,
John Laurence,
Daniel McCormick,
Alexander Hamilton,
Morgan Lewis,
William Constable.

New York Journal, 5 April 1788¹

MR. GREENLEAF, The following List of Candidates is proposed to the Electors of this city for the Convention, viz.

John Jay,
Rob. R. Livingston,
Richard Morris,
John Sloss Hobart,
James Duane,

Alexander Hamilton,
Isaac Rosevelt,
Richard Harrison,
Nicholas Low.

And the following for Members of Assembly,
Nicholas Low, Nicholas Hoffman,
Gulian Verplanck, Isaac Gouverneur,
Comfort Sands, Alexander McComb,
Brock. Livingston, William Gilbert.
John Walls,

SENATORS.

Isaac Roosevelt, Paul Micheau,
Ezra L'Hommedieu.

*“Come Panegyric to our cits and swains,
Reveal our future bliss in flowing strains;
And tell each simple rough laborious fool,
The well Born and the rich alone shall rule.”*

1. The *New Hampshire Spy*, 6 May, perhaps reprinted this list as the Federal list it said was being “handed about the city of New-York” (Mfm:N.Y.)

The Federal Ticket

New York Independent Journal, 9 April 1788¹

The Federal Ticket.
To the Citizens of New-York,

A number of your fellow Citizens, deeply impressed with the importance of the Crisis, and convinced that it is your and their Interest to be represented at the present Juncture by Men unequivocally attached to the establishment of a firm national Government, beg leave

respectfully to recommend to your support and choice the following Persons, as

Delegates to the Convention,

JOHN JAY,
RICHARD MORRIS,
ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON,
JOHN SLOSS HOBART,
JAMES DUANE,
ALEXANDER HAMILTON,
RICHARD HARRISON,
ISAAC ROSEVELT,
NICHOLAS LOW.

As Members of the Senate,

ISAAC ROSEVELT,
EZRA L'HOMMEDIEU,
PAUL MICHEAU,

As Members of the Assembly,²

COMFORT SANDS,
WILLIAM GILBERT,
ALEXANDER MACOMB,
NICHOLAS HOFFMAN,
BROCKHOLST LIVINGSTON,
GULIAN VERPLANK,
NICHOLAS LOW,
RICHARD HARRISON,
JOHN WATTS, Jun.

In the nomination of Persons to be deputed to the Convention, no Difficulty occurred. We flatter ourselves the Characters proposed will unite the Suffrages of all those who sincerely have at Heart "That which appears to be the greatest Interest of every true American, the Consolidation of our Union, in which is involved our Prosperity, Felicity, Safety, perhaps our NATIONAL EXISTENCE."³—

In the determination on Members of the Senate and Assembly, some Embarrassments have been experienced. The Distance at which the Legislature are next to meet,⁴ calls for a Sacrifice on the part of those who may be Elected in this City and County, which few have it in their Power to make. To fix upon Persons qualified for the Station, and possessed of the Public Confidence, who were at the same Time in a Situation to be able to Serve, was a Task of some Difficulty. We shall be

happy to find that you agree with us in Opinion that the Persons now submitted to your Consideration are Worthy of your Confidence and Approbation. Those who have in View the same Object with ourselves, cannot but be Sensible of the great Importance of Unanimity on the present Occasion, and will consequently be on their Guard against the Artifices which already begin to be practised for the Purpose of deviding them.—In Supporting the present Nomination let

ONE AND ALL BE OUR MOTTO.

It is not only of Consequence that Men of proper Characters and Sentiments should be chosen, but that the Sense of the Citizens should also appear in the Choice.—This will give Weight to the exertions of your Representatives, and manifest to the World that no Considerations of State Influence and State Interest can induce the PATRIOTIC and INDEPENDENT ELECTORS of this City to betray the Cause of the Union.

By Order of the Meeting,

*Thomas Randall, Chairman.*⁵

New-York, April 7, 1788.

1. The *Daily Advertiser* also printed “The Federal Ticket” (with only minor variations in wording, spelling, punctuation, and capitalization) on 9 April, and reprinted it on 10, 11, 12, 15, 18, 22, 23, and 24 April. The ticket as printed in the *Advertiser* was internally dated “New-York, April 8, 1788.” The *New York Packet* reprinted the ticket on 25 April.

2. For a criticism of and an alternative to the Assembly list, see, *New York Journal*, 14 April (below).

3. The quotation is taken from the letter of the president of the Constitutional Convention George Washington to the president of Congress, 17 September 1787 (RCS:N.Y., 526).

4. The 1788–89 session of the New York legislature was slated to meet in Albany, which had only served as the capital in 1779–80 and 1780–81. During the war the legislature often met in Kingston, while it met in New York City from 1784 to 1787 and in Poughkeepsie in the spring of 1788.

5. Randall (c. 1723–1797) was a merchant and member of the New York City chamber of commerce and a director of the Bank of New York. He had formerly been a ship captain and privateer and had long been active in New York City affairs, serving on various patriot committees during the Revolutionary War, including the Third and Fourth Provincial congresses, 1776–77. Randall also sat in the Assembly, 1784–85.

Peter Elting to Peter Van Gaasbeek

New York, 11 April 1788 (excerpt)¹

... Our Election for Members of Convention now nearly ingroces all the Loose Chat, the List in favor of the Constitution has made its Appearance² As follows, John Jay, Judge Morris, Judge Hubard,³ Robt. R Livingston, James Duane, Andw. Hamilton, Isaac Rosevelt, N. Low, Richard Harrison, the Oposite party have not yet Introduced theirs, but will

Come out tomorrow, but am Afraid the Above List will be Carried, your papers will further inform you what is said on this Subject, I should be Glad to give you a much Longer History but am under the Necessity of going out in a few minutes if any new[s] turns up before Swart Goes Shall Let you know . . .

1. RC, Van Gaasbeek Papers, NKiSH.
2. For the “official” Federalist list, see the *Independent Journal*, 9 April (immediately above).
3. John Sloss Hobart.

Editors’ Note
New York City Scotsmen’s Address
New York, 12 April 1788

In response to the argument of Albany Antifederalists that New York City Scotsmen opposed the Constitution, an address dated 12 April was written denying the allegation, which was signed by fifty-five New York City Scotsmen. All but one of the signers were members of New York’s St. Andrew’s Society. The address (probably the manuscript version) was sent to Albany where on 21 April fifteen Albany Scotsmen subscribed their names to it. The address was printed as a broadside (presumably in Albany) with the fifty-five New York City signatures and the fifteen Albany names subscribed. (For the broadside, see Albany County Election, 21 April, above.)

In an undated circular, the Albany Anti-Federal Committee questioned the validity of all of the subscribers, stating that at least one of the fifteen merely subscribed as “*a compliment in answer to the address from New-York.*” The committee asserted that forty-one Albany Scotsmen “have declared in writing, that they are decided against adopting the New Constitution, unless the intended amendments are made a condition of adoption” (c. 28 April, Albany County Election, above).

A Citizen, and Friend of Good Order
New York Journal, 14 April 1788

Mr. GREENLEAF, I lately came across a hand-bill, bearing date New-York, June 15, 1776, a period big with the fate of American freedom—a period in which a British fleet and army was hourly expected in this then colony, for the purpose of enforcing upon us the tyrannical mandates of a *British* administration. On this hand-bill were enrolled the subsequent list as candidates for seats in the *provincial Congress*, who were authorised to form a new constitution of government.¹ Did they not, my countrymen, act the part of men who loved their country, and

who would sacrifice their *peace*—their LIVES to serve it.—I believe *not* that they have changed their ideas of the WORTH of FREEDOM and therefore beg leave to *nominate* them for seats in the ensuing STATE CONVENTION, for the city and county of New York, *viz.*

George Clinton,
John Jay,
Robert R. Livingston,
Isaac Roosevelt,
John Sloss Hobart,

Peter P. Vanzandt,
Jonathan Lawrence,
Isaac Stoutenburgh,
William Denning,

The following candidates are likewise proposed for the HOUSE of ASSEMBLY, *viz.*

Richard Harrison,
David Brooks,
Peter P. Vanzandt,
Nicholas Low,
Jonathan Lawrence,

William Malcom,
William Denning,
Melancton Smith,
Marinus Willet.

New-York, April 9.

The above nomination has been mislaid—or it would have appeared sooner.

1. Presumably the handbill referred to was for the election of delegates to the Fourth Provincial Congress, which met from 9 July 1776 to 13 May 1777. This congress, called for the specific purpose of writing a state constitution, re-named itself on 10 July the “Convention of Representatives of the State of New-York.” Among its other work, this body adopted a new state constitution on 20 April 1777. All of the men proposed for the state Convention had been members of the Convention of Representatives.

New York Journal, 14 April 1788¹

FREE ELECTORS, The southern district is out voted by the northern districts,² and we can only balance their superiority by the influence of character and talents. A man whose avarice is boundless, and who, like Midas, converts every thing he touches into gold, and who has been cursed and despised by an injured and insulted army, will not have the influence of character.³ There are men in the federal ticket who will make fortunes by speculating in your state debts, and will insult your credulous ears with the sound of your own chink speculators; and men, noted for their avarice, would disgrace the dignity of legislation, and make a mock of your confidence. The house of assembly, like the temple of Jerusalem, would become a market where they would buy and sell, and *tables of money-changers* would be established. That house which should contain the wisdom and virtue of the country, will become a DEN *of* PUBLIC T——S.⁴

It may be said, that I am antifederal, and of course a *knave*, a *fool*, and an *interested man*. I am so far antifederal, that I would rather be represented by antifederal disinterestedness than federal roguery and avarice. The adoption of the constitution is devoutly to be wished, and I am only sorry that there is not more monarchy and aristocracy in its form—Peculation might then receive its punishment, instead of rising to legislative honor. I submit the following nomination to the consideration of the people.

ALEXANDER Mc'COMB,
Col. BROOKS,
WILLIAM GILBERT,
B. LIVINGSTON,
JOHN BROOME,
JOHN BLAGG,
N. HAZARD,
WILLIAM MAXWELL,
DANIEL Mc'CORMICK.

April 12.

1. This piece criticizes the Assembly nominations listed in "The Federal Ticket," *Independent Journal*, 9 April (above).

2. The Southern District (Kings, New York, Queens, Richmond, Suffolk, and Westchester counties) was eligible to elect 28 assemblymen. The Middle, Eastern, and Western districts, in this essay referred to as the northern districts, could elect 37 assemblymen.

3. Comfort Sands. See "A Sincere Fœderalist," *New York Journal*, 1 May, note 1 (below).

4. Matthew 21:12–13: "And Jesus went into the temple of God, and cast out all them that sold and bought in the temple, and overthrew the tables of the moneychangers, and the seats of them that sold doves, And said unto them, It is written, My house shall be called the house of prayer; but ye have made it a den of thieves." See also Mark 11:15–17 and John 2:13–16.

Marcus

New York Journal, 18 April 1788¹

MR. GREENLEAF, By inserting the following you will much oblige
a SUBSCRIBER.

My fellow Citizens,

Now is the important moment for exertion. Let not an opportunity so interesting as the present, be treated with neglect. Several respectable characters have been recommended to you as fit objects for the convention, soon to be convened;—which convention is to determine the important question, whether you shall remain freemen or not!—Whether you shall enjoy the happy effects of independence, or sink into the very same ditch of misery, which the hand of British cruelty endeavoured to plunge you, and which you so nobly and justly de-

fended. Let, my brethren, the idea of liberty inspire your souls and burn with ardor in your breasts. If the measures proposed in the general constitution in question, be any ways injurious to our happiness, let us embrace this moment to call forth our best friends, and those only who wish prosperity and happiness to our country: Let us, I beseech you, choose such as members for the convention.

1. For another "address" by "Marcus," see "Marcus," *New York Journal*, 22 April (below).

New York Journal, 19 April 1788¹

To the independent ELECTORS of the city, and county of New-York.

A number of your fellow citizens impressed with as deep a sense of the importance of the present crisis as those who have published a ticket for your approbation, signed by Mr. Thomas Randal as CHAIRMAN,² beg leave to propose the following gentlemen for your support and choice at the ensuing election.

As DELEGATES for the Convention.

George Clinton,	John Lawrence,
Isaac Rosevelt,	Marinus Willett,
Richard Morris,	William Denning, and
John Jay,	Nicholas Bayard.
Alexander Hamilton,	

As members of the SENATE.

Ezra L'Hommedieu,	Stephen Ward.
David Gelson, and	

As members of the ASSEMBLY.

Jonathan Lawrence,	Daniel McCormick,
William W. Gilbert,	Melancton Smith,
Marinus Willett,	William Denning, and
Morgan Lewis,	Anthony Post.
Julian Verplank,	

1. The *New York Journal* reprinted this item on 24, 25, 26 April, and 1 May. The 1 May printing included only the nominations for the Convention.

2. See "The Federal Ticket," *Independent Journal*, 9 April (above).

Marcus

New York Journal, 22 April 1788

To the PUBLIC.

Fellow Citizens, Many avocations prevented my furnishing you with so lengthy an address in my last as I really wished.¹ As the calls of business

are not so pressing at present, I shall, with permission, lay before you the following address:—

When the good of our country requires, we ought openly to step forth and bravely support its dignity.—Now is the time of its danger—let us now, then, my friends, encrease our vigilance in the cause of ourselves and posterity—Let us consider deliberately, and coolly, the consequence of adopting the constitution recommended to us. The probable consequences of its adoption has been, with candor and propriety, laid before you, by authors of superior abilities.

To adopt it may be to subvert the present enjoyment of liberty, and perhaps will be the means, if effected, of destroying that basis on which our children have hopes of building their future happiness.—I hope you will study characters, and choose wisely, on the approaching important day; and here I take the liberty of recommending the following persons as candidates for the convention, *viz.*

GOVERNOR CLINTON,
JOHN JAY,
MARINUS WILLETT,
JOHN SLOSS HOBART,
ISAAC STOUGHTENBURG,
G. W. LUDLOW,
ROBERT TROUP,
J. LAWRENCE,
MORGAN LEWIS.

I do not wish, my friends, to recommend to you any characters, especially for so important a trust, of whom the smallest doubt exists, either of their integrity or patriotism.

Doubtless, many will treat with contempt the liberty I have taken to call your attention to these respectable citizens; citizens which I am well convinced, have the welfare and happiness of their country nearest their hearts—Why are these characters treated with neglect?—merely from the idea, that as other states in the union have adopted the constitution, we ought to appoint such, who we think will also be agreeable thereto!—This is simple, and such men we ought to avoid, as their principles may be tainted with the poison of lurking fiends, who aim at the destruction of that peace and felicity which we at present enjoy; and who would glory in the entire abolition of all freedom!—Their dialect discovers the vile intention of aggrandizing themselves at the expence of the happiness of the community at large!

Without reflecting on any particular class of men, I earnestly intreat you, as you regard the welfare of your state, and the happiness of your

offspring—to make a strict enquiry before you proceed any farther—for now is the important moment, and every thing that is sacred, compels me to rouse you to an immediate consideration of your *present* situation, contrasted with that in which the adoption of the proposed general constitution will involve you.

Thus much, in your own dialect, without using any unfamiliar language; but before I leave you, I do, once more, with fervency, recommend the persons above mentioned for your choice: if you think them qualified for so important a trust (on whose decision depends your political happiness) you will appoint them; if not, you will reject them.

1. See "Marcus," *New York Journal*, 18 April (above).

Carpenters' Meetings, 22 and 26 April 1788

*Meeting, 22 April 1788*¹

At a Meeting of the Master Carpenters of the city of New-York, held at the house of William Ketchum,² on Tuesday the 22d inst.

ANTHONY POST, Chairman:

It was agreed unanimously to vote for the following gentlemen to serve in Convention, Senate, and Assembly.

CONVENTION.

JOHN JAY,
ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON,
RICHARD MORRIS,
JOHN SLOSS HOBART,
JAMES DUANE,
ALEXANDER HAMILTON,
ISAAC ROSEVELT,
RICHARD HARRISON,
NICHOLAS LOW.

SENATE.

ISAAC ROSEVELT,
EZRA L'HOMMEDIEU,
STEPHEN WARD.

ASSEMBLY.

RICHARD HARRISON,
NICHOLAS LOW,
PETER ELTING,
ALEXANDER MACOMB,
ANTHONY POST,

BROCKHOLST LIVINGSTON,
 NICHOLAS HOFFMAN,
 WILLIAM W. GILBERT,
 JOHN WATTS, jun.

A Friend to the Union

New York Daily Advertiser, 26 April 1788

Mr. CHILDS, I observe by your paper of the 24th inst. that a nomination of Members for the Convention and Legislature, has been lately agreed upon, at a meeting of the Master Carpenters of this city. It is evident from the general complexion of the list, that those respectable citizens had in view a Federal Representation; and it is apprehended that they must have been misinformed with regard to the sentiments of Judge Ward, whom they have nominated as a Senator. That gentleman, it is well known, in his own county, is a declared opposer of the plan of the Convention. The citizens being thus apprized of the fact, will of course, be governed in their votes accordingly.

Mr. Paul Mischeau, on the other hand, is a decided Federalist; and as Richmond has no Member in the Senate, which every other County in the Southern district has, this affords a further reason for supporting that gentleman. It will be an evidence of the equitable disposition of the citizens of New-York, in the distribution of places of trust, within the district of which they form a part.

*Meeting, 26 April 1788*³

At a meeting of the Master Carpenters, on the 26th of April; finding a sufficient cause to disapprove of the political principles of Mr. Stephen Ward; judge it prudent, to nominate Paul Mischeau, as a Senator, in his place, as Mr. Mischeau is decidedly in favor of the Federal Government.⁴

ANTHONY POST, Chairman.

N. B. All Federal Mechanics of this city are requested to meet at the house of Mr. Vandewater's,⁵ THIS EVENING, precisely at half past 6 o'clock, on business of importance.

1. Printed and reprinted in the *Daily Advertiser*, 24, 25, 26, and 28 April. It was also reprinted in the *Independent Journal*, 26 April, and the *Pennsylvania Journal*, 3 May (Convention nominees only). The *New Hampshire Spy*, 6 May, perhaps reprinted this list as the Federal list it said was being "handed about the city of New-York" (Mfm:N.Y.).

2. William Ketchum owned a tavern at 3 Fletcher Street.

3. Printed in the *Daily Advertiser*, 28 April.

4. Ward (of Westchester County) served in the First and Second Provincial congresses, 1775–76, the Assembly, 1778–79, and the state Senate for the Southern District, 1780–87. He was first judge of the Westchester County Court of Common Pleas, 1784–91. Paul

Micheau (of Richmond County) served in the First and Third Provincial congresses, 1775, 1776, and in the state Senate for the Southern District, 1789–92. He was Richmond County clerk, 1761–84, and first judge of the Court of Common Pleas, 1786–97.

5. William Vandewater's tavern, at 8 Nassau Street, which had been a popular meeting place for the Sons of Liberty prior to the Revolution.

Meeting of New York City Germans, 26 April 1788¹

At a very numerous meeting of Germans, inhabitants of the city of New-York, held at Capt. Leonard's,² on Saturday, the 26th of April:

HENRY WILL,³ in the Chair.

It was resolved unanimously, to vote for the following gentlemen, to represent this city and county, in the ensuing Convention.

JOHN JAY,
ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON,
JAMES DUANE,
RICHARD MORRIS,
JOHN SLOSS HOBART,
ALEXANDER HAMILTON,
RICHARD HARRISON,
ISAAC ROSEVELT,
NICHOLAS LOW.

1. Printed in the *Daily Advertiser*, 28 April.

2. Probably William Leonard, a tavernkeeper, who lived at 80 Bowery Lane.

3. Will, a pewterer, was a founding member and the first treasurer of the German Society in 1784.

New York Daily Advertiser, 26 April 1788¹

The Antifederal Party in this city, despairing of success by open and fair exertions, at the ensuing Election, are industriously employed in procuring the suffrages of some of the citizens, by insidious personal applications. They pretend that they will not oppose the Federal Ticket, in order to lull into security the friends of order and good government. They hope by such unmanly conduct, to foist into the Convention, as the representation of New-York, the following list, or at least the *pendulum* of Antifederalism, the great Goliath of their party, his Ex—y G—r C—n.²

April 26.

GOVERNOR CLINTON,
GENERAL LAMB,
GENERAL MALCOM,
JOHN RAY,
M. WILLET,

P. T. CURTENIUS,
 COLONEL STOUTENBURG,
 JOHN KEESE,
 M. SMITH.

1. The *New Hampshire Spy*, 6 May, reprinted this list and referred to it as the “*Antifederal*” list that was “handed about the city of New-York.”
2. His Excellency Governor Clinton.

Honestus

New York Journal, 26 April 1788¹

MR. GREENLEAF, I was led to the following reflections, by accidentally falling in company, some evenings since, with a number of characters (chiefly mechanics) at an alehouse, who were making absurd comments on the constitution proposed by the general convention; which convention was composed of the greatest and most enlightened characters in this country. It must be considered, that government is a very abstruse science, and political disquisition a very arduous task, far beyond the reach of common capacities; and that no men, but those who have had a liberal education, and have time to study, can possibly be competent to such an important matter, as the framing a government for such an extensive country, as is comprehended within the United States. Whenever men of neither abilities or education, presume to meddle, with such matters as are above the reach of their knowledge or abilities, they will find themselves out of their proper sphere.

The blacksmith will find that he had better attend to his hammer and anvil, and hammer out hob-nails, for country hoof, than concern himself with affairs of state, should he be weak enough to suppose that he has abilities equal to such an undertaking; he will find, that there is a material difference, between welding together two pieces of steel or iron, and that of uniting heterogeneous and jarring interests, so as to make them productive of the public good.

The mariner may very well understand, how to take an observation, and navigate his ship; but he cannot possibly be acquainted with every point of the political compass, or so to steer the ship of state, as to avoid the hidden and dangerous rocks, and shelves, that may lay in the way—and whenever he makes the attempt, he will undoubtedly find himself out of his latitude.

The distiller, brewer and baker, may be perfectly well acquainted with the principles of fermentation, and how to regulate and check the same, so as to answer their particular purposes; but they must be entirely ignorant of the laws and means that will be necessary to prevent

a dangerous fermentation in the community, or what steps it may be necessary to take, to check such fermentation, when excited.

The farmer may have a sufficiency of knowledge to guide and govern the plough, and team; and understand the best method to thrash his grain—but he must be incompetent to the great purpose of guiding the machinery of the state, or to suggest the best and most effectual method, to thrash the enemies of his country.

The carpenter may be a perfect master of his trade, and understand the rules of architecture; he may frame an edifice, complete in all its parts, and sufficiently strong to secure the proprietor from the attempts of the midnight robber; but he will be totally ignorant, how to frame laws for the security of society, so as to prevent the artful and designing from preying upon the ignorant and innocent.

The miller may be a complete artist in his profession, and know how to regulate every thing appertaining to his mill; he may understand extremely well, how to separate the flour from the bran; but he cannot possibly be master of the address, that will be necessary, to distinguish the wheat from the chaff; in the choice of officers, to fill the different departments in the state.

The clock and watch-maker may know very well how to regulate the wheels, and other movements of a clock or watch; but he will be ignorant of the necessary art, how to regulate the complex machinery of government, so as to dispose the different wheels, as will prevent their interfering with, and bearing too hard on each other.

The mason may be an excellent workman, and understand how to lay the foundation of an house or a wall properly—but he will be at a loss how to determine what base will be necessary on which such a superstructure as government should be erected.

The sadler may be a proficient in his business, and may know what kind of curb is proper to restrain an unruly and restive horse—but he cannot possibly be a judge what laws or curbs will be proper and necessary to restrain the unruly passions of men, so as to prevent their injuring one another.

The turner may be a very expert artizan, but he cannot possibly be acquainted with all the turns and windings, that are used by bad men to evade the laws, and escape the punishment which they justly deserve.

The cooper may know extremely well, how to stop the flaws and worm holes in a cask, and make it so tight as to hold water, rum, or any other liquor; but he will be much puzzled to stop the flaws, and worm-holes in a law; so as to prevent its operating, either to the injury of individuals, or the government.

The barber may know very well how to make a wig, to suit either the priest, phisician or gentleman of the long-robe, or how to shave his customer with dexterity,—but whenever he attempts to meddle with affairs of state, he will find that his razors have lost their edge, and that he is himself compleatly in the suds.

If this production should operate in such a manner, as to prevent people's neglecting their business and meddling with public matters, beyond their capacities, it will be a sufficient compensation to the writer, who has no other object in view, than that of confining every man within his proper sphere.

1. On 26 April, Thomas Greenleaf inserted the following statement in his *New York Journal*: "Lest some illiberal Individual should superciliously, through his Ignorance of the important Subject of the FREEDOM OF THE PRESS, have the least Item, by which he might presume to stigmatise the Printer with the hateful Epithet of PARTIALITY, he has omitted several Pieces, Paragraphs, and Advertisements for the Purpose of giving Place to the *Performance* under the Signature of HONESTUS!!" "Honestus" was "*Re-inserted by particular desire*" in the *New York Journal* on 28 April. It was reprinted in the *Massachusetts Centinel*, 14 May. For a response to "Honestus," see "One and All," 29 April (below).

Samuel Blachley Webb to Joseph Barrell
New York, 27 April 1788 (excerpts)¹

. . . Our Election for the State Convention begins on Tuesday, and probably will continue untill Saturday, we have a Fœdral & an Anti Fœdral Ticket exhibited—but there is not a doubt we [will] carry the Fœdral ticket in this City four to one, and I am happy to add that in the other Countys we have flattering prospects; some are unanimous against us, but we think we have a good chance of geting at least an equal number of Fœderalists for the Convention; and of these we shall boast all the good Sense and shineing Abilities, the Anti's cannot boast of a single great Character on their side, which will probably be a member,—in short equal bets are now taken that this State [will] adopt the New Constitution, I am not however very Sanguine, that it will be done by the first Convention—amazeing exertions are made both for & against it, I enclose you our Fœdral ticket, the Characters I think must please you,—the Govr. is at the head of the other,—I likewise send you a small Pamphlet written by John Jay about ten days since and which has had a most astonishing influence in converting Antifeodralists, to a knowledge and belief that the New Constitution was their only political Salvation.² . . .

Fœdral List of the City of New York for the Convention of June 17th. 1788—

John Jay—Secretary of foreign Affairs
 Richd. Morris, Chief Justice of the State
 John Sloss Hobart—second Judge
 Robert R. Livingston, Chancellor of the State
 James Duane, Mayor of the City

Alexander Hamilton }
 Richd. Harrison } eminent Attorney's.

Isaac Roosevelt }
 Nicholas Low } respectable Merchants.

1. RC, Webb Papers, CtY. Printed: Ford, *Webb*, III, 98–100.

2. Jay's pamphlet, "A Citizen of New-York," was published on 15 April (RCS:N.Y., 922–42).

Samuel Blachley Webb to Catherine Hogeboom
New York, 27 April 1788 (excerpts)¹

Yours (No 12) of the 23d Instant came to hand last evening, it was particularly pleaseing, as it announced your being in health, I was apprehensive your cold, might have been more troublesome, my mentioning the receipt of a letter No. 12 was a mistake oweing to the great hurry I was in when I last wrote you. The Pamphlet² was under cover to your Brother, and in the Pamphlet my letter to you, which makes it the more misterious,—It is well that the same curiosity did not opperate so far as to examine the letter, and a proof that the Mail is not altogether so sacred as it should be, and I confess the Idea lays me under a disagreeable restraint when writeing you, for I should not like to have my letters examined by any, but yourself. . . .

This week we expect much noise and bustle thro: the City, what with *Electioneering*, and *May-Day moveing*, we shall be in complete confusion,—no more Mobing I hope, for in the last your Huml. servt was so beat and bruised that he was confined to his room for four days,³—The Governor & his party will probably meet with a great moritification, the great body of Cityzens are much displeased with his political sentiments and Conduct. . . .

. . . I will try one more Pamphlet for the Doctr. to whom present,
 Cordially your friend

1. RC, Webb Papers, CtY.

2. For John Jay's pamphlet, printed on 15 April, see Webb to Barrell, 27 April, note 2 (immediately above).

3. See "The Doctors' Riot," 13–15 April (RCS:N.Y., 914–16).

Mechanics and Tradesmen Meeting**New York, 28 April 1788¹**

At a meeting of a large number of respectable Mechanics and Tradesmen, assembled last evening at Vandewater's Tavern,

Mr. DUNSCOMB in the chair:

It was determined to support the following Gentlemen, as Delegates for the City and County of New-York, to the ensuing State Convention:

JOHN JAY,
RICHARD MORRIS,
ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON,
JOHN S. HOBART,
JAMES DUANE,
ALEXANDER HAMILTON,
RICHARD HARRISON,
ISAAC ROSEVELT,
NICHOLAS LOW.

1. Printed in the *Daily Advertiser*, 29 April, and reprinted in the *Independent Journal*, 30 April; *Pennsylvania Packet*, 2 May; *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 3 May; and *Baltimore Maryland Gazette*, 9 May.

New York Daily Advertiser, 28 April 1788¹

Important Election Intelligence.

Notice is hereby given, to all free and independent electors, that unless their votes, for State Convention and Assembly are WRITTEN, they will BY LAW, be deemed of no effect. PRINTED LISTS, will be considered as blank paper.

1. Reprinted: *New York Packet*, 29 April.

Many Federalists**New York, 28 April 1788¹**

TO THE INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF THE CITY OF NEW-YORK.

There was a time when a majority of the citizens of New-York were so opposed to lawyers as members of the legislature, that a *single* gentleman of that profession, though confessedly a man of abilities, *and in other respects*, of unimpeachable character, could not obtain a majority of suffrages, principally owing to the circumstance of his being of that profession.

But the times are changed, and we are changed with them. We now find a list of candidates proposed for convention, SEVEN of whom are either lawyers or law characters, and no less than THREE are named as members of the legislature.²

No prejudice ought to be entertained against the profession of the law, confined to its proper sphere; but there are cogent reasons to be offered against admitting too large a number in the legislature. Every man will be inclined to promote his own trade. The more dubious and obscure the laws are, the more will the business of the profession be increased. It will therefore be for the interest of the lawyers to frame the laws in such a manner as to be equivocal and hard to be understood.

There are also good reasons against electing *many* lawyers in the convention.—We are for adopting the constitution; but still we wish that they, who compose the convention, may propose amendments, after the manner of Massachusetts.³—In this opinion, so far as we are able to collect it, are a large majority of our fellow citizens. If the new constitution needs amendment, it wants in no part more than in that which relates to the judicial department—the courts of law, as they are to be formed under the constitution, will prove oppressive and expensive, and will introduce very great confusion by their interference with the state judiciaries; and it is wished that the convention may recommend alterations in this and some other articles after its adoption. But the lawyers will be under a strong bias to oppose the necessary amendments to this part of the plan. The increase of lawsuits, and of the expences of carrying them on, though it will be oppressive to the people in general, will be to the advantage of the profession of the law—It will therefore be more for the public good, to chuse a less number of lawyers—give them a full share in the representation, and elect two. There are other gentlemen who are not lawyers—characters firmly attached to the adoption of the system in the form in which it has been adopted by Massachusetts.

JOHN JAY,
ALEXANDER HAMILTON,
ISAAC ROSEVELT,
ALEXANDER McCOMB,
R. C. LIVINGSTON,⁴

GULIAN VERPLANCK,
DANIEL PHENIX,
WILLIAM NEILSON,
WILLIAM MAXWELL.

NEW YORK, April 28, 1788

1. Broadside (Evans 21501). For a response to “Many Federalists,” see “One and All,” 29 April (immediately below).

2. For the “The Federal Ticket,” see *Independent Journal*, 9 April (above). The seven lawyers on that list were James Duane, Alexander Hamilton, Richard Harison, John Sloss Hobart, John Jay, Robert R. Livingston, and Richard Morris. (The remaining two candidates, Nicholas Low and Isaac Roosevelt, were merchants.) “The Federal Ticket” also nominated lawyers Ezra L’Hommedieu and Paul Micheau for the state Senate and Brockholst Livingston, Richard Harison, and John Watts for the Assembly.

3. See “New York and the Massachusetts Convention’s Amendments to the Constitution,” 6 February (RCS:N.Y., 751–54).

4. Robert Cambridge Livingston, a cousin of Robert R. Livingston.

One and All**New York, 29 April 1788¹**

To the Citizens of New-York.

Keep a good *Look-Out*, my Fellow-Citizens! The enemies of federalism know they can do nothing in this City by *fair play*. They are, therefore, trying to divide you, that they may, if possible, *smuggle in* a few of their friends, and they stick at nothing to effect this. Witness the publication in Greenleaf's paper, signed Honestus; who, under the mask of friendship to the proposed Constitution, insults the whole body of Mechanics, in order to raise their prejudices against it. Witness the hand-bill to-day, signed *Many Federalists*, endeavoring to raise a cry against the LAWYERS; and, on this pretence, leaving out the JUDGES. You can be at no loss to spy out the *cloven foot*. One circumstance will convince you. It is said amendments are wanting to the Constitution, and particularly to the *Judicial department*; and that the Lawyers, who are interested in multiplying the difficulties in law proceedings, will be unwilling to rectify what may be wrong in that department.—But let me ask them one plain question. Will the *Judges of the State Courts* be interested to lessen the importance of their *own Courts* in favor of the *Federal Courts*? IT is evident, that if the Federal Courts, as is *pretended*, would have too much power, the Judges of the State Courts are more likely than any other people in the State, from a *regard to their own importance*, to concur in measures for reducing the power of the national Judges. This proves, as clear as day, that *no Federalist* had any hand in the paper, signed MANY FEDERALISTS; and that it is a mere contrivance *to divide and rule*.

29th April, 1788.

1. Broadside (Evans 21500). "One and All" responds to "Honestus," *New York Journal*, 26 April, and "Many Federalists," 28 April (both above). The pseudonym "One and All," was probably taken from "The Federal Ticket," *Independent Journal*, 9 April (above), which declared: "In Supporting the present Nomination let ONE AND ALL BE OUR MOTTO."

A Freeholder**New York Daily Advertiser, 29 April 1788**

To the Freeholders and Freemen of the City and County of New-York.

Fellow Citizens and Freemen, We are now called upon to ascertain, by our conduct, whether we are inclined to act the part of good citizens, by supporting the reputation [of] our country, or whether we are disposed to verify the mortifying predictions of our enemies, who, from their pretended knowledge of the American character, long since asserted, that our natural fickleness and impatience of control would soon render us sick of our independence and tired of our freedom.

The great object now before us, and which has already engrossed much of the time and attention of our sister States, is *come home to our*

own doors; and the genius of liberty at this moment hovers over America with inexpressible solicitude, anxious to communicate her blessed influence, but diffident of her reception.

Pause a moment then, my dear countrymen, and view our situation. The question is nearly come to this—Shall we perpetuate the numberless advantages procured by our countrymen, after a long and severe struggle? Shall we unite with the members of the Union, as a band of indissoluble brothers? Or, shall we—forgetful of all the endearing ties of affection, kindred, and country, endanger the peace of America, and the happiness of generations yet unborn?

The question is certainly a very awful one. Need I demand an answer? No—methinks I hear it re-echoed from every quarter, let us *unite, to save our country!!* Let us exert ourselves to advance those men who view the consolidation of our Union, as the glory and happiness of America—Let us manifest our love to liberty, by spirited exertions to preserve it. The cause before us, is the cause of virtue and honor, let us never be ashamed to countenance it, nor afraid to support it.

It is the object and desire of all the real patriots of America, that the Federal Constitution be adopted without one dissenting State; should this happily take place, it will give immediate efficacy to the new Government at home, and respectability abroad. There is, however, no manner of question, but that nine, or more States, will adopt the New Constitution, without any condition of previous amendments.—They will trust, (and there is no danger that their honest confidence will be abused) to the virtue and patriotism of Congress, when organized, that if experience shall evince the necessity of amendments, they will then be admitted. Let us therefore chuse those to represent us in Convention, who are friends to a national government, men who have just ideas of the solid interests of this country, and particularly of this State, and more particularly still, of the Southern parts of it.

Let us earnestly endeavor to procure the adoption of the new Federal Constitution, with a *good grace*, that we may not risk any of the awkward peradventures, which might follow from the rejection of it. Let us, my friends, as the present occasion is no trivial, nor common one, turn out like freemen, and give our votes like independent men; the present crisis demands a decision, equal to its importance, and the man who at *such a time*, neglects or refuses to give his suffrage, is, in my opinion, unworthy of the privilege.

From a conscientious persuasion, that it will be good for our State, to come cheerfully into the proposed national government, I beg permission to recommend to your choice, at the polls, this day, the gentlemen who constitute the Federal Ticket.¹ They are good men, and we

have profited heretofore, as you all know, by the public services of many of them.

1. For "The Federal Ticket," see *Independent Journal*, 9 April (above).

Civis

New York Daily Advertiser, 29 April 1788

To the ELECTORS of the City and County of New-York.

Ye brave sons of freedom unite in one band,
Let merchants, mechanics now join hand in hand,
For our Government's weak and 'tis near dissolution,
And all for the want of a New Constitution.

As this is the day you're to chuse a Convention,
Nine Federal persons permit me to mention;
If those are the men you have fix't for your choice,
Let every Elector then give them his voice.

Mr. Jay, Col. Hamilton, Harrison, Low,
Are honest, good patriots all of us know;
Mr. Livingston, Rosevelt, his Worship the Mayor,
Will look to your interests with very great care.
Judge Morris and Hobart are true to the cause,
They'll preserve us from ruin by strength'ning our laws.

Then turn out and vote every Federal Mechanic,
The Anti's are now in a terrible panic;
Our Government firmly establish'd shall be,
While the citizens still will be happy and free.

April 29.

New York Journal, 29 April 1788

ELECTIONEERING.

☞ The ELECTION for DELEGATES to represent the people of this state in the CONVENTION, commences THIS DAY—a DAY important to every man, who, feels for HIS OWN GOOD—for the GOOD of his COUNTRY—for the CAUSE of HUMANITY.

One of Yourselves

New York Independent Journal, 30 April 1788¹

(Inserted by Desire.)

TO THE CITIZENS OF NEW-YORK.

On the important NOW, my Fellow Citizens, depends, in no small degree, the peace and safety of the Union, and essentially the welfare

and character of this State. The elections this day to begin in every part of it must decide—whether New-York shall manifest her wisdom by acceding to a Constitution calculated to secure and promote the prosperity of United America, or shall disgrace herself by following the counsels of men, who, under an affected zeal for liberty, mask real schemes of avarice and ambition; who, after having amassed *in public stations* more *wealth* than most of the community, are continually declaiming against the *wealthy*; who, while they monopolize to themselves by a regular system of intrigue and influence the principal honors and emoluments of the Government, are constantly clamoring against the *great*; and who endeavor to degrade you from your proper rank in the scale of Nations, and to *make you nothing*; in order that they may themselves be *every thing*, and may retain and increase their own power and consequence. At such a crisis, the Inhabitants of a City so deeply interested in the question as this is, and so favorably circumstanced for discerning their true interests, are called upon by motives of peculiar force to exert themselves in the choice of fit characters to represent them.—Though your general attachment to the proposed Federal Constitution is so well understood as to leave no doubt that men who are willing and able to support it, will be the objects of your preference; yet the work will be but half done if the event of the election should discover that the persons returned have the suffrages of only a small proportion of their Fellow Citizens. You can do more *for yourselves*, by an explicit and full manifestation of *your own sense*, than your Representatives can *do for you* by all the exertions of argument or eloquence.—If an inconsiderable number of votes should be given, the choice will be represented as that of a faction; and your Representatives will only carry with them their own personal weight: but if they are called to the important trust by your united voice, they will carry with them the *weight of their Constituents*.—Of the difference which this will make, you cannot be insensible. However their advice may be *slighted*, your sentiments must be *respected*. The decided opinion of the Metropolis of the State, of a part rated in all its contributions *at one-fourth of the whole*, and which is the great seat of the commerce, that supplies its *wants*, and furnishes its *revenues*, cannot fail to make a serious impression on all considerate men in every other part of it.

New-York, April 29, 1788.

1. “One of Yourselves” referred to himself as the author of this essay in the broadside printed immediately below (at note 3).

One of Yourselves

New York, 30 April 1788

This broadside (Evans 45376), also printed in the *Daily Advertiser*, 1 May, was probably enclosed in Samuel Blachley Webb’s letter to Joseph Barrell on 11

May (below). According to Webb, the broadside was “said to be written by Colo. Hamilton.” It responds to “A Plain Citizen” (not extant).

To the Citizens of New-York.

A person who addresses you under the signature of A PLAIN CITIZEN, is very angry at the Remarks made by me on the Leaders of the Party to which he belongs, which he affects to consider as indecent and untrue; and endeavours to retort by some quaint observations upon particular characters in the Federal List,¹ which I suppose he would have us to believe are both decent and true.—The effort now it seems is to turn the quarrel with the Constitution into a quarrel with the Lawyers; and to enlist your supposed prejudices against a particular profession in opposition to your judgments and interests in a great political question. In this, as in all their other attempts, your good sense will disappoint them. You know how to distinguish your *Magistrates* from the Practicers of the Law; and you know that men of abilities and integrity cannot be *worse qualified* for judging of the merits of a Constitution, because *Government and Laws* have been the study of their lives.—As to their observation that five of the Gentlemen proposed to you, *live, move and have their being* by the *salaries* they receive from the public, I shall only reply, that it conveys more than is true, as most of them have sufficient means of support which they owe to no public station, and that as far as it is true with respect to some of them, it affords you the strongest proof of their disinterestedness and patriotism. The salaries they have, are attached to offices which they hold under the government of the state;—and when State Officers are advocates for giving power to the Union, there is a strong presumption that they prefer the *public good* to their own *consequence*. As to the jargon about the elevation of the *few* on the ruins of the *many*, this is the cant of the party, to which no other answer can be given than to shew it applies to those who use it more than to those against whom it is used. This was one object of my Address yesterday:² but, as it is high time that the imposition they have been too long permitted to practice with impunity should be detected and exposed to your just indignation, I shall select, as a proof of what I have said, the Head of their Party—

To those who have opportunities of information it is well known, that Governor CLINTON is a man of *large* Property;—that he is among the *wealthiest* men of the State;—and that he has acquired almost the whole of his property in his present station. These are facts which cannot be disputed.

How far he may be actuated by motives of ambition or avarice, you, my Fellow Citizens, can determine as well as myself.—You know in what manner he supports your dignity and his own with the ample salary

and perquisites he receives from the State; and you can judge,—whether it is most probable his opposition to the consolidation of your national Union proceeds from a pure attachment to your interests, or from an undue attachment to his own power.

More solid conclusions may be drawn from circumstances of this kind, than from the occupation or profession of a man, whatever it may be. But even here the Governor stands upon the same footing with those to whom the objection is made: for, though it may seem strange to you after all the pother to which you have been witnesses, the Governor is himself a Lawyer. He was bred a Lawyer, and practised as a Lawyer till the revolution called him into a different situation.

I mention these matters to you, my Fellow Citizens, with reluctance; but I owe it to you and to justice. It is necessary you should know who are the men that are continually dinning in your ears the danger of being lorded over by the *wealthy* and the *great*. It is necessary you should understand that they are themselves among the *wealthy*, and the *first* among the *great*, as far as that epithet can apply to any man in a republican government. It is necessary, in short, that you should be undeceived.

I mean not to impute *wealth* to any man as a reproach; nor yet to insinuate that it is a crime to acquire it in public stations;—I only mean to reprobate the conduct of men who endeavour to excite your jealousies of others, for what they are themselves:—*hypocrisy* and *deceit* are always odious. Let not men pretend to be what they are not: nor attempt to raise a cry against others for what they are themselves.

Permit me again, my Fellow Citizens, to exhort you to give new proofs, THIS DAY, of the laudable zeal by which you are actuated. Let the example of Philadelphia admonish you. There is no spot in the United States more federal than that city; yet, from an idea that their exertions were not necessary, they suffered a choice to be made by a small number of votes—The men whom they wished were chosen; but it was represented through the State, to be the work of an inconsiderable faction; and a very mischievous handle has been made of the circumstance.³ Let us take away all pretext for such a representation in this State.

New-York, April 30, 1788.

N. B. Beware of Counterfeits! Yesterday a very curious artifice was detected—Tickets were dealt out as Federal Tickets with the Governor at the head, but so folded down as not to be perceived; and to appear to the persons to whom they were given, to be the same Ticket as that which was recommended to you by the Meeting, of which Alderman Randal was Chairman.⁴

1. For “The Federal Ticket,” see *Independent Journal*, 9 April (above).

2. See “One of Yourselves,” *Independent Journal*, 30 April (immediately above).

3. For criticism that the forty-six Federalist delegates to the Pennsylvania Convention had received only about ten percent of the votes of the eligible freeholders, see “The Dissent of the Minority of the Pennsylvania Convention,” 18 December 1787 (CC:353, p. 17). The Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer* and the Philadelphia *Freeman’s Journal* (both 5 December 1787) alleged that the Federalist delegates actually had received 1,000 fewer votes than had the Antifederalist delegates. (See RCS:Pa., 264–65.)

4. This final paragraph was reprinted in the Lansingburgh *Federal Herald*, 12 May. For “The Federal Ticket” recommended by the meeting chaired by Thomas Randall, see *Independent Journal*, 9 April (above).

Aaron Burr: Withdrawal of Candidacy **New York Journal, 30 April 1788**

☞ The *Electors* of this City are informed, that Mr. *BURR* declines serving in the Assembly or Convention, and that his Name has been given out without his Knowledge or Consent.¹

1. Aaron Burr’s name appeared in one nomination list: “A Free Citizen,” *New York Journal*, 28 February (above).

New York Journal, 30 April 1788

ELECTIONEERING.

A correspondent observes, that he was surprised to see the *zeal* of a certain class of citizens on the subject of the *ELECTION*; in consequence of which, says Jack Cartwheel to his brother craft, “Why, no–no–not take them, bro–bro–brother—they are as good as any—these great fo–fo–folkes are all ro–rogues, and wh–why not ta–take la—lawyers and bub—bub–bub–brokers? Damn ye—hear goes boy.”—He further adds, that it is probable the anti-republican ticket will go down, but that the appearance of so many opposers will doubtless blunt the edge of their exultations in some degree, and that it will more especially be blunted when the state of facts shall be brought to light.

The business of this day has been carried on with great expedition, insomuch, that it is expected to-morrow will *close the pole*. The public shall be presented with the true state of the pole as soon as possible.

A Citizen

New York Daily Advertiser, 1 May 1788

To the CITIZENS of NEW-YORK.

Some of the publications of yesterday evince to you the efforts of expiring faction.¹ The Antifederal party, like drowning men, are catching at straws; and have labored hard to make you believe, that the

Federal nomination is composed of men, who will betray your best interests. The greater part of them (say they) are Judges and Lawyers; and, strange to tell! to add to their incapacity or inability, they *live, move, and have their being among you*.—But be not deceived, my Fellow-Citizens; for, altho' the gentlemen who compose the Ticket I have just now mentioned, are chiefly Judges and Lawyers, and tho' it may be their misfortune to *live, move, and have their being amongst men*, who, by their conduct, are avowed enemies to a Federal Government; yet their characters, as *honest men*, is fully within your knowledge—as such, you will not hesitate to make choice of them.—Despise, then, the wretched artifices of a designing few, who, having long rioted in the luxury of State Offices, still wish to add farm to farm, and house to house; and are as unwilling to part with the *sweets of Office* as with their last breath.

April 30, 1788.

1. Perhaps a reference to “Many Federalists,” 28 April (above) and “A Plain Citizen,” 29 April (not extant).

A Sincere Fœderalist

New York Journal, 1 May 1788¹

MR. GREENLEAF, The federal ticket² for the assembly is poisoned by the name of a man, whose mind is as dirty with avarice, as Rolten Row used to be with excrement,³ or our late *surgeons-hall* was, with putrid entrails.—This man would a second time betray the *Messiah* for less than thirty pieces of silver.⁴—The devil once tempted Christ with a view of a pleasant tract of land, and he refused him the required homage.⁵ If Satan was to shew him a goodly *location* he would reverently bow his aukward head and kiss his black * *. He now enjoys the estate of an inoffensive tory, and these people he now courts with unblushing impudence and spaniel servility; he robs them of the substance, and now endeavors to amuse an H. & W. with the shadow of legislative honor. The Cincinnati and the soldiers will, it is hoped, remember the *rancid* pork, the *watered* whiskey, and the *stinted* ration.

1. This piece probably criticizes Comfort Sands, who had been heavily involved in supplying the army during the war. George Washington referred “to the *low dirty* tricks which were practised in the time of Comfort Sands whose want of liberality—I will go further, and say lack of common honesty—defeated his favourite scheme of making money which appears to be the only object he had in view” (to Robert Morris, 8 January 1783, E. James Ferguson et al., eds., *The Papers of Robert Morris, 1781–1784* [9 vols., Pittsburgh, 1973–1999], VII, 284). Sands also had purchased lands from a confiscated Loyalist estate. He served in the Second and Third Provincial congresses, 1775–76, and the Assembly, 1784–85, 1788–89. For an earlier criticism of Sands' nomination, see *New York Journal*, 14 April, at note 3 (above).

2. See "The Federal Ticket," *Independent Journal*, 9 April (above).
3. Rotten Row was a famous riding trail in Hyde Park, London.
4. Jesus was betrayed by Judas for thirty pieces of silver (Matthew 26:15).
5. Matthew 4:8–11 and Luke 4:5–8.

New York Journal, 1 May 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . The city intelligence can be summed up in a few words: all classes of people have been sedulously employed in the business of ELECTION; it is said, that a greater number of votes have already been presented at this election, than was ever known, at any one time, to be presented in this city, and the poll not yet closed. The city has been very quiet, and, to the no small exultation of the anti-republicans, they have a large majority of votes. Next Thursday's paper shall contain a circumstantial return of the members for convention, senate, and assembly.

1. Reprinted (without the final sentence): *Pennsylvania Packet*, 5 May, and *Winchester Virginia Gazette*, 14 May.

Thomas Tudor Tucker to St. George Tucker New York, 2 May 1788 (excerpt)¹

My ever dear Brother

. . . Except Rhode Island there is no State but this that seems at all doubtful of accepting the Constitution, & I even am inclined to think it will pass here, but not by any considerable Majority. The Federalists (as they style themselves) have been extreamly busy in endeavouring to swell their Number of Votes as much as possible in this City, not for the sake of carrying their Election (for of that they were perfectly secure by a vast Majority) but to make it appear, if possible, that a Majority of the Inhabitants of the State are federal. I believe that a great Number have been encouraged to vote who are either Citizens of other States or not Citizens at all. But this will make no Ados except in Appearances. . . .

1. RC, Tucker-Coleman Papers, Swem Library, College of William and Mary. Thomas Tudor Tucker (1745–1828), a physician and brother of St. George Tucker, represented South Carolina in Congress, 1787–88, and in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1789–93. St. George Tucker (1752–1827), a lawyer, represented Virginia in the Annapolis Convention in 1786. In January 1788 he was appointed a judge of the Virginia General Court, serving until 1803. In 1790 he replaced George Wythe as professor of law at the College of William and Mary.

New York Daily Advertiser, 2 May 1788

The Poll in the Out-ward was closed yesterday; we are informed that the number of votes given in are, for Senators 78, for Assembly 137, and for Convention 533.

The Electors of the North-ward are informed that the Poll will certainly close this day at two o'clock.¹

1. The *New York Journal*, 2 May, printed a similar notice (Mfm:N.Y).

Nathaniel Hazard to Mathew Carey
New York, 3 May 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . Since our Election on the 29th Instant [i.e., ultimo], for this City and County for State Convention, we find seven or eight, instead of three or four to One, in Favour of a good Government; and we have Hopes of a small Majority in the State. . . .

1. RC, Lea and Febiger Collection, PHi. This excerpt (with variations) was printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 9 May, as an "Extract of a letter from New-York, dated May 3," and subsequently reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Journal* and *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 10 May; *Carlisle Gazette* and *Winchester Virginia Gazette*, 21 May; and *Charleston Columbian Herald*, 2 June. The *Pennsylvania Packet*'s version reads: "Since an election on the 29th ult. for this city and county for the state convention, we find 7 or 8, instead of 3 or 4, to one, in favor of the new government." Hazard, a prominent New York City merchant, served as an agent for the sale of Carey's monthly magazine, the *Philadelphia American Museum*.

Rufus King to John Langdon
New York, 4 May 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . The Elections were made in this State during the last week, but the result is as yet unknown except in this City. Of three thousand votes given in this City, it is supposed that not more than two hundred were in favor of the Antifederal Ticket, which was headed by Governor Clinton—Mr. Jay, Mr. Duane, Chancellor Livingston, Col. Hamilton, Judge Morris, Judge Hobart, Mr. Harrison Mr. Rosevelt & Mr. Nicholas Low, who composed the federal Ticket had the other Votes and are elected—from the information which I have obtained concerning this State, I am rather inclined to think they will adopt the Constitution. . . .

1. RC, King Papers, NHi. Printed: CC:727.

Samuel Blachley Webb to Catherine Hogeboom
New York, 4 May 1788 (excerpts)¹

Yours of the 30th. of April (No. 13) is with me—it caused a smile when I read your congratulations on my recovery from my *Mob Bruises*,—and believe me my friend Catharine your advice to me respecting my conduct (tho: too late) in the Election was not a little pleaseing, it will always give me pain when I suppose you are in the least anxious for my safety,—but to know that you have my welfare at heart must excite emotions of Love and Gratitude.—

Tuesday Wednesday and Thursday² were days on which every one laid aside their usual business, and paid their whole attention to the important business before them, all was conducted with perfect order and regularity, it was not a *contested Election*, the friends to an Energetic Fœdral Government were so unanimous, that no danger was to be apprehended,—a small attempt was made by the Governors expiring party, on the first day, after which we heard no more of them, out of about 3,000 Votes, I much doubt if they have two Hundred, and from every information we have't a doubt, this State will do *as they ought*,—Heaven grant they may! it will undoubtedly be a means of preventing civil discord.—I must beg your pardon for dwelling on this subject, but your letter has led me to it. . . .

Notwithstanding the fate of the Pamphlet I believe the Mail to be tolerably secure, for on enquiry I have reason to think my packet directed to your Brother did not go in the letter Bag, but loose in the Portmanteau, it must therefore have been examined at some office between this and Claverack, and probably the politic's of the day raised the person's Curiosity, and not a wish to pry into private letters. . . .

1. RC, Webb Papers, CtY. See Webb's previous letter to Hogeboom dated 27 April (above) in which he alluded to the injuries he sustained in the Doctors' Riot and to the failure of the post office to deliver John Jay's pamphlet ("A Citizen of New-York") to Hogeboom's brother.

2. That is, 29, 30 April, and 1 May.

Poughkeepsie Country Journal, 6 May 1788¹

Extract of a letter from New-York, May 2.

"As to the election in this city for Delegates to the Convention, it is thought at a moderate computation, that the votes taken in were ten to one in favor of federalists. It was conducted in the greatest order."

1. Reprinted: *Connecticut Journal*, 14 May; *Vermont Gazette*, 19 May.

John P. Mumford to Brown & Benson New York, 7 May 1788¹

Your Letters for France will go by the French Packet No. 3—Capt Rolland in about three days—Our Election is past, but 'tis yet uncertain how the event will be, as the votes are not counted—In this City the Majority in favor of Federal men to the convention I believe is as much as ten to One & perhaps more—

'Tis supposed the division in the Country is rather greater against federal measures—In a short time however I hope to be able to inform you that this business wears a more favorable complexion—

[P.S.] I suppose you have heard ere this of the constitution being adopted in Maryland without amendment 63 for it & only 11 against it—

1. RC, Brown Papers, John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R.I. Mumford was the New York partner of the three-way mercantile firm of Murray, Mumford, and Bowen in association with John Murray of Alexandria, Va., and Obadiah Bowen of Providence, R.I. The firm dealt heavily in teas. Mumford ran a store in New York City. Brown & Benson was a prominent Providence mercantile firm.

Maryland Journal, 9 May 1788¹

*Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman at New-York, to his
Friend in this Town, dated April 30, 1788.*

“I have the Pleasure to inform you, that Yesterday Morning, at 10 o’Clock, the Poll for electing Delegates to our State Convention, was opened, and at 6 o’Clock in the Evening, there were near 1500 Votes for the Federal Ticket.—The Election will continue 5 Days, according to Law. I expect, this Day, at least 1500 more for the Federal Ticket.—The Candidates are,—Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, Robert R. Livingston, Richard Morris, John Sloss Hobart, James Duane, Richard Harrison, Isaac Rosevelt, and Nicholas Low, Esquires.

“In this City there will be a Majority of fifteen to one in favour of the Constitution;—and there will be a Majority throughout the State without doubt. Our Anti’s are now as quiet as Lambs.

“I expect, in a Day or Two, to have the Pleasure to advise you, that our Anti’s have turned all federal.”

“P. S. This Moment we have received Advice from Long-Island, that a whole County are turned federal.”²

1. Reprinted: *Virginia Centinel* and Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 21 May; North Carolina *Wilmington Centinel*, 11 June.

2. A reference to Kings County, which elected two Federalist Convention delegates. The other two Long Island counties—Queens and Suffolk—elected all Antifederalist candidates.

Massachusetts Centinel, 10 May 1788¹

Extract of a letter from New York, dated May 5.

“On Tuesday our elections came on, and the following gentlemen are chosen to represent this city in Convention, *viz.* The Hon. *John Jay*, Hon. *James Duane*, Hon. *Robert R. Livingston*, Hon. *Alexander Hamilton*, Hon. *Richard Morris*, Hon. *John Sloss Hobart*, Hon. *Richard Harrison*, Mr. *Isaac Rosevelt*, Mr. *Nicholas Low*. These gentlemen composed the federal ticket, and were carried by near 3000 votes. The antifederal ticket, at the head of which was Gov. *Clinton*, had not more than 200 votes. It is generally thought that in this city the federalists are thirty to one.”

1. Reprinted eleven times by 28 June: Mass. (5), R.I. (2), Pa. (1), S.C. (1), Ga. (2). This letter might have been written by Rufus King who, on 4 May, wrote an account of the elections with similar statistics to John Langdon (above).

Samuel Blachley Webb to Joseph Barrell
New York, 11 May 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . You have no Idea of Electioneering business[.] with you 'tis all fair & quiet, but with us 'tis all confusion—parties for different sides appear publicly—and sometimes blows ensue, but in our late Election for delegates for Convention we *Fædral folks* were so unanimous in this City that the Governors party of Antis' shew themselves only the first day—and were so very weak that we only heard from them afterwards by hand-Bills—a number of which from both parties were in circulation,—I enclose you one (said to be written by Colo. Hamilton) to shew you how plainly we speak of our Governor,² in the great contested Election before the Revolution, between the Livingston's & Delancy's—they could jointly muster, only abt. 2700 Votes, on the present occasion we have between 2900 & 3,000—out of which we calculate the Anti's may have short of 400.—& from all the information yet obtained we Judge about 37 Fædral Members of Convention, the whole number is 65—but no certainty, the Votes cannot be counted untill the last Tuesday of this Month,³—*we must accept the Constitution*, & I hope we shall do it with a good grace. . . .

1. RC, Webb Papers, CtY. Printed: Ford, *Webb*, III, 101–3.

2. Probably a reference to “One of Yourselves,” 30 April (above).

3. The election law of 13 February 1787 provided that ballots be sealed in boxes until the last Tuesday in May when they were to be counted. (See the Introduction to this part, above.)

New York Journal, 30 May 1788

The counting of the ELECTION VOTES, for this county, was completed at five o'clock yesterday. We hope, tomorrow, to give the public the several returns.¹

1. For the *New York Journal's* publication of the election returns, see *New York Packet*, 30 May, note 2 (below).

New York Daily Advertiser, 30 May 1788¹

The canvassing of the votes for Members of CONVENTION, for this City, closed yesterday.—It appears that the whole number of votes given in at the different polls, is 2836, and that the Representation stands as follows:—

JOHN JAY,	2735
RICHARD MORRIS,	2716
JOHN S. HOBART,	2713
ALEXANDER HAMILTON,	2713
ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON,	2712
ISAAC ROSEVELT,	2701
JAMES DUANE,	2680
RICHARD HARRISON,	2677
NICHOLAS LOW,	2651

The above Gentlemen composed the FEDERAL TICKET.
Of the opposite party,

His Excellency Governor Clinton had	134
Colonel Willett,	108
William Denning,	102

The remaining candidates held up, had not, we are informed, more than 30 votes each.

1. Reprinted (in whole or in part): *Impartial Gazetteer*, *Independent Journal*, and *New York Morning Post*, 31 May; *Country Journal*, 3 June; *Lansingburgh Federal Herald*, 9 June; and in twelve out-of-state newspapers by 12 June: N.H. (2), Mass. (4), Conn. (5), Pa. (1).

New York Packet, 30 May 1788¹

We have the pleasure of presenting to our readers the following statement of the polls for Members of Convention for this city, as they stood at the close of canvassing, yesterday afternoon, viz²

For		No. of votes.
	John Jay	2735
	Richard Morris	2716
	John Sloss Hobart	2713
	Alexander Hamilton	2713
	Robert R. Livingston	2712
	Isaac Roosevelt	2701
	James Duane	2680
	Richard Harison	2677
	Nicholas Low	2651

Whole number of votes, 2836.

The highest antifederal ticket was one twentieth of the Hon. James Duane's, viz. 134.³

At the late election for Members of Assembly for the City and County of New-York, it appears that 1650 votes were taken at the dif-

ferent Polls; and that the nine following Gentlemen, who are Fœderalists, are elected to represent this City and County for the ensuing year, viz. Richard Harrison, 1500; Alexander Macomb, 1485; William W. Gilbert, 1474; Nicholas Hoffman, 1473, Brockholst Livingston, 1461; John Watts, jun. 1446; Nicholas Low, 1438; Gulian Verplank, 1434; Comfort Sands, 1050.

It appears that Ezra L'Hommedieu, Isaac Roosevelt and Paul Michéau, Esquires, have been elected senators for the southern district by a great majority.

1. Reprinted (in whole or in part) in eleven out-of-state newspapers by 12 June: Mass. (2), R.I. (1), N.J. (1), Pa. (6), Md. (1). See also note 3 (below).

2. The *New York Journal*, 31 May, reprinted the same information with a slightly different opening paragraph and omitting the final statement. The *Journal's* opening paragraph read, "ELECTION—*City and county of New-York*. Upon the statement of the polls it is found, That the *Federal Ticket* was carried in the manner following." This item was reprinted in the *Boston American Herald*, 16 June, and the *North Carolina Wilmington Centinel*, 2 July (excerpt).

The *North Carolina Wilmington Centinel* had previously printed, on 18 June, the names of New York County's delegates along with the following commentary: "The above gentlemen are decided friends to the proposed constitution; it is nevertheless thought that there will be a small majority in the convention opposed to the constitution, unless a few amendments are made previous to its organization."

3. This line alone was reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Journal*, 4 June.

John Jay Seeks Congress' Approval to Attend the New York Convention 4–7 June 1788

*John Jay to President of Congress Cyrus Griffin
New York, 4 June 1788*¹

The City and County of New York have elected me one of their Deputies to the State Convention, which is to meet on the 17th. instant at Poughkeepsie to consider and decide on the proposed fœderal Constitution. If it be agreeable to Congress I will attend, if not I will decline the Appointment. Permit me therefore to request their Directions on the Subject.

Charles Thomson to John Jay

*New York, Office of the Secretary of Congress, 7 June 1788*²

Congress have considered your letter of the 4th. wherein you inform them that "the city and county of New York have elected you one of their deputies to the state convention, which is to meet on the 17th.

instant at Poughkeepsie to consider and decide on the proposed federal Constitution—that if it be agreeable to Congress you will attend, if not you will decline the appointment” and request their directions on the subject.

In answer to your letter I have it in charge to inform you that if you incline to attend the Convention, you have leave of absence for the purpose—

1. RC, Papers of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789, Record Group 360, Item 80, Letters from John Jay, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 1785–1788, Vol. III, 524, DNA. The letter is endorsed: “Letter June 4th. 1788—Secy. for for. Affairs—that he is elected Member of the state Convention—N York June 6th. 1788—Secy of Congress to take order—to inform Mr Jay he has leave of absence to attend the Convention—if he chuse.”

2. RC, Papers of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789, Record Group 360, Item 55, Papers of the Office of Congress, 1781–1789, p. 333, DNA. Thomson (1729–1824), a former teacher, distiller, manufacturer, and merchant, was a leader of the Philadelphia Sons of Liberty before the Revolution. He served as secretary of the Continental and Confederation congresses from 1774 to 1789. As secretary, he resided in New York City from 1784 to 1789.

Nathaniel Hazard to Theodore Sedgwick New York, 5 June 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . Our Anti's have dwelt with Satisfaction, on the small Majority of your Convention, in so great a State. From the Returns of our State Convention, Two thirds are undoubtedly Anti; but if Virginia adopts, which we do not doubt, It must go here, as Matter of Expedience. Never were so many Votes given in at any Election in this City and County, as for the State Convention; nor were the People ever so *unanimous* I may say, as on this Business; as the inclosed² will inform you. . . .

1. RC, Sedgwick Papers, MHi. For the complete letter, see Mfm:N.Y. A native of Connecticut, Sedgwick (1746–1813), a Stockbridge lawyer, served in the Massachusetts House of Representatives, 1780, 1782–84, 1787–89 (speaker, 1788–89) and Senate, 1784–86; represented Massachusetts in Congress, 1785–86, 1788; and voted in favor of ratification in the Massachusetts Convention in February 1788. He was a U.S. Representative, 1789–96, 1799–1801, and a U.S. Senator, 1796–99. For a similar letter that Hazard wrote to Mathew Carey on 5 June, see Mfm:N.Y.

2. Hazard cut out and enclosed a portion of the *Daily Advertiser*, 30 May (above), giving the results of the election in the City and County of New York.

“Q.”

New York Journal, 6 June 1788¹

MR. GREENLEAF, Do oblige your readers with an account of the anti-federal Ticket for the city and county of New-York.—Surely you cannot be *partial* to *counties*, as well as to *parties*. You will oblige a reader too

by informing the public, through the channel of your *Patriotic Register*, that the members of convention for Richmond county are *known* to be *federal*. Q.

Thursday Morning.

☞ The public will doubtless thank you, most *impartial*, and superlatively *sagacious* Mr. Q. for the above communication; and, as you appear to be divested of *partiality*, being, *at the same time an immutable* FEDERALIST, you shall be gratified to-morrow, by the insertion of the ANTI-FEDERAL TICKET, ALL IN CAPITALS.²

1. For a reply to this piece, see "R.," *New York Journal*, 7 June (Albany County Election, above).

2. For the vote totals for the Antifederal Ticket, see the *New York Journal*, 7 June (immediately below).

Vote Totals for the Antifederal Ticket New York Journal, 7 June 1788

☞ The following is the ANTI-FEDERAL, unsuccessful, TICKET of the *City and County of New-York*—Published this day by the request of our correspondent Q.—The FEDERAL, successful, TICKET, see Thursday's Journal.

His Exc. Gov. CLINTON,	134 votes.
MARRINUS WILLET,	108 do.
WILLIAM DENNING,	102 do.

We are told, that the remaining candidates had no more than 30 votes each.

ORANGE COUNTY

John Haring (A–N)
Henry Wisner, Sr. (A–N)

John Wood (A–N)
Jesse Woodhull (A–Y)

Abraham Yates, Jr., writing from the legislative session in Poughkeepsie reported that Antifederalists were working “With Spirit” and that Orange County would “be Carried entirely By the opposers of the Constitution” (Yates to Abraham G. Lansing, 28 February, General Election Commentaries, below). The results without vote totals were printed in the *New York Journal*, 2 June. An extract of a letter dated 9 June from Orange County to Francis Childs, printer of the *Daily Advertiser*, gave the number of votes for only the four victorious Antifederalist Convention candidates and for all eight Assembly candidates. Because Peter Taulman (an Antifederalist) and James Post (presumably a Federalist) each received 128 votes—tying for the fourth position—neither could be seated and Orange County did not fill its fourth seat in the Assembly.

New York Journal, 2 June 1788¹

We are informed, that Jesse Woodhull, John Haring, Henry Wisner, sen. and John Wood, Esquires, ANTI-FEDERAL, are elected MEMBERS of CONVENTION for *Orange-County*.

1. The results were also printed in the *Daily Advertiser*, 3 June; *New York Journal*, 5 June; *Lansingburgh Federal Herald*, 9 June; *Country Journal*, 10 June; and in five out-of-state newspapers by 2 July: Mass. (1), R.I. (1), Pa. (2), N.C. (1).

New York Daily Advertiser, 14 June 1788¹

*Extract of a letter from a Gentleman in Orange County
to the Printer, dated 9th June, 1788.*

“On seeing in your news-paper returns of Members for Convention and Assembly, I have sent you as under-mentioned the Members for Convention for this County, and as the votes stood for Members to serve in Assembly.”

CONVENTION.			
John Haring	331	Jesse Woodhull	340
Henry Wisner	332	John Wood	221
ASSEMBLY.			
Henry Wisner	240	James Post	128
Jeremiah Clark	188	David Pye	121
John Carpenter	171	John D. Coe	120
Peter Taulman	128	Seth Marvin	96

1. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Packet*, 18 June.

QUEENS COUNTY

Stephen Carman (A–Y) **Nathaniel Lawrence (A–Y)**
Samuel Jones (A–Y) **John Schenck (A–Y)**

Federalist Congressman Leonard Gansevoort, writing on 18 March from New York City to his brother Peter in Albany, reported that although Queens County was “somewhat divided . . . our Friends are very sanguine that they will carry their whole ticket of nomination” (RCS:N.Y., 864). On 6 April, however, the Antifederalist New York Federal Republican Committee reported an improvement in Antifederalist prospects as people paid more attention to the debate (RCS:N.Y., 895). On 4 May Federalist Morgan Lewis, Chancellor Robert R. Livingston’s brother-in-law, wrote his mother-in-law in Columbia County that Federalists felt confident they had done well in the lower counties. In “Queen’s County we are assured we have at least divided” (General Election Commentaries, below).

When the votes were counted, Antifederalists had won. On 7 June the *Daily Advertiser* printed a table showing the Queens County vote by towns. Federalist candidates had done very well in the small towns of Flushing, Jamaica, and Newtown, winning by margins of 8 to 1, 5 to 1, and almost 2 to 1, respectively. But the large towns of Oyster Bay, North Hempstead, and South Hempstead had given substantial majorities to the Antifederalist candidates. Antifederalists received vote totals of 518, 517, 484, and 476, compared to 416, 415, 411, and 401 votes for Federalists.

New York Journal, 31 May 1788¹

MEMBERS OF CONVENTION.

Queen’s County.

Samuel Jones,
 John Schenck,
 Nathaniel Lawrence,
 Stephen Carman.

1. The results were also printed in the *Daily Advertiser*, 2 June; *Country Journal*, 3 June; *Independent Journal*, 4 June; *New York Journal*, 5 June; and in seven out-of-state newspapers by 2 July: Mass. (1), R.I. (1), Pa. (4), N.C. (1).

New York Daily Advertiser, 7 June 1788¹

We have already published the return of the Members of Convention and Assembly for Queen’s County;²—the following statement of the votes, as given in, in the different townships, we however expect will prove agreeable to our readers.

CONVENTION.

	Jones	Schenk	Lawrence	Carman	Lewis	Onderdonck	Townsend	Ledyard
Oyster-Bay,	105	102	88	87	29	36	43	22
N. Hempstead,	108	113	108	106	70	68	65	68
S. Hempstead,	232	231	214	238	21	22	23	18
Jamaica,	23	23	23	22	107	106	108	108
Flushing,	13	13	13	13	110	101	99	104
Newtown,	36	36	38	10	79	78	77	81
	517	518	484	476	416	411	415	401

ASSEMBLY.

	Jones	Carman	Cornwell	Schenk	Lawrence	Lewis	Townsend
Oyster-Bay,	75	48	0	70	42	22	44
N. Hempstead,	84	82	47	98	80	49	50
S. Hempstead,	203	219	147	123	25	33	8
Jamaica,	14	13	69	14	27	76	75
Flushing,	9	9	56	10	65	72	57
Newtown,	23	6	52	23	82	60	57
	408	377	371	338	321	312	291

1. In a short paragraph, the *Albany Journal*, 16 June, gave the vote totals for each of the Convention candidates, identifying the winning candidates as “*Anti-Federal*” and the losing candidates as “*Federal*.”

2. The *Daily Advertiser* had printed the Queens County Convention results on 2 June.

RICHMOND COUNTY**Abraham Bancker (F–Y) Gozen Ryerss (F–Y)**

On 18 March Federalist Congressman Leonard Gansevoort reported to his brother Peter in Albany that Federalists were optimistic about the elections in Staten Island (Richmond County). Gansevoort predicted that Staten Island would “be unanimously federal” (RCS:N.Y., 864). Abraham Bancker, the former sheriff of Richmond County, was not as certain. Perhaps the county was as divided over the Constitution as were its two assemblymen—Antifederalist John C. Dongan and Federalist Peter Winant. Bancker sensed that party spirit was high. As a Federalist candidate for both the Convention and the Assembly, Bancker found it necessary to make “Appearance[s] among the People.” “The Spirit of Electioneering,” he wrote his uncle on 4 May, “has been at a very high pitch.” “Chicanery” and “Craftiness,” Bancker wrote, were used by some of the candidates, so much so that Bancker was uncertain of the results. From his early reading of the Constitution in September 1787, Bancker hoped that it would be adopted because it was patterned on the British and the New York constitutions which were “admirably constructed for supporting the Government, with becoming Dignity.” The Constitution he believed “vests the Authority with Powers adequate to govern with Energy, it at the same time is calculated to secure and preserve inviolate the Rights of the Citizens” (RCS:N.Y., 49–50). Bancker’s opinion must have been widespread in Richmond, because, according to his father, Bancker received the highest vote totals of all of the candidates (Adrian Bancker to Evert Bancker, 29 May).

Abraham Bancker to Evert Bancker
Staten Island, 3 April 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . Little News stirring; the most that calls the Attention of the Public is the ensuing Election. the Spirit of Electioneering has not risen to So high a Pitch for three Years past. Without making any Advances, I have reason to think that I shall be one of the Representatives in Assembly, and shall have some Votes for the Convention also. It is hard to predict, what will be the Event, as Party Seems much to prevail; but this I am convinced of that my Interest is equal to any of the Candidates and if I Should be made choice of, it will be by the free and unbiassed Suffrages of the people. In such Case I shall be free to serve them; if obtained other ways, I should not wish to officiate in that Capacity. . . .

1. RC, Bancker Family Correspondence, NHi. Endorsed: “received the 5th April.” Abraham Bancker was Evert Bancker’s nephew.

Abraham Bancker to Evert Bancker
Staten Island, 19 April 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . I also inclose a hand Bill, which I have drawn up and had published relative to the ensuing Election, a number of which are now

circulating throughout the County. I should be glad to know how you like it. . . .

1. RC, Bancker Family Correspondence, NHi. Endorsed: "Answered 22 April 1788." Bancker's handbill has not been located.

Abraham Bancker to Evert Bancker
Staten Island, 4 May 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . I have Scarce had any time to assist the Family this Week past, being under the Necessity of making my Appearance among the People, a Number of whom saw fit to Set me up as one of the Eight Candidates for the Assembly and one of four for the Convention. The Spirit of Electioneering has been at a very high pitch. It held two days in the South three in the West, and it was only last Night the Poll was closed in the Manor and North. Much Policy and Chicanery has been used by certain Characters, I am apprehensive that by low and subtile Craftiness, I shall fall short of the Convention, but even that is conjecture. If I am not very much mistaken, I shall go for one of the Representatives in Assembly, and if I do go, shall go with honor, having acted an upright Part, neither made Interest for myself, nor denied it to be made by others. If 150 Votes are sufficient there remains not a doubt of it. But this I find, I have great Interest here; and from the friendship and Love shewn me, I have reason to suppose, I shall be a standing Member for this County in future. Write me soon, if you please With our best Love to Uncle & Aunt I am Your Affect. Nephew
 [P.S.] Please to direct your Letters in future to the Care of Gozen Ryerss Esqr.—

1. RC, Bancker Family Correspondence, NHi. Endorsed: "reced. the 28 May."

Adrian Bancker to Evert Bancker
Staten Island, 29 May 1788 (excerpts)¹

Dear Brother

. . . But before he [Abraham Bancker] left me I Obtained the inclosed Copy of Returns from the Supervisors, Which I inclose for your & my Wifes Satisfaction, by which you'll find him Return'd by the Supervisors as A Representative of this County in the Convention and also in the Assembly—in both of which he has the honour of being the leading Member without Soliciting One Vote to the Great Disappointment of Some individuals. . . .

NB: some Evil Enemy I fear takes up Our letters & papers as they do not Arrive Safe I shall Speak to Van der Bilt & if Convenient shall be Glad you'll mention it to Charles McLean

1. RC, Bancker Family Correspondence, NHi. Endorsed: “reced the 30th” and “Adrian Bancker was here a few Days after the receipt of this.”

Editors’ Note
Newspapers Report the Results of the Richmond County Elections
30 May–7 June 1788

On 30 May the *Daily Advertiser* announced that “*Abraham Bancker* and *Gozen Ryerss*, Esqrs. are elected to represent the County of Richmond in Convention.” The results were also printed in the *Impartial Gazetteer*, *Independent Journal*, *New York Journal*, and *New York Morning Post*, 31 May; *Country Journal*, 3 June; *Pennsylvania Journal*, 4 June; and *Boston American Herald*, 16 June. On 5 June, the *New York Journal* again reprinted this information, this time describing the delegates as “sentiments unknown.” This *Journal* item was reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 10 June; *Providence United States Chronicle*, 12 June; and the North Carolina *Wilmington Centinel*, 2 July.

“Q.,” in the *New York Journal*, 6 June, asked printer Thomas Greenleaf to inform the public “that the members of convention for Richmond county are *known* to be *federal*” (New York County Election, above). “R.” responded in the *New York Journal*, 7 June, that “You may also assure the public (notwithstanding Mr. Q’s assertion) that only one of the members for convention from Richmond county is federal, and even that one declares himself open to conviction, which by the buy is not the character of a fed” (Albany County Election, above).

SUFFOLK COUNTY

Jonathan N. Havens (A–Y)

Henry Scudder (A–Y)

David Hedges (A–*)

John Smith (A–Y)

Thomas Tredwell (A–N)

Federalists and Antifederalists were both hopeful about the election in Suffolk County, Long Island's easternmost county. Federalist Congressman Leonard Gansevoort reported that Suffolk would "be unanimously federal" (to Peter Gansevoort, 18 March, RCS:N.Y., 864), but Antifederalist Melancton Smith wrote that "Appearances on Long Island are favorable to our Cause, and I have strong Hopes, if proper Exertions are made that all will go well" (to Cornelius C. Schoonmaker, 6 April, Ulster County Election, below). The Antifederalist New York Federal Republican Committee agreed that "Appearances . . . on Long Island, are more favorable to the cause of Liberty than they have been—By accounts from Queens & Suffolk it appears that the people begin to pay attention to the subject of the proposed Constitution and the opposition is formidable and increasing" (Circular Letter, 6 April, RCS:N.Y., 895).

By the first week of April Federalists circulated a slate of candidates in Suffolk proposing George Smith, Judge Selah Strong, Benjamin Hunting, Nathaniel Gardiner, and state senator and delegate to Congress Ezra L'Hommedieu. On 5 April Assemblyman Jonathan N. Havens wrote Assemblyman John Smith that they both were left off the list of candidates. Havens personally did not care "a fig" about being a candidate, but he was concerned about "the ridicule that may be thrown upon us both at home and abroad, for it will be said we were dropt on account of our being antis" (to Smith, 7 April).

When news of the Federalist slate reached New York City, former Suffolk resident David Gelston (now surrogate of New York County), wrote Smith on 9 April telling him that Suffolk Antifederalists had to exert themselves. "Don't be Idle," he admonished. The goading apparently worked. By 21 April Thomas Tredwell was traveling throughout the county with an Antifederalist slate.

In the month prior to the elections, Suffolk County was inundated with pamphlets written by "A Citizen of New-York" (John Jay) and "A Plebeian" (Melancton Smith?). The New York Federal Republican Committee transmitted 200 copies of "A Columbian Patriot" and 30 copies of an anthology that included nine "Centinel" essays and other Antifederalist writings. Both pamphlets had been printed by Thomas Greenleaf and distributed statewide by the New York City Antifederalists. John Smith asserted that had these pamphlets been circulated two or three weeks earlier, they would have convinced a majority "of the People of the impropriety of adopting the New Constitution previous to its being amended."

No vote totals are available for Suffolk County. The election was probably close because almost two weeks after the polls closed, Federalist Ezra L'Hommedieu notified a fellow delegate to Congress that the results of the election were still uncertain (to Leonard Gansevoort, 15 May, Mfm:N.Y.). On 27 May the county supervisors announced that the Antifederalist candidates had won the elections.

**Jonathan N. Havens to John Smith
Sag Harbor, 5 April 1788¹**

We are distanced all hollow about the *Convention* by the best information that I can collect I have been to Southold and had a List for *Delegates* to the *Convention* shewn me by Mr. [Ezra] L'*Hommedieu* said to have been made at Court I suppose under the direction and influence of [Abraham] Skinner and George Smith—You are left out for being anti so am I and what is most comical of all Gen. [William] *Floyd* is left out they say for the same reason—I think it highly probable that Mr. L'*Hommedieu* will move Southold in Gen. *Floyd's* favour, but I believe St. Patrick stands a poor chance—The Nomination as I understood it from Mr. L'*Hommedieu* was George Smith Judge [Selah] Strong, Benjamin Hunting, Nathaniel Gardiner and Mr. L'*Hommedieu* I have just now come from Easthampton and have stopt here to write You—I saw the *Deacon*² there, he seems to sing pretty small and seems to have no inclination to go, or be held up, but wishes that one or other of *us* might get in, and I believe will make some Exertions in our favour as far as consistent with his business—I have said nothing anti at Easthampton—N. Gardiner is *federal* and so is Abraham Miller Esqr. and Thomas Wickham Esqr. and I suppose there will be no great degree of animation among the common People in this nor any other part of the County—what do you think of the following Nomination in opposition to the other Gen. *Floyd* Mr. Le *Hommedieu* Selah Strong, John Smith and Jonathan N. Havens. do you think it will answer any purpose? pray communicate your Ideas to me on the Subject—I declare to You seriously I am not anxious on the Subject as to my own Person, my Sentiment is this that it is *one* thing to adopt a Government and *another* to support it—if my Country chuses to adopt the new Government I say they must *support* it afterwards—and every individual Citizen of the Community must take his chance with the Majority—In every Question of a public or political nature I always most sincerely mean and wish the *Public Good* and I hope great benefits will result from the adoption of the new Government to the United States—I have written to Samuel Jones Esqr. of New York giving him an account of the general Sentiment of the County and praying him to communicate the intelligence to the proper characters—I am likewise still further unlucky for I am left out of the Nomination for the *Assembly* to make room for Henry Scudder to the westward—the nomination stands thus Henry Scudder, Daniel Osborn Nathaniel Gardiner, David Hedges, John Smith—they likewise made a nomination at Court for *Senators* which were William Floyd David Gelston and Jeffery [Smith?] I saw friend[s] [of?] Jeffery at Easthampton

they said he was tickled with the Notion—Judge You what Nonsense this will be—I wonder how many Votes he will get elsewhere in the District—He seemed to be wonderful full of moderation—I am your sincere and fast Friend

1. RC, Papers of John Smith of Mastic, Long Island, NHi. The letter is signed “St. Patrick,” a code name used by Havens. The address page is marked: “Take care and not tear the writing in opening this Seal.” In this letter many contractions and abbreviated names have been spelled out with italic type. Havens (1757–1799), a Yale graduate (1777), served as town clerk of Shelter Island, N.Y., 1783–87, and as supervisor, 1787–92. He represented Suffolk County in the Assembly, 1786–95, and was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives, 1795–99.

2. “The Deacon” referred to David Hedges, a deacon in the Bridgehampton Presbyterian Church, who represented Suffolk in the Assembly, 1786–89, 1804, 1806–7.

**Jonathan N. Havens to John Smith
Sag Harbor, 7 April 1788¹**

I write this by way of Supplement to my other Letter herewith enclosed and I shall take it for granted that you read that before you attempt this²—I do not suppose that you are anxious about being held up as a Member for the *Convention*; I do not know but that you might seriously refuse it—for my own part I can truly say that I care not a fig about it—all that moves me on the occasion is the ridicule that may be thrown upon us both at home and abroad, for it will be said we were dropt on account of our being antis—that the Sons of St Patrick had dwindled into mere Cyphers &c Pray tell me how Caleb Cooper and Thomas Wickes came to be put in the St. Patricks List? are they Anti’s? have you seen Wickes and conversed with him on the Subject? perhaps he would promote my List mentioned in the other Letter—I think it will be imprudent for St. Patrick to attempt too much, if he can get in two of his Sons he will do very well—I shall write to the *Deacon*³ about the matter—I found it improper to converse much with *Nathaniel Gardiner* and *Benjamin Hunting* about the Subject because they thought themselves candidates—*Nathaniel Gardiner* told me I was left out because that conversing with him and *Abraham Miller* Esqr. when the Constitution first came out I found some fault with the Powers of Congress about Taxation was therefore thought to be antifederal—I asked him if the People would hold you up, he said, No, you was a strong antifederalist—I believe however that some People in Sagg⁴ and Southampton are doubtful, and that others would not be overfond of voting for *Benjamin Hunting*—I hope these Letters will come safe to hand and I doubt not you will take proper care of them—I am as before yours &c

N.B. I dare say you know my hand

1. RC, Papers of John Smith of Mastic, Long Island, NH. The letter was addressed to “John Smith Esqr./Mastick in/Brookhaven.” Havens again used the *pseudonym* “St. Patrick” and again marked the address page: “Take care and not tear the writing inside in opening this Seal.” In this letter many contractions and abbreviated names have been spelled out with italic type.

2. See Havens to Smith, 5 April (immediately above).

3. David Hedges. See Havens to Smith, 5 April, note 2 (immediately above).

4. Sag Harbor, N.Y.

David Gelston to John Smith New York, 9 April 1788¹

By some late Accounts from Suffolk—I am informed a nomination for Delegates has appeared with George Smith at the Head—*For Shame*—you must *Stir yourself*—meet your Friends some where—agree upon a good list—hold them up—persevere—even to the end—Characters you know—go through the County—don’t be Idle—I am in haste adieu—

1. RC, Papers of John Smith of Mastic, Long Island, NH. Gelston (1744–1828), a New York City merchant, represented Suffolk County in the Second, Third, and Fourth Provincial congresses, 1775–77, and in the Assembly, 1777–85 (speaker, 1784–85). In 1786 he moved to New York City, where he served as surrogate for New York County, 1787–1801. Gelston was a delegate to the Confederation Congress, 1789; a state senator, 1791–94, 1798–1802; a member of the Council of Appointment, 1793; and Collector of the Port of New York, 1801–20.

John Smith to David Gelston Mastic, c. 18–25 April 1788¹

Since I wrote you Last we have had an inundation of Pamphlets both for and against the Proposed Constitution[.] what effect they will have upon the People it is hard to say but I believe if those of the Latest kind you sent me² had been generally dispersed through the County two or three Weeks sooner they would have convincd the greater part of the People of the impropriety of adopting the New Constitution previous to its being amended[.] at Present many people are halting between two opinions[.] one pamphlet and one Man³ tells them if this Govert. does not take place we are ruined and if it does promises every thing that will be necessary to make us happy[.] he that has old [Hams?] will sell them for a Large sum when all the Ports in the west Indies are open to us[.] he who has fat oxen will get double for them[.] I suppose to be sent to the Foederal Town[.] the Chosen few to govern[.] Another pamphlet and another Man⁴ informs them of the dangerous consequences that may attend its being adopted[.] that it abounds with ambiguities[.] that it may be made to mean any thing and every [thing] that our soverign Lords the Congress please[.] that

it is not very unlike a thr[ea]d of raveled yarn which may be expanded or contracted at pleasure[.] Judge Tredwell⁵ on Monday last past by on his way to the eastward with an antie Foederal list and paints the dreadful consiquences that will follow this adoption of the Constitution in as high coulers as the Prophet Daniel did the distress of the Babilonians previous to their destruction[.]⁶ he was preceded by Docr. Howard⁷ with a Foederal list[.] some People who understand little of Politicks and understand nothing of this Business are frighted and suppose that Shayes and Day are coming to Massacre us all[.]⁸ Compliments as usual

1. FC, Papers of John Smith of Mastic, Long Island, NHi. The letter is undated. The references to pamphlets by John Jay and "Plebeian" indicate that the letter was written during the week immediately preceding the state election. See notes 3 and 4 (below) for these pamphlets.

2. A reference to the two pamphlets distributed throughout the state in early April by the New York Federal Republican Committee. The pamphlets were a reprinting of "A Columbian Patriot" and an anthology of Antifederalist essays that included nine "Centinel" essays. Suffolk County Antifederalist leaders were earmarked to receive 200 copies of the former and 30 copies of the latter, which were to be delivered by Gelston. (See RCS:N.Y., 894–98.)

3. "A Citizen of New-York" (John Jay), 15 April (RCS:N.Y., 922–42).

4. "A Plebeian" (Melancton Smith?), 17 April (RCS:N.Y., 942–63).

5. Thomas Tredwell (1743–1831), a lawyer, was the judge of the court of probates, 1778–87, and surrogate for Suffolk County, 1787–91. He served in the Provincial Convention, 1775; all four Provincial congresses, 1775–77; the Assembly, 1777–83; the state Senate, 1786–89; and the U.S. House of Representatives, 1791–95.

6. The prophet Daniel interprets a series of dreams for the Babylonian King Belshazzar, all pointing toward the downfall of Babylon. See Daniel 5:7–30.

7. For John Howard's Federalist views, see Howard to George Thatcher, 27 February (RCS:N.Y., 818–20).

8. A reference to Daniel Shays and Luke Day, leaders of Shays's Rebellion in Massachusetts.

New York Daily Advertiser, 25 April 1788¹

At a respectable meeting of the Anti's, at Smith Town in Suffolk County, on the 14th inst. a very venerable speaker addressed the Chairman, in the following clear and perspicuous manner. "Mr. Chairman—hem!—Mr. Chairman—hem!—Mr. Chairman—hem!—I profess I had an idea, but it is gone from me."

1. Reprinted: *New Hampshire Spy*, 10 May; *Massachusetts Centinel*, 14 May; *Newport Herald*, 22 May.

New York Daily Advertiser, 31 May 1788¹

The following Gentlemen are elected to represent the County of Suffolk in CONVENTION:

*Thomas Tredwell,
Jonathan N. Havens,
John Smith,*

*David Hedges,
and
Henry Scudder, Esqrs.*

*And John Smith,
Jonathan N. Havens,
David Hedges,*

*Nathaniel Gardiner,
and
Henry Scudder, Esqrs.*

are chosen Members of Assembly for the same County.

1. Also printed in the *Impartial Gazetteer*, 31 May. These results were also printed in the *New York Journal*, 2, 5 June; *Independent Journal*, 4 June; *Country Journal*, 10 June; and in seven out-of-state newspapers by 2 July: Mass. (1), R.I. (1), Pa. (4), N.C. (1). Starting with the *New York Journal*, 2 June, five of the reports indicated that the winners were Antifederalists.

ULSTER COUNTY

John Cantine (A–N)	James Clinton (A–N)
Ebenezer Clark (A–N)	Cornelius C. Schoonmaker (A–N)
George Clinton (A–*)	Dirck Wynkoop (A–N)

Antifederalists dominated Ulster County. Opposition to the Constitution was demonstrated on 7 February, when several hundred residents of Ulster and Orange counties met in the town of Montgomery to rally against ratification. According to some newspaper reports, a portion of those assembled burned a copy of the Constitution and effigies of a few of its local supporters. See “Reports of the Burning of the Constitution in Ulster County,” 23 February–12 April 1788 (RCS:N.Y., 802–8).

A core group led by men like Kingston merchant Peter Van Gaasbeek and Assemblyman Cornelius C. Schoonmaker of Shawangunk coordinated the election campaign. They hoped for county-wide unity among Antifederalists, in order to elect six opponents of the Constitution as Convention delegates as well as six Antifederalist assemblymen and one state senator from the Middle District.

Antifederalists began campaigning early, holding some town-level meetings before calling a general county meeting. On 14 February Kingston Antifederalists met and unanimously voted their disapproval of the Constitution. John Addison, a Kingston lawyer, Colonel Johannes Snyder, and Dirck Wynkoop, the first judge of the Ulster County Court of Common Pleas, were appointed a committee to represent Kingston at a county meeting to consider the Constitution and to nominate delegates to the state Convention. The committee wrote to the other towns to recommend a general county meeting to nominate delegates to the state Convention. Addison and Wynkoop were proposed as potential Convention delegates from Ulster County.

The county meeting took place on Thursday, 28 February, in New Paltz with ten precincts represented. Antifederalists selected a slate of candidates only for the Convention. Peter Van Gaasbeek traveled to Poughkeepsie, where the state legislature was still in session, and discussed the candidates with Ulster County legislators and with other friends, probably Melancton Smith, Samuel Jones, and Governor George Clinton. In these discussions, a new slate was approved that included the governor. Van Gaasbeek left Poughkeepsie and before returning to his home in Kingston he made several campaign stops obtaining endorsements of the new slate.

A second general meeting, held at Newburgh on 10 March, came up with a third ticket. According to Severyn T. Bruyn, this “very illegal” meeting of a mere eight or nine men nominated Governor Clinton, Ebenezer Clark, Johannes Bruyn, General John Cantine, Lucas Elmendorf, and Snyder. Van Gaasbeek suspected that the authors of this ticket, namely Addison and Snyder, were supporters of the Constitution and were trying to divide Antifederalists.

Later in March, while the state legislature was still in session, a caucus of Antifederalist members of the legislature and state officeholders, including Governor Clinton and Melancton Smith, met in Poughkeepsie. They established a committee of correspondence of which Snyder was a member and dropped Governor Clinton from the ticket that Van Gaasbeek had left with them earlier in the month. The caucus reasoned that the popular governor

could be elected from either Kings County or the City and County of New York, thus depriving Federalists of a delegate in one of those counties while still electing six Antifederalists from Ulster County. Subsequently, Van Gaasbeek, who was not part of this caucus, complained about Snyder's membership on the committee and worried that Clinton's removal from the ticket would create confusion in Ulster and might result in Clinton not being elected to the Convention. On 6 April Melancton Smith informed the Ulster County Antifederalists that Clinton should be put back on the Ulster ballot. Two days later the Poughkeepsie *Country Journal* published a plea from "A Dutchess County Anti-Federalist" that Ulster County Antifederalists unite behind the ticket proposed by the New Paltz meeting of 28 February. Work continued on fixing the Antifederalist legislative ticket, until a ticket developed by a meeting in Kingston was circulated in manuscript on 21 April. All six of the victorious Antifederalist Convention delegates were on this list, but only five of the six successful Antifederalist Assembly candidates were included. Even at this late date the Antifederalists in Ulster County apparently substituted Ebenezer Clark for David Galatian before their ticket became final.

John Addison was at the center of much of the electioneering in Ulster County. The correspondence among Antifederalists was filled with Peter Van Gaasbeek's efforts to discredit Addison as a Federalist and Addison's attempt to rebut the charge. In a newspaper exchange between Addison and Lucas Elmendorf, Addison defended himself against an attack by "An Ulster County Farmer." At issue was whether Elmendorf was the author of the attack or not. The controversy over Addison's stance on the Constitution, however, did little to interfere with an overwhelming Antifederalist victory in Ulster County.

Antifederalists easily won the election. The winning candidates received between 905 and 1,372 votes, while the losing Federalists received between 29 and 68 votes. A comparison of vote totals received by the same men elected to the Convention and to the Assembly reveals that waiving the normal property qualification broadened the electorate for the Convention by as much as fifty percent.

Kingston Antifederalist Meeting, 14 February 1788¹

At a meeting of a number of the freeholders and inhabitants of the town of Kingston, on Thursday the 14th of February, 1788, JOHN ADDISON, Esq.² in the chair, the question was put, after much debate, "whether they approved of the proposed constitution for the United States," when it was unanimously disapproved of.

Resolved, That Johannis Snyder,³ Dirck Wynkoop, and John Addison, Esquires, be a committee to meet in a general county committee of the different towns, and precincts, of the county of Ulster, to deliberate on the above constitution, and also to nominate and agree upon proper delegates for the ensuing STATE CONVENTION.

Resolved, That Dirck Wynkoop, and John Addison, Esquires, be held up, in county committee, as the choice of the people of the town of Kingston, for delegates in the said convention.

The above-mentioned committee, consisting of Johannis Snyder, Dirck Wynkoop, and John Addison, Esquires, thereupon sent a circular letter to the justices and supervisors of the counties, informing them of the aforesaid resolutions, and requesting, that their respective towns would choose committees, to meet a general county committee, on the 28th day of February, 1788, for the purpose mentioned in the resolutions of the town of Kingston; which letter was concluded with the following patriotic and spirited remark: “in a business of such importance to the liberty and property of a free and independent people, we trust that a spirit of alacrity, firmness, and unanimity, will mark the conduct and deliberations of the county of Ulster.”

1. This report of the Kingston meeting, printed in the *New York Journal*, 29 February, was prefaced: “MR. GREENLEAF, Please to insert the following in your useful Paper, and oblige, A SUBSCRIBER.” The full report was reprinted four times by 31 March: N.J. (1), Pa. (2), S.C. (1), while the first paragraph alone was reprinted three times by 31 March: Mass. (1), Pa. (1), S.C. (1).

2. Addison (d. 1800), a Kingston lawyer, represented Ulster County in the Assembly, 1792–93, 1796. He served in the state Senate for the Middle District from 1798 to 1800. He was also principal and first president of the board of trustees of the Kingston Academy.

3. Snyder (1720–1794) served in the Third Provincial Congress, 1776; on the state Council of Safety, 1777–78; and in the Assembly, 1777–79, 1786–87, 1791. During the Revolution he rose to the rank of colonel in the New York militia.

Editors' Note Ulster County Antifederalist Meeting at New Paltz 28 February 1788

On 14 February a meeting of the freeholders and inhabitants of Kingston called for “a general county committee” to meet in New Paltz on 28 February “to deliberate” on the Constitution and to nominate a county slate of candidates for the state Convention. Representatives from ten precincts attended the New Paltz meeting. The Kingston meeting of 14 February selected Johannis Snyder, Dirck Wynkoop, and John Addison to attend, while Shawangunk sent Severyn T. Bruyn, Daniel Graham, and James Graham. The New Paltz meeting selected a slate of six candidates for the Convention. No report (printed or manuscript) of the New Paltz meeting has been located. For references to the New Paltz meeting, see Peter Van Gaasbeek to Severyn T. Bruyn, 12 March; Severyn T. Bruyn to Peter Van Gaasbeek, 23 March; and “A Dutchess County Anti-Federalist,” *Country Journal*, 8 April (all below).

Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer, 4 March 1788 (excerpt)¹

Extract of a letter from Poughkeepsie, dated February 19, 1788.

“. . . In Ulster county they have held meetings to examine it, in which

there were but two or three in favor of it, and their effigies were burnt and the constitution trampled under foot.”²

1. Reprinted: *Maryland Journal*, 14 March; *Winchester Virginia Gazette*, 26 March. For the first sentence of this item, see Dutchess County Election (above).

2. For the burning of the Constitution in Ulster County, see RCS:N.Y., 802–8.

Editors' Note
Ulster County Meeting at Newburgh
10 March 1788

On 10 March a meeting of perhaps eight or nine men occurred in Newburgh characterized by Severyn T. Bruyn as “without any athourity, and in my opinion a Very illegal one.” According to Bruyn, the meeting assembled “out of meer Spite and opposition to the people of the different Precincts that met at the New-Paltz.” The meeting nominated Governor George Clinton, Ebenezer Clark, John Cantine, Johannes Bruyn, Lucas Elmendorf, Jr., and Johannis Snyder as Convention delegates. (See Bruyn to Peter Van Gaasbeek, 23 March, below.) The Newburgh slate was subsequently endorsed by a meeting of Hurley Federalists before 31 March. (See Peter Van Gaasbeek to Cornelius C. Schoonmaker, 31 March, below.)

Peter Van Gaasbeek to Severyn T. Bruyn
Kingston, 12 March 1788¹

last Week I was at Poughkeepsie where I spent some time with Our Friends that are disposed to assist in Preserving our Liberty and Property, and held a Private consultation with two Particular Friends of Yours—when we agreed for our mutual Interest to hold up for Candidates in Convention the Persons mention'd in the inclosed List²—from Poughkeepsie my Business Led me to the Lower End of the County—so far as Wards Bridge³ we Concerted measures Previous to my departure from them—which I did accomplish to satisfaction; I called at several places whence confidence from my own Knowledge and from their information could be Placed, and every one assured me to support the List—my only anxiety Remaining that my Business was so situated, as to call me home at an appointed time, and thereby, was to my sorry [i.e., sorrow] Prevented from calling on you; when I left Mr. Matthew Hanley at Wards Bridge I Possitively engaged him that I should Call on you and acquaint you with the Plan, it being my sincere wish and also enjoin'd on me by our Friends at Poughkeepsie—thus sir you have this information & I trust you will Pardon me for not calling when I assure you it was unavoidable

I am in my own mind [— —] convinced that we Can Carry the [— —] [— —] [if?] care is taken—in this Place their is some small opposition to the List by Addison & Snyder—with a few of their associates⁴—it is so mortifying to those Men who had Exerted their every nerve by Private Consultations and Meetings—that they—and they only should be held up for Kingston, for which they had in my candid Opinion Prepared the Minds of many People but now when the Bait is discover'd thro[w] of[f] the Yoke and declare not to be Led by the Nose—by Neither an Addison nor Snyder—

I sincerely wish that the Nomination herewith enclosed may meet your approbation & shall be Happy to Receive A Line from You—I would suggest that I think it of great importance that we Unite Heart and Hand for Members of Assembly also—as I am convinc'd we have Men here who wish to be in Power and will go to any Lengths to Carry the Point—and Men—whom several as well as myself would not Chuse to trust with A Dash of Property—nor Powers—as It may be Premature to fix on the Characters—and give them an advantage thereby—shall However be Happy of Your Opinion Respecting the Matter—I am with the Greatest Esteem Dr Sir—Your Obedt Servt

1. RC, Van Gaasbeek Papers, NKISH. Bruyn replied on 23 March (below). Bruyn (1749–1794), a Shawangunk surveyor and major in the militia, served in the Assembly, 1789–90, 1792–93.

2. While in Poughkeepsie, where the state legislature was still in session, Van Gaasbeek probably met with Melancton Smith and perhaps with Samuel Jones, who were coordinating the statewide Antifederalist campaign for the upcoming Convention election. The enclosed list has not been located.

3. Wardsbridge was a post town in Ulster County on the Walkkill, ten miles north of Goshen and thirty-six miles southwest of Kingston.

4. For Addison and Snyder's activities, see Kingston Antifederalist Meeting, 14 February (above).

**Peter Van Gaasbeek to Cornelius C. Schoonmaker
Claverack, 20 March 1788¹**

I have been informed this Day by good Authority that Mr. Addison of Esopus has given it as his private Opinion that it will be best to adopt the New Constitution and as he stands Recommended from Your County as A Candidate for Convention, therefore beware of the Disguise only look to the unhappy situation of Massachusetts occasioned by the like deception [He?] gave it [as] his opinion to A Mr. Abraham Van Vechten & his Brother Jacob Van Vechten—Gentlemen of Good Character &c.²

1. RC, Van Gaasbeek Papers, NKISH. Van Gaasbeek used a pseudonym, signing the letter, "Jno. J. Ao. Modes." He indicated that the letter was intended for "Shoonmaker Esq./Member of the Legislature from/the County Ulster/ ☞ Stage."

2. The information in this letter was shared by Peter Dumond in a letter to John B. Dumond, 26 April (below).

**Severyn T. Bruyn to Peter Van Gaasbeek
Bruynswyke, 23 March 1788¹**

I received your favors of the 12th. & 22nd Instant and I am happy to find So much of the Spirit of 1775 prevalent in you—The persons Nominated in your list of the 12th. Instant were my Choise when att the meeting in the New-Paltz²—how far it will be Consistant with the Charecter of a Commiteeman to make Intrest for men that had not a majority of Votes att the above meeting is diffecult for me to determin—I Shall forthwith proceed to Daniel Graham's Esqr. and Dr. James Graham's (who were my Colleagues att the above meeting) and advise on the matter—I Know the persons Nominated in your list to have the greatest Intrest in this Precinct, and with a little Exertion will be the persons who are to Determin on a matter of the Greatest Importance—I coincide in our uniteing with Heart and Hand with each other for chuseing Members of Assembly, as it is also a matter of importance, but think it rather premature—I Shall make it my bussiness to Consult our frinds at every oppertunity—

In respect to the meeting att Newburgh, it was on the 10 Instant, without any athourity, and in my opinion a Very illegal one, as all athourity of representation must origenate with the people—I was there the day after the meeting, and was informed by Mr. Anderson and others, that Cornelius T. Jansen[,] — Robertson Esqr. and Six or Seven more person[s] of inferior importance had met and held up persons to represent this County in Convention, to Deliberate on the New federal Constitution (to wit) Governor Clinton, Ebenezer Clark, Johannis Bruyn, General Cantine, Lucas Elmondorph, and Johannis Snyder Esqr. but as it was done out of meer Spite and opposition to the people of the different Precincts that met at the New-Paltz I am Certain the[y] will not Succeed—

I am with the Greatest Esteem yours to Serve &c. &c. &c.

P.S. I am Surprised at my Colonels [Johannis Snyder] importance in taking upon himself to represent a precinct in Such a mean an[d] dirty manor wich had alreedy been represented in a legal way by three persons (not much inferior I think to himself) whome he himself had the appointing of—he has incured the ilwill of all former frinds, and I Doubt whether his troubles will end here—

1. RC, Roosevelt Collection, NHyF. "Bruynswyke" was probably Bruyn's estate in Shawangunk. Bruyn responds to Van Gaasbeek's letters of 12 and 22 March (the former, above; the latter has not been located).

2. See "Ulster County Antifederalist Meeting at New Paltz," 28 February (above).

**Peter Van Gaasbeek to Cornelius C. Schoonmaker
Kingston, 31 March 1788¹**

I was greatly alarm'd this Morning in being enform'd, that A Committee of Correspondence was establish'd at Poughkeepsie—and that Colo. Snyder was A Member, that it was agreed if the Governor could come in for one of the Long Island County's—we should drop him here—I am sorry to differ in opinion with You—for if the Governor falls with us, I am fearful that the federal Interest will Prevail inasmuch as to divide our Representation and who knows Perhaps may Put in one or two Real federals—or such as ought not to be trusted as much—as an open and avowed fedaralist—the fedaralists of Hurley have had A Meeting in this Place (at which Meeting Colo. Snyder was Present—where they Confirm'd the Meeting held at De Groves of Newburgh—Colo. Snyder was one of the Persons in the Nomination—and they declare that is Colo. [Johannis] Hardenberg & Mr Simon Lefever who calld on him for a decisive answer) that he Colo. Snyder engaged to Support their List with his influence, since which as before our first very Meeting, Snyder & Addison, have frequent Private interviews—and much suspected with us that their original intention is to Shove Addison in with Snyder and drop some one of the others—now sir for A Moment behold what may be the Consequence if we Drop the Governor—for I can assure You that our People since my Return from Poughkeepsie—are Representing to them that it was firmly fixed that the Governor should go in for this County

They are so bent that I am well Convinced if we dont Continue him that many People will be Cool—and many will suspect A Design or Trick is intended—this you [Know?] is very easy to imprint on the Minds of the more Ignorant People—

Mr [Christopher] Tappen and some others with myself this Morning determin'd to suggest our apprehensions to You by Letter—and have desired me to Ride out to General Cantine—this Afternoon—

that its our Candid Opinion for the Good of the Cause to Support our first List, agreed on at Poughkeepsie—that if it can be consistent that You apprise Mr. Melancton Smith of New York or some other Good Character of our determination and Press them to drop the Governor in that Quarter—when all I am well convinc'd will work Right, if this cant be affected I am decidedly of opinion that we had notwithstanding best let Our List Rest as it is to Prevent farther Divisions—With the greatest Respect & Esteem—

1. RC, Van Gaasbeek Papers, NKiSH. In his response of 4 April (below), Schoonmaker states that he received Van Gaasbeek's letter on the evening of 31 March by Mr. Van Buren.

Controversy Over the Authorship of An Ulster County Farmer Poughkeepsie Country Journal, 1 April–6 May 1788

On 1 April the *Country Journal* printed a piece signed by “An Ulster County Farmer” that criticized John Addison, who had chaired the Kingston meeting of 14 February that had appointed him and two others to be delegates to a general county convention and had suggested that the county committee nominate him to be a candidate for the state Convention. (The *Country Journal* of 1 April is not extant.) Addison responded in a piece signed “An Ulster County Elector,” printed in the *Country Journal* on 22 April, accusing Kingston lawyer Lucas Elmendorf, Jr., of being the author of “An Ulster County Farmer” and of actively supporting his own candidacy for the state Convention. (Elmendorf had been nominated as a candidate for the Convention by the Newburgh meeting on 10 March.) In an address to the electors of Ulster County printed in the *Country Journal* on 29 April, Elmendorf denied the authorship of “An Ulster County Farmer” and threatened Addison with a duel if he persisted in his criticism. Elmendorf also accused Addison of being the author of “A Dutchess County Anti-Federalist” (*Country Journal*, 8 April, below). Addison himself addressed the electors of Ulster County in the *Country Journal* on 6 May, repeating his accusation that Elmendorf was the author of “An Ulster County Farmer.” Addison said that he had compared the handwriting of the manuscript of the essay with the manuscript of Elmendorf’s address to the electors of Ulster County printed on 29 April (both in the possession of the printer) and found them to be identical. The *Country Journal* of 6 May also contained an affidavit signed by Theodorus Bailey, Silas Marsh, and Anthony A. Hoffman asserting that the handwriting of the two manuscripts as well as in private letters written by Elmendorf were “one and the same.”

An Ulster County Elector

Poughkeepsie Country Journal, 22 April 1788

To the Electors of the County of Ulster.

“*This is the man, here Roman fix your mark,
His soul is black as his complexion’s dark.*”¹

Gentlemen, The author of a piece in Mr. Power’s paper of the first inst. under the signature of an Ulster county Farmer, has, by the most bitter invective (*or rather Billingsgate*)² endeavoured to inflame your minds against a gentleman nominated by the county committee for your choice as a delegate to the ensuing Convention. This Ulster county Farmer is guilty of the very facts he alledges against that gentleman. He is in his own nomination, if a similarity of hands [i.e., handwritings] can be supposed a proof.—I have seen the manuscript in custody of the Printer; it is the hand writing of a lawyer. What credit then can you give to the accusations? What confidence can you place

in the integrity of a man, who has the effrontery to recommend himself in a public news-paper; who is now running into the extreme of opposition against the federal Constitution, to atone for his former approbation of the system? I intend in a future paper to consider this Ulster county Farmer, and prove to the public, that his charges against that gentleman are false, his reasons of opposition contracted and illiberal, unmeritted and ungrateful.—In the mean time be on your guard on Tuesday next.³

*Lucas Elmendorf, Jr., to the Electors of Ulster County
Poughkeepsie Country Journal, 29 April 1788*

TO the ELECTORS OF ULSTER COUNTY.

Gentlemen, A piece written by John Addison, under the signature of the Ulster County Elector, is addressed to you in last weeks Poughkeepsie paper, in which he takes the liberty pointedly to declare that I am the author of a piece under the signature of the Ulster County Farmer, which cautions you against a character, who puffed up by the most arrogant assurance is striving to impose himself upon you by every sinister contrivance, as a member of the ensuing Convention, who grasps at every flattering appearance of importance, and who is so eager to become a Statesman, that the last year he voted himself for a Representative in Assembly, &c. If I recollect right, it contains nothing more pointed against Mr. Addison than any other individual; unless therefore he really is that character, and is convinced that you cannot mistake him; he never could with propriety publish that it is particularly levelled at him, that (to use his words) it is a most bitter invective (or rather Billingsgate) endeavouring to inflame your minds against him—no wonder then that you could not mistake him since he so directly points at himself,

This is the man, here Roman fix your mark,
His soul is black as his complexion's dark.

As many of the respectable characters among you know that I have been altogether opposed to the idea of being proposed as a Candidate for Convention or Assembly, and that I was not put to the necessity of holding up myself (with which he charges me) if I had any ambition to become a representative; to those I would think this address altogether unnecessary. But as there are others who I suppose to be unacquainted with my character, it is more particularly to them I take the liberty to assert that I am not the author of the Ulster County Farmer, nor have I given any authority to the Printer or any other person to publish that piece. Mr. Elector however declares to you that

I am the author, that he has seen the manuscript, and knows the hand writing. I have reason to think that what he publishes he would swear to, still what he publishes is an untruth, and what he would swear to would be a falsehood. Mr. Elector has provoked this answer from me to his publication; if he suspected me for the author, and wished to have had a true information, he might have been satisfied of this without any trouble. I shall never disown a publication of mine, nor will I deny a man satisfaction for my conduct when required: and I take this way to caution him in his future addresses to you, not to exceed the bounds of truth and decency. At the same time I take the liberty to inform you, that I do not intend to trouble you hereafter with addresses of this nature; that I despise the man who dares not to accost me in any other more direct manner.

I am far from wishing to establish myself in your opinion as a political character. Believe me that no objects however dazzling to the unbounded ambition of some, will ever tempt me to extend my views beyond the quiet, ease, and content of a private station.—And I am well persuaded it would have been much better for Mr. Elector to have circumscribed his views within the same limits; had he done this, he never would have been thought to be the author of the Dutchess County Anti-federalist,⁴ nor would he have been stung with a conviction that he is the character delineated by the Ulster County Farmer.

L. ELMENDORF Jun.

*John Addison: To the Electors of the County of Ulster
Poughkeepsie Country Journal, 6 May 1788*

To the ELECTORS of the COUNTY of ULSTER.

GENTLEMEN, In the Poughkeepsie Advertiser of the 22d ult. I pronounced, almost in direct terms, Lucas Elmendorf, jun. to be the author of the Ulster County Farmer, which appeared in Mr. Power's Paper of the 1st of April: From the exact similarity of the hand writing of the Farmer's manuscript in possession of the Printer, to the hand writing of Mr. Elmendorf, I was warranted then to declare and I now repeat my assertion; that if this similarity can be supposed a proof, Mr. Elmendorf must be presumed to be the author of the Ulster County Farmer: There are cases in which a similarity of writing is the highest proof that can be obtained; and this is one of them. The senses are the common inlets of information, and we have it not more in our power to disbelieve what our eyes see and our ears hear, than we are at liberty to doubt of our own existence.—As well therefore may Mr. Elmendorf attempt to convince me, and many of you gentlemen who are acquainted with his hand writing, that it is darkness

when the sun shines, as endeavour to make us believe that the manuscript of the Ulster County Farmer is not his hand writing.

In his address, in last week's paper to you, he asserts, "That he is not the author of the Ulster County Farmer, nor has he given any authority to the Printer or any other person to publish that piece." He does not add, that he has not been aiding in the composition, that he has not been privy to it, that he has not copied it. In all these particulars he is totally silent, and by unequivocal assertion, "that he is not the author," imagines that he has fully convinced the public of his innocence and integrity—but the veil is too thin not to be seen through.—There was no other alternative but an obstinate denial: the *cursed* blunder of the Farmer's own nomination, rendered this the lesser evil; a public confession would have been self-condemnation, and better trust to bold assertions and the partial opinions of friends, than openly to proclaim our own weakness, vanity and ambition. Mr. Elmendorf observes to you, "That if I suspected him for the author, & wished to have a true information, I might have been satisfied of this without any trouble, he would never disown his publication, nor deny a man satisfaction, &c." In the name of common sense, would not the information in private have been the same which he has already given to you in public. It was in fact so, before he asserted it in last week's paper; he called on me and declared he was not the author of the piece signed an Ulster County Farmer: And yet in both instances (if a similarity of writing is a true criterion) I must either believe he tells a falsehood, or refuse the evidence of my own senses.—Mr. Elmendorf "cautions me in my future addresses to you, not to exceed the bounds of truth and decency." The former I shall strictly adhere to; the limits of the latter, with regard to him, I shall contract or extend as his conduct deserves.—His threats and oblique challenges to me are wind. The worthy officers of the militia are brave and generous, but I believe in my soul, that the author of the Ulster County Farmer has not a single spark either of real fortitude or generosity in his composition. That piece was pointedly aimed at me, and I appeal to such of you gentlemen who are acquainted with me, whether it required a second thought after you had read it, to make the application—Yet you are told, that, "that piece contained nothing more pointed against Mr. Addison than any other individual, and that my publishing it was particularly levelled at me, proceeded from a conviction that I was the character described in it. This observation is as weak as it is unjust; it is the subterfuge of guilt and unworthy of notice." Hitherto I have endeavoured to fix, as near as the nature of the case will admit, the author of the Ulster County Farmer; I have

endeavoured to account for Mr. Elmendorf's assertions of denial: I have only to add, that the following affidavits of respectable gentlemen are the highest proof that in the present instance can be produced; and I am without a doubt they will be satisfactory with many of you—you gentlemen will now judge whether what I have formerly published under the signature of an Ulster County Elector, is false; or whether Mr. Elmendorf, from a variety of circumstances, and particularly of the manuscript's being in his own hand writing, is not the author of the Ulster County Farmer, and of course in his own nomination.

JOHN ADDISON.

Poughkeepsie Country Journal, 6 May 1788

Dutchess County, ss.

Theodorus Bailey, Silas Marsh, and Anthony A. Hoffman, being respectively sworn, depose and say, that they have examined the manuscripts in the hands of the Printer, addressed to the Electors of Ulster county, and lately published in the Poughkeepsie Advertiser, the one signed an Ulster County Farmer, and the other Lucas Elmendorf, jun. & have compared the said manuscripts respectively, together and also with private letters signed Lucas Elmendorf, jun. and from comparison, it appears to the said deponents, that the said manuscripts and letters are one and the same hand writing.

THEODORUS BAILEY,

SILAS MARSH,

ANTHONY A. HOFFMAN.

Sworn before me this 29th April, 1788,

PETER TAPPEN,
Assist. Justice.

1. Horace, *Satires*, Book I, Satire IV, verse 81.
2. Foul or abusive language, from the name of a London fish market.
3. That is, on 29 April, when the elections were to begin.
4. See "A Dutchess County Anti-Federalist," *Country Journal*, 8 April (below).

**Cornelius C. Schoonmaker to Peter Van Gaasbeek
Shawangunk, 4 April 1788¹**

Your favor of the 31st. Ult: came to hand the same Evening by Mr. Van Buren, and would have been Answered by him had I not been unavoidably prevented to Write the next Morning—I am Sorry to be informed that with Respect to the establishing of a Committee of Correspondence you differ in Sentiment with a very Respectable number

of the Members of the Legislature and some of the other Officers of Government of this State who attended the Meeting and were Unanimously of Opinion that the Establishing of such Committee would be of great Utility previous to the Election in Communicating to the People of this State such information as may be in our power Relative to the Combinations and Measures that are pursued to Cajole them out of some of their most inestimable Rights, especially when it is Evident that the Advocates for the new Constitution are using every Effort in their power to prevent all kind of information from going to the people, thereby to delude and Misdlead them—By every information we then had it appeared beyond a doubt that Coll. Snyder was decidedly against the New Constitution, and in order to Reconcile, and avoid any Reflections that might be made of parties, and to Satisfy and Unite the good people of Kingston, it was deemed most expedient to Appoint Coll. Snyder a member of the Committee, which [was done?] with the fullest confidence in his fidelity—If however [we?] should have been deceived in the Man, I suppose it will be proper, and doubt not but that we have it [in] our Power, to prevent any Confidential Communications being Sent to him—and Assure you that if we had been informed of the Nomination at the Meeting at Degroves at Newburgh and Coll. Snyders determination to support their list, he would not have been Appointed a Member. And I will if you suppose there is reason to mistrust him, take measures to Stop all correspondence with him After you was at Poughkeepsie I mentioned to the Governor that many of the principal people of Kingston were much against the Nomination of Mr. Addison by the Committee for a Delegate to the State Convention, and that he (*the Governor*) would be Elected in the Room of Mr. Addison—Whereupon the Governor gave me for Answer that, the Electing of him in the Room of Addison, would be departing from the Agreement made by the Committee, that he had understood that they had fixed in case he was to be Elected in Ulster his Brother James was to be left out, and if his Brother and he should be both Elected in Ulster and Addison left out, it might be supposed to have the appearance of partyship in them against him which he would Wish to avoid. Expressing his Wishes while fixed so, that the People would be satisfied with their list—not Doubting but that Addison, would prove true—this I would have communicated to you from Poughkeepsie, but as a Meeting of some of the Members from each County was proposed, I deferred it Untill the Result of the Meeting was known, of which I have since my return home informed Judge [Wynkoop?] & requested him to Consult our friends on the Subject—which is the Reason that I had not wrote to

You Since. At this Meeting it was by Some of the Members present Suggested to the Members of our County, that it would be best for Ulster not to fix on the Governor for a Delegate until they were informed, that it could not be fixed with certainty that the Governor should be Elected a Delegate for Kings County, Where, if the Governor is not Elected it is highly probable the whole Representation will be federal—Which County however, placing the highest confidence in the Governor is supposed will not hesitate, if proposed to them, to make him their choice for a Delegate, and with him Elect another Member whose Opposition to the new Constitution can by Relyed on—This proposition Melancton Smith Esquire, who was present at the Meeting, and going to New York immediately thereafter, engaged, with [Cornelius] Wykoff, to Communicate to some of the principal Characters in that County as soon as he came Home, and when fixed with certainty there, he has promised immediately thereupon to inform us thereof—This proposition was consented to on our part, because, if the Governor was Elected in Kings County, there was no doubt at all but that our County would notwithstanding Elect six Members who would be decidedly against the New Constitution, and in that case there would be two Members Gained to our Cause which you doubtless will admit to be a good [Result?] I Perfectly agree with you in Opinion that we ought to support the first list fixed at Poughkeepsie if there should be any danger of division taking place amongst us, or that by the Change we would have Reason to suspect that a Man would be Elected that was not decidedly against the New Constitution—But my dear friend let not our Zeal lead us [against a Man?] Ready and willing to support [the first list Agreed?] on by us, But if the Governor should be fixed to be Elected [in?] Kings County with certainty and you could think it safe and adviseable I would have no Objections to fix on any other Gentleman in Kingston you would approve of in the Room of Addison and give up the Governor, this I would consent to, only to Strengthen the General Cause, thereby to gain in Numbers in the Convention,—And if you do not think it advised let me know it and I shall do every thing in my power to Support the list—(I am afraid I shall wear out your patience to Read this.) I believe the Fedral Cause has in this County so few Supporters and most of them very Weak ones too, that there would be no danger in the Cause if we was even now to fix upon an entire new list, to carry it into Effect if we will only exert ourselves, why then should we be afraid for the change of one name only, however important to the List—and especially as I observed before while we would with our Exertions gain one or two to the Number in support of the Cause—

If we had not a sufficiency of good Men on which I am sure you'll agree with me we may Depend and who have as much Influence in our County as any of the Men on the federal List in whom they place the highest confidence—You'll pardon me for tresspassing on your patience so much with this long letter, when I Assure you that it is my Wish to give you all the information in my Power, (which from its nature has led Me to this length) trusting that it may serve to conciliate and promote our Cause—Must however yet Add, that I shall not write to New York to Stop the Election of the Governor in Kings, think it best that if He should be Elected there, And we deem it most Expedient to Elect him here, it will [– – –] promote the cause if he should be Elected even in both the Counties—With Respect to Senators and Assemblymen to Represent this County to be Chosen in the ensuing Election, it is Rather delicate to me, because it is probable I should be held up—if so, it is not my Wish,—and it would be hard that I should therefore not be at liberty to Nominate—My Sentiments I will give you freely, it is my Opinion that Genl. James Clinton Would be proper to Recommend for a Senator—if not approved of Judge Wynkoop I also think would be proper—I have Spent the Afternoon Yesterday with Sherrif [Egbert] DuMond and we have had a long conversation upon this Subject he will present you a list of Names for Candidates—it was my determination to Nominate you for one with Mr. [Christopher] Tappen in Kingston, but the Sherrif says that you positively declare that you will not Serve, and therefore have thought of Major Phillip Dubois Bevier. I intended to have proposed another in this End of the County in my Room but [– – –] would not answer—[Maj. Severyn T. Bruyn?] I expect will stand very well if he is only held up—and I believe that Mr. [Nathan] Smiths Interest will be equal to any in the County, but I could however wish if you approve of the Nomination in Communicating it to the precincts you would not let my name be mentioned as haveing aided in the makeing of the Nomination—I shall now leave and am with Sentiments of Respect and Esteem

NB. I have yet forgot to mention that if you should think proper to make any Alteration to the list to let [me] know it and where I have not been explicit Mention it and I shall endeavor to satisfy you—

1. RC, Roosevelt Collection, NYHf.

**Melancton Smith to Cornelius C. Schoonmaker
New York, 6 April 1788¹**

When I left you at Poughkeepsie I promised to advise you as soon after my Return as the Matter could be ascertained whether the Elec-

tion of a certain Friend of ours [Governor George Clinton] could be secured in an adjoining County [Kings County]—I continued in the Country more than a Week longer than I expected, and have made Inquiry instantly after my Return—The Result is, that it is my Opinion and that of our Friends, that it will not be prudent to hazard his Election for that County, and that therefore you had best by all means put him on your Nomination [for Ulster County]—We shall attempt to chuse him here [the City and County of New York], and are not without hopes that we may succeed—For we find our Strength here greater than we expected, and I have no Doubt but many of the opposite Party will vote for him notwithstanding he differs in Sentiment with them—But still we are clearly of Opinion that you ought to hold him up—For he had better be chosen in two Places, than not to be elected at all—Appearances on Long Island are favorable to our Cause, and I have strong hopes, if proper Exertions are made that all will go well, Rhode Island have rejected the System, by the Vote of the Towns, and Accounts from Virginia and North Carolina, represent that they are much opposed to it—

I am in Haste Your Friend

1. Copy, Lamb Papers, NH. The letter is signed “M. S.” and docketed “M. Smith.” Schoonmaker sent a copy of this letter to Peter Van Gaasbeek on 14 April. (See below.) Both Schoonmaker’s letter of 14 April and the enclosed copy of Smith’s letter of 6 April are in the Roosevelt Collection at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library, Hyde Park.

**Cornelius C. Schoonmaker to Peter Van Gaasbeek
Shawangunk, 6–7 April 1788¹**

Yours of the 4th. Instant came to hand this day, and am very Sorry you have not had my letter Sooner. Captn. Kain promised me to deliver you the letter last Night himself—it gives me much Satisfaction to be informed of your Approbation of the general Nomination—when I wrote you I did not intend to write to New York Respecting the Governor, but—Reflecting on your Reasoning on the Subject am convinced that it would be our Duty to inform Our friends in New York of our determination—have this Morning wrote and forwarded a letter to Samuel Jones,² and informed him that we will not *hazard*, the Election of the Governor in Kings County, for fear that the federal Machinations in the City of New York may probably disconcert our plans and the Election of the Governor be lost, and that we were determined that he shall be Voted in this County if he should Even be held up in Kings County—I have also farther informed Mr. Jones that the federalists in this County had a nomination for Delegates to

the Convention and that Coll. Snyder was one of them,³ and that his conduct was such that our friends here are doubtful of the propriety of any Confidential Communications being directed to him for fear that he might make improper use of the information, and therefore Requested Mr. Jones to inform the Committee in New York hereof, and that they do not direct any such Communications to Coll. Snyder—which I doubt not they will comply with

I was Yesterday in company with James Hunter at the Church and he informs me that in Montgomery and Walkill Precincts they are determined to Support our list of Delagates, and that Addison has no Interest there—I did not say much to him about the Nomination for a Senator and Members of Assembly—believe it would be his wish from what I could understand, to propose Doctor Galation—The Nomination will be best to be proposed to this End of the County by you Daniel Graham Esquire will come to town Tomorrow & I expect will deliver you this, with him you fix the matter[.] John Bruyn will come with him but I am of Opinion he is federal, I would Suggest the propriety of your informing Judge Barber of the Nomination⁴—shall communicate to you such matters from time to time as may come to my Knowledge supposing them to be interesting

Sunday Evening—

Dr Sir

before the Sealing up of this letter Yours by Captn. Kain came to hand—When I wrote you I thought it my duty to explain to You the principals which induc'd the Members of the Legislature to fix the Committee—because altho I believed that your Objections was Levelled against Coll. Snyder, yet from the words in your letter I did not know but that the matter had been truly Represented to You and You disapprov'd the Measures—“*I was greatly alarmed this Morning in being informed that a Committee of Correspondence had been Established at Poughkeepsie—and that Coll. Snyder was a Member*”⁵—were the Words—whereon my Expressions were founded. And believe me, that at the time I wrote you I did not think that you could be against the Measure if you was well informed of the intent, or Reflected serious thereon, but as a Real friend, meant to Reconcile you to the Measure was my object,—and another thing, this Matter was not made known to any who were the least suspected of federalism, and if you should be dissatisfied therewith and more of our friends, it might Come to our Enimies who might make a handle of it against us—at least they would be Rejoiced to see us differ in Sentiment—On Reading the above I believe you will be satisfied—with what I have wrote to New York, Respecting the Directing communications to Coll. Snyder—and the Election of the Governor—the Ob-

jection you Mention to Major Bevier I mention'd to the Sherriff and he thought less of it than I do—You may probably change his name for another who you and friends there may think less Exceptionable it is time now to fix the Nomination as proper and as fair as we can—I doubt [not?] but that another list will Appear before the Election—it is my Opinion that the Nomination agreed on and Sent out by you we must Cling to, that we may not be deceived—I would Suggest to you that as it will be difficult for the ignorant kind of people at the Election to distinguish between Delegates and Assembly whether it would not be proper for persons in each of the Precincts in whom confidence can be placed to prepare a number of Ballots before the day of Election Monday Morning April 7th. 1788—

1. RC, Roosevelt Collection, NHyF. The letter was endorsed as “favord by/D Graham Esq.” The letter was written on two days. At the end of the first two paragraphs, Schoonmaker wrote “*Sunday Evening*.” After taking up the letter again and writing a paragraph, Schoonmaker wrote “Monday Morning/April 7th 1788.” The “7” was written over a “6.”

2. Schoonmaker’s 6 April letter to Samuel Jones has not been located.

3. Snyder was one of six men who had been nominated as Convention delegates by the Newburgh meeting on 10 March. The Newburgh slate was endorsed by a meeting of Hurley Federalists that met prior to 31 March.

4. Perhaps Patrick Barber, a judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Ulster County.

5. See Van Gaasbeek to Schoonmaker, 31 March (above).

John C. Wynkoop to John Addison Kinderhook, 7 April 1788¹

Your letter dated the 5 Instant I have received by a special Messenger—

Your request is to give you a plain and Direct answer to the following Question. Whether I ever had in my own house or elsewhere informed Major Peter Van Gaasbeek, that in a Conversation I had with you, respecting the fœderal Constitution, you expressed your approbation of the system in its present form or in the vulgar terms of distinction, whether I had informed him, that you was a fœderal Man—

I have stated the Question in your own words, and this is my answer. I recollect that Major Van Gaasbeek, together with Mr DeWaal² (if this is the Latter Gentleman’s right name) called at my house in the beginning of Last month, when the former and I had some Conversation, respecting the Fœderal Constitution, and the Sentiments of the people of Kingston on the Subject. I observed that you was an antifœderalist, but that I entertained so favorable an opinion of your Candor and Good sense, that if you should be chosen a delegate in Convention you would then be convinced of the Propriety of Adopting the Constitution,

and give your vote in its favor—This I remarked, was my opinion of all Sensible, candid and Good Men when the wisdom, Importance, and Necessity of the plan should be Clearly [e]xplained. But I never told Mr Gaasbeek that you was a foederal man or that you had in Conversation with me in your house, or else where, or ever expressed your Self to that [aspect?]—

My Uncle and Father, together with Mr DeWaal were present, When Mr Van Gaasbeek and I had the Conversation above mentioned; and I have neither before nor Since that time, spoken to him on the Same Subject. I refer you to the above Gentlemen for a Confirmation of what I have wrote you—

1. Copy, Van Gaasbeek Papers, NKISH. This item is docketed, "Copy of A Letter/taken from the/original—sent/to John Addison/by Jno. C. Wynkoop/Apl. 7—1788." This copy was probably obtained from Adrian Wynkoop who received a copy from John C. Wynkoop. On 3 May the latter wrote Van Gaasbeek suggesting that he contact Adrian Wynkoop, who had previously been instructed to let Van Gaasbeek see the copy of the letter to Addison, but that Van Gaasbeek should not be allowed to copy it. See John C. Wynkoop to Peter Van Gaasbeek, 3 May (below).

For another version of the conversation mentioned in this letter, see Peter Van Gaasbeek to John C. Wynkoop, 17 April (below). Wynkoop was an attorney.

2. William DeWaal of Kingston.

A Dutchess County Anti-Federalist Poughkeepsie Country Journal, 8 April 1788¹

To the *Antifederalists* of *Ulster County*.

Among the many privileges secured to us by the Constitution of this State, that of personally voting our representatives in Legislature, is one of the most essential. Your inattention to the exercise of this right, for several elections past, fills me with serious apprehensions of the same supineness of conduct in the ensuing. 'Tis not uncommon to hear many people censure the conduct of the Legislature for acts which they have passed, complain of the weight of taxes and the inequality of county quotas, while these very people have not stirred to give a single vote for a representative, though within one mile, perhaps one hundred yards of the place of election. To such a man, the non-exercise of the right of election is the same as its non-existence. Ought the man who voluntarily suspends his right of electing his representatives to find fault with a body of men in whose appointment he neglected to have any agency? He who does not vote ought not to complain.

This year every freeman above the age of twenty-one, is called upon to vote delegates to form a state-convention for the adoption of a Federal Constitution.² 'Tis by the fiat of the people alone, that this constitution can start into existence. They must breathe into it the breath of

life. In the common acts of legislation your representatives act for you, but every act must be within the limits and warranted by the constitution of the State; the adoption or rather the creation of the federal constitution, will be the immediate act of the people themselves. This constitution has circulated for some time among you; read it with an eye of criticism, examine the powers which are given and the rights which are reserved (if there are any.) Remember,^(a) that though all governments have the same general end, which is that of preservation, yet each has another particular view—Increase of dominion was the view of Rome; war of Sparta; and religion, of the Jewish laws; commerce that of Marseilles; natural liberty is the view of the policy of Savages; and in monarchies, the Prince and the kingdom's glory.

Political liberty ought to be the direct end of the federal constitution. Analyze this system to discover this liberty—neither great talents nor great labour are requisite to the task. If you find this liberty, speak the word and it shall be. If on the contrary it is neither to be found in your immediate suffrages for, nor in the equality of representation; if the powers vested in the legislative, executive and judiciary departments, are in some instances repugnant to and inconsistent with that spirit of equal liberty which ought as much as possible, pervade every branch of a confederate government, then reject it. Whatever opinions you may have formed respecting the federal constitution, be careful that your delegates are gentlemen of the same opinion with yourselves. Avoid men of fluctuating sentiments in politics. The weathercock of party-spirit, ambition and self-interest, ought not in such a situation as this, to be trusted.

The Committee which met at the New-Paltz on the 28th ultimo,³ was formed of representatives from ten precincts of the county: This committee nominated six gentlemen, and agreed to hold them up for the choice of the people in their respective precincts, as delegates to represent the county in the State Convention, in June next. Adhere to this list. Notwithstanding all the candidates may not be the immediate choice of every Antifederalist, which in no instance is ever to be expected. Yet all little party spirit and mean jealousies must in the present instance, be laid aside. These are at all times below the notice of a man of reason and understanding. He that would sacrifice the union of his party, or endanger the success of a good cause for the gratification of his personal resentment, is unworthy not only of the confidence, but even of the attention of the public.—From recent information, the Antifederalists⁴ are playing the same sport in your county they are doing in this. They are attempting to divide you. A number of gentlemen lately met at New-Windsor,⁵ and are handing through the county a list

different from that of the county committee: I am personally acquainted with several of those gentlemen, and respect them; some of them are men of property and interest, the reputation of Col. J——n,⁶ who signed their proceedings, as a man of *an enlarged understanding and fixed ideas of government* may have an influence—But how will you reconcile the conduct of this meeting, with their principles? The gentlemen who met at New-Windsor, are many of them avowed Federalists.

The list of candidates they hold up are all (or at least now supposed to be) Anti-federalists. If they are tenacious of their principles, can we expect they will give a single vote to a candidate, whom they believe to be determined against the system they wish to adopt.—No! their aim is to divide, and by industriously feeding the little discontents, and fomenting the divisions among the Anti-federalists; they mean to lessen the number of votes necessary to carry the Election—and by uniting, bring in characters of the same sentiments in politics with themselves.

Rouse then my fellow freemen from your wonted inactivity at elections, manage the ensuing not with the spirit of faction, but with a spirit of union and discernment, to what you may conceive is the public good!—If on the adoption or rejection of the federal Constitution, you believe your happiness or misery as a people depends, let your exertions be in proportion to the magnitude of the object to be obtained, or the evil to be avoided. 'Tis not my intention at present to enter on the merits of the federal Constitution, to point out the defects on the one hand, or take notice of the excess of power granted to the other; many of these may easily be discovered by a man of common discernment, provided he reads with attention and reflects on what he reads.

It is true that the public papers have teemed with learned and elaborate essays in favor of this Constitution—the beauties of language, and the charms of eloquence have been lavished in its praises; yet on a strict examination, it will be found, that most of the arguments in its favor, are rather palliations, than any rational justification on the solid principles of the political liberty of a confederated republic.

My principal design in addressing the anti-federalists of Ulster county on the present occasion, is to recommend to them a spirit of union among themselves, to discountenance all factions and party spirits, and to make them guard against the machinations of the federal meeting held at New-Windsor; for this I shall not be blamed by the federalists themselves.—Actuated with the same zeal, and having the same end in view, the general good of the union; only differing in the means, there is a noble and active emulation, between the

federalists and anti-federalists—The evident aim of the former is to divide the latter among themselves, the evident interest of the latter is to remain united.

(a) *Montesquieu*.⁷

1. Lucas Elmendorf, Jr., accused John Addison of being “A Dutchess County Anti-Federalist.” See “Controversy Over the Authorship of An Ulster County Farmer,” *Country Journal*, 1 April–6 May (at note 4, above).

2. The resolution calling the state Convention eliminated the property qualifications for voting, allowing “all free male citizens of the age of twenty-one years, and upwards” to vote for Convention delegates (RCS:N.Y., 705).

3. “A Dutchess County Anti-Federalist” was probably written in March and thus “the 28th ultimo” refers to 28 February, not 28 March.

4. The author obviously meant to write “Federalists” not “Antifederalists.” See the last sentence in this piece in which the author reiterates the same point.

5. Possibly a reference to the meeting at neighboring Newburgh on 10 March.

6. Probably Cornelius T. Jansen, one of the delegates to the Newburgh meeting of 10 March.

7. *Spirit of Laws*, I, Book XI, chapter V, 220–21.

**Cornelius C. Schoonmaker to Peter Van Gaasbeek
Shawangunk, 14 April 1788¹**

Inclosed You’ll Receive a Copy of a letter from a friend in New York²—from the Contents thereof You will be more fully convinced that you have been right to urge the fixing the Governor here with certainty on our Lists. I have taken proper measures to inform every precinct in this County that the Governor must be fixed in our Nomination—am going to Montgomery,³ to day—shall let you hear from them when I return—[have you heard?] any thing of the Judge [Dirck Wynkoop] since, about the Meeting—I do [not think?] it will answer any great purpose—however if he [fixes the?] Meeting you must Attend, he has promised me to give you word of it—In Haste I am Yours &c—

1. RC, Roosevelt Collection, NHyF. Because of a tear in the manuscript, only the “4th” in the date is showing. Someone later misinterpreted the superscript “th” to read “3” and the letter is misdated at the top “3 April.” From internal evidence the correct date is 14 April.

2. Schoonmaker enclosed a copy of a letter he had received from Melancton Smith, 6 April (above). The copied letter is also in the Roosevelt Collection at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library, Hyde Park.

3. A reference to the town of Montgomery in Ulster County, not Montgomery County.

**Cornelius C. Schoonmaker to Peter Van Gaasbeek
Shawangunk, 17 April 1788¹**

have on Monday last been to Montgomery²—was informed that Mr. Sleght had been there & went to Walkill, fixing for the Election of Mr.

Addison &c I wrote a letter to Ebenezer Clark on the Subject—and also requested him to Consult with the principal people on that End of the County and fix on three Men they would Recommend for the Assembly, and inform You of it at Sopus—this I mentioned to A. Crane and to James Hunter who have Promised me that they would fix this Week and Crane expects to be in town the last of the Week, by him You'll be informed—I believe these people will fix on Doctor [David] Gallatian—some of them propose, Clarke—they do not, as far as I could hear approve altogether of Major [Severyn T.] Bruyn—I believe it will be our Interest if they should be against Bruyn and propose Gallatian to join with them, altho it would be our Wish that Bruyn should come in, we must be United with Montgomery & Walkill or we may fail—Hunter is very Warm, and many more of the principal people there—Notwithstanding every Exertion that may be made—I believe we stand well Yet—it may become necessary next Week for some proper person from Kingston to take a Ride to Montgomery—any thing that may turn up shall be Communicated in the Mean time shall endeavor to Collect from the lower End of the County what I can—believe that my communication to Clark & others there will have its Effect—Suppose it will be best to Wait for the determination of these people before We fix here with Certainty and then nothing ought to be Wanting to support Unanimity amongst us, or we may be baffled by those who have certain designs—Altho it is with great pleasure I embrace this Opportunity to communicate the above to You Regret that it is not now in my power to inform you more particular of the persons fixed by the lower End—With perfect Respect & Esteem [P.S.] This in haste without any Convenience—

1. RC, Van Gaasbeek Papers, NKiSH. The letter was addressed: “favor'd by/Mr. Eltinger.”

2. The town of Montgomery, in Ulster County, not the county of Montgomery.

Peter Van Gaasbeek to John C. Wynkoop
Kingston, 17 April 1788¹

~~great Pains have been taken~~ I am inform'd that an Express Messenger hath been sent to You to solve A Certain Question with Respect to the Principles of A Certain Character here²—I shall take the Liberty to Pen down as near as my Memory serves what I have Represented Respecting our conversation Vizt. that being with You at Kinderhook our conversation turn'd immediately on the subject of the New Constitution—that You had enquired if the People of Kingston were unanimously opposed to the New system that I had Reply'd in the affirmative and

that they appear as solitious to Preserve their Liberties as they had been Ready & Willing to fight for them—that then you had ask'd if it was as Represented—that Mr. Addison was a very strong antifederal—to which I Reply'd that People thought so—on which You Reply'd that You thought You had been one of the very first Persons if not the first that brought the New Constitution to Esopus, that you had Presented it to Mr. Addison—that after perusal you and him had some conversation on the Subject—that you Express'd some surprize to hear this—you did not at that time conceive his sentiments as now Represented—I think sir this Representation I made and which to the best of my Recollection Pass'd between us—

if not too much trouble please to let Me hear from You on the Subject—A Letter left with Mr Peter Wynkoop will be forwarded with ~~expedition~~ carefully

1. FC, Van Gaasbeek Papers, NKiSH. Wynkoop received this letter on 1 May. For his reply, see Wynkoop to Van Gaasbeek, 3 May (below). See also John C. Wynkoop to John Addison, 7 April (above).

2. A reference to John Addison, whose political beliefs were a source of some controversy in the Ulster County elections. For more on this debate, see Van Gaasbeek to Cornelius C. Schoonmaker, 20 March (above) and Peter Dumond to John B. Dumond, 26 April (below).

Kingston Antifederalist Circular
Kingston, 21 April 1788¹

Sir.

We address you on the Subject of the Ensuing Election as a Committee Appointed for that Purpose of a Meeting of a Number of the Good Citizens of the Corporation of Kingston—and take the liberty to Inform you that the under Written list of Candidates is by them Unanimously Approved of—We recommend them as men of Probity firmness and Stability of approved Political Charectors and who have at Heart the real Happiness and Interest of your Country—And that the Suffrages of the County may be the more United In a Matter which Involves So great a trust—We flatter ourselves that as a Member of our Political body you will Exert yourself In Establishing Unanimity among the Electors in the Choice of those Delegates—

We are with Respect sir
 Your Hum. servants
 Joseph Gasherie
 Abm. B. Bancker
 Peter Van Gaasbeek
 Lucas Elmendorf Jun.

Delegates

George Clinton	}	Esqrs.
Cornelius C. Schoonmaker		
Dirck Wynkoop		
James Clinton		
Ebenezer Clark		
John Cantine		

Senator

James Clinton Esqr.

Assemblymen—

Johannis G. Hardenbergh	}	Esqrs.
Cornelius C. Schoonmaker		
Christopher Tappen		
John Cantine		
Nathan Smith		
David Galatian		

1. RC, Van Gaasbeek Papers, NKISH. This copy is addressed to “Mr. Jacob Burhans/Near/Kingston.” Marked “*Circular*” at the top of the page and docketed “Copy of A Circular Letter—April 1788.” Gasherie (d. 1806) served as Ulster County surrogate, 1766–76, 1778–85, 1787–1806, and as a state senator, 1784–87.

Samuel A. Otis to James Warren**New York, 24 April 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . As to N Y one party are sure of adoption, another as positive it will be rejected. So no judgment can be formed. Some think Govr Clinton will be elected for the City, which I doubt. He will come in however by a handsome majority for Ulster County. . . .

1. RC, Mercy Warren Papers, MHi. Printed: CC:704 (longer excerpts); Smith, *Letters*, XXV, 74–77.

Peter Dumond to John B. Dumond**Kingston, 26 April 1788¹**

When last with you I entrusted you with the contents of a Letter directed to Cornelius Shoonmaker from Mr. John J A Modes, informing him that Mr. Addison had given it as his private opinion that it was best to adopt the new constitution,² since which Mr. Cornelius Tappen has reported to Me and Mr. Gaasbeek that you had declared to him, that Jacob Van Vechten, had declared to you that Addison had said, that if he was to act the dictates of his conscience—he would

adopt the new Constitution but now was obliged to side with the Corporation of Kingston The bearer Mr. Marries will bring back your answer—I will thank you to be plain in your information in writing as well as verbal—

1. FC, Roosevelt Collection, NHyF.

2. See Peter Van Gaasbeek to Cornelius C. Schoonmaker, 20 March (above). “John J. A. Modes” was a pseudonym used by Van Gaasbeek.

A Young Dutchman

Poughkeepsie Country Journal, 29 April 1788

A solution of a composition lately advertised to the inhabitants and freemen of Kingston, as have communion with the Protestant Dutch Church, subscribed “an Old Dutchman,” recommending with great religious warmth a list of Candidates opposed to the list assented to by the county committee at the New-Paltz.

REBUS.

The whole of the influence of broken commission,
The whole of the genius of monied ambition.

Or,

The whole of a Colonel whom patriots do hate,
The whole of the power of securities of State,
The whole of the junto, who appear with false faces,
The whole of the beauty of federal graces.

Or,

The whole of the art which the lyar displays,
The whole of the trust which the traitor betrays,
The whole of the knack to invest Candidates at leisure,
The whole of the quirk to cheat the public at pleasure.

Or,

The whole of the sanction of Col. Jansens catalogue,
The whole of the substance of the Old Dutchman’s epilogue,
The whole of the practice which federalists use,
The whole of the pleasure men take to confuse.

Or,

The whole of the joy to amuse with variety,
The whole of the trick to infuse inebriety,
The whole of the strength of our Dutchman’s exhibition,
The whole of the virtue of his catholic admonition.

Or,

The whole of the hypocrite who mocks the Lords people,
The whole of the man who raised Old Dutchman’s steeple.

These ingredients put together, doing all their intention,
 Will give you the amount of Old Dutchman's invention,
 And withal, will convince you that his plan is dissention,
 And not to contribute to an Anti-federal Convention.

John C. Wynkoop to Peter Van Gaasbeek
Kinderhook, 3 May 1788¹

Your letter of the 17th. ult. I received of Mr. Wynkoop on the first day of the present Month. This was owing to the carelessness of our Post Master, who neglected to send that Gentleman his Letter, which covered mine.² I will deliver this to Mr. Wynkoop, that it may be forwarded by tomorrow's Stage, which will be the first that will go down since your Letter was delivered to me.

It will be, I think, as sufficient Answer to your Letter, to give you an Opportunity of seeing a copy of mine to Mr. Addison (if he is the Gentleman to whom you allude) in reply to a Question proposed by him.³ For this you may apply to Adrian Wynkoop Esqr. who upon a delivery of the enclosed, will let you read the Copy I sent him.⁴ I do this to save me from the Necessity of writing more than what is absolutely essential, as my *Sight* is *too weak* to endure it. You will doubtless observe, that my Answer to him is as *direct* as his Query.

[P.S.] Quere. How can you antifederal gentlemen at Kingston be fond of *Union* among the *States*, since you do not love Union among yourselves? By *Unanimity* we prevail here, in Albany & Montgomery.

1. RC, Van Gaasbeek Papers, NKiSH.

2. See Peter Wynkoop, Jr., to Peter Van Gaasbeek, 5 May (Columbia County Election, above).

3. See John C. Wynkoop to John Addison, 7 April (above).

4. On 3 May John C. Wynkoop of Kinderhook wrote his uncle Adrian Wynkoop of Hurley that "If Major Peter Van Gaasbeek wishes to see the Copy of my Letter to Mr Addison which I sent you, let him *read*, but *not copy it*" (Columbia County Election, above).

Peter Van Gaasbeek to Severyn T. Bruyn
Kingston, 5 May 1788¹

My Good Sirs

it has been suggested to me that you had been enform'd that I had with the rest of the Committee directed contradictory Circular Letters to several Persons—Particularly to Major Bevier—although it has given me Pain that you should even for A Moment entertain so despicable an Opinion of us—and Particularly myself—as I had been with you and communicated from time to time every necessary information in

order to establish Unanimity—with Respect to Major Beviers I do declare upon my sacred Honor that no Circular Letter has been sent to him (other than those sent to You and Your Friends²) nor have we deviated in any Letter to any Person whatever—I am not sure that there was one sent to him—Permit me to enform you of our Reasons for dropping the Major—and Placing Joh[anni]s G Hardenberg in his stead—it was this[.] Sheriff Dumont with some other Friends had made up the first List—to which I readily agreed—on which Your Name was Placed with Major Beviers—Your Name was struck off with no other View nor Reason but to secure unanimity in Montgomery³—it was our mutual wish to have Placed you in the seat of Honor—but as Montgomery had given to understand that they wish'd to have Galatian—You and Schoonmaker living so near together⁴ induced us to let either Fall, in order that the other districts might not take umbrage—Major Beviers case was somewhat different (unfortunately) we had never consulted Major Bevier on the Subject, nor ever wrote him concerning it—when Sheriff Dumont called on me with the Lists of Candidates—Mr Patrick Conolly was with him—who engaged to support our List with all his influence—him we Presented with two or three Copies of that List—which he did show I believe to some People—he engaged to communicate the same to the Major—some few days thereafter we were credibly enformed that Mr. Conolly had been from one End of the County to the other with Mr Jno Sly making Interest for our opponents—hearing this we without hesitation (and without consulting the Major—whether Privy to the Conduct of Mr. Conolly) did take his Name off and Placed the Name of Joh[anni]s G Hardenbergh in his Place—here I admit we were too Hasty—for although we might presume that the Major Countenanced Conolly—yet we had no right to do so—unless Previously consulting enforming him of Our Reasons[.] this was not done—and here I confess we did commit an Error—as I have ever Esteem'd Major Bevier as a Peculiar Friend—it give me double Pain to think ourselves obliged to alter the Nomination—which Sir Permit me to extend also to Yourself

You will greatly oblige in enforming me whence you Received Your information as I am induced to think it has originated with the Person or Persons who enformed—I have Your Cedar Press Ready[.] send for them

1. FC, Van Gaasbeek Papers, NKISH. Docketed: “Copy of A Letter/to Severyn Bruyn/May 7—1788.” The letter was addressed “My Good Sirs,” perhaps implying that it was a circular sent to Bruyn and perhaps Phillip D. Bevier. This letter deals with the changes made in the Antifederalist ticket for Ulster County assemblymen—replacing Phillip D. Bevier with Johannes G. Hardenbergh and Severyn T. Bruyn with David Galatian. Although not directly discussing the Convention ticket, the letter shows the balancing act

that Antifederalist leaders found necessary to keep all sections of Ulster County satisfied so as to present a united front against their Federalist opponents. For a reference to an early ticket of candidates for the Convention sent by Van Gaasbeek to Bruyn, see Van Gaasbeek to Bruyn, 12 March (above).

2. See Kingston Antifederalist Circular, 21 April (above).

3. The town of Montgomery in Ulster County, not Montgomery County.

4. Schoonmaker and Bruyn lived in the town of Shawangunk, and Galatian lived in the adjoining town of Montgomery.

New York Daily Advertiser, 7 May 1788¹

Extract of a letter from a Gentleman in Kingston, Ulster County, dated the 1st May, 1788.

“I have the pleasure to inform you, that though the Federalists in this county stand no chance to put in Federal Delegates for the Convention, they are more numerous than imagined; I am informed that there are at least four districts in favor of the New Constitution.”

1. Reprinted: *New York Packet*, 9 May; *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 13 May; *Massachusetts Centinel*, 14 May; *Country Journal* and *Hudson Weekly Gazette*, 20 May; *Charleston Columbian Herald*, 5 June. For a response, see “A Plain Truth,” *Daily Advertiser*, 9 May (immediately below).

A Plain Truth

New York Daily Advertiser, 9 May 1788

Mr. CHILDS, Observing in your Paper of last Wednesday, a publication, under the New-York head, as an extract of a letter from a gentleman in Kingston, Ulster county, of the 1st instant,¹ wherein the writer observes to his correspondent, “That though the Federalists stand no chance to put in Federal Delegates to the Convention, they are more numerous than imagined;” and that he was “*informed* that there are at least four districts in favour of the Constitution.” I must beg leave to assure you, and the public, that no such assertion can with honor or truth be supported, and the gentleman does well to say that he was so *informed*, as he never could, from *his own knowledge*, give his friend here such information; and if the writer of the above extract is an inhabitant of Ulster county, he must well know that no other partyship attended the election than the electors vying with one another who should chuse the most worthy characters, to oppose the adoption of the new proposed Constitution; and that not a single district in the county have held out any other characters. Perhaps the author may blush to find his assertion contradicted, but he will at the same time know it to be A PLAIN TRUTH.

May 7, 1788.

1. See *Daily Advertiser*, 7 May (immediately above).

**Abraham B. Bancker to Evert Bancker
Kingston, 31 May 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . Last Evening our Supervisors finished the Canvass of the Ballots taken at the late Election for Members of Assembly and Delegates for the Convention, when the following Gentlemen were found to be Elected to their respective Offices viz.

Votes for the Assembly		Votes for Delegates	
John Cantine	893	Governor G. Clinton	1372
Corns. C. Schoonmaker	672	Ebenezer Clarke	1356
Christopher Tappen	625	John Cantine	1339
Johs. G. Hardenbergh	584	Dirck Wynkoop	1058
Nathan Smith	572	Corns. C. Schoonmaker	1045
Ebenezer Clarke	562	Genl. James Clinton	905

I could wish in your next to be informed who are returned for the City & County, and for Richmond County, and any other that may come to your Knowledge. . . .

1. RC, Solomon Drowne Collection, Special Collections, John Hay Library, Brown University, Providence, R.I. The letter was addressed to "Evert Bancker Esquire/No. 5 Wall-Street/New-York/Hond. by J. Gasherie Esqr." It was docketed "recd. this 2 June 1788 Coll. Brown. Wrote a few lines the 5 June and inclosed in a letter wrote a few days since, with 3 News papers and sent one of the 5 of this day." Abraham B. Bancker was the son of Evert Bancker.

New York Journal, 3 June 1788¹

MEMBERS of CONVENTION.

Ulster County, ANTI-FEDERAL.

Governor Clinton,	1372
John Cantine,	1339
Cornelius C. Schoonmaker,	1045
Ebenezer Clark,	1356
James Clinton,	905
Dirck Wynkoop,	1055

FEDERAL, unsuccessful.

Johannes Bruwyn,	68
Jacobus S. Bruwyn,	35
Cornelius T. Jensen,	29

MEMBERS of ASSEMBLY.

Ulster County, ANTI-FEDERAL.

John Cantine,
Christopher Tappen,

Johannes G. Hardenburgh,
Cornelius C. Schoonmaker,
Nathan Smith, and
Ebenezer Clark, Esquires.

1. Reprinted: *Daily Advertiser*, 4 June; *New York Journal*, 5 June; *Lansingburgh Federal Herald*, 9 June; and in five out-of-state newspapers by 2 July: R.I. (1), Pa. (3), N.C. (1). The *Country Journal*, 3 June, also published election results from Ulster County, but included only the names of those elected, omitting vote counts. The *Salem Mercury*, 17 June, noted in a separate piece that "GOV. CLINTON, who lost his election as Member of Convention for the city and county of Newyork, was chosen for the county of Ulster."

WASHINGTON AND CLINTON COUNTIES

Albert Baker (A–N)

Ichabod Parker (A–N)

David Hopkins (A–N)

John Williams (A–N)

Although Clinton County had been created out of Washington County on 7 March 1788, it was not authorized to elect its own delegates to the state Convention. (Inhabitants of Clinton County could still vote for Convention delegates and assemblymen who represented both Washington and Clinton counties.) In fact, Clinton County did not elect its own assemblyman until 1796.

As in Montgomery County, Federalists and Antifederalists in Washington and Clinton counties received assistance from their counterparts in Albany County. On 18 March Leonard Gansevoort urged Albany Federalists to assist Federalists in Washington and Clinton or else they “will be overpowered.” The Albany Anti-Federal Committee reported on 12 April that pamphlets from the New York Federal Republican Committee would be sent to Washington County the next day and that “our political Affairs wear a favorable Aspect” in both Washington and Montgomery counties (RCS: N.Y., 898–99).

The results of the Washington-Clinton election were the last to be reported in the state’s newspapers. It was not until 12 June, a week after the results from all of the other counties were printed, that the *New York Journal* gave the results for Washington and Clinton counties.

Leonard Gansevoort to Peter Gansevoort
New York, 18 March 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . My Friends from Albany write me that Coll: Williams of Washington has commenced an Advocate for the Constitution,² I fear the federalists will be overpowered in that Quarter unless they should receive some assistance from their Friends in Saratoga, cannot you & others give them a helping hand, be assured my Dear Brother your Country calls aloud upon you in her distress for every Exertion it is in your Power to make for relief from her embarrassed situation, and may that God in whose Hands are all Countries principalities and Power reward your Labours. . . .

1. RC, Gansevoort-Lansing Papers, NN. For the complete letter, see Mfm:N.Y. The Gansevoorts were brothers.

2. Gansevoort probably meant that Williams “had commenced a Candidate for the Convention” or that Williams “had commenced an Advocate *against* the Constitution.” Williams had been a leading Antifederalist in the Senate debate over calling a state convention. (See “The New York Legislature Calls a Convention,” 11 January–1 February 1788, RCS:N.Y., 687–731.) Also see Williams’ letter to his friends in Washington County, 29 January (RCS:N.Y., 673–74n) declaring his opposition to the Constitution.

Election Returns**New York Journal, 5–12 June 1788***5 June 1788*

We have not received a particular return of the members of CONVENTION for Washington county (which completes the returns for the state) but it is confidently said, the anti-federal ticket will be carried by at least two to one on the whole number of votes. Washington county sends four members.

*7 June 1788*²

We are informed, that the republican antifederal ticket for Members of Assembly in Washington county has prevailed, and that Alexander Webster, Joseph M'Crackers, Edward Savage and Peter B. Tierse, Esquires are elected. We have not yet heard who are chosen in the convention for that county, but it is supposed that the antifederal ticket will be carried by a respectable majority.

*12 June 1788 (excerpts)*³

Last Thursday's paper⁴ contained all the returns, from the several counties in the state, for members of CONVENTION, except *Washington*—since which—

We are informed, that the anti-federal ticket for members of convention in Washington and Clinton counties has carried the day, and that Messrs. Hopkins, Williams, Baker and Parker are duly chosen. . . .

All the members for ASSEMBLY were also inserted last Thursday, except from the counties of Orange, Kings, and Washington, which, we are informed, are as follow, viz. . . .

WASHINGTON, *Anti-Federal*,—Alexander Webster, Joseph M'Crackers, Edward Savage, Peter B. Tierse.

1. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Packet*, 10 June; *Providence United States Chronicle*, 12 June; *Newport Mercury*, 16 June; *North Carolina Wilmington Centinel*, 2 July. The *Country Journal*, 10 June, noted only that "We have not been informed who are the members for Washington county."

2. Reprinted (without the names of the four assemblymen): *Newport Mercury*, 16 June; *Providence Gazette*, 21 June.

3. Reprinted: *Hudson Weekly Gazette* and *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, 17 June; *Philadelphia Freeman's Journal* (second paragraph only) and *Pennsylvania Journal*, 18 June; *Pennsylvania Packet*, 19 June; *Lansingburgh Federal Herald*, 23 June (second paragraph only).

4. See *New York Journal*, 5 June (above).

WESTCHESTER COUNTY

Thaddeus Crane (F–Y)**Lewis Morris, Sr. (F–Y)****Richard Hatfield (F–Y)****Lott W. Sarls (F–Y)****Philip R. Livingston (F–Y)****Phillip Van Cortlandt (F–Y)**

The outcome of the elections in Westchester County was uncertain. Both parties campaigned vigorously. The county contained many manors, but several had been confiscated and were being divided and sold. The county's assemblymen had vacillated on important issues in the mid-1780s, supporting and opposing the issuance of state paper money and an unconditional approval of the federal impost. Westchester's assemblymen had voted for John Lansing, Jr., instead of James Duane as the state's third delegate to the Constitutional Convention (RCS:N.Y., 515–16) and had voted to censure the Constitutional Convention for violating its instructions (RCS:N.Y., 704).

On 28 February Abraham Yates, Jr., reported that “Antifederal Business is Carried on . . . so they tell me in . . . Westchester with Spirit.” He said that it was “supposed” that the elections in Westchester, Ulster, Orange, and Dutchess would “be Carried entirely By the opposers of the Constitution” (to Abraham G. Lansing, General Commentaries on the Elections, below). Federalists were said to be bribed with appointments if they opposed the Constitution (*Daily Advertiser*, 2 June, below). Connecticut delegate to Congress Jeremiah Wadsworth hoped “the exertions of the Federalists will continue to be industrious in New York for as I came thro E[ast] & W[est]-Chester I found the Antis had been busy and too Successfull” (to Henry Knox, 17 April 1788, GLC 2437, The Gilder Lehrman Collection, courtesy of The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, New York).

Federalist delegate to Congress Leonard Gansevoort, however, was buoyed at least with the candidacy of Phillip Van Cortlandt, the lieutenant governor's eldest son. Van Cortlandt's “established reputation for probity and Integrity” would probably get him elected, but Gansevoort was uncertain whether Van Cortlandt could assure victory for the other Federalist candidates. “The People,” Gansevoort worried, “have in general a tincture of antifederalism.” Lewis Morris, Sr., of Morrisania wanted his son William to stand for election to the Convention, but realizing the importance of the election, Westchester Federalists convinced the elder Morris to be a candidate himself. As the election ended, Morgan Lewis, Chancellor Livingston's brother-in-law, reported that Federalists “have the most flattering prospects” in Westchester “unless the Votes of Bedford should be rejected, on Account of some Irregularity in the Appointment of their Inspectors” (to Margaret Beekman Livingston, 4 May, General Commentaries on the Elections, below).

The Federalist sweep surprised most people. An extract of a letter from a gentleman in Westchester printed in the *Daily Advertiser*, 2 June, reported “that the FEDERAL TICKET, both as to the Convention and Assembly, has prevailed by a majority of near two to one. So decisive a victory, I frankly confess, has exceeded my most sanguine expectations.” The six Federalist candidates averaged 655 votes to their opponents' 374. Abraham Yates, Jr., lamented that Westchester had “been most Shamefully taken in” (to Abraham G. Lansing, 1 June, RCS:N.Y., 1123).

Leonard Gansevoort to Peter Gansevoort
New York, 18 March 1788 (excerpt)¹

... the state of Westchester County has called forth your Quondam friend Genl. Courtlandt² as out of a Gothic Cloister, and the Air so strongly impregnated with federalism has infused into his Nostrils the Aromatic, his whole frame infected with the contagion has called him forth to Action and has transported him from extreme inaction to unceasing exertion, he is making Interest to be returned a Delegate, and from the Influence which his Office as Commissioner of forfeitures has acquired him and his established reputation for probity and Integrity will doubtless insure him success, how it will go with the Members he is supporting in general is very uncertain, the People have in general a tincture of antifederalism, tho' it is said that six States having already adopted the Constitution stifles in a great Measure the latent sparks, I hope they will not revive and consume its present covering. . . .

1. RC, Gansevoort-Lansing Papers, NN. For the complete letter, see Mfm:N.Y. The Gansevoorts were brothers.

2. Phillip Van Cortlandt (1749–1831), the eldest son of Lieutenant Governor Pierre Van Cortlandt, was active in the New York Line of the Continental Army during the Revolution and was brevetted a brigadier general in 1783.

Cornelius J. Bogert to Richard Varick
New York, 22 March 1788¹

As the Sheriffs office of West Chester County is become vacant by [John] Thomas's death, permit me to solicit your interest for Mr. Leake Hunt,² who has made application for the office—As he is an old acquaintance, I can safely recommend him, as a man of fair moral character, and whose mind is well informed—in both respects I believe him almost unequalled in the County—But the circumstance that will give him a preference perhaps to all his competitors is, that he is a warm friend to the fœderal government, and will undoubtedly from the influence derived from his office have it in his power to do essential service—he is now among the candidates of that County as a member of the convention—

Your exertions on this occasion will confer an obligation on him as well as on Sir your very humble Servt

P. S. Make no delay as there are several applicants

1. RC, Varick Papers, NHi. Bogert (1754–1832), a 1773 graduate of King's College (Columbia), was a lawyer in New York City. In 1791 he represented New York County in the Assembly. James Kent described Bogert as one of "the leaders of the NYork Bar in 1788–1790" (Donald M. Roper, ed., "The Elite of the New York Bar as Seen from the Bench:

James Kent's *Necrologies*," *New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, LVI [1972], 215). At this time, Varick, a New York delegate to the Assembly, was serving as Assembly speaker.

2. Leake Hunt was a Westchester justice of the peace. He was not appointed sheriff. He appears in the 1790 U.S. Census as a resident of New York City.

**Lewis Morris, Sr., to Lewis Morris, Jr.
Morrisania, 31 March 1788 (excerpt)¹**

My Dear Son

. . . we are now in the greatest confusion in this State Our Govr with his Party gives the new constitution all the opposition in his power but in my opinion it will be in vain I am one of the Candidates for this County I proposed your Brother Billy but the People said it would not do it was putting too much at Stake—I was happy to hear you was so unanimous in your State² . . . Your Aff[ectionat]e father

1. RC, Lewis Morris Papers, N.

2. Lewis Morris, Jr., lived in Charleston, S.C., where elections for delegates to its state convention were scheduled for 11 and 12 April. The unanimity described by Lewis Morris, Sr., refers to the January 1788 debate in the South Carolina House of Representatives in calling a state convention.

New York Daily Advertiser, 2 June 1788¹

Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman in West-Chester County, to his Friend in this City, dated May 31, 1788.

"I have the satisfaction of informing you that upon canvassing the votes taken at the late election in this county, it appears, that the FEDERAL TICKET, both as to the Convention and Assembly, has prevailed by a majority of near two to one. So decisive a victory, I frankly confess, has exceeded my most sanguine expectations; as the Federalists had every difficulty to encounter which the influence of office could throw in their way.—The Judges of the County Court,² who have ever since the peace governed the politics of the County agreeably to their instructions from their Commander in Chief, were not only in nomination by the Anti-federalists, but were also indefatigable in their exertions to prejudice the minds of the people against the Constitution; one of the Judges in particular, by the workings of his zeal, became so enthusiastic as repeatedly to declare in different parts of the county, that he would freely draw his sword to prevent the adoption of the Constitution by this State, though he was not known in the course of the late war to be very ambitious of hazarding the safety of his person. The Federalists had also to contend with the influence of the Sheriff³ and some of his Deputies, who were constantly patrolling the county, and scattering the usual objections against the Constitution. In the ex-

ecution of this patriotic enterprise, you may be assured that the official bounty bestowed last winter at Poughkeepsie, has not been treated with ingratitude. To the official influence already mentioned, I may truly add that of two men residing in the upper part of the County, who commenced Federalists, but by the magic touch of official promises, said to have been made to them at the last sitting of the Legislature, they were metamorphosed into the most violent Anti-federalists. The fidelity and industry with which they have performed their engagements will, I presume, justly entitle them to the boons they expect under the *present* administration. Such was the influence brought into action against the federal ticket: But the great body of the people of the County having seen for some time past, that the views of their rulers were directed to private, not to public objects, had the boldness to think and to act for themselves.—They examined the Constitution with candor, and found that it would not oblige them to part with any new rights, but would only transfer to the General Legislature of the Union, rights now existing in the Legislature of this State. This transfer they conceive to be a mere matter of expediency, and from a comparison of the proceedings of the Legislature of this State, with those of Congress, as well during the war as since the peace, they have no doubt that the transfer, if made, will be productive of the happiest effects.—Thus you see the enchantment in this County is dissolved; and I have every reason to believe that the people in general will continue to be guided by the suggestions of their own good sense, instead of yielding to the artful misrepresentations and interested advice of their quondam oracles. The Delegates to the CONVENTION are

LEWIS MORRIS,
PHILIP P. LIVINGSTON,
LOTT SARLS,
RICHARD HATFIELD,
THADDEUS CRANE, and
PHILIP V. CORTLANDT.

And the Members of Assembly, are

WALTER SEAMAN,
PHILIP V. CORTLANDT,
NATHAN ROCKWELL,
PHILIP P. LIVINGSTON,
THADDEUS CRANE, and
JONATHAN HORTON.

“Our worthy friend, General Morris, is in as high spirits as he was in the beginning of the late controversy with Great Britain, when he vanquished the combined forces of Philips and Delancy.”

1. Reprinted (in part): *New York Packet*, 3 June; *Independent Journal*, 4 June; *Albany Journal*, 16 June; and in thirteen out-of-state newspapers by 7 July: Mass. (1), Pa. (8), Va. (2), S.C. (2).

2. Stephen Ward was first judge of the Court of Common Pleas in Westchester County. Jonathan G. Tompkins and Ebenezer Purdy were judges, and Abijah Gilbert was an assistant justice. According to the *Daily Advertiser*, 3 June (below), all four of them were Antifederalist candidates for the Convention.

3. Philip Pell, Jr., served as sheriff of Westchester County from 13 March 1787 to 21 March 1788; Thomas Thomas became sheriff on 22 March 1788 and served until 1792. According to the *Daily Advertiser*, 3 June (below), Pell, who was also county surrogate, 1787–1800, was an Antifederalist candidate for the Convention.

New York Journal, 2 June 1788¹

We also learn, that in Westchester County, the FEDERAL TICKET was carried.

1. Reprinted: *Boston American Herald*, 16 June.

New York Daily Advertiser, 3 June 1788¹

*The following is a Statement of the Votes, as given in,
in the County of WEST-CHESTER.*

CONVENTION.		ASSEMBLY.	
<i>Federal.</i>		<i>Federal.</i>	
Ph. Van Cortlandt	694	Ph. Van Cortlandt	460
Philip Livingston	660	Philip Livingston	384
Lewis Morris	676	Nathan Rockwell	362
Thaddeus Crane	618	Thaddeus Crane	339
Richard Hatfield	672	Walter Seaman	332
Lot Searls	610	Jonathan Horten	329
<i>Antifederal.</i>		<i>Antifederal.</i>	
Abijah Gilbert	387	Abijah Gilbert	268
Jonath. G. Tomkins	399	Jonath. G. Tomkins	102
Ebenezer Purdy	374	Ebenezer Purdy	129
Philip Pell, jun.	304	Abel Smith	197
Samuel Drake	389	Samuel Drake	187
Stephen Ward	389	Israel Honeywell	106

1. The *New York Journal*, 5 June, reprinted only the list of names (without vote totals) under the heading, “*West-chester County, FEDERAL.*” That item, with names only, was reprinted in the *Impartial Gazetteer*, 7 June; *Country Journal* and *Pennsylvania Packet*, 10 June; *Providence United States Chronicle*, 12 June; and the *North Carolina Wilmington Centinel*, 2 July.

Stephen Van Rensselaer to John B. Schuyler Watervliet, 8 June 1788 (excerpt)¹

Dear John

. . . W Chester are federal & we have only 21 federal member[s] in Convention

1. RC, Van Rensselaer Papers, NHi.

**GENERAL COMMENTARIES ON THE ELECTION OF CONVENTION DELEGATES
28 February–13 June 1788**

For other general commentaries on the New York Convention election, see RCS:N.Y., Part III (above) and CC: Vols. 4–6, *passim*.

Abraham Yates, Jr., to Abraham G. Lansing
*Poughkeepsie, 28 February 1788 (excerpt)*¹

. . . Antifederal Business is Carried on in this county [Dutchess] and so they tell me in Ulster Orange and Westchester with Spirit—New York they are all in a panic With the Adoption of Massachusets—

It is supposed that these four Countys the Elections will be Carried entirely By the opposers of the Constitution. In Dutches Melancton Smith is set up, and it is Said the governour in ulster—

And by the reports, We have lately had federalist[s] are in greater Doubt About their Success in the County of Albany

I am Well I hope the family so

John Jay to William Bingham
*New York, 24 March 1788 (excerpt)*²

Agreeable to your Request and my Promise, I have now the Pleasure of sending you herewith enclosed the 1 vol of the Feder[al]ist.³ As soon as the other is published it shall also be forwarded to you.

The People of this State are turning their attention to the election of Persons to represent them in the ensuing Convention. They continue much divided in Sentiment respecting the proposed Constitution, and it is probable that these Elections will be the most contested of any we have had since the Revolution. . . .

Henry Knox to Jeremiah Wadsworth
*New York, 27 April 1788 (excerpt)*⁴

. . . On tuesday next the elections will be made throughout this state—The issue quite problematical—the majority be it on which side it may will be very small—The weight of abilities and personal character will be greatly on the side of the Feds—If the parties be nearly balanced on the conventions first assembling, most probably the influence of the other states who have and will adopt it will be such as to turn the scale on the side of the constitution. . . .

Paine Wingate to John Sullivan
*New York, 3 May 1788 (excerpt)*⁵

. . . The state of New York have this week had their elections for delegates to their convention. In this city the votes are generally in

favor of federalists, and it is said that they are so in other counties beyond expectation. It is now the opinion of those who are well acquainted with the sentiments of the people thro the state that the probability is in favor of adopting the constitution here. . . .

Morgan Lewis to Margaret Beekman Livingston
*New York, 4 May 1788 (excerpt)*⁶

. . . Our Election in the City is concluded, and I am persuaded the federal Ticket is carried by a Majority of at least ten to one—We have succeeded in Kings County beyond Doubt, from West Chester we have the most flattering prospects, unless the Votes of Bedford should be rejected, on Account of some Irregularity in the Appointment of their Inspectors, and Queen’s County we are assured we have at least divided—If we may venture to infer the Issue of the Business from the Spirits of the two Parties the Odds would be an hundred to one in favor of an Adoption by New York; for the Federalists may be distinguished by their smiling Countenances and Disappointment and Despair hangs heavy on the Brows of the Anties—Willet has become a Proselyte, declaring it must be right since it appears to be the sense of a vast Majority. . . .

your affectionate & dutiful Son

New York Federal Republican Committee to Richard Henry Lee
*New York, 18 May 1788 (excerpt)*⁷

. . . It is not yet declared who are the Members elected for our Convention. The Ballots are to be counted the last Teusday in this Month—But by the best Information received from the different Counties we have not a Doubt of there being a decided Majority returned who will be opposed to the Constitution in its present Form. A number of the leading and influential Characters who will compose the Opposition in our Convention are associated with us. . . .

*Albany Gazette, 5 June 1788*⁸

By the returns from the counties of Albany, Montgomery, Washington, Columbia, Dutchess, Ulster and Orange, it appears, that their delegates to Convention are ANTI-FEDERAL—they are in number 37.—The counties of New-York, Westchester, King’s and Richmond, are FEDERAL—in number 19.—The counties of Suffolk and Queen’s, are said to be divided—they send nine delegates.⁹ The total number of delegates from the several counties in this state to our Convention is SIXTY-SEVEN.¹⁰

New York Journal, 12 June 1788¹¹

This state sends 65 members to the convention, of which, it appears, that 46 are decidedly opposed to the constitution.

New York Packet, 13 June 1788¹²

It must give much real satisfaction, says a correspondent, to all true Fœderalists, to be informed that the *cities* of *New-York* and *Hudson* (as appears by the returns of the votes taken at the late election) are very *unanimous* in favor of the New Fœderal Government—and the *city* of *Albany* has a respectable majority. These cities, adds our correspondent, having the best means of information, *have not*, like many of the counties in this State, formed premature judgments on the merits of the proposed government.

1. RC, Yates Papers, NN.

2. Typescript, Jay Collection, NNC-RB. Printed: Johnston, *Jay*, III, 325. Bingham (1752–1804), a wealthy Philadelphia merchant, banker, and land speculator, was a delegate to Congress, 1786–88, and a U.S. senator, 1795–1801.

3. On 29 January Bingham had asked Jay to send him a copy of the first volume of *The Federalist* because its author “has treated the Subject in a Strong masterly Manner” (Jay Collection, NNC-RB). For the publication of the first volume of *The Federalist* on 22 March, see RCS:N.Y., 878–81. The brackets in “the Feder[al]ist” appear in the typescript in the Jay collection.

4. RC, Wadsworth Papers, CtHi. For longer excerpts from this letter, see CC:712. Wadsworth (1743–1804), a wealthy Hartford merchant, was a member of the Connecticut House of Representatives, 1780–81, 1785–89, 1795, and the U.S. House of Representatives, 1789–95. He voted to ratify the Constitution in the Connecticut Convention in January 1788. Wadsworth was vice president, 1785–87, and then president, 1787–93, of the Connecticut Society of the Cincinnati. For much of the summer of 1788, Wadsworth served in Congress. For similar letters written by Knox, see his letters to John Doughty, 24 April (CC:703), and to the Marquis de Lafayette, 26 April and 15 May (CC:707 and RCS:N.Y., 1096).

The Boston *Independent Chronicle*, 8 May, printed a similar paragraph as part of “A letter from a gentleman of the first distinction and information in New-York, dated the 27th ult.” It read: “This State are too divided to form a conclusive judgment at present. On Tuesday next the elections will be made—let the majority be on which side it may, it will be but small. I think that so many States will have adopted the Constitution before the Convention of this State assemble, as to produce a decision in its favour by a small majority.” Reprinted six times by 24 May: N.H. (1), Mass. (3), R.I. (1), Pa. (1).

5. RC, State Papers Relating to the Revolution, Vol. II (1785–1789), New Hampshire State Archives, Portsmouth. For the complete letter, see CC:726. Wingate (1739–1838), a farmer, was a New Hampshire delegate to Congress. He served as a U.S. senator, 1789–93, a U.S. representative, 1793–95, and a judge of the New Hampshire Superior Court, 1798–1809.

6. RC, Robert R. Livingston Papers, NHi. Lewis (1754–1844)—a 1773 graduate of the College of New Jersey (Princeton) and a lawyer—attained the rank of colonel in the Continental Army. He served in the Assembly, 1789–90, 1792, as state attorney general,

1791–92, and as a justice of the state Supreme Court, 1792–1804 (chief justice, 1801–4). He was New York's third governor, 1804–7. Livingston (1724–1800), the mother of Chancellor Robert R. Livingston and matriarch of her family, oversaw the Clermont manor. Lewis was her son-in-law.

7. RC, Lee-Ludwell Papers, Letters to Richard Henry Lee, Virginia Historical Society. For the complete letter, signed by the committee's chairman John Lamb, see RCS:N.Y., 1097–1102.

8. This item was probably first printed in the *Albany Gazette*, 5 June, an issue that is not extant. It was reprinted six times by 2 July: Mass. (1), N.J. (1), Pa. (2), Va. (2). All reprintings appear under the dateline "Albany, June 5." The text has been transcribed from the *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 17 June, the earliest reprinting.

9. The Newburyport, Mass., *Essex Journal*, 25 June, substituted "18" for "9."

10. Sixty-five delegates were elected, not sixty-seven.

11. Reprinted in the *Hudson Weekly Gazette*, 17 June, and in nineteen out-of-state newspapers by 2 July: N.H. (1), Mass. (3), R.I. (1), Conn. (4), Pa. (6), Md. (1), Va. (2), S.C. (1).

12. Reprinted in the *Hudson Weekly Gazette*, 24 June, and in fourteen out-of-state newspapers by 9 July: N.H. (2), Mass. (2), N.J. (1), Pa. (4), Va. (2), N.C. (1), S.C. (2).

Appendix I

The New York City Federal Procession

23 July 1788

Introduction

Under Article VII of the Constitution, when nine states ratified the Constitution it would go into operation among the ratifying states. By the end of May 1788, eight states had ratified. The Virginia Convention was scheduled to meet on 2 June, the New York Convention on 17 June, and the New Hampshire Convention on 18 June. Of the three states, New York was the least likely to ratify, but if either New Hampshire or Virginia, especially the latter, ratified, New York would ratify.

On 21 June the New Hampshire Convention ratified the Constitution, thereby becoming the ninth state to ratify. This news reached New York City on 25 June. Almost immediately the city's tradesmen and mechanics decided to celebrate by staging a grand federal procession on the Fourth of July—a day that Americans celebrated with martial parades, cannon and musket fire, speeches, dinners, toasts, and fireworks. Mechanics and tradesmen began making preparations for the procession and some people began to collect money to defray the cost of the procession and all things related to it. A committee of arrangements for the procession was also established, with Richard Platt as chairman. On 2 July New Yorkers received news that on 25 June Virginia had become the tenth state to ratify—another good reason to celebrate.

However, it had been decided before the arrival of the Virginia news to postpone the procession until the New York Convention reached a decision on the Constitution (*New York Journal*, 1 July, below. See also *Country Journal*, 8 July, below.). In a published report on the procession, Richard Platt confirmed the *Journal's* statement. (See *Daily Advertiser*, 2 August, below. See also Joshua Mersereau to Horatio Gates, 16 July, III, above.) Samuel Blachley Webb gave other reasons. He declared that the procession was postponed so that it would not conflict with the Fourth of July celebration and because the Ship *Hamilton*—the centerpiece or culmination of the procession—would not be ready until the week after the Fourth of July (to Joseph Barrell, 1–2 July, III, above). (The vessel was named for Alexander Hamilton, New York's only signer of the Constitution and one of the state's principal Federalists.) The political nature of the procession probably prompted one observer to describe it as “Our Procession-Politico” (William Stuart to Griffith Evans, 11 July, III, above).

The arrangements committee requested that one member from each branch of the mechanics meet on 5 July. Since a member from each branch of the mechanics did not attend the meeting, the committee would call again for those who had not attended (or who had not contacted the committee) to get in touch with the committee. The committee clearly wanted the widest range of mechanics. (See "Committee of Arrangements to New York City's Mechanics Concerning Their Participation in the Procession," 3–15 July, below.)

Individual groups of mechanics and tradesmen announced their plans for the procession by advertising in the city's newspapers beginning on 4 July. These groups included (in the order that they appeared in the published advertisements) house carpenters; whitesmiths and blacksmiths; master printers and booksellers; members of the Marine Society; merchants and traders; master tailors; cordwainers; physicians; and schoolmasters. The Marine Society noted in its advertisement that "All strangers, Masters of Vessels, are particularly invited to join the Society on this occasion." (For these advertisements, see "Advertisements for Meetings of Mechanics and Tradesmen," 4–22 July, Mfm:N.Y.)

On 7 July the *Daily Advertiser* announced that the procession had been postponed from 10 July to 22 July (below). On 16 July a commercial agent reported that the procession had been postponed again, this time from 22 July to 23 July, "in order to give the Jews an opportunity to Join in the festivals, the 22nd being one of their holidays" (Peter Collin to Nicholas Low, below. See also Adrian Bancker to Evert Bancker, 20 July, III, above.). The date of July 23 was now definite. According to Richard Platt, "Such was the Ardor of our fellow Citizens on this account, that they could not be restrained, till our State had come in" (to Winthrop Sargent, 8 August, III, above).

On 22 July the *New York Packet* published the "Order of Procession" and the "Orders for the Day of Procession," both of which were also printed as broadsides. The broadsides are printed under 23 July (below).

At 8 A.M. on 23 July, the procession's participants, about 5,000 of them, assembled at "the Fields," now City Hall Park. The procession, the line of which would extend for a mile and a half, began when the Ship *Hamilton*, which had a captain and a crew of about thirty on a stage pulled by ten horses, fired a thirteen-gun salute at 10 A.M. Following a route prescribed in the "Orders for the Day of Procession," the procession—led by horsemen with trumpets and an artillery company—had ten divisions in honor of "the ten States that had then acceded to the New Constitution." The first eight divisions consisted

primarily of the city's various trades, with each trade carrying a flag that contained the trade's mottoes and illustrations of its craft. (The *Massachusetts Centinel*, 31 July, counted fifty-one flags in the parade [below].) The word "federal" or variations of it appeared numerous times in mottoes and illustrations. Images or representations of George Washington, appeared nine times, while those of Alexander Hamilton almost as many times. Some trades had floats on which craftsmen worked.

Many trades participated in the procession. They included farmers, tailors, millers, bakers, brewers, coopers, butchers, tanners, cordwainers, carpenters, hatters, peruke (wig) makers, hair dressers, whitesmiths, blacksmiths, stone masons, bricklayers, painters, glaziers, cabinetmakers, upholsterers, civil engineers, shipwrights, sail makers, cartmen, mathematical-instrument makers, coppersmiths, pewterers, potters, goldsmiths, silversmiths, chocolate makers, tobacconists, dyers, and tallow chandlers.

The procession's seventh division—in addition to having such trades as printers, bookbinders, and stationers—also included the Ship *Hamilton*, which along the march fired thirteen-gun salutes recognizing the members of Congress at Fort George and answering a salute of a Spanish packet. This division also had an eighteen-foot pilot boat. (For more on the *Hamilton*, see "The Federal Ship *Hamilton*," 8–24 July, below.) Lastly, the seventh division included a "Federal Printing-Press" that printed and distributed a federal ode by Samuel Low and a federal song by William Pitt Smith. A flag atop the press was inscribed in gold letters "Publius," the pseudonym adopted by Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison when publishing *The Federalist*.

The ninth division consisted of the sheriff and coroner, "Gentlemen of the Bar," members of the Philological Society, the president, faculty, and students of Columbia College, and merchants and traders, while the tenth division included physicians, "Strangers," "Gentlemen," artillery, and porters.

The procession was "slow and majestic" and was witnessed by "numberless crowds," who lined the streets. "The doors and windows of houses were thronged by the fair daughters of Columbia." As the procession progressed, "an unexpected silence reigned throughout the city, which gave a solemnity to the whole transaction suited to the singular importance of its cause. . . . A glad serenity enlivened every countenance, while the joyous expectation of national prosperity triumphed in every bosom" (*Daily Advertiser*, 2 August, below). That evening, Richard Platt wrote New York's Convention delegates that "the most remarkable regularity & decorum prevailed during the whole Day—not a single Person appeared intoxicated; nor a single offence given, or

injury done to any One” (below). Evert Bancker was also pleased that all was “in such regular Order & decorum no drunkenness fighting or quareling to be seen” (to Abraham Bancker, 24 July, III, above).

In the early afternoon, the procession arrived at the farm or orchard of alderman Nicholas Bayard, which was located between the present Bowery and Broadway. The marchers were escorted to ten dining tables, where the members of Congress, distinguished foreigners, and the clergy joined them. Representing the ten ratifying states, the tables—each 440 feet long—were arranged like the spokes of a half-wheel and joined by a 150 foot colonnade with three pavilions in the center. The marchers dined on beef, mutton, and ham, among other things, and they were protected from the intermittent rain by canvas canopies. Designed by French-born architect and civil engineer Pierre Charles L’Enfant, the structure covered an area 880 feet by 600 and could accommodate 6,000 people. (Estimates of the actual numbers of diners ranged between 3,000 and 8,000.) After dinner, the customary thirteen toasts were drunk, with each toast being accompanied by the firing of ten cannon. At 4:00 P.M. the Ship *Hamilton* fired a thirteen-gun salute as a signal for the march to resume, and the procession returned to “the Fields” by 5:30 P.M. Estimates of the cost of the procession ranged from £5,000 to £10,000.

Federalists were delighted with the procession. Noah Webster, one of the marchers, described it in his diary as “Very brilliant, but fatiguing” (below), while Evert Bancker believed that it was “the Grandest Procession” ever held in either America or Europe (to Abraham Bancker, 24 July, III, above). Samuel Blachley Webb described the procession as “the most brilliant ever seen in America, and probably few of the oldest City’s in Europe ever excelled in a procession of the kind” (to Catherine Hogeboom, 25 July, below). Newspapers outside the state compared it very favorably to the grand federal procession held in Philadelphia on the Fourth of July. On the other hand, Antifederalist printer Thomas Greenleaf, although he praised the procession in his *New York Journal*, especially ridiculed the potters in the parade who could not control the clay they were fashioning on their float. Greenleaf was severely criticized for this action. (See “The Controversy over Thomas Greenleaf’s Description of the Procession,” 24–31 July, below.) Victor DuPont, a young French diplomat, thought that too much money was spent on the procession, money that could have been much better used for other things. He was also unimpressed with the Ship *Hamilton* which was generally highly praised (to Pierre Samuel DuPont de Nemours, 23 July, below). Writing from his Philadelphia home, Dr. William Shippen, Jr., described the New York procession as “very showy,” “not half as

grand” as Philadelphia’s Fourth of July procession. Moreover, unlike Philadelphia’s procession, New York’s “had no military parade, except a company of Artillery” (to Thomas Lee Shippen, 5–18 August, Shippen Family Papers, DLC).

For secondary accounts of the procession, see Sarah H. J. Simpson, “The Federal Procession in the City of New York,” *New-York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin*, IX (1925), 39–57; Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., “The Federal Processions of 1788,” *New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, XLVI (1962), 29–38; and Richard Leffler, “The Grandest Procession,” *Seaport: New York’s History Magazine*, XXI (1987–88), 28–31. For an article that places the processions of 1788 in the historical and ideological content of the late eighteenth century, see Jürgen Heideking, “The Federal Processions of 1788 and the Origins of American Civil Religion,” *Soundings: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, LXXVII (1994), 367–87.

New York Packet, 27 June 1788¹

We are informed, that a number of the tradesmen and mechanics of this city, are preparing for a GRAND PROCESSION, in consequence of the adoption of the Federal Constitution by nine States. Several crafts have their standards already painted, decorated with the insignias of their respective professions. The block-makers, we are told, have theirs finished in a neat manner, and that of the sail-makers is elegantly executed. It is to be wished, that the procession may be general; and that the NOBLE ART of TYPOGRAPHY may not be the last in the FEDERAL TRAIN.

1. Reprinted in the *New York Journal*, 28 June; the *Country Journal*, 1 July; and in whole or in part in seven out-of-state newspapers by 16 July: Mass. (2), R.I. (1), Conn. (1), N.J. (1), Md. (1), Va. (1).

New York Journal, 1 July 1788

A correspondent observes, that he was exceedingly pleased to hear, that the *grand procession*, which was expected to take place *next Friday*, is *postponed* until after the *decision* of this state in convention, respecting the new proposed constitution. A confession, that he was at a loss to determine how it was possible the celebration of the glorious FOURTH of JULY, and of the RATIFICATION of the CONSTITUTION by NINE states, this state not included, could be incorporated into one general procession and festival, he presumes will not be accounted preposterous. May a decent commemoration of the FOURTH of JULY, in America, be handed down to the latest posterity; and may Americans never

lose sight of the inestimable worth of that INDEPENDENCE then established.

New York Museum, 1 July 1788¹

PROCESSION.

The preparations that are making in this city by the different professions of artizans, mechanics, &c. for the Federal ProceSSION, which will probably take place on the 4th inst. are such, as when compleated, and displayed to the world, will do the highest honor to the city, and to the respective classes of men, who form'd and executed so great and splendid an exhibition. We sincerely hope that all Party Spirit will on that day be left at home—and the hours consecrated to joy and festivity—let the barrel-striding god, sweet Bacchus, receive the homage which he claims his due, and all, bearing in mind that *harmony, conviviality, and friendship*, is to be the characteristics of their conduct on this day, unite as brothers of one great family, and exultingly sing in the words of a merry poet,

*Rage and party, malice dies,
Peace returns and discord flies.*

1. The masthead of the *Museum*, which was printed on Tuesdays and Fridays was misdated Friday, 4 July, instead of Tuesday, 1 July. The column focusing on local news, which usually contains the date of publication, is headed 1 July. The text also indicates that the item was not printed on 4 July.

Committee of Arrangements to New York City's Mechanics Concerning Their Participation in the ProceSSION, 3–15 July 1788

On 3 July the Committee of Arrangements requested that one member from each branch of the mechanics meet on 5 July at Walter Heyer's tavern (*Daily Advertiser*, 3 July). The committee then changed the meeting place to the City Tavern (*ibid.*, 4 July). On 10 July the committee requested those branches of mechanics that had not attended the 5 July meeting to inform the committee by 15 July as to whether or not they planned to join the proceSSION (*ibid.*, 11 July). On the 15th, the committee asked those mechanics that still were not represented to come to the City Tavern that evening so that a "final disposition of the ProceSSION" could be determined (*ibid.*, 15 July).

New York Daily Advertiser, 3 July 1788¹

NOTICE.

THE FEDERAL COMMITTEE who are to direct the PROCESSION which is to take place on THURSDAY next [10 July], request the attendance of one member from each of the respective Bodies of Mechanics

of this city, at WALTER HEYER'S Tavern² on SATURDAY EVENING next at 7 o'clock precisely; at which time they are desired to come prepared to furnish returns of the number composing their Bodies, as well as to specify the nature of their intentions on that day, to the end that the order of procession may be arranged, and each assigned their proper³ place.

*Coffee-House,*⁴ *Thursday, July 3.*

*New York Daily Advertiser, 4 July 1788*⁵

NOTICE.

THE FEDERAL COMMITTEE who are to direct the PROCESSION which is to take place on THURSDAY next, request the attendance of one member from each of the respective Bodies of Mechanics of this city, at the CITY TAVERN,⁶ TO-MORROW EVENING at SEVEN o'clock precisely; at which time they are desired to come prepared to furnish returns of the number composing their Bodies, as well as to specify the nature of their intentions on that day, to the end that the order of procession may be arranged, and each assigned their proper place.

Coffee-House, Thursday, July 3.

*New York Daily Advertiser, 11 July 1788*⁷

☞ Such branches of the Mechanics as did not meet the Committee of Arrangements last Saturday at the City Tavern, are requested to inform the Chairman of said Committee, by Monday next, whether they purpose⁸ to join the PROCESSION on the 22d inst. and to make a return of their arrangements.

By order of the Committee of Arrangements,

RICHARD PLATT, Chairman.

Coffee-House, July 10.

*New York Daily Advertiser, 15 July 1788*⁹

** The Mechanics are requested to attend a meeting at the CITY TAVERN, THIS EVENING, at 7 o'clock, when it is expected that the several branches which have not yet been represented, will come prepared with the returns and devices of their different professions, in order for the final disposition of the Procession.

By order of the Committee of Arrangements,

RICHARD PLATT, Chairman.

1. This item was also printed on 3 July in the *New York Journal* and *New York Morning Post*.

2. Walter Heyer's tavern and "porter-house" was located at 75 King Street. According to *The New-York Directory* . . . (New York, 1786) (Evans 19655), the Gold and Silver Smith's Society met at Heyer's tavern on Wednesdays.

3. The *New York Journal*, 3 July, changed "proper" to "proposed."

4. For the Merchants' Coffee House, see RCS:N.Y., 772, note 2.

5. This notice was also printed on 4 July in the *New York Packet*; on 5 July it appeared again in the *Daily Advertiser* as well as in the *Independent Journal* and *New York Journal*.

6. For the City Tavern, which probably accommodated more people than Walter Heyer's tavern, see *Impartial Gazetteer*, 5 July, note 8 (RCS:N.Y., 1289).

7. This notice was also printed in the *New York Journal* on 11 and 12 July, in the *Independent Journal* on 12 July, and in the *New York Morning Post* on 14 July.

8. All other printings changed "purpose" to "propose."

9. This notice also appeared on 15 July in the *New York Journal* and *New York Morning Post*.

New York Journal, 3 July 1788¹

We hear, that—to make known the joy of the citizens, upon the circumstance of the adoption of the new proposed constitution by TEN states—a PROCESSION of the several branches of mechanics, &c. is to take place this day week.

It is said, that the *flags* emblamatical of the several crafts, the *Federal Ship*,² the *Stages*, &c. are in great readiness, and that they will surpass any thing of the kind yet exhibited in America.

1. Reprinted in the *Massachusetts Centinel* on 9 July, and on 10 July in the Boston *Independent Chronicle*, *New Hampshire Gazette*, and *Massachusetts Spy*.

2. The reference is to the Ship *Hamilton*, that was being constructed and which was launched on 17 July. See "The Federal Ship *Hamilton*," 8–24 July (below).

New York Daily Advertiser, 7 July 1788¹

** The PROCESSION is postponed till TUESDAY, the 22d instant.

1. This notice was also printed on 7 July in the *New York Journal*. The *Advertiser* also printed the notice on 8–12, 14, 16, and 17 July, and the *Journal* on 8 and 16 July. The notice also appeared in the *New York Morning Post*, 9, 14 July, *Independent Journal*, 9, 12 July, and *Impartial Gazetteer*, 12 July.

New York Packet, 8 July 1788¹

** The proposed PROCESSION in this city, on the accession of TEN States to the Fœderal Constitution, is postponed until Tuesday the 22d instant. At which time, we shall, perhaps have the pleasure, of further manifesting our satisfaction, on the addition of the *eleventh pillar* to the Fœderal Edifice.

1. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Packet*, 11 July; *Providence Gazette*, 19 July; *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 23 July.

The Federal Ship *Hamilton* New York, 8–24 July 1788

On 25 June news reached New York City that New Hampshire had become the ninth state to ratify the Constitution. This news would enable Congress to adopt measures to put the new government into operation among the ratifying states. The city's Federalists planned to celebrate the news of New Hampshire ratification with a federal procession on the Fourth of July. The centerpiece or culmination of the procession was to be a "federal ship." On 1 July Antifederalist Abraham Yates, Jr., reported that money was being collected to build "a federal ship" to be used on 4 July. According to Yates, even Antifederalist leader Marinus Willett was solicited for a contribution (to George Clinton, III, above).

The ship, according to a Spanish diplomat, was named the *Hamilton* in honor of "learned Lawyer" Alexander Hamilton, a former delegate to the Constitutional Convention and presently a delegate to the New York Convention who had "distinguished himself most in support of the Constitution" (Don Diego de Gardoqui to Conde de Floridablanca, 24 July, below. See also *New Haven Gazette*, 24 July, below.). Although Hamilton was honored in some of the other floats, it was George Washington who received the greatest attention in the procession.

The use of ships in parades was not unique to New York. "Federal ships" were used in the Boston, Baltimore, Charleston, Portsmouth, and Philadelphia processions in celebration of the ratifications of the Constitution by Massachusetts, Maryland, South Carolina, and New Hampshire, and for the Fourth of July, respectively. Unlike New York City's ship, those in these other towns were not named for any individual. They were named *Federal Constitution*, *Federalist* (twice), and *Union* (twice). In European parades, ships were often employed in parade floats because they symbolized commerce, empire, and military might—the keys to a nation's power. Americans, who had experienced economic difficulties in the mid-1780s, hoped for a revival of commerce and the trades that were dependent upon such a revival. Ships also appealed to parade spectators because of their impressive size and realistic features, including bona fide guns and actual sailors or men posing as seamen. Eighteenth-century Americans were also partial to naval spectacles. Some theatrical plays featuring these spectacles included models of ships in battle. In the New York City procession, the *Hamilton* itself would be part of a playlet that included an accompanying pilot boat. (The role of the *Hamilton* in the procession is detailed in the *Daily Advertiser*, 2 August, below.)

New York's federal procession was postponed several times from the Fourth of July to 23 July. One reason for these delays was the failure of the New York City mechanics, working under the director of a Captain Simmons (formerly of Poughkeepsie), to complete the ship on schedule. The *Hamilton* was finally launched in water on 17 July, but it suffered a mishap at the launching that required repairs to be made. After being repaired, the vessel was moored in the water until it was time for it to take its part in the procession. The ship was a miniature thirty-two-gun frigate and it was twenty-seven feet long and ten

feet wide. Commodore James Nicholson, a Revolutionary veteran of the Continental Navy, commanded the vessel, which carried more than thirty seamen and marines and another captain who actually conducted the ship.

At 10:00 A.M., on 23 July, the *Hamilton*, on a platform drawn by ten horses, was in the procession's seventh division. It fired several thirteen-gun salutes to start and resume the procession and to honor particular groups of spectators. The ship performed several intricate maneuvers during the celebration. After thousands of people had been fed, the procession resumed and at the end of the procession, the *Hamilton* was deposited on the Bowling Green. (See *Daily Advertiser*, 2 August, below.) When the news of New York's ratification arrived in New York City on the night of 26 July, several salutes were fired from the *Hamilton* and Fort George.

On 30 June 1789 the Common Council of the City of New York instructed a committee of the Council to remove the vessel from the Green. The Council wanted the Green to be put in order and rented. Some historians have speculated that parts of the *Hamilton* may have been used in the construction of the barge that brought President George Washington from Elizabethtown Point, N.J., to New York City for his inauguration in April 1789, and that the vessel existed well into the nineteenth century, being used in other parades and processions.

For comments on the *Hamilton*, see Victor DuPont to Pierre Samuel DuPont de Nemours, 23 July; *New York Journal*, 24 July; Don Diego de Gardoqui to Conde de Floridablanca, 24 July; and *New York Packet*, 8 August (all below). See also Victor DuPont to Pierre Samuel DuPont de Nemours, 26 July (III, above).

Poughkeepsie Country Journal, 8 July 1788¹

Extract of a letter from New-York, dated July 5.

“Next Thursday [10 July] we are to have a grand procession at this place—a most elegant ship is now finishing for the purpose, and is to go in procession together with persons of every branch of business in the city. She is built by Capt. Simmons who lately moved from Poughkeepsie, and to be commanded by a Capt. Nicholson.² Her length is 25 feet keel, and is to carry 26 guns on one deck. She is to be called *the Hamilton*, and I think will make a most beautiful appearance on the water. You may look to see her at Poughkeepsie wharf in eight or ten days, as Capt. Nicholson has hinted he would go there after the procession is over, where, no doubt she will meet the applause of every true friend to Mechanism.”

New York Impartial Gazetteer, 12 July 1788

Messrs. PRINTERS, *The following lines, wrote by a truly Federal gentleman, as a motto for the ship-joiners insignia, you will please to give a place in your Poet's Corner, and oblige*

S. J.

Our merchants may venture to ship without fear,
 For pilots of skill shall the Hamilton steer;
 This federal ship shall our commerce revive,
 And merchants and ship-wrights and joiners shall thrive;
 On the ocean of time she's about to set sail,
 Fair freedom her compass, and concord the gale.

New York Journal, 18 July 1788

We learn that the *Federal* ship Hamilton was launched yesterday, and that she *unfortunately* fell upon her *beam-ends*—but it is said the damage she received was so trifling, that she can easily be got ready for the approaching expedition.³

We were further informed, just as the paper was going to press, in the process of launching the above ship, the shed, in which it was built, without giving sufficient warning for all the spectators to escape, fell to the ground, but, very providentially, no one was hurt, except a lad, who had a bone in the arm fractured.

*New York Packet, 18 July 1788*⁴

Last evening was launched, the FEDERAL SHIP HAMILTON, amidst the acclamations of a large concourse of citizens.

*New York Journal, 24 July 1788*⁵

RECENT ANECDOTE.

A gentleman, who was present at the *fall* of the federal ship, when she was launched, in which fall she *bilged*, and the right arm of Col. *Hamilton* (the head of the ship) holding the constitution, broken off, exclaimed, with some humour, “gentlemen, there is certainly room for *amendments*.[’]”

New Haven Gazette, 24 July 1788

The beautiful ship used in the grand Federal exhibition in New-York yesterday, is named the HAMILTON, in honor of Col. Alexander Hamilton, a member of the late Federal Convention, and of the present convention of that state: a gentleman whose exertions for the rights and liberties of this people, in the field and in council entitle him not only to this, but to more distinguished honours.⁶

1. Reprinted: Lansingburgh *Federal Herald*, 14 July.

2. During the Revolution, James Nicholson, a native of Maryland, was a captain in the Continental Navy, commanding several different vessels. From January 1778, until the

end of the war, Nicholson was the senior officer in the Navy. After the war he lived in New York City, becoming known as the “commodore.” In April 1789 Nicholson commanded the elaborate barge that took President George Washington from New Jersey to New York City for his inauguration.

3. On 19 July Peter Collin reported that the Ship *Hamilton* “is now hauled up again at the Shipyards in order to repair some damages She received at the Launching, and to have the carryage fitted upon which She is to be drawn in the procession” (to Nicholas Low, 19 July, RCS:N.Y., 1596).

4. Reprinted in the Lansingburgh *Federal Herald*, 28 July, and in eleven out-of-state newspapers by 6 August: N.H. (1), Mass. (2), R.I. (1), Conn. (2), Pa. (3), Va. (2).

5. Reprinted in the *Daily Advertiser*, 26 July; *Country Journal*, 29 July; and in four out-of-state newspapers by 26 August: Mass. (1), N.J. (1), Pa. (1), Va. (1). Greenleaf printed this anecdote immediately following his account of the procession (below). Both the anecdote and the account of the procession were reprinted in the same order by the *Daily Advertiser* on 26 July. Below the account of the procession the *Advertiser* reprinted a brief paragraph that Greenleaf published on 25 July in which he noted that his humorous account of the potters in the procession was not intended as censure (below).

6. See also Don Diego de Gardoqui to Conde de Floridablanca, 25 July, at note 3 (below).

New York Journal, 10 July 1788¹

The *grand procession* in this city, we are told, is postponed until the decision of the hon. convention of this state, respecting the constitution, be known.

1. Reprinted in ten newspapers by 23 July: N.H. (1), Mass. (2), Conn. (2), Pa. (4), Md. (1).

Peter Collin to Nicholas Low

New York, 16 July 1788 (excerpt)¹

... It is reported here to night that the final question in your Convention was to be taken to morrow, and I hope therefore to have the pleasure to see you at home in the course of this week.

The Brig will not be ready to Launch before next week. It is said that the procession is postponed till the 23rd Inst. in order to give the Jews an opportunity to Join in the festivals, the 22nd being one of their holidays.²

1. RC, Low Papers, NHi. Low (1739–1826), a wealthy New York City merchant and a director of the Bank of New York, represented New York County in the Assembly, 1788–89, and the state Convention where he voted to ratify the Constitution. This letter is one of at least five letters that Collin wrote from New York City to Low while the latter was in Poughkeepsie attending the Convention. Collin described the business he was transacting for Low in these letters.

2. The reference is probably to Tisha B'Av, which commemorates the destruction of the first Temple (586 B.C.) and the second Temple (70 A.D.). Adrian Bancker thought

that this postponement of the procession was “a great Compliment paid the Jews” (to Evert Bancker, 20 July, III, above).

New York Daily Advertiser, 17 July 1788¹

** The PROCESSION is postponed till WEDNESDAY, the 23d instant.

1. This notice was also printed on 17 July in the *New York Journal* and *New York Morning Post*. It appeared again in the *New York Journal* on 18 July and in the *Daily Advertiser* on 21 July. It was also printed in the *New York Packet*, 18 July, and *Independent Journal*, 19 July.

Richard Platt to Richard Varick New York, 18 July 1788¹

I am desired by the Committee of Arrangement to ask of you, whether the Corporation mean to join in the Fœderal Procession; and if they do that you will be pleas'd to let me know their Number.²

1. RC, Varick Papers, NHi. Platt signed his letter as chairman of the Committee of Arrangements. Varick was recorder of the City of New York.

2. The corporation of the City of New York consisted of the mayor, recorder, treasurer, aldermen and assistants, sheriff, clerk, and coroner. Mayor James Duane was in Poughkeepsie as a Convention delegate. The corporation did not march as a group.

Peter Collin to Nicholas Low New York, 19 July 1788 (excerpt)¹

... I am sorry to find that you will probably be detained a week longer, but it is hoped it will be for the best in the end.

I have communicated to young Mr. Hoffman (the old Gentl not being within) that part of your Letter which relates to the Convention business. Great preparations are going forward for next Wednesday. Eleven Tables are prepared on Alderm. Bayards green, now Call'd Foederal Green, which will be laid out all alike, and if this State does not come into the new union previous to that day it is said that the Eleventh Table is to stand quite empty and all the provisions on that Table to be given to the poore after the Dinner is [– – –] the rest. The foederal Ship Hamilton will be very elegant. it was launched two days ago, and is now hauled up again at the Shipyards in order to repair some damages She received at the Launching, and to have the carryage fitted upon which She is to be drawn in the procession.² Commodor Nicholson is to command her.

1. RC, Low Papers, NHi.

2. For more on the launching of the *Hamilton*, see “The Federal Ship *Hamilton*,” 8–24 July (above).

New York Daily Advertiser, 22 July 1788¹

A federal correspondent says, that it is the ardent wish of the citizens, friends to the new Constitution, that among other demonstrations of joy to be exhibited to morrow in honor of the Ten adopting States, that a general illumination of the Houses may take place that evening,² a practice universal upon all grand events in every civilized nation in Europe; an epocha of greater moment in the annals of mankind perhaps never before happened in any age or country, than that which is about to be celebrated on the auspicious 23d of July, 1788.

1. Reprinted: *Independent Journal*, 23 July. The *Journal* reprinted this paragraph below the "Order of Procession" that it reprinted from the *New York Packet* of 22 July. See "Order of Procession," 23 July (below).

2. For a response to this suggestion about illumination, see *Daily Advertiser*, 22 July, note 1 (immediately below).

New York Daily Advertiser, 22 July 1788¹

Federal Procession.

☞ A report having been circulated that the Procession would be postponed—the Committee of Arrangements give Notice, that it will positively take place, agreeable to advertisement already published, TOMORROW, the 23d inst.

The Inhabitants of Broad-Way, White-Hall-street, Great-Dock-street, Hanover-Square and Queen-streets, are requested to sweep and water their respective streets, this evening and early to-morrow morning, for the accommodation of the Federal Procession.

RICHARD PLATT, Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements.

1. This notice was also printed on 22 July in the *New York Packet*. On 23 July the *Daily Advertiser* ran it again, indicating this time that the procession would take place on that day. Below the second paragraph the *Advertiser* inserted the words "NO ILLUMINATIONS," probably in answer to a "federal correspondent's" request in the *Advertiser* of 22 July that "a general illumination of the Houses" take place (immediately above). "NO ILLUMINATIONS" was followed with another paragraph: "Several Booths, having been erected on Federal Green, the Committee earnestly request that no spirituous liquors, on any pretence, be brought there for sale, as it will materially interfere with the arrangements they have made, neither can they be answerable for the consequences." The *Advertiser's* item of 23 July was reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Packet* on 26 July.

Notice to Members of the Society of Cincinnati

New York, 22 July 1788¹

CINCINNATI.

The Members of this State Society of Cincinnati will meet Tomorrow morning precisely at half past 7, at the City Tavern, Broad-way, to move with the General Procession.—It is expected that every Member will be punctual in his attendance.

Members from other States, who may be in this City, are particularly requested to join the Society on this important occasion.

Tuesday Morning, July 22, 1788.

1. Broadside (Evans 45362).

Order of Procession

New York, 23 July 1788¹

On 22 July the *New York Packet* published the "Order of Procession" for the ten divisions of marchers that would comprise the federal procession of 23 July, and immediately below the "Order of Procession" the *Packet* printed the "Orders for the Day of Procession." Three broadside versions also exist. Two similar undated broadsides of the "Order of Procession" were printed without colophons and were probably also printed prior to 23 July. Neither is listed in Evans. Both broadsides consecutively numbered (through seventy-six) the groups of marchers in each of the ten divisions. The broadside located in the New York State Library is lightly annotated in hand. The eighth division lists "Carvers and Engineers" instead of "Carvers and Engravers," which appears in the more heavily annotated broadside found in the Library of Congress. This suggests that the Library of Congress copy was printed later than the one from the New York State Library. (For a facsimile of the heavily annotated broadside, see Mfm:N.Y.)

On 23 July the *Daily Advertiser* published a corrected version of the "Order of Procession," but like the *New York Packet* it did not number the seventy-six groups of marchers. A broadside of the corrected "Order of Procession" was printed again without a colophon (Evans 45320). Like the two preliminary broadsides, this broadside numbered the seventy-six groups of marchers. This revised broadside is printed below. The handwritten marginal notes from the heavily annotated preliminary broadside present difficulties since it is not clear to which groups of marchers the notes refer. Therefore, the marginalia are not included here. See Mfm:N.Y. for a facsimile of the broadside. The footnotes to the revised broadside indicate differences between the revised broadside/*Daily Advertiser* and the two preliminary broadsides/*New York Packet*.

On 23 July the "Order of Procession" was also printed in the *Independent Journal* and *New York Journal*; the *Independent Journal* made only two of the corrections that appeared in the revised broadside/*Daily Advertiser*, while the *New York Journal* made none. On 26 July, three days after the procession took place, the *Impartial Gazetteer* duplicated all of the corrections of the revised broadside/*Daily Advertiser*. The *Gazetteer* also inserted a woodcut depicting the Ship *Hamilton*. Outside New York, the "Order of Procession" was reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 24 July; *Boston Gazette*, 28 July; and *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 6 August. The *Packet* and the *Gazette* made none of the corrections of the revised broadside/*Daily Advertiser*, while the Norfolk newspaper made two.

Order of Procession,

In Honor of the Constitution of the United States.

At eight o'Clock on Wednesday Morning the 23d of July, 10 Guns will fire, when the PROCESSION will parade and proceed by the fol-

lowing Route, viz: Down Broad-Way to Great-Dock-Street, thence through Hanover-Square, Queen, Chatham, Division, and Arundel-Streets; and from thence through Bullock-Street to Bayard's-House.

- No. 1. 2 Horsemen with Trumpets.
- 2. 1 piece of Artillery.

First DIVISION.

<p>No. 3 4² Foresters in Frocks, carrying Axes. 4 Columbus in his Ancient Dress—on Horseback. 5 6 Foresters, &c. 6 A Plough. 7 A Sower.³ 8 A Harrow. 9 Farmers. 10 United States Arms, borne by Col. White, supported by the Society of the Cincinnati.⁴ 11 Gardeners.</p>	<p>No. 12 A Band of Music. 13 Taylors. 14 Measurers of Grain. 15 Millers. 16 Inspectors of Flour. 17 Bakers. 18 Brewers. 19 Distillers.</p>
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Second DIVISION.

<p>20 Coopers. 21 Butchers.</p>	<p>22 Tanners and Curriers. 23 Leather Dressers.</p>
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Third DIVISION.

- 24. Cord Wainers.

Fourth DIVISION.

<p>25 Carpenters. 26 Furriers.</p>	<p>27 Hatters. 28 Peruke-Makers and Hair-Dressers.</p>
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Fifth DIVISION.

<p>29 White Smiths. 30 Cutlers. 31 Stone Masons. 32 Brick-Layers. 33 Painters and Glaziers. 34 Cabinet Makers.</p>	<p>35 Windsor Chair-Makers. 36 Upholsterers. 37 Fringe Makers. 38 Paper Stainers. 39 Civil Engineers.</p>
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Sixth DIVISION.

40	Ship-Wrights.	44	Block and Pump-Makers.
41	Black-Smiths.	45	Sail-Makers, and Rope-Makers.
42	Ship-Joiners.	46	Riggers.
43	Boat-Builders.		

Seventh DIVISION.

47	Federal Ship Hamilton. ⁵	50	Marine Society.
48	Pilot Boat and Barges.	51	Printers, Book-Binders and Stationers.
49	Pilots.		

Eighth DIVISION.

52	Cartmen.	60	Gold and Silver-Smiths.
53	Mathematical Instrument-Makers.	61	Potters.
54	Carvers and Engravers. ⁶	62	Chocolate-Makers.
55	Coach-Makers.	63	Tobacconists.
56	Coach-Painters.	64	Dyers.
57	Copper-Smiths and Brass-Founders.	65	Brush-Makers.
58	Tin-plate Workers.	66	Tallow-Chandlers.
59	Pewterers.	67	Saddlers, Harness and Whip-Makers.

Ninth DIVISION.

68	Gentlemen of the Bar.	70	President and Students of the College.
69	Philological Society.	71	Merchants and Traders.

Tenth DIVISION.

72	Clergy. ⁷
73	Physicians.
74	Strangers.
75	Militia Officers.
76	1 piece of Artillery.

By Order of the Committee of Arrangements,
RICHARD PLATT, Chairman.

1. Broadside (Evans 45320).
2. The number "4" does not appear in the *New York Packet*, 22 July, but is found in both preliminary broadsides.

3. This group is not included in the *New York Packet*, 22 July, but appears in both preliminary broadsides.

4. The phrase "supported by the Society of the Cincinnati" does not appear in the *New York Packet*, 22 July, or in either of the preliminary broadsides, although the phrase is added in hand in both broadsides.

5. The *New York Packet*, 22 July, has only "Ship and Crew."

6. "Engineers" instead of "Engravers" appears in the *New York Packet*, 22 July, and in the lightly annotated preliminary broadside.

7. The *New York Journal*, 22 July, reads "Cincinnati" instead of "Clergy." In the two preliminary broadsides, "Cincinnati" is struck out by hand and replaced by "Clergy."

Orders for the Day of Procession New York, 23 July 1788¹

ORDERS For the Day of Procession.

On the discharge of 10 guns at 8 o'clock in the morning of the 23^d inst. the various classes of Citizens which are to compose the Procession, will please to repair to the Fields, under their proper officers, formed and told off, in the manner they propose marching, and immediately on their arrival, an Adjutant or orderly person from each, will be sent to St. Paul's church to receive directions from the Superintendent, who will be designated by a blue coat, red sash, and white feather tipped with black, by way of distinction from the following gentlemen, who are assistants, viz. Col. William S. Livingston, Col. Giles, Major Bleecker, Capt. Fowler, Capt. Stagg, Capt. Dunscomb, Jacob² Morton, John R. Livingston, Daniel Le Roy, Thomas Durie, Edward Livingston, Staats Morris, John Lefferts, Esquires, who will each be clad in an uniform white coat, with blue cape and sash, wear a white feather tipped with blue, and carry a speaking trumpet.

One cannon will be posted on the right, and another on the left; the first will fire for the commencement of the formation, and the second for the completion of the line; afterwards the ship will fire 13 guns as a signal for marching, when the whole procession will face to the right, advance and march by the following route, viz.

Down Broad-Way into Great Dock-Street, thence through Hanover-Square, Queen, Chatham, Division, and Arundel Streets, and from thence through Bullock-Street to Bayard's house; when the cannon in front will fire and the van halt, the rear close regularly up and dress, and as soon as the left comes up to its ground the rear gun will fire, and be answered with 10 guns from the ship, when the whole line will front to the city: This done, the Committee of Arrangements, followed by Congress, Ministers, Foreigners of distinction and the Gentlemen on horse-back, will pass along the line of Procession, and review it, each

division afterwards marching off to its table, after proper guards for their insignias, &c. are posted. The Artillery will close the rear and fire 2 guns as a signal for dining, upon coming to their station, where the flag is displayed. While at dinner 10 guns will be fired at each toast.

At 5 o'clock P. M. two guns will fire as a signal for retiring from the table by the left, the rear gun leading and firing when arrived on its ground, the van gun bringing up the rear and firing in its place, after which the ship will fire 13 guns, the line of Procession face to the right about, and advance by Bayard's house, wheel into Great George-Street, proceed down to the Fields, and form on its first ground, when the van and rear guns will fire in succession, and be answered by a full fire from the ship, upon which the various parties will return to their respective parades, and there be regularly dismissed.

By Order of the Committee of Arrangements,
 RICHARD PLATT, Chairman,
 And Superintendent of the Day.

1. Broadside, MHi. This undated broadside has no printer's colophon and is not listed in Evans. The orders were also printed in the *New York Packet*, 22 July; *Daily Advertiser, Independent Journal*, and *New York Journal*, 23 July; *Pennsylvania Packet*, 24 July; and *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 6 August.

2. In the *New York Packet*, 22 July, "Capt." appears instead of "Jacob."

Victor Marie DuPont to Pierre Samuel DuPont de Nemours New York, 23 July 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . The 23rd was the great Day of the Procession in honor of the adoption by ten States. It was composed of all the different bodies of tradesmen and workers marching one after the other and dragging with them the principal instruments or Symbols of their Estates, and the flags and colors with the emblems, devices, &c. I shall annex here a gazette in which you will find a very *pompous* description that you will have to have translated at Irene's; it was very considerable, and there came a great number of *countrymen* of the neighborhood. There were some good people who had the idea of dragging through the streets a vessel so large that it was very difficult, and they were obliged to cut down many very agreeable trees that bordered some homes. This was not very marvelous. This vessel cost much money, and is no longer good for anything. They talk of sending it to France as a present to the Marquis de la Fayette, and a sailor has undertaken to go there within a month. This would be a great folly, because it is too weakly timbered and poorly proportioned. The Chinese pavilion set up outside the city

to give a dinner to 3 or 4 thousand people was fairly niggardly, and cost so much money that it is estimated that the procession cost in all some 5,000 pounds, which comes to around 65,000 francs, which could have been better employed, such as in making improvements and establishing promenades in the city, since they do not have any, or side-walks for the streets.

Yesterday some bad foreigners without a doubt made a point of disparaging the majesty of the sovereign body of the United States while dining in a small tavern at a repast given by the *federalist* workers of the city of New York, at a moment when it appears that this state will not accept the new constitution. This is called a popular government. I find that it resembles more one of the *rabble*.

Some members, feeling the inconsequence of this proceeding, today maintain that they are not there as a congress, but as individuals. If this had been so, then the president would not be in his chair, and in succession New Hampshire, Massachusetts, &c and members [from] New York, although the state was antifederalist &c &c, and we respond that then they have behaved very rudely to the foreign ministers in placing them at table after the members from Georgia and in not giving the right of presiding to the minister of France, who would surely have requested it if he had not seen the America government sitting in all its power. . . .

1. FC (Tr), Victor DuPont Papers, Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Greenville, Del. Other excerpts from this letter are printed under 1–4 July (above) and 26 July (VII, below).

**Richard Platt to the Delegates of the City and County of
New York in Convention, New York, 23 July 1788¹**

Gent[leme]n

The Committee of Arrangement being Sensible that You must feel an anxiety to know in what manner the general Procession in this City in honor of the Establishment of the Constitution has been conducted; I am desired to inform You, that the most remarkable regularity & decorum prevailed during the whole Day—Not a single Person appeared intoxicated; nor a single offence given, or injury done to any One²—

The Citizens at large are too sensibly impress'd with the importance of the cause they have espoused to suffer it to be disgraced by any act of violence, or even illiberality—

Wednesday 11. P M

1. RC, James Duane Papers, NH. Duane was one of the Convention delegates from the City and County of New York. Platt signed his letter as chairman of the Committee of Arrangements.

2. Evert Bancker and John Randolph of Roanoke agreed. Bancker stated “that all [was] in such regular Order & decorum no drunkenness fighting or quareling to be seen” (to Abraham Bancker, 24 July, III, above). Randolph, a student at Columbia College, noted that 8,000 people “were said to have dined together on the green there was not a single Drunken Man or fight to be seen” (to St. George Tucker, 30 July, below).

Noah Webster Diary

New York, 23 July 1788¹

The Grand Procession in New York to celebrate the Adoption of the Constitution by 10 States—Very brilliant, but fatiguing²—I formed a part of the Philological Society, whose flag & uniform black dress made a very respectable figure.

1. MS, Webster Diary, NN.

2. Webster published a lengthy description of the procession in the *Daily Advertiser* on 2 August (below).

New York Daily Advertiser, 23 July 1788¹

It is sincerely to be wished that the greatest decorum may prevail, during the Procession. Every person who is interested in the event which is now to be celebrated, will doubtless consider that much of the honor of the day depends upon the harmony which subsists among the different orders of citizens, who compose the Procession.—Each man should esteem the other as a Brother, engaged in testifying their joy on the commencement of the “EPOCH OF LIBERTY AND JUSTICE.”²

1. This paragraph was also printed on 23 July in the *Independent Journal* and *New York Journal*. The *Pennsylvania Packet* and *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal* reprinted this paragraph on 24 July and 6 August, respectively. The *Daily Advertiser* printed this paragraph below its printing of the “Orders for the Day of Procession” (23 July, above). The other four newspapers (named above) either printed or reprinted this paragraph below their reprinting of the “Orders for the Day of Procession.”

2. Along the same lines, Ezra L’Hommedieu had stated (a few days earlier) that he believed “the Business of the Day [23 July] will be conducted with prudence with out insulting any one by word or Action or doing any thing by which the feelings of any one at Home or abroad may be hurt” (to John Smith, 20 July, III, above).

New York Journal, 23 July 1788

We congratulate the procession gentry upon the agreeableness of this day—just rain enough to lay the dust, says a correspondent.

We are informed, that some of the *representatives*, this day will appear royally splendid; others in fancy dresses which credit taste: among the most striking of these, which are not common, is the *grotesque*. The venerable father of America,¹ we are told, will be represented in such garments as he wore when his eye was blessed, and his heart rejoiced, at the primæval salute of this western hemisphere.

We are informed that it was intended to postpone the Grand Procession of this day, until after the debates at Poughkeepsie should be made known—and, anxious for that all-interesting result, that an express was sent off for Poughkeepsie, which returned yesterday about 12 o'clock, and reported, that the spirit of procrastination generally reigned among the members of convention; that to retard the procession for their result would be needless.

1. The reference is to Christopher Columbus. See "Description of the New York City Federal Procession," *Daily Advertiser*, 2 August, at note 1 (below).

Samuel Low: Ode for the Federal Procession New York, 23 July 1788

New York City's printers marched in the seventh division of the procession along with a working "*Federal Printing-Press*" mounted on a horse-drawn stage. "Many hundred copies" of broadsides of two odes especially written for the occasion were struck off and distributed "among the multitude" by Archibald M'Lean of the *Independent Journal (Daily Advertiser)*, 2 August, below). One broadside, entitled "Ode, on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution," was written by William Pitt Smith (*New York Journal*, 24 July, below). The other broadside, which is also printed below, was written by Samuel Low and is entitled "Ode for the Federal Procession, Upon the Adoption of the New Government" (Evans 45284).

The text of Samuel Low's ode has been transcribed from the broadside that apparently was printed during the procession. The broadside indicates that the ode was "Composed by Mr. L * *." On 25 July the ode was reprinted in the *Daily Advertiser* and *New York Packet*. The *Daily Advertiser* noted that the ode was "Composed by Mr. LOW." The *New York Packet*, like the broadside, stated that it was "Composed by Mr. L * *." The ode was also reprinted in six other newspapers: *Independent Journal*, 26 July, *Hudson Weekly Gazette* and *New Hampshire Spy*, 5 August; *Newport Herald*, 7 August; Newburyport, Mass., *Essex Journal*, 13 August (excerpt); and *Massachusetts Spy*, 21 August. Four of these six newspapers indicated that the ode was "Composed by Mr. L * *," while the other two newspapers gave no attribution. The *Essex Journal*, *Massachusetts Spy*, and *New Hampshire Spy* declared that the ode was "printed at the Federal Printing Press, as it moved along in the Procession, on Wednesday last, and distributed among the multitude."

Samuel Low (1765–1821), a poet, worked after 1789 as a clerk in the U.S. Treasury and a bookkeeper in the Bank of New York. In 1789 Low published

a play, entitled *The Politician Out-Witted*, which was rejected by the managers of a New York theater. The play treated the conflict between an Antifederalist and a Federalist that was complicated by the planned marriage of the Antifederalist's son to the Federalist's daughter. In 1800 Low published almost all of his poetry in *Poems by Samuel Low* (2 vols., New York [Evans 37856]) that included the ode he composed for the procession (I, 98–103).

ODE FOR THE FEDERAL PROCESSION,
Upon the Adoption of the NEW GOVERNMENT.

*Composed by Mr. L * *.*

I.

Emerging from Old Ocean's bed,
When fair Columbia rear'd her awful head
To his^(a) enraptur'd view, whose dauntless soul
Heav'n had impell'd t' explore the unknown goal;
The Genius of the solitary waste,
With extacy the god-like man embrac'd,
Prophetic of her future state:
And smil'd serene, and bless'd th' approaching day,
When older Nations, envious, should survey
Our Wisdom, Virtue, Pow'r how great!
But still she sigh'd and dropt a tear,
And still she entertain'd a fear,
Anticipating what she knew too well;
And what, this memorable day, the Muse
With retrospective ken reluctant views,
And this blest Epoch forbids to tell.^(b)

II.

Distress'd she saw—but, with predictive eyes,
Through scenes of horror future bliss descry;
Sees greater good from partial evil rise.
She knew how Empires rise and fall;
That all the changes on this terrene ball
Revolve by Heav'n's command,
Nor can its will withstand—
Submissive she that Pow'r ador'd,
The Sovereign Universal Lord,
Almighty, wise and good!
Whose eye omniscient saw 'twas right,
We should attain that glorious height,
Through Seas of kindred blood.

III.

And, lo! the all-important period's nigh,
 And swells the mighty theme—
 An Æra, greater than the golden age
 Of which the Poets dream;
 And adds a wond'rous, an illustrious page
 To this terrestrial Globe's vast history.
 Begin oh Muse,
 And far diffuse
 Th' inspiring news
 To Earth's remotest bound:
 Throughout the world let joy like ours be found,
 And Echo catch the animating sound,
 Now all our highest hopes are crown'd.
 Through time's incessant round,
 Fame shall resound
 This long desir'd event,
 And tell what mighty blessings Heav'n has sent;
 Immortal Fame,
 Whose loud acclaim
 Is deathless as the Poet's song,
 To countless ages shall the theme prolong.

IV.

Ten Sovereign States, in Friendship's league combin'd,
 Blest with a Government, which does embrace
 The dearest Interests of the human race,
 This festive day, to joy resign'd,
 This signal day we celebrate—
 Let ev'ry patriot heart dilate,
 Let ev'ry care be banish'd far,
 Nor aught the honors of this solemn season mar.
 Behold th' admir'd Procession move along,
 Our sister States, the happy ten, to greet—
 What animation in the crowd'd Street!
 What buzzing eclat from each tongue!
 In beautiful arrangement lo!
 Majestically slow,
 Some thousand souls, a federal band,
 Advancing hand in hand—
 Heart-cheering sight! not half so much applause
 Did Alexander's¹ pompous entries crown;

Nor did he ever gain such true renown—
This grand display can boast a nobler cause.

V.

Hail Liberty, thou heav'n-born child!
Young, smiling Cherub, virtuous, mild
We feel, we feel thy pow'r divine!
These solemnities are thine!
Our hearts o'erflow,
Our bosoms glow,
Sorrow fades,
Joy pervades
Th' intoxicated senses!
Floods of Transport fill the soul,
And Melancholy's haggard train controul,
For now our Country's happiness commences!

VI.

Joy to the Union! Fair Columbia hail!—
Distraction in our Councils now shall fail,
And Strength, Respect and Wisdom join'd, prevail:
Justice shall lift her well-poiz'd Scale.
With placid aspect, Peace her wand extend,
And white rob'd Virtue from the Sky descend;
Genius shall mount a glorious tow'ring height,
By genial Science foster'd and refin'd,
And never-dying wreaths our Offspring's temples bind—
While dwindled Europe sickens at the sight.
Arts, still encreasing, shall our clime adorn,
Success and Wealth crown millions yet unborn,
Glorious and smiling as the op'ning Morn!
And, if fair Industry but prompt the hand,
The cultur'd Earth shall teem at their command,
And Health and Plenty glad Heav'n's fav'rite land;
Pomona's² charge shall grow luxuriant here,
And bounteous Ceres³ crown the blissful year;
Commerce shall raise her languid head—
The Nation's dignity, which with her fled,
Triumphant shall her place resume,
And Navies start from the tall forest's gloom.

VII.

Joy to our far-fam'd *Chief!*⁴ whose peerless worth
Makes Monarchs sicken at their royal birth;

And thou, grown dim with honorable age,
 Whose Lore shall grace the scientific page,
Franklin, the patriot, venerable Sage,
 Of philosophic memory! And thou,^(c)
 Our City's boast, to whom so much we owe;
 In whom, tho' last and youngest of the three,
 No common share of excellence we see:
 In ev'ry grateful heart thou hast a place,
 Nor Time, nor Circumstance can e'er erase.
 All hail, ye Champions in your Country's cause!
 Soon shall that Country ring with your applause—
 With such, and with ten thousand Patriots more,
 To what vast Fame this Western World shall soar!
 Discord shall cease, and perfect Union reign,
 And all confess that sweetly-pow'rful chain,
 The *Fed'ral System*, which, at once, unites
 The Thirteen States, and all the people's rights.
 Oh, may those rights be sacred to the end,
 And to our vast posterity descend;
 That beauteous Structure flourish and expand,
 And ceaseless Blessings crown our native Land!

- (a) *Columbus.*
- (b) *Alluding to the late war.*
- (c) *Alexander Hamilton, Esquire.*

1. Alexander the Great.
2. A nymph at Rome, who presided over gardens and was the goddess of fruit trees.
3. Goddess of grain and harvests.
4. George Washington.

Don Diego de Gardoqui to Conde de Floridablanca
New York, 24 July 1788¹

The Inhabitants of this City desiring to give demonstrations of the federal spirit which dominates them, and the great joy with which they cover their Hearts with the adoption of the new System of Government by ten States, they resolved to make it known with a magnificent procession, and a splendid banquet yesterday.

For this purpose they invited long beforehand the Society or Order of Cincinnatus, the Chamber of Commerce, the College of Sciences, the College of Lawyers, Workers, Merchant Marine, Guilds, Occupations, and various other persons, whose brotherhoods or fraternities adopted

measures to take great pains in making the procession splendid with a variety of Carts, Banners, and other emblematic contrivances, and very appropriate to the subject of the day.

The order of the procession was as follows: An Artillery Company opened the field, to this there followed on horseback Don Cristoval Colon² in old Spanish dress, the source of this Empire as the first discoverer of it; following this the Order of Cincinnatus, whose Eagle, or coat of arms one of its members carried mounted on a most graceful horse [- - -]; following this the different Guilds with their respective Carts, and contrivances; closing the procession the body of Merchants, to which there followed another Artillery Company as guard.

Among all the contrivances, a small Frigate with 30 Cannons (to which is given the name of the Federalist Hamilton, out of respect to a learned Lawyer who has distinguished himself most in support of the Constitution) built with all accuracy and equipped with all that is necessary, that went at full sail in the place which corresponded to it, pulled by 13 horses and commanded by Commander Nihelson, merited particular attention and general applause.

The particularly affectionate reception filled with satisfaction the whole town which paid homage and respect to the procession in general, and in particular to the Frigate, His Majesty's Packet-boat the Pinzon under the command of Don Pedro del Barco, which placing itself in a situation whereby it had to pass very close to the above reported procession, and having raised the American Flag to the top of the Foremast since the early morning when it saluted the City with 13 Cannon Shots; it saluted with the same number when the above mentioned procession began to pass, with some more, and acclaiming repeatedly long live the King, when the Frigate (which answered punctually to it, and with many acclamations) presented itself and with 13 more cannon rounds ended it.³

It is to be noticed that several of the richest and most important Persons of the town, joined together, or mingled with the different guilds making use of their garb, and the tools, machines or respective insignias of each one, in order to stimulate in this manner the people to industry, and agriculture; and letting it be understood at the same time to the Principal Ones how much the advancement of both branches interests them; that the Powerful Ones do not look upon them with contempt, and they are not disdainful of favoring them.

The procession having concluded its Course through the City, it retired in formation to its outskirts, where in a level, spacious Field ten tables (symbolic of the ten States which have adopted [the Constitu-

tion]) were found located with an abundance of foods for the number of 5,000 persons.

These tables which covered with branches, curtains, flags, and other ornaments, presented an extremely agreeable sight, formed a graceful fan at whose foot was constructed a Pavilion extended toward the two sides, beneath which was found at its center in a somewhat more elevated place the President of the Congress, and to the sides several other Members [of Congress], the Ministers, and Foreign Consuls, the principal Public Employees, and other persons of Consequence that were invited; they took their places soon after the procession arrived.

Over the Pavilion there was found raised the American Flag, the flag pole of which had been made a Statue representing Fame; at its sides were found located the Flags of Spain and France, and there followed these on the right side those of Holland, and Prussia; and on the left those of Sweden and Morocco, which are the Nations with whom this one has treaties.

The dinner was concluded with 13 toasts according to custom, which were accompanied by 13 Cannon Shots for each one, by the harmonious echo of the music, and a uniform consonance of shouts of joy; these contributed to making the day the greatest pleasure and satisfaction for those who celebrated it; [and] who afterwards retired with equal praises, and without the least disagreements having occurred.

1. RC (Tr), enclosure in Gardoqui's 25 July letter to the Conde de Floridablanca, Spain's Secretary of State. The letter and the enclosure are in Estado, Legajo 3893, Apartado 3, Letter No. 20, pp. 475–91, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid. For the letter, see III, above.

2. Christopher Columbus.

3. For a mishap in the *Hamilton's* response to the *Pinzon*, see the *New York Journal*, 24 July (below).

New York Daily Advertiser, 24 July 1788¹

The Committee of Arrangements return their warmest acknowledgments to the several Branches of Mechanics for their punctual attendance on the parade, their regularity in the march, and their strict decorum on the dismissal from the Procession.

They request the Farmers to accept of their thanks for the readiness with which they joined the citizens on an occasion equally interesting to the landed and commercial interest.

The Committee would be insensible of the zeal and merit of Major L'Enfant,² were they to omit expressing the obligation which they are under to him for the elegance of the design and the excellence of the

execution of the pavillion and tables—to Colonel Stevens,³ who condescended to act as quarter-master on the occasion, the success of the movements of the several machines is in a great measure due; the Committee therefore beg leave to express the high sense they entertain of the great assistance they have derived from his industry and professional knowledge.

A particular account of the Procession will be published as soon as such materials can be collected from the different branches as will enable the Committee to do justice to the ingenuity and taste displayed on this occasion,

RICHARD PLATT, Chairman.

1. Reprinted in the *New York Packet*, 25 July; *Impartial Gazetteer* and *Independent Journal*, 26 July; *Country Journal*, 29 July; and in whole or in part in three out-of-state newspapers by 13 August: Mass. (1), Va. (1), S.C. (1).

2. Pierre Charles L'Enfant, a French-born architect and civil engineer, came to America in 1777 and served in the Continental Army until January 1784. That same year, L'Enfant, a member of the Society of the Cincinnati, settled in New York City, where he earned his living as an artist and architect.

3. Probably John Stevens, Jr., a former New Jersey state treasurer, 1776–83, and the owner of a large estate in present-day Hoboken, N.J., who spent part of the year in New York City. For his writings in support of the Constitution that were printed in New York City, see RCS:N.Y., 68, note 1.

William Pitt Smith: Ode on the Adoption of the Constitution New York Journal, 24 July 1788

New York City's printers marched in the seventh division of the procession along with a working "*Federal Printing-Press*" mounted on a horse-drawn stage. "Many hundred copies" of broadsides of two odes especially written for the occasion were struck off and distributed "among the multitude" by Archibald M'Lean of the *Independent Journal* (*Daily Advertiser*, 2 August, below). The ode printed below, which appeared in the *Daily Advertiser* and *New York Journal* on 24 July, was probably written by William Pitt Smith, a New York City physician. (See above under 23 July for the second ode written by Samuel Low.)

The text of Smith's ode has been transcribed from the *New York Journal*, where the author was identified only as "Dr. S——." The *Daily Advertiser* mistakenly noted that the ode was "Composed by Dr. Smite." Two of the newspapers that reprinted the ode, the *Massachusetts Centinel*, 2 August, and the New Jersey *Brunswick Gazette*, 5 August, noted that it was written by "Dr. Smith." None of the reprinting newspapers referred to "Dr. Smite."

William Pitt Smith (1760–1796) was a surgeon's mate in the Continental Army during the Revolution; a grand sachem of the Society of St. Tammany or Columbian Order, 1790; a professor of medicine, 1792–96, and clinical lecturer, 1794–96, Columbia College; a member of the Assembly from New York County, 1792, 1796; and health officer of the Port of New York, 1795–96.

Smith's ode was reprinted in the *New York Packet*, 25 July; *Impartial Gazetteer*, *Independent Journal*, and *New York Morning Post*, 26 July; *Lansingburgh Federal Herald*, 4 August; *Country Journal* and *Hudson Weekly Gazette*, 5 August; and in ten out-of-state newspapers by 27 August: Mass. (2), R.I. (2), N.J. (2), Pa. (1), Md. (1), Va. (1), S.C. (1). No copy of the broadside version of the ode struck on the "*Federal Printing-Press*" of the seventh division of the procession has been located but it possibly resembled the printing found in the *Independent Journal* of 26 July, which was published by John and Archibald M'Lean.

The following ODE, on the ADOPTION of the FEDERAL CONSTITUTION, composed by Dr. S——, and set to Music—Tune, the DAUPHIN, was distributed from the printers stage yesterday, while moving in procession.

Crown'd with auspicious Light,
 Columbia's Eagle rise;
 Thine Emblems bless our sight,
 Thine Honors greet our Eyes!
 Nations admire thy rising Dawn, and shall salute thy Day,
 While Generations yet unborn, receive the genial Ray.
Chorus. An Empire's born!—Let Cannon roar!
 Bid echo rend the sky:
 Let every heart adore,
 High heav'n, our great ally!
 Illustrious æra, hail!
 Thy stars in union grow;
 Opposing mists dispel
 And with fresh splendor glow.
 Thy glories burst upon the gloom where darkness drag'd
 her chains;
 The sons of cruelty and death, shall own thy gentle reign,
Chorus. An empire's born, &c.
 Let joy our hearts engage;
 Let foul contention cease;
 Exchange, for jealous rage,
 Th' enrapturing smile of peace.
 No genius human e'er devis'd, a Federal Plan more pure;
 Wisdom and strength and freedom guard, Columbia's rights
 secure.
Chorus. An empire's born, &c.
 Now fame exert your pow'rs,
 Your silver trumpet raise;
 Still Washington is ours,
 Thro' earth proclaim his praise:

He once in crimson fields of blood, forbid us to be slaves;
And now with an illustrious band again his country saves.

Chorus. An empire's born, &c.

Discord aghast shall frown:
Science her temple rear!
Labour ensure her crown;
And useful arts appear.

Then bend your spears to pruning hooks; break up the
gen'rous soil,
While fruits of plenty round the land, reward the reaper's
toil.

Chorus, An Empire's born, &c.

Commerce your sail display;
While Agriculture sings;
Where late the Bramble lay,
The Rose of Beauty springs.

Union shall glad revolving years; no partial views remain;
Justice aloft advance her scale, and public-virtue reign!

Chorus. An Empire's born, &c.

The Controversy over Thomas Greenleaf's Description of the Procession, 24–31 July 1788

On 24 July Thomas Greenleaf printed the earliest description of the procession in his Thursday issue of the *New York Journal*. Greenleaf admitted, however, that his account was not comprehensive since he expected that "an ample account" would be printed under the direction of the procession's Committee of Arrangements. He promised to reprint such "an ample account" if "nothing of greater moment intervenes to fill the *New York Journal* before next Thursday [31 July]." Although Greenleaf's description of the procession was generally favorable, he ridiculed some aspects of the procession, especially the potters' float. According to Confederation Postmaster General Ebenezer Hazard, Greenleaf's bitter enemy, the account "gave great Offence" and a number of *Journal* subscribers "dropped" the newspaper (to Jeremy Belknap, 27 July, VII, below). Some people were so angered that the day after Greenleaf printed his account he explained that his ridicule, for instance of the potters, was not intended as an insult. Greenleaf was criticized by "Fed." in the *New York Packet* on 25 July, and by "A Mechanic" in the *Daily Advertiser* on 26 July. Accounts critical of Greenleaf were also printed in two out-of-state newspapers, the *Pennsylvania Journal*, 30 July, and *New Haven Gazette*, 31 July.

On 26 July the New York Convention ratified the Constitution and that night an angry mob broke into Greenleaf's shop and destroyed much of his type. Ebenezer Hazard reported that Greenleaf's ridiculing of the procession had

prompted the action of the mob (to Jeremy Belknap, 27 July, VI, below), and the French minister plenipotentiary to the United States declared that Greenleaf's "tasteless joke" led to the destruction of his printing establishment (Comte de Moustier to Comte de Montmorin, 2 August, below). In Greenleaf's lengthy commentary on the sacking of his office, he admitted that his description of the procession was a reason for the "unwarrantable proceedings" but "was not the sole reason." He believed that the action of the mob "was intended, by some artful and designing persons, to ruin him with the public, and thereby destroy the usefulness of his paper as a free and impartial one." The "minds of the community," according to Greenleaf, had been further inflamed by a report that "a HAND BILL, calculated to burlesque the citizens, had been printed in this office." Greenleaf denied printing such a handbill (*New York Journal*, 7 August, VII, below). In his diary for 26 July Noah Webster commented: "Mr Greenleaf's windows broken The printer opposed to the Constitution" (Webster Diary, NN). Greenleaf had been criticized for many months because of his fierce opposition to the Constitution. Because of the damage done to his shop, Greenleaf did not resume publication of the *New York Journal* until 31 July, at which time the newspaper became a weekly. (See VII, below, for a full account of the mob's action and its aftermath.)

On 2 August the *Daily Advertiser* printed a comprehensive account of the procession, written by Noah Webster (below), which was reprinted by every extant New York City newspaper except the *New York Journal*. It should be noted that no reprint of the account has been found for the *New York Museum*, although only one issue (the 15th) exists for the *Museum* for the month of August.

New York Journal, 24 July 1788¹

Yesterday the GRAND PROCESSION "*in honor of the Constitution of the United States*," paraded to and fro, and walked up and down, in this city, to the novel entertainment of all classes of people. The procession made a very pompous appearance, and was conducted in a regular and decent manner. It paraded at eight o'clock, A. M. in the fields; at ten a salute of 13 guns was fired from the procession ship, when it began to move down Broad-way, and proceeded through Great Dock street, Hanover square, Queen, Chatham, Arundel and Bullock streets, to the parade des fetes champetre,² where two bullocks and a mutton had been roasted whole, for their regale, together with hams, &c. &c. These were served upon ten extensive tables, which were prepared for the purpose, and which projected, in direct angles, from one common centre, where was situated, a little elevated, the seat of Congress and civil and legislative magistrates, strangers of distinction, &c. who had a complete view of the ten seats; the seats were all canopied with canvass, which, in some measure, screened the guests from the rain, which un-luckily fell at different periods of the day.

We do not attempt to give an ample account of the proceedings of this day, which, it is not doubted, will be presented the public by the gentlemen who composed the committee of arrangements; if so, and nothing of greater moment intervenes to fill the *New York Journal*, before next Thursday, it (or a part, as the quantity may be) shall be published in that paper.

What added greatly to the beauty of this parade, was the ship *Hamilton*, the emblematical flags, and the stages—The ship made a fine appearance, sailing with flowing sheets, and full sails, down Broadway, the canvass waves dashing against her sides, the wheels of the carriage concealed. Some of the flags were well executed, and others (it is supposed through haste) as badly; and the designs were generally ingenious. The stages were of various sizes, and mostly very slight, insomuch that the poor *Potters* were separated from their *clay*, and no longer *had power over it*; the stage fell! and, alas! the *clay* became exposed to the *power* of every passer-by.

It was really laughable to see the variety of phizzes on this occasion. The poor *antis* generally minded their own business at home; others, who were spectators at an *awful* distance, looked as sour as the Devil. As for the *Jeds*, they rejoiced in different degrees—there was the ha, ha, ha! and the he, he, he!

When the procession passed Great Dock-street it was saluted by his most Catholic Majesty's packet [the *Pinzon*]; this compliment the ship in procession attempted to return, but unfortunately, on firing 5 guns, the gunner was seized by a fit, which obliged the commander to apologize to the commander of the packet: it is said, that this apology was politely received.

As it redounds much to the credit of the citizens, as well as honor of the conductors of the day, it ought to be remarked, that there was not the least outrage, or even indecency offered to any individual, notwithstanding 6 or 7000 people (as supposed, spectators included) had collected—and that the whole company was dismissed at half after *five* o'clock.

In the evening a very ingenious transparent piece of painting, representing general WASHINGTON, to the life, was exhibited by Mr. Wright, in Maiden-Lane, which attracted the attention and admiration of many citizens, particularly the fair.³

There was also exhibited, at the corner of Wall-street, enclosed in a circle of about two feet in diameter, *thirteen* stars, *ten* of which were brilliant; *one* (designed for New-York) half illuminated; and *two* almost obscure, with the initials of North-Carolina and Rhode-Island.

We are informed, that the honorable the Congress and gentlemen of the clergy, declined *walking* at the procession, on account of this not being a *ratifying* state: they however accepted a seat at the table.

*New York Journal, 25 July 1788*⁴

Mortified that any exceptions should be taken to the paragraphs in yesterday's paper, the editor is induced to assure his fellow citizens, that by inserting of them he had not the least idea of giving offence or injuring the feelings of any one. As a vein of innocent humour is frequently interspersed in newspapers, he expected, where it flowed naturally, as in the case of the Potters clay, &c. it would be received as innocent, and, as not intended to reflect or censure.

Fed.

New York Packet, 25 July 1788

Messrs. LOUDON, The despicable attempt in *Greenleaf's* paper of this day, to ridicule the Procession, discovers the baseness of a little mind, a sterile brain, and the miserable, illiberal, and vulgar arts, which are put in execution, to support a *bad* cause.—The Federalists possess too much magnanimity to notice such base misrepresentations in any other way, but with that silent contempt, which becometh a Federal, a free born mind.

Suffer the doughty champion to walk “to and fro, up and down your streets,” as a monument of the *skeleton* cause he so blindly advocates.

Federal-Green, *July 24th, 1788.*

*Pennsylvania Journal, 30 July 1788*⁵

Extract of a Letter from New-York, July 28.

“I am sorry to inform you that an affair happened on Saturday evening, after the news arrived of the adoption. Mr. Greenleaf, an anti-federal printer, had made some very absurd remarks on the procession, in particular on the potters, who [were] very much offended.—The news gave every body spirits, and about one or two o'clock a number went to his office, and took away his types and very much damaged his house.—He fled or I believe the Potters would have had dominion over his Clay, whether it would have produced any amendment I cannot tell.”

*New Haven Gazette, 31 July 1788*⁶

Last Monday morning we received intelligence that the Convention of the State of New-York have adopted the constitution.—The news

arrived at New-York last Saturday evening, at about 9 o'clock, and the joy of the citizens was expressed by the ringing of bells & discharge of cannon till midnight. The question was carried in the convention by a majority of five.⁷

Mr. Greenleaf, the Printer of the New-York Journal, published in his paper of last Thursday [24 July], a partial account of the magnificent procession of the citizens on the day before; in which account were several paragraphs and expressions, which gave great offence to the federal citizens of New-York. The following are selected from several others:

“Yesterday the grand procession, ‘*in honour of the Constitution of the United States,*’ paraded to and fro, and walked up and down, in this city, to the novel entertainment of all classes of people.

“The stages were of various sizes, and mostly very slight, insomuch that the poor *Potters* were separated from their *clay*, and no longer had *power over it*; the stage fell! and alas! the *clay* was exposed to the *power* of every passer by.

“It was really laughable to see the variety of phizzes on this occasion. The poor *antis* generally minded their own business at home; others who were spectators at an *awful* distance, looked as sour as the Devil. As for the *feds*, they rejoiced in different degrees—there was the ha, ha, ha! and the he, he, he!”

On Saturday [26 July], the following appeared in the Daily Advertiser.

MR. CHILDS, As Mr. Greenleaf’s paper has but a very partial circulation in this city, you are requested to publish the following *decent* account of the procession, which appeared in his paper of Thursday, and his mortified apology of this day, for the information of the citizens at large. His errors and blunders you will give us verbatim—and let him know that he is in a fair way for correction, and that the Potters may yet have power over *his* clay, which it is hoped will produce some amendments.

July 25.

A MECHANIC.

The following is Mr. Greenleaf’s apology, which it is said, instead of calming, irritated the feelings of the citizens.

July 25.

MORTIFIED that any exceptions should be taken to the paragraphs in yesterday’s paper, the editor is induced to assure his fellow citizens, that by inserting them he had not the least idea of giving offence or injuring the feelings of any one. As a vein of innocent humour is frequently interspersed in News-Papers, he expected, where it flowed naturally, as in the case of the potters clay, &c. it would be received as innocent, and, as not intended to reflect or censure.

On Saturday evening a large number of the Citizens assembled at Mr. Greenleaf's, broke into the house, and turned his types and other printing materials out of the window into the street.

1. Greenleaf's description of the procession was reprinted in the *Daily Advertiser*, 26 July; *Country Journal*, 29 July (excerpt); and in whole or in part in ten out-of-state newspapers by 20 August: N.H. (1), Mass. (4), Conn. (1), N.J. (1), Pa. (1), Va. (1), N.C. (1). For additional out-of-state reprintings of brief excerpts from Greenleaf's description of the procession, see note 6 (below).

The *Daily Advertiser*, 26 July, prefaced its reprinting of Greenleaf's description with this statement by "A MECHANIC" that was dated 25 July: "Mr. CHILDS, As Mr. Greenleaf's paper has but a very partial circulation in this city, you are requested to publish the following *decent* account of the Procession, which appeared in his paper of Thursday, and his *mortified* apology of this day, for the information of the citizens at large.—His errors and blunders you will give us verbatim—and let him know that he is in a fair way for correction, and that the potters may yet have power over *his* clay, which it is hoped will produce some amendments." (Greenleaf's "*mortified* apology" is printed immediately below.) The *New Haven Gazette*, 31 July, reprinted "A Mechanic's" statement as part of its review of Greenleaf's description and the controversy over it. In turn, two newspapers reprinted "A Mechanic's" statement from the *Gazette*. (See *New Haven Gazette*, 31 July, and note 6, below.)

2. French: rustic, rural, or outdoor feasts or festivals.

3. Joseph Wright's transparency of George Washington had also been displayed at the city's Fourth of July celebration. See *Impartial Gazetteer*, 5 July, note 14 (RCS:N.Y., 1288).

4. Reprinted in the *Daily Advertiser*, 26 July, immediately below the *Advertiser's* reprinting of Greenleaf's description of the procession. For additional reprints of Greenleaf's "*mortified* apology," see the *New Haven Gazette*, 31 July, and note 6 (below).

5. Reprinted in nine newspapers by 27 August: Pa. (2), Md. (2), Va. (2), N.C. (1), S.C. (2), and in the July issue of the nationally circulated *Philadelphia American Museum*.

6. Reprinted in whole or in part six times by 16 August: N.H. (1), Mass. (1), R.I. (2), Conn. (2). All six newspapers reprinted the three paragraphs quoted from Greenleaf's description of the procession that had appeared in the *New York Journal* on 24 July (above) and his "*mortified* apology" that had appeared in the *New York Journal* on 25 July (above). Only two of the six newspapers reprinted the statement of "A Mechanic" that had been printed in the *Daily Advertiser* on 26 July. (See note 1, above.)

7. The New York Convention ratified by a vote of 30 to 27.

Samuel Blachley Webb to Catherine Hogeboom New York, 25 July 1788 (excerpt)¹

Major Popham sets off in half an hour for Albany. I cannot let pass so safe a conveyance without a line, tho' want of time will make me concise.—To the Major I must refer you for the particulars of our display the day before yesterday, it was the most brilliant ever seen in America, and probably few of the oldest City's in Europe ever excelled in a procession of the kind,²—a full description of it will soon be published, but it will be impossible for the pen of fancy itself to do it perfect justice. The day ended to the great satisfaction of the Cityzens and a vast number of Strangers from the Neighboring States. . . .

1. Printed: Ford, *Webb*, III, 112.
2. Evert Bancker agreed, stating that “Yesterday we had the Grandest Procession I believe that has been in America and Europeans say they have not seen any to come up to it in the Old Countries” (to Abraham Bancker, 24 July, III, above). See also *Boston Independent Chronicle*, 7 August (below).

Prisoners Celebrate the Constitution

New York Daily Advertiser, 25 July 1788¹

PERCY CASTLE, July 24, 1788.

Mr. Childs, Yesterday being the epocha of the best Constitution ever formed on earth to promote the happiness of the inhabitants of this great and rising empire, a number of the unfortunate citizens confined here, assembled together with heart-felt joy, to celebrate the same; which they did with the utmost chearfulness, harmony and conviviality; and after dinner drank the following toasts, which you please to publish in your useful paper:

N. B. There were 13 in each company.

1. The Majesty of the People of America.
2. The Ten States who have adopted the Constitution.
3. The Congress.
4. The Fair Daughters of Columbia.
5. General Washington.
6. The King and Queen of France.
7. May Agriculture and Manufactures flourish in America.
8. Trade and Navigation.
9. May Virtue flourish and Vice decay.
10. May the places of public worship be regularly filled, and all prisons be empty.
11. May the united Wisdom of America form laws to relieve all honest men from prison.
12. The Gentlemen whose beneficence hath induced them to remember the oppressed.²
13. The DAY.

1. Reprinted in the *New York Journal*, 26 July, under the heading “PERCY CASTLE INTELLIGENCE.”

2. Noah Webster’s description of New York’s Federal Procession states that “In order to diffuse the joy to all classes of citizens, an ample proportion of the entertainment was detached to the prisoners in goal” (*Daily Advertiser*, 2 August, below).

New York Packet, 25 July 1788¹

It must have been pleasing to every Federalist to perceive the harmony which prevailed in the Procession on Wednesday last. The magnificent display of Standards, Insignias, Mechanical Arts, the Federal

Ship, &c. &c. exceeded the expectations of the most sanguine; and we have heard travellers assert, that it surpassed every thing of the kind they had ever beheld. The Procession moved along with all that triumphant dignity which the importance of the occasion required, sanctioned by the majesty of a *Free People*.—In our next, we hope to be able to present to the public, a particular description of this truly GRAND PARADE.²

1. Reprinted in the *Independent Journal*, 26 July, and six times outside New York by 1 September: Mass. (2), R.I. (1), Conn. (1), Va. (1), S.C. (1). The out-of-state newspapers omitted the last sentence.

2. On 1 August the *New York Packet* informed its readers that “We could not obtain the particulars of the Procession, for this day’s paper; but will present it to our readers in our next.” Four days later, the *Packet* reprinted the description of the procession that had first appeared in the *Daily Advertiser* on 2 August (below).

New York Packet, 25 July 1788¹

On Wednesday evening the PRINTERS, BOOKSELLERS, and BOOK BINDERS of this City, who had attended the Procession, assembled at the house of Mr. W. BRADFORD, and spent the Evening together, with the greatest good humor, harmony and social glee. At which time the following toasts were drank, each attended by three cheers, from the whole company.

1. The Day—May the happiness thereof prove a pleasing anticipation of American prosperity.

2. The CONGRESS of the *United States*.

3. His Excellency Benjamin Franklin, the venerable Printer.

4. Colonel Hamilton, and the other federal Members of the Convention of this State.

5. His Excellency General Washington.

6. The Hon. General Knox.

7. May the virtuous attraction from the *ten*, be irresistably felt by the *three*.

8. May the Sons of America ever defend the Liberty of the Press.

9. May the demon of infatuation be banished from the Councils of our State.

10. *Wisdom* in our Councils, *Strength* in our Fortresses, and *Beauty* in our Manufactures.

11. The State of New-York, and a speedy adoption of the new Constitution.

1. This item was also printed in the *Daily Advertiser* on 25 July. It was reprinted in the *Impartial Gazetteer* and *Independent Journal*, 26 July; *Country Journal*, 29 July (excerpt); and in four out-of-state newspapers by 1 September: Mass. (1), Pa. (1), Va. (1), S.C. (1).

New York Packet, 25 July 1788¹

A PIECE, *written by W. H. Esq. of Connecticut, on observing the Federal Procession in the city of New-York, on the 24th instant.*

And hail my sons! *Columbia* cri'd,
 While she with mild complacence ey'd
 That gen'rous joy, that prudent zeal
 Which labor'd for the public weal.
 No wild intemp'rance here is found,
 No riots in the streets resound;
 On ev'ry mind this wish impress'd,
 Each visage firm, each deed express'd,
 "That public virtue might extend
 And in one common interest blend
Columbia's sons; whose mighty fate
 Suspended long in dubious state,
 Is now reveal'd in that fair scroll
 Which proffers blessings to the whole:
 Commerce reviv'd and peace restored,
 Success to ev'ry trade and board,
 Freedom and joy unus'd to fear,
 For peace and safety both are here.
 Without its Pale, wan spectres rise,
 Discord and want with haggard eyes,
 While in their train attendant stand
 Ills, various ills to curse that land;
 Which this rejects; avert that hour
 Thou kind, thou ever-ruling Pow'r,
 And may misguided rulers know
 What mischiefs from their councils flow;
 May temp'rance, may industry reign,
 And public virtue once again
 Our land revisit, and from thence,
 May each with private views dispense,
 And when his country calls, pursue
 The path thus pointed to his view:
 As when old Rome in glory rose,
 The terror of surrounding foes,
 Her sons had this, this only aim,
 Their country's good, their country's fame.
 Our lives and fortunes we no more
 View as our own peculiar store;

Our country claims a share; our all
 Devoted to our country's call
 We'll not withhold; but now resign,
 And consecrate by right divine,
 To this great aim, this noble end,
 And thus our country's good extend.
 And learn ye zealots who oppose
 The gen'ral wish, the lot of those
 Who thus provoke impending fate,
 Which shall o'ertake them when too late,
 That opposition they deplore,
 Which still unheeds sound reason's lore;
 But solely bent on private views,
 Each one his wicked ends pursues,
 Honor or pelf; while spleen or pride
 Serves their misguided course to guide."

Thus then each citizen exprest
 The feelings of a patriot breast,
 And let, oh let a stranger join,
 In acts so decent, so divine;
 'Twas thus of old religion taught,
 That Gods by men were to be sought;
 When danger's threatning clouds o'erspread,
 And Peace withdrew her olive head,
 Or when some mighty project fir'd
 The gen'ral Council: All conspir'd;
 In decent order sought the shrine,
 And thus implored the aid divine.

Thus as revolving years roll round
 Great China's Monarch still is found
 The Father of the common weal,
 When influenc'd by public zeal,
 He deigns with implements of toil
 To cultivate the fruitful soil;
 While long attendant trains admire
 Th' example of the gen'ral Sire:
 That occupation learn to prize,
 In which their Monarch greets their eyes;
 And see that industry alone,
 Gives firmness even to the throne.

Be this impress'd on ev'ry mind,
 And may respect that order find,

Which foremost in Procession came;
 Theirs is the first, the fairest claim:
 From this each other art we trace,
 To this each other art gives place.
 Conqu'rors and Kings the plow to guide
 Have left their robes, forgot their pride:
 Revere my friends, revere the plow,
 The fathers of your country know.

While ev'ry rank inspir'd, we view
 Each to their fav'rite standard true:
 To hail fair freedoms all combine,
 And in united concert join.
 May He who calms the waves to peace,
 Cause discords raging waves to cease;
 May Infl'u'nce mild, her powers employ,
 And Hudson catch the gen'ral joy.

1. Reprinted: *New Haven Gazette*, 31 July; *Massachusetts Centinel*, 6 August; *Newport Herald*, 14 August. Two of the reprints change the date in the preface to the "23d instant"; the third reprint omits the date.

New York Impartial Gazetteer, 26 July 1788

To attempt a description of the GRAND FEDERAL PROCESSION on Wednesday last, we find ourselves greatly inadequate. Let it suffice, that nothing could exceed, or even equal it, except the order, regularity and unanimity which prevailed throughout the different branches of our respectable citizens.

“While ev'ry rank, inspired we view
 Each to their fav'rite standard true:
 To hail fair freedom all combine,
 And in united concert join.”

O'er our fair soil, with joy, the stranger spies,
 Transplanted woods, and borrow'd verdure rise;
 Where ev'ry meadow won with toil and blood,
 From haughty tyrants and the raging flood,
 With fruits and flow'rs the careful Hind supplies,
 And clothes the marshes in a rich disguise.
 Such wealth for frugal hands doth heav'n decree,
 And such thy gifts, celestial liberty!

Lansingburgh Federal Herald, 28 July 1788

In our next shall appear the ORDER of the GRAND FEDERAL PROCESSION in New-York, on the 23d inst.¹—This scene was truly majestic,

and far surpassed any thing of the kind ever exhibited in Europe or America. We are told by gentlemen who were present that not less than twenty thousand people assembled on this joyous occasion.

1. On 4 August the *Federal Herald* informed its readers that it was omitting the “*Order of Procession*” until its next issue. The *Herald* reprinted the “*Order of Procession*” on 11, 18, 25 August, and 1 September.

Poughkeepsie Country Journal, 29 July 1788

Extract of a letter from New-York to the Printer, July 26.

“I wish you could have seen the procession here last Wednesday. It is supposed to have exceeded any thing of the kind that ever appeared in America, or even in Europe. Joy appeared in every countenance, and no disturbance or accident of great consequence happened, except a child or two hurt by carriages. The procession was more than a mile in length.

“Mr. Gaine and Mr. Loudon¹ honored your branch on horse-back, and the other masters, with the journeymen, followed. I did not observe any person to be intoxicated with liquor.”

1. Hugh Gaine, a native of Ireland, had been a printer and bookseller in New York City for more than thirty-five years, publishing the *New York Mercury* between 1752 and 1783. Samuel Loudon, also a printer and bookseller, had been publisher of the *New York Packet* since 1776. In 1785 Loudon’s son, John, who was also in the procession, was admitted to partnership in the *Packet*.

John Randolph to St. George Tucker New York, 30 July 1788 (excerpt)¹

You have doubtless, my ever dear and affectionate Papa, recieved Accounts of the Adoption of the new Constitution by the State of New York the majority consisting of five only. On Wednesday 26th [23rd] Inst. (4 days previous to our hearing of the ratification of this State) there was a very grand Procession in this city (on account of its being recieved by ten States) which proceeded from the plain before Bridewell down Broadway thro’ Wall Street and by the way of Great Queen Street proceeded to the Fœderal Green before Bunkers Hill where there were tables set for more than five Thousand poeple to Dine—two Oxen were roasted whole and several cows and Sheep. I’ll assure my dear Sir it put me in mind of the great Preparations which were made, in Don Quixote, for the wedding of Camacho the rich and the fair Quiteria—there were ten tables set out to represent the ten States which had acceded to the Constitution, all which were concentered together at one end like the sticks of a Fan; where they joined, were

seated all the Congress with the president² in the middle. The Procession was very beautiful and well conducted. Every trade and profession had a Colour emblematical of it. the cheif of the Bakers were drawn on a stage on which they wer[e] seen mixing their bread; the apprentices all in white followed with ready baked Cakes. The Coopers followed making barrels and the apprentices follow with a keg under the arm of each. next came the Brewers bringing hogsheads of beer along with a little Bacchus a stride a Cask holding a large Goblet in his hand—It would require to[o] much time for me to tell you of all the different occupations—but to the honor of New York be it spoken that among 8000 poeple who were said to have dined together on the green there was not a single Drunken Man or fight to be seen—

On Saturday the 27th [26th] Inst. news arrived of the Constitution's being adopted a party of *Federalists* as they call themselves went to the house of Mr Greenleaf printer of the patriotic register³ and after having broken his windows and thrown away his Types (much to their discredit[]) went to the Governor's where they gave three hisses and beat the rogue's march around the house they proceeded to the houses of the Fœderals (as they call them) and gave three cheers. . . .

1. RC, Emmet Collection, NN.

2. In the part of the letter not printed here, Randolph indicated that Cyrus Griffin of Virginia—the President of Congress—invited him and his brother Theodorick, who like Randolph was attending Columbia College, to dine weekly at the President's house.

3. The reference is to Thomas Greenleaf's *New-York Journal, and Daily Patriotic Register*.

Massachusetts Centinel, 30 July 1788¹

A letter from New-York mentions, that the procession in that city, on the 23d inst. was sublime and magnificent—and was conducted in a federal, decent manner.—No particulars of it are yet published.²

1. Reprinted: Boston *Independent Chronicle* and *New Hampshire Gazette*, 31 July; Portland, Maine, *Cumberland Gazette*, 7 August.

2. For the *Massachusetts Centinel's* reprinting on 9 August of lengthy extracts of a description of the procession, see the headnote to *Daily Advertiser*, 2 August (below). For the *Centinel's* capsule summary of the procession, see *Massachusetts Centinel*, 9 August (below).

L. C. to Noah Webster

New York, 31 July 1788¹

I was much pleased when I was informed that you were engaged in writing for the public, a particular account of the procession in this city on the 23rd instant, and I hope it will not be amiss to suggest to you that the disposition of the ladies on this occasion ought not to be

omitted.² The splendid and smiling appearance of so respectable a number as were displayed through the whole length of Broadway and Queen Street, composing three successive columns in the windows on each side of the streets and forming a beautiful perspective avenue through which the procession moved, added such a pleasing brilliancy to the scene as highly deserves our best thanks, and particularly a place in the narration to be given to the public.

1. Printed: Emily Ellsworth Fowler Ford, comp., and Emily Ellsworth Ford Skeel, ed., *Notes on the Life of Noah Webster* (2 vols., New York, 1912), I, 184. “L. C.,” the writer of this letter, has not been identified.

2. For Webster’s account of the procession, see *Daily Advertiser*, 2 August (below).

New York City’s Federal Procession Compared to Philadelphia’s Federal Procession, 31 July–13 August 1788

On 4 July 1788 the grand federal procession in Philadelphia honoring American independence and the new Constitution was the largest and perhaps most elaborate procession ever seen in the United States, surpassing that of Boston’s federal procession of 8 February 1788, celebrating Massachusetts ratification. The New York City procession, also large and elaborate, was compared favorably to the Philadelphia procession by some commentators.

For the Philadelphia procession, see CC:799 E–G and CC:805; Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., “The Federal Processions of 1788,” *New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, XLVI (1962), 16–25, 31; and Len Travers, *Celebrating the Fourth: Independence Day and the Rites of Nationalism in the Early Republic* (Amherst, Mass., 1997), 69–88. For the Boston procession, see RCS:Mass., 1615–30.

Norwich Packet, 31 July 1788

We learn that last Wednesday week, a most magnificent procession was performed in the city of New-York on account of the federal Constitution—it was said to exceed that formed in Philadelphia the 4th instant.

*Salem Mercury, 5 August 1788*¹

The account of the Newyork procession is not yet published—Gentlemen who saw both, say it was at least *equal* to that in Philadelphia.

Carlisle Gazette, 13 August 1788

On the 23d ult. a Grand Federal Procession took place in New-York, in honour of the Ratification of the Constitution of the United States.

It was superbly elegant; the different accounts proclaim it to be equally grand with that exhibited in our capital.

1. Reprinted: *New Hampshire Spy*, 9 August.

**Comte de Moustier to Comte de Montmorin
New York, 2 August 1788¹**

The State of Newyork on the 25th of last month finally acceded to the new Constitution, which is now adopted by eleven States. The recommended amendments² are so numerous and so important that if the new Congress takes them into account, this Constitution will barely resemble its first form. However, a great blow has been dealt to the individual Sovereignty of the States taken separately. The phantom of Democracy that has seduced the people is about to disappear. The credulous majority, intoxicated by the noblest hopes that it allowed itself to be fed, has itself forged the bonds by which sooner or later the Leaders of the people will be able to subjugate and control them after having appeared to want to obey them. The Constitution is taken on approval until a better one is found. This tendency always to perfect is infinitely favorable to the designs of the ambitious, who, by means of alterations, will manage to weary the American people and make them receive with indifference the yoke that is prepared for them and that they will probably endure much more patiently than expected. The proposed amendments offer a multitude of pretexts at the outset even for a reorganization of Government. This means is open to various parties. It is not doubted that each will profit from it according to its views.

The new Constitution appeared to be a remedy for all the ills from which the United States is suffering. The joy of the majority is especially expressed by public rejoicings. Different cities had processions in which all the classes of Citizens were represented. The city of Newyork did not even wait for the State Convention to give its decision. It had its procession at a time when it was strongly doubted that the State would adopt the Constitution. What was special about this popular festival is that Congress in a way risked sanctioning its purpose, which was to show the particular opinion of the city in opposition to what was assumed to be the opinion of the State, by attending all together and consequently as a Sovereign, a rather mediocre dinner given by the professions and trades of the city.³ I had been invited, and I attended this dinner, seated to the right of Congress and was followed in succession by the Minister Plenipotentiary of the States-General, the Chargé d'affaires Plenipotentiary of Spain, the Consuls and other foreigners of distinction. To the

left of Congress were its Officers and the members of the Clergy from the City, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, Jews, all indiscriminately seated, except that the Anglican Bishop had taken the right from all the others and had said the *blessing*. Congress, itself realizing that it was out of place in this festival as an official body, then wanted to maintain that it had not been there as Congress, but I insisted, in part jokingly, in part seriously with different Members, that it had been everyone's opinion that they were, that were it not for that, they would have had to have been scattered among the guests and that I would have had to have been to the right of the President. Beyond this, this entire ceremony can be regarded as without significance; even though people try to lend significance to it everywhere, it still signified nothing; but it is a malady brought to this country from the Mother-country, where pretensions of this type take shape on every occasion. It is to be hoped that this unpleasantness will gradually disappear.⁴

One of the purposes of the festival of the Citizens of Newyork was to cajole Congress and urge it to adjourn the new Sovereign body here. For its part, Congress appeared to want to postpone its decision on this matter until the time when the [New York] Convention would have adopted the Constitution. Some of its Members did not neglect to hint that this uncertainty was the only obstacle preventing Congress from adjourning the new one here. This bait had its effect. The Federalists of the Convention even went so far as to assert that there would be no difficulty as soon as the State of Newyork entered into the new union. Now, since the pretense is no longer necessary, the Pennsylvanians are doing everything they can in order to obtain a preference in favor of Philadelphia. The entire week has been spent in debate on this subject, in which it seemed that personal interest has a much greater part than the public interest.⁵

The question of determining a suitable time and place to which to adjourn has aroused the attention of all the States and consequently Delegates from each one are found here; they will probably disperse as soon as these two questions are decided. The Delegates from Rhode-island content themselves with attending the deliberations without giving an opinion on any question that could be regarded as foreign to their State, since it has rejected the new Constitution.

As soon as the decision of North Carolina is known, I will have the honor to send You in the same packet, My Lord, the Constitution as it has been proposed by the general Convention, with the comparison of the different amendments proposed by the individual Conventions. I will separate this statement from the observations that I propose to have the honor of submitting to You on the influence of the Constitution

on the foreign policy of the United States and on the probabilities of the system that can prevail in this respect.

There was an example here of what is to be expected from the dominant party during changes of Government, in spite of the beautiful name of liberty, which so rarely finds itself corresponding to the facts. An unfortunate Printer, who was the last to set about to print a gazette in a city in which there are too many of them, in order to make his paper fashionable had conceived of collecting small bits of gossip that were in opposition to the Federalist party. A tasteless joke about a mishap that occurred in the federal procession, which has been punished by the destruction of his printing establishment and personal insults, obliged him to flee from his house and to abandon it to the champions of liberty, who often make a bad use of it against the weakest when the latter have the imprudence to use incautiously the liberty they believe they themselves have.⁶

1. RC (Tr), Correspondance Politique, États-Unis, Vol. 33, ff. 238–41, Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Paris. This is dispatch number 18 and was received on 26 September.

2. On 25 July the Committee of the Whole House of the New York Convention recommended that the Constitution be ratified and that recommendatory amendments be approved. The next day the Convention adopted the Committee's report. See New York Convention, 25 and 26 July (V, below).

3. On 24 July the *New York Journal* commented upon the role of Congress, stating that "We are informed, that the honorable the Congress and gentlemen of the clergy, declined *walking* at the procession, on account of this not being a *ratifying* state: they however accepted a seat at the table" (above). Cyrus Griffin, the President of Congress, was seated in the center of the middle pavilion, while members of Congress dined at the other tables (*Daily Advertiser*, 2 August, immediately below).

4. Another French diplomat, Victor DuPont, also made disparaging remarks about the procession. See Victor DuPont to Pierre Samuel DuPont de Nemours, 26 July (III, above).

5. See "Confederation Congress Makes Provision to Put the New Government Under the Constitution into Operation," 2 July–13 September (above). See also, in particular, the proceedings of Congress of 28 and 30 July on the location of the capital and the response to these proceedings in DHFFE, I, 50–59. These pages include selections from Moustier's Journal.

6. For printer Thomas Greenleaf's description of the procession that aroused so much antagonism, see *New York Journal*, 24 July (RCS:N.Y., 1615–17).

Description of the New York City Federal Procession New York Daily Advertiser, 2 August 1788

Noah Webster, editor of the New York *American Magazine*, was the principal author of the description of the procession of 23 July that first appeared in the *Daily Advertiser* on 2 August. On 26 July Webster noted in his diary that he was "Employed in arranging a general account of the procession for the

public," and two days later he commented that he was "Writing an account of the procession" (Webster Diary, NN). On 31 July a correspondent, identified only as "L. C.," wrote Webster that "I was much pleased when I was informed that you were engaged in writing for the public, a particular account of the procession in this city on the 23rd instant" (above). The 2 August issue of the *Daily Advertiser* located at Yale University has this marginal note by Webster himself: "N Webster assisted in drawing up this account." He also noted "I was one of this Society [the Philological Society in the ninth division] & walked in the procession." Therefore, he could not have viewed the whole procession. The various groups of marchers along with Richard Platt, who as chairman of the Committee of Arrangements signed the account, probably supplied Webster with much specific information. Reflecting the fact that the description of the procession was incomplete, Platt described Webster's effort as "a lame account" (to Winthrop Sargent, 8 August, III, above).

In New York, Webster's description of the procession appeared in the *Daily Advertiser* on 2 August and the *Independent Journal* on 2 and 6 August. It was reprinted in the *New York Morning Post*, 4 August; *New York Packet*, 5 August; *Country Journal*, 5, 12, 19, 26 August, 2 September; *Impartial Gazetteer*, 9 August, and supplement for that date; and Lansingburgh *Federal Herald*, 11, 18, 25 August, 1 September. On 1 August the *New York Packet* and on 4 August the Lansingburgh *Federal Herald* announced that they would start printing the description in their next issue, which they did.

At the end of the description of the procession, immediately below "Richard Platt, Chairman," the *New York Packet*, 5 August, *Independent Journal*, 6 August, and Lansingburgh *Federal Herald*, 1 September, appended this statement: "As several gentlemen of some of the professions that appeared in procession on the 23d ult. have furnished us with complete descriptions of their respective exhibitions on that memorable day, we may, with propriety, pronounce the above account the most accurate of any, that has yet been offered to the public."

Outside New York, the description of the procession was reprinted in its entirety or almost so in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 6, 7, 8 August; *Massachusetts Gazette*, 8, 12, 15 August; *Pennsylvania Journal*, 9, 13, 16, 20, 23 August; *New Hampshire Spy*, 12, 16, 19, 23, 26 August; *New Jersey Brunswick Gazette*, 12, 19 August; *Charleston City Gazette*, 19, 20, 21, 22 August; *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 20 August, 3, 10 September (minus last two paragraphs); and Northampton, Mass., *Hampshire Gazette*, 27 August, 3, 10 September. The *Charleston City Gazette*, 22 August, and the *Pennsylvania Journal*, 23 August, appended the same statement that the three New York City newspapers mentioned above had appended to the description. On 9 August the *New Hampshire Spy* informed its readers that "Some particulars of the New-York Procession shall appear in our next [12 August]: Gentlemen who saw both of them say, it was at least *equal* to Philadelphia."

On 9 August the *Massachusetts Centinel* reprinted extensive extracts of the procession under the heading "Grand Procession at New-York." The *Centinel* prefaced its reprinting: "It is not necessary, after so many accounts of processions have been inserted, to publish, at length, a detail of that at New-York—The BEAUTIES and

ORIGINALITIES we have carefully extracted, for the entertainment of our readers." The *Centinel* concluded its reprinting: "We doubt not that the sentiment and federalism discovered by the orders which formed the Procession—and the animation in the description of its movements and effects, will fully apologize for the length of the extracts." (In the same issue, the *Centinel* printed a summary of the procession [below].) On 30 August and 6 September, the Exeter, N.H., *Freeman's Oracle* reprinted the extracts as they had appeared in the *Massachusetts Centinel*; the *Oracle* reprinted the *Centinel's* prefatory statement but not its concluding one.

The *Pennsylvania Mercury's* reprint of 12 August omitted the detailed descriptions of each of the ten divisions. Isaiah Thomas' *Massachusetts Spy*, 4 September, reprinted only that part of the procession's seventh division that described the "Printers, Book-Binders and Stationers." The July issue of Noah Webster's *American Magazine*, which appeared on 1 August, promised its readers that an account of the procession would appear in the August issue "in order to perpetuate the remembrance of that universal joy and enthusiasm with which the system of government, framed for the United States, is embraced by the present enlightened generation." Webster, however, did not reprint the description of the procession in either the August issue or any other issue of the *American Magazine*. In 1819 John S. Murphy had Webster's description printed in a 128-page pamphlet entitled *Interesting Documents . . .* (New York, Southwick & Pel-sue, 1819), 5–37 (Shaw-Shoemaker 48770).

In 1848 William Alexander Duer (1780–1858), the son of New York City merchant and speculator William Duer, gave an account of the procession that he witnessed as a child. This description contains useful information that has been included in some of the footnotes below. Duer's account appears in *New-York as It Was, During the Latter Part of the Last Century. An Anniversary Address Delivered Before the St. Nicholas Society, of the City of New-York, December 1st, 1848* (New York, 1849), 22–27. (Cited in footnotes as Duer, *Address*.) As "Peregrine Mindful," Duer had also published in two installments in the New York *American Mail* on 24 and 31 July 1847 an account that closely followed the description of the procession first printed in the *Daily Advertiser* on 2 August 1788. These two installments were reprinted after Duer's death as *Reminiscences of an Old Yorker* (New York, 1867), 50–67. (Cited in the footnotes as Duer, *Reminiscences*.)

Federal Procession,

In honor of the Constitution of the United States.

To testify the animated joy of the Citizens of New-York upon finding the Federal Constitution of Government ratified by a sufficient number of States to make it operative, it was determined that on the 23d ult. they should so appear in procession as to demonstrate to the world, the pleasure, that in consequence of this event, had pervaded all ranks and degrees of the community.

The day having been more than once postponed, in the interesting hope, that this State, then in Convention, would likewise accede to the union, the Committee of Arrangements found it impossible any longer to oppose the patriotic ardor of their fellow citizens. It was remembered

however that the great object of exultation was not the ratifying of the Constitution by any one particular State; but the already present existence of an æra in the history of man, great, glorious, and unparalleled—which opens a variety of new sources of happiness, and unbounded prospects of national prosperity!—The adoption of the Federal Plan by this State, tho' not then expected to be immediate, was however with certainty considered among those events, which time, increasing light, and an over ruling Providence would bring to our view.

About ten o'clock 13 guns were fired from the Federal Ship Hamilton, being the signal for the Procession to move, the different bodies of which it was composed having already collected from their various places of meeting. It now set out from the Fields, proceeding down Broad-way to Great-Dock-street, thence through Hanover-Square, Queen, Chatham, Division, and Arundel-streets; and from thence through Bullock-street to Bayard's house; in the following order:

Horsemen with trumpets.

Company of Artillery and field piece.

After these the whole Procession was marshalled into ten divisions, each of which was preceded by a white flag borne to the honor of the ten States that had then acceded to the New Constitution.

FIRST DIVISION.

Foresters with axes.

Columbus in his ancient dress, on horseback, represented by Captain Moore.¹

Foresters with axes, &c.

A plough drawn by 6 oxen, conducted by Nich's. Cruger, Esq. in a farmer's dress, supporting the farmers arms; a flag, with a wheat sheaf on the field, on the band of which was inscribed, "*O Fortunati Agricola*"² over which was a rising star.

Two men sowing grain.

A harrow drawn by 2 oxen and 2 horses, conducted by Mr. John Watts, in a farmer's dress.

A number of gentlemen farmers, with every implement of husbandry displayed in a pleasing manner.

A new invented threshing machine, (which will thresh and clean 72 bushels of grain in a day) conducted by Baron Poelnitz³ and other gentlemen farmers, in farmer's dresses, grinding and threshing grain.

United States' Arms, borne by Col. White, on horse back, supported by the Cincinnati—the horse beautifully caparisoned, and led by two boys in a white uniform.⁴

A number of gardeners with aprons on, and various implements of husbandry.

A Band of Music.

Taylors.

A flag, 10 by 11 feet, field sky blue, a fine landscape—Adam and Eve represented naked, excepting fig leaves for aprons, nearly in full stature, in a sitting posture—motto, “*And they sewed fig leaves together.*” The United States forming a chain or links, upon a large circle, in order as they adopted the constitution, and the names of each state in the middle; in the centre of the circle “*Majority.*” The sun beaming forth its rays upon those states that have acceded to federal measures—Rhode-Island in mourning.⁵ General Washington nearly in full stature, holding a parchment in his hand, with this inscription—“*The Federal Constitution.*” The federal eagle, with its wings expanded, soaring towards the sun: The whole hung in a large frame, with golden knobs at the top of the poles; carried by two standard bearers, and supported by two men, one upon each side of the flag, with fine blue and white cord, and elegant tassels in their hands.

The flag preceded by a committee of 6, 3 and 3, joined together by white handkerchiefs, with buff and blue sashes, and blue and buff cockades.

Followed by Mr. John Elliot, president, with a blue and buff sash and cockade—two of the committee, with buff and blue sashes and cockades, on each side of the president; followed by the rest of their branch, all wearing blue and buff cockades: The order closed by Mr. John Banks, vice president, with a sash and cockade like the president’s and 2 officers with buff and blue sashes and cockades; three flank officers as adjutants, dressed in sashes and cockades, with white rattans in their hands.

The sashes and cockades emblematical of the staff uniform of the American army.

Measurers of Grain.

An ensign with a flag, representing the head of General Washington in the centre, ornamented with 13 stripes and 13 stars; with this motto—*His Excellency General Washington.* On the opposite side, the head of Col. Hamilton, beautifully painted—in the centre, a device representing the measures used in the business, on one side of which was inscribed in capitals, “*equity,*” surrounded with these lines,

“*Federal measures, and measurers true,
Shall measure out justice to us and to you.*”

Two ships, one discharging salt, and the other taking in grain—a store, with a merchant in front, viewing, with a spy glass, a French ship

entering the harbour under full sail—On the reverse, the same, except the Mayor of the city,⁶ in place of Col. Hamilton. The order headed by Mr. James Van Dyke.

Millers—No return.

Inspectors of Flour—No return.

Bakers.

Headed by two masters, Messrs. John Quackinbos and Frederick Stymes.

Ten boys dressed in white, with blue sashes, each of them carrying a large rose, decorated with various colored ribbons.

Ten journeymen dressed in white, with blue sashes, carrying implements of the craft.

A stage drawn by 2 bay horses, decorated.

Four masters with the federal loaf, 10 feet long, 27 inches in breadth, and 8 inches in height, with the names in full length of the ten states which have ratified the constitution, and the initial letters of the other three.

A flag, representing the declension of trade under the old confederation. Motto,

*“When in confusion, I was made,
Without foundation was I laid;
But hope the Federal Ovens may,
My sinking frame full well repay.[”]*

On the reverse, the representation of their trade in a flourishing situation, with two ovens. Motto,

*“We are well built both sound and tight,
We hope to serve the ships in sight,
With the best bread, bak’d of good flour,
When Congress have the Federal power.”*

In the centre, the spread eagle and crown, holding on the left the old confederation,⁷ on the right the new constitution—Fame with a trumpet over it.—Followed by 80 masters, journeymen and apprentices, with white aprons.

Brewers.

A standard, carried by Mr. Sam. Boyer, ornamented with the brewers arms, proper, barley sheaves and porter casks, encircled with hop vines; crest—an eagle with extended wings, holding a thermometer in his beak. Motto, *“Home brewed.”* The federal brewery—a horse and dray loaded, in full speed to Bunker’s hill, and other devices suitable to the occasion.

Messrs. A. Lisenard, Appleby and [White] Matlack, with each an elegant gilt mashing oar in hand, and barley heads in their hats; followed by 2 horses and drays, ornamented with hop vines and barley.

First dray loaded with a store cask containing 300 gals. ale, a porter cask and barrel: On the top of the large cask was fixed a tun, with a *living Bacchus*—a very handsome boy, of 8 years old, dressed in flesh colored silk, sewed tight round from his chin to his toes—a cap ornamented with hop vines and barley—a silver goblet in his hand, drinking and huzzaing the whole day with the greatest cheerfulness. Performing his part to admiration. Below him sat Silenus, attendant on Bacchus,⁸ on a porter hogshead. Motto “*Ale, proper drink for Americans.*”

Second dray, loaded with porter casks and hop bags, followed by brewers and maltsters, with mashing oars, malt shovels, &c. 20 in number, ornamented with barley and hop vines in their hats.

Distillers.—No return.

SECOND DIVISION.

Coopers.

Thirteen apprentice boys, 13 years of age, dressed in white shirts, trowsers and stockings the trowsers drawn at the ankle with a green ribband, their hats ornamented with 13 pillars, colored green & white, with ten branches springing from them, representing the 10 states that have adopted the new constitution, decorated with an oak branch and green ribbands—a keg carried under the left arm, slung with a broad green ribband, with a bow of the same, green and white, on their right shoulder—round their right arms a green and white ribband, with a bow; each boy carrying a white-oak branch in his right hand, and wearing white leather aprons. Headed by Mr. Peter Stoughtenburgh, carrying a small flag with the coopers coat of arms. Motto, “*Love as brethren.*”

Forty two apprentices dressed clean, with a green oak branch in their hats, and carrying a branch in their right hand.

The stage drawn by 4 bay horses, dressed with ribbands, and decorated with green oak boughs. On the stage was erected a standard, with a flag 10 feet square, representing trade and commerce—a federal cooperage—coopers at different kinds of work—the coopers coat of arms. Motto, “*Love as brethren.*” Workmen at work on the stage—Mr. John Post, master. On the stage a cask that had been put up during the session of the convention at Philadelphia, and which wanted repair, but notwithstanding one of the best workmen belonging to the branch was industriously employed great part of the time of the procession, it was found impracticable: the branch considering this emblematical of the old confederation, determined to make a new cask, representing the new constitution, which was done accordingly while the procession was marching.

Next the stage was 138 masters and journeymen coopers, their hats decorated with green oak boughs, carrying an oak branch in their right

hand, the rear brought up by Mr. Daniel Dunscomb, carrying a small flag, the same as in front.

The order conducted by two masters, wearing green and white cockades, and each carrying a green hoop pole, with the leaves left on the upper end.

Butchers.

Headed by Mr. Jotham Post, Alexander Fink, Joseph Lovel, and Jacob J. Arden; a flag of fine linen, neatly painted, displayed; on the standard the coat of arms, viz. three bullocks' heads, two axes cross-ways, a boar's head, and two garbs, supported by an ox and a lamb; motto,

"Skin me well, dress me neat,

And send me aboard the federal fleet."

A slaughter-house, with cattle drest and killing; a market supported by ten pillars, one pillar partly up; under it was written, *Federal market, supported by ten*; in gold letters, *Federal Butchers*; a ship, with smaller vessels. The standard carried on a stage drawn by four bright bay horses, drest with ribbons; a boy drest in white rode and conducted each. On the stage, a stall, neatly finished; two butchers and two boys on the stage at work, splitting the lambs, &c. followed by one hundred of the branch, drest with clean white aprons, and steels on; a band of music; two banners with the proper coat of arms; motto, *Federal Butchers*; one in the front supported by William Wright; one in the rear supported by John Perin. A capital bullock, of a thousand weight in his quarters, roasted whole by the butchers for the honor of the day, was presented to the procession in general.

Tanners and Curriers.

Arms on the flag, Azure, a flesher and a currying knife; or, crest, a bull's head, horned; or, supporters, on the dexter side, a tanner in his frock and trowsers, holding in his dexter hand a tanner's skimmer, proper; on the sinister, a currier in his working dress, apron turned up, holding in his sinister hand a currying knife, proper—A sun rising from beneath the union flag. Motto. *"By union we rise to splendor."* Behind all, an oak tree.

Skinner, Breeches Makers and Glovers.

Headed by Messrs. Alsop Hunt, Benj. Gatfield, James Mathers, Leonard Rogers, and James Hays—a flag of cream-colored silk, borne by James Mott and John Peal, supported by Henry Frederick, and Jacob Grindlemeyer—coat of arms, a pair of breeches and 3 gloves, supported by 2 rampant bucks—crest, a buck's head—a green field with a ewe and two lambs, one lying down, the other standing. Motto, *"Americans encourage your own Manufactures."*—Followed by 31 of the trade, in buckskin waistcoats, faced with blue silk, breeches gloves and stockings, with a buck's tail in their hats.

To these Mr. W[illiam C.] Thomson, the parchment manufacturer, attached himself, with a standard of parchment, and the inscription "*American manufactured.*"

THIRD DIVISION.

Cordwainers.

Headed by Mr. James M'Cready, who supported a small flag, representing the arms of the craft—the motto, "*Federal Cordwainers*"—followed by 12 masters, representing 12 states.

A stage drawn by 4 white horses, with 2 postillions in livery—a shop on the stage, with ten men diligently prosecuting their business, emblematical of the ten states that have adopted the constitution—with colors extended over the whole length of the shop, representing in front his excellency General Washington coming out of the State House at Philadelphia, and presenting the constitution to Fame, she receiving it standing in her temple, and ready to proclaim it to an astonished world! On the reverse, a full view of our own harbor, with the arrival of a ship with Crispin, who is joyfully received by St. Tammany.⁹

Then followed the main body, 340 men, Mr. Anthony Bolton in the rear, with a small flag as in the front.

FOURTH DIVISION.

Carpenters.

Four masters, with each a rule in their hand, Vice president, with a blue ribbon at his breast, with a scale and dividers, and a drawing square in his hand, secretary and treasurer, with a green sash and an architect book in their hands, the apprentices in sections, each bearing a white wand of 5 feet long in their hands. The standard borne by 8 journeymen, with red sashes.

Representing under the standard of the United States a portraiture of his Excellency General Washington, the motto, "*Freedom's favorite Son.*"—Two Corinthian pillars, supporting a pediment half finished, expressive of the yet unsettled state of the union;¹⁰ under this, 13 pillars gilt, united by one entablature with a purple ribbon; ten of them bearing the names of the states in the order of their adopting the New Constitution. A motto on the frieze "*The love of our Country prevails*"—in the pediment a shield, with the Carpenters arms, and motto—["*Honor God.*"]

The journeymen in sections. The masters in sections. The president with a blue ribbon at his breast, with scale and dividers, and a star of union on his left breast, and a drawing square in his hand. Four masters, with a two feet rule in their hands.—392 rank and file.

Furriers.

Messrs. Lot Merkel and John Siemon, carrying a white valuable fox skin, manufactured; followed by an Indian properly accoutred, with the

dress and habiliments of his nation, as just coming out of the woods, loaded with various kinds of raw furs, as if bringing them for sale followed by journeymen, each of them carrying furs, and manufactures—the produce of this country. Likewise an horse with two bears, each sitting on a pack of furs, led by an Indian in a beaver blanket, and round hat with black feathers, followed by 2 journeymen furriers in their working habits, with master aprons, their coats trimmed with black martin's, their hats decorated with black feathers and white cockades.

A red flag, on which a tyger as large as life was displayed, and above it a large muff of real ermine, as an emblem of the craft; followed by 2 journeymen in like habits as the first. In the rear of these came Mr. Lyon Jonas, dressed in a superb scarlet blanket and an elegant cap, ornamented with a beautiful plumage, smoking the Indian pipe and tomahawk.

Hatters.

Preceded by ten men in their working dresses, ornamented with blue sashes, and carrying bows decorated with blue ribbons. The flag, displaying the emblems of the branch on a blue field, supported by two masters. Journeymen and apprentices followed by masters, being 60 in number, with blue cockades and blue aprons, headed by Walter Bicker.

Peruke makers and Hair dressers.

To the number of 45—standard and flag—the arms, a wig in quarters and 3 razors—on the top of the arms, "*The amicable Society of the Peruke Makers.*" Motto, "*May we succeed in our trade and the union protect us.*"

Two small flags on barber's poles, ten links in each, emblematical of the ten adopting states.

Artificial Florists.

Rear of the 4th division brought up by the artificial florists, carrying a white flag, ornamented on the edges with artificial flowers, with 13 blue stars, 3 of which drooping representing the 3 states that had not adopted the constitution; supported by 2 boys in white, with blue sashes, and their heads set off with feathers. Motto, "*Floreat America.*"¹¹

FIFTH DIVISION.

White Smiths.

Carrying an elegant pedestal of open scroll work, supporting the arms of the trade, Vulcan's¹² arm and hand hammer; motto in gold,

*"By hammer and hand
All arts do stand."*

Below, the name of the trade embellished with gold ornaments in swags of laurel; a highly polished finished lock was herein likewise exhibited,

with a key at entrance. Over the same a bell rung continually during the procession, and at the top a finished jack, kept likewise in motion by the wind, followed by the masters singly, then two wardens, masters, journeymen and apprentices, all with blue cockades.

Cutlers.

Two master cutlers, wearing breast-plates and drill bows in their hands, and green silk aprons, embellished with the company's arms, richly painted, bound with red ribbon.

Four journeymen with green baize aprons bound with red ribbon and the company's arms.

Four apprentices, with green baize aprons bound with red ribbon.

Confectioners.

Bacchus's cup made of sugar, richly ornamented, four feet six inches in circumference; round the goblet's edge, the inscription "*the Federal Confectioner.*" The letters of different colors; sugar plumbs in the cup; the Federal cake ornamented with preserved fruit, made and carried by Mr. [Adam] Pryor.

Stone Masons.

Flag: On the front, an elegant plan of the President (of Congress's) house,¹³ at a distance was displayed a remote view of the Temple of Fame,¹⁴ supported with Thirteen Pillars, ten finished and three unfinished; over the temple these words inscribed;

*"The foundation is firm, the materials are good,
Each Pillar cemented with Patriot's blood."*

Over the centre of the flag a Spread Eagle; below the temple a gentleman, and a stone mason shewing him a draught of the Temple; between the President's house and the Temple, a grove of trees and an elegant walk.

On the reverse, an elegant Figure of the Master Mason; over his head was displayed the American flag, with the Mason's coat of arms; at a distance a Mason's shop in a shade of trees, a man at work in it, at a little distance two men cutting stone; near the bottom of the flag, a man sawing marble, with a number of blocks and tools of all kinds lying around.

The order, consisting of 32, headed by Mr. George Lindsay and William M'Kinney.

Brick Layers.

Preceded by John M'Comb, 120 in number, supporting a flag representing, under the colors of the United States, a medallion of his Excellency Gen. Washington, encircled with laurel. In the centre, the bricklayers arms—motto—"In God is all our trust." Over the arms in a ribbon, written, "the amicable society of bricklayers," all in gold letters.

On the lower part of the flag, a building with scaffolding and men at work, attended with laborers. The whole painted on white silk.

Painters and Glaziers Flag.

A view of a street with a number of buildings, one nearly painted, and a man in the attitude of painting, on a ladder, the front of a house, a ship, and a man painting the stern, a pillar with ten stripes circular, above the pillar the union flag, standing on a platform, supported by ten pillars, three pillars lying down underneath—in the two upper corners, two men in each at different work, painting and glazing—in the centre of the two, the arms of the painters and glaziers. Arms, or, three shields gules, on the first a hammer, proper—in the second a diamond—in the third a lederkin—on the two upper shields a rule, in the centre of the field a paint pot and brush—crest, a glass cap—supporters, on the dexter side a man holding a pillar and pencil—on the sinister, a man holding a sash frame. Motto, "*May we succeed.*" Over the two poles that supported the banner, a scrawl, surmounted of a star—this motto, "*May trade flourish and industry be rewarded.*"

Cabinet-makers.

Headed by Messrs. [Nicholas] Carmer, Rucker, and [Alexander] Anderson.

Robert Carter, bearing the arms of the profession, followed by 30 apprentices, four abreast; 20 journeymen in the same order.

Stage drawn by horses, on which, during the march, a cradle and table were compleated;—on the stage, colours fixed, representing a furniture ware-house, where the different species of their craft were displayed. Motto.—"*Unity with Fortitude.*" 16 master workmen, four and four, closed the order.

Windsor and Rush Chair-makers.

Headed by Messrs. Thomas and William Ash, of the windsor chair manufactory, and Jacob Smith and Mr. [Udrian] Dow, of the rush ditto, followed by 60 men with green and red cockades in their hats, emblematical of their business: The standard borne by two men, representing a large manufactory shop, with a number of workmen at work;—in front of the shop a view of the river, several vessels bound to different parts, taking in chairs, boys carrying them down to the wharfs; in one corner, the American Union, in the other, the chair-makers arms, a turning lath, and two windsor chairs properly emblazoned. Motto.—"*Free Trade.*"

The fed'ral states in union bound,
O'er all the world our chairs are found.

Ivory Turners, and Musical Instrument makers.

Headed by Mr. Ahasuerus Turk, and other masters of the above business, two and two. They bore a most beautiful standard, in the upper

part was the figure of Apollo, (the God of Music) sitting in the clouds, playing on a lyre; round his head were brilliant rays of gold.—In a festoon, from Apollo to the corners, and down the sides, hung the different instruments of music, in the manner of trophies. Underneath Apollo was America, standing hand in hand with Europe, Asia, and Africa, emblematical of love and friendship with all the world.

Divine Apollo strikes his sacred lyre,
 Our breath he fills with true federal fire;
 All nature smiles on this auspicious day,
 When love and friendship joins the New Æra.
 Motto, “*Federal Musical Instrument Makers.*”

Drum Makers.

A flag; drum makers arms; two drums in the two corners; a sheaf of flax in the centre at top; a lamb underneath; on the left of the arms an oak tree; on the right a man leaning on the arms, representing the drum maker; motto—“*Federal drum makers.*”

“Tho’ peaceably inclin’d we are,
 Let us prepare, least there be war.
 Our enemies may overcome,
 Should we neglect the Federal drum.”

Upholsterers.

Accompanying the Federal Chair of State, a most elegant exhibition.—Each carrying a banner ornamented with fringe, painted to represent the different articles of their business. Ten of these were topped with brilliant stars, and three with stars obscured in different degrees. The Federal Chair was carried upon a handsome stage, covered with the richest carpet—over it stood a magnificent canopy, 19 feet high, overlaid with blue sattin, decorated with beautiful festoons, fringe, &c. and various emblematical figures. On the right, stood a comely lad, in the character of liberty, suitably dressed, and bearing her staff and cap, with a roll of parchment, inscribed *Federal Constitution*, 1788.—On the left, another, in the character of Justice, carrying the sword and balance. On the back of the chair, were seen two angels elevating a laurel wreath, with this motto—*The Reward of Virtue*; and on its top stood the bird sacred to Minerva.¹⁵ On the highest part of its beautiful canopy, stood the American eagle, with expanded wings, supported by a globe representing the United States—a variety of other emblematical circumstances might be noted, such as two watchful tygers, in a recumbant posture, intimating the necessary union of strength and prudence. On the front of the stage, a banner representing Fame, in a flying posture, carrying the Constitution, was supported by one, in the habit of a native

American, but richly decorated with feathers, plumes, &c.—The motto—“*May the Federal Constitution be supported by Liberty and Justice.*”

Lace and Fringe Weavers.

Bearing orange colors, elevated on a gilt standard, ornamented by their own manufactory, the device.—An Angel holding out a scroll with the words *Federal Constitution*; and underneath,

O never let it perish in your hands,
But piously transmit it to your children.

Paper Stainers.

A flag displayed, representing a piece of paper of a verditer blue ground, printed with a figure of Gen. Washington, with the words, “*New-York Manufacture,*” in blue letters, on a gold ground, borne by Mr. John Colles, attended by an apprentice in a coat and cap of paper laced with bordering, and others carrying decorated tools. In the centre of the flag, an oval figure, including ten golden stars, for the ten ratifying States; and on the exterior, three stars in silver, representing the States that have not acceded to the Constitution. On the borders of the flag—“*Under this Constitution we hope to flourish.*”

Civil Engineers

Carrying a design for erecting a dock for building and repairing men of war and other large vessels.

SIXTH DIVISION.

Ship Wrights Flag.

In front, a large oak tree, a ship in frame, with pieces of timber lying promiscuously. Noah’s ark above, with the motto—“*The Bulwark of a Nation.*”—On the extended corner, an eye.

Black Smiths and Nailors.

A flag, with two smiths shops represented, in one, a number of men forging an anchor, in the other, men shoeing a horse and making nails. Their coat of arms, three hammers crowned; over which was seen an eagle, under, the words—“*The New Constitution.*” Between the two shops, a large anchor, motto,

“Forge me strong, finish me neat,
I soon shall moor a *Federal* fleet.”

A man with his arm extended, with a hammer in it, with this motto.

“By hammer in hand
All arts do stand.”

The number, 120 in order, headed by Mr. John M’Bain.

During the march, the blacksmiths exerted themselves in the federal cause. They began and almost completed, an anchor upon the stage—

besides making a number of other articles, as hooks and thimbles, horse shoes, nails, &c. &c.

Ship Joiners.

A flag, with their arms; in the field various instruments of the craft displayed—crested with a ship, and ornamented. Motto,

*“Our merchants may venture to ship without fear,
For pilots of skill shall the Hamilton steer.
This federal ship will our commerce revive,
And merchants and shipwrights and joiners shall thrive.
On the ocean of time she’s about to set sail,
Fair freedom her compass and concord the gale.”*

Boat Builders.

Headed by two masters. Barge rowed by proper bargemen in proper dress—flag, field—13 stars and stripes—a print of his excellency General Washington, and under him a boat a building—axe and adze, a cross and drawing knife and plane. Motto,

*“Accept great Chief that share of honor’s praise,
A grateful people to your merit pays.
Verse is too mean your virtues to display,
And words too weak our meaning to convey.[”]*

Block and Pump makers,

Finished a pump, turned 3 doz. sheaves and pins—made 13 blocks, sheaved and pinned complete, on the stage, during the procession.

A flag, with 13 different kinds of blocks painted in an oval form—a pump boring in the centre. Motto, *“May our industry ever recommend us to employment under the federal government.”*—A ship off the stocks, with only her lower masts in.—Motto,

*“Block me well, my spars sheave neat,
And join me to our federal fleet.”*

Sail makers.

A stage drawn by 4 horses, on which was displayed their flag, representing the flag of the United States—directly below, the ship New-Constition, under full sail—in the centre of the flag, col. Hamilton, the new constitution in his right hand, and the confederation¹⁶ in his left—Fame with a trumpet and laurels to crown him: under, this motto,

*“Let steadiness our steps pursue,
May justice be our guide—
The federal plan we keep in view,
We fall if we divide.”*

Below this on the left, the inside of a sail loft—the master workmen cutting out sails, with men at work. On the right of this, a view of a river, a ship at anchor, representing commerce—a boat taking in sails

to carry on board—the out-side of a sail loft, at which men are reefing sails. During the procession, was finished on the stage, a ship's fore top-mast stay-sail, a steering sail cut out, on which was sewed about 56 yards, which was performed by four men in white shirts and trowsers, their sleeves tied up with blue ribbon. The remainder of the branch (37 in number) followed the stage—carrying in their hands yard and measure lines, &c. &c.—the boys dressed in canvas vest and trowsers, a blue sash tied round their waists, and a pine branch in their hats, with blue ribbons—in the branch ten stars, in honor of the 10 states that have adopted the constitution. Headed by Mr. Geo. Warner.

Riggers.

The whole number 41, with blue ribbands in their hats, two drummers and fifers, a flag with thirteen stripes and thirteen stars, and a ship just from the carpenters, with men heaving her foremast in with the windlass, and a rigging loft on the wharf with seven men at work; three of them serving a rope; one with a bowl of punch, drinking success to the New Constitution. A cartman with a cart load of rope at the loft door. Fame with a trumpet, sounding *Federal Riggers*; the motto,

*“Fit me well and rig me neat,
And join me to the Federal Fleet.”*

On the other side, a ship almost finished, with men at work aloft; likewise, a rigging loft with men at work. A cartman taking out a gang of rigging from the loft; the motto,

*“Now I am rigg'd both neat and strong,
And joined to the Federal Throng.”*

The standard borne by Mr. Richard Clark.

SEVENTH DIVISION.
FEDERAL [ship woodcut] SHIP
HAMILTON,

A frigate of thirty-two guns, twenty-seven feet keel, and ten feet beam, with galleries and every thing complete and in proportion, both in hull and rigging; manned with upwards of thirty seamen and marines, in their different uniforms;

Commanded by Commodore Nicholson,
and drawn by ten horses.

At the hour appointed for the procession to move, thirteen guns were fired from the ship, as a signal for marching. She then got under way, with her top-sails a-trip, and courses in the brails, proceeding in the centre of the procession. When abreast of Beaver-street, she made the proper signal for a pilot, by hoisting a jack at the fore top-mast head, and firing a gun. The pilot-boat appearing upon her weather

quarter, the frigate threw her main top-sail to the mast; the boat hailed, and asked the necessary questions; the pilot was received aboard, and the boat dismissed. The frigate then filled and moved abreast of the fort, where the crew discovered the President and Members of Congress.¹⁷ She immediately brought to, and fired a salute of thirteen guns, which was followed by three cheers, and politely answered by the gentlemen of Congress. The procession then moved; when the ship came opposite to Mr. Constable's, the crew discovered at the window Mrs. Edgar, who had generously honored the ship with the present of a suit of silk colors; immediately they manned ship and gave three cheers. When she arrived abreast of the Old Slip, she was saluted by thirteen guns from his Most Catholic Majesty's Packet, then in the harbor, which was politely returned.¹⁸ She then made sail, and proceeded thro' Queen-street to the fields, when squalls came on, and the wind ahead, she beat to windward by short tacks, in which the pilot displayed his skill in navigation, heaving the lead, getting ready for stays, putting the helm a-lee, by bracing and counter-bracing the yards, &c. In the fields, she had to descend several hills, in rising which she afforded a delightful prospect to the spectators, her top-sails appearing first, and then her hull, in imitation of a ship at sea; exhibiting an appearance beyond description splendid and majestic. When she arrived at her station abreast of the dining tables, she clued up her top-sails and came to, in close order with the rest of the procession, the officers going ashore to dine. At four o'clock she gave the signal for marching, by a discharge of thirteen guns, when the procession moved by the lower road. The manner in which the ship made her passage thro' the narrow parts of the road, was highly interesting and satisfactory, being obliged to run under her fore-top sail, in a squall, and keep in the line of procession; this was accomplished with great hazard, by the good conduct of the commander and the assiduity of the seamen and pilot; she arrived at her moorings abreast of the Bowling-Green at half past five, amidst the acclamations of thousands; and the different orders in procession, as soon as they were dismissed, honored her with three cheers, as a mark of approbation for the good conduct of the Commodore and his crew.

Pilot Boat.

Eighteen feet in length, and four feet in breadth, commanded by Mr. Edward Wilkinson, with four lads;—embellished with two flags, representing the light-house, High-lands, Staten-Island and the sea—ships going in and out, the pilot boats attending them:—drawn on a waggon by two horses.

Pilots.

Marine Society.

President [James Farquhar] with a gold anchor at his left breast, suspended by a blue ribbon, and two Vice-Presidents [Augustine Lawrence and Paschal N. Smith].

Treasurer [William Heyer], Secretary [William Newton] and Attorney.

Standard-bearer with a white silk flag, representing a ship cast on shore; a dead body floating near her; a woman and children in great distress, lamenting the sad catastrophe, are consoled by HOPE, leaning with one hand on a large anchor, and pointing with the other to CHARITY, who holds a chart inscribed, *New-York Marine Society*; in the upper part, handsomely ornamented, is written, *Marine Society, State of New-York*; in the lower, in gold letters, the Society's motto,

“*To Charity add Knowledge.*”

Former officers.

Standing committee.

Society and strangers, masters of vessels, four a-breast.

Printers, Book-Binders and Stationers.

Preceded by Messrs. Hugh Gaine and Samuel Loudon, on horseback.

The Standard, supported by Messrs. [George] Carroll and Bryce.

A stage, drawn by four horses. Upon the stage the *Federal Printing-Press*, complete; cases, and other typographical implements, with pressmen and compositors at work—During the procession, many hundred copies of a Song, and an Ode, adapted to the occasion, were struck off, and distributed by Mr. A. M'Lean among the multitude.¹⁹

A small flag on the top of the press, on which was inscribed the word “*Publius*”²⁰ in gold letters.

Mr. John Loudon,²¹ representing a herald mounted on the back of the *Federal Printing-Press*, dressed in a flowing robe, and a cap, on which were written the words, “*The Liberty of the Press*,” with a brazen trumpet in the right hand, proclaiming “*The epocha of Liberty and Justice*,” the words “*Epocha of Liberty and Justice*” pending from the mouth of the trumpet. In the left hand, a parchment scroll representing the New Constitution.

The Master Printers, Booksellers and Bookbinders, with their Journeymen and Apprentices, four a-breast, following the stage.

Description of the Standard.

Fame blowing her trumpet, and supporting the medallion of His Excellency Doctor Franklin, the venerable Printer; Liberty attending, holding her cap over his head—the electric fluid darting from below. On the upper corners, the Union flag, and Stationers' Arms; and below,

the Bible, and Federal Constitution, representing the religious and civil Constitution of our country.

Mottos.

1st. *Ars Artium omnium conservatrix.*²²

2d. May the Liberty of the Press be inviolably preserved as the *Palladium* of the Constitution, and the Centinel of Freedom.²³

And surrounding the Medallion of His Excellency Dr. Franklin, the following words—"Where Liberty dwells, there is my Country.["]

EIGHTH DIVISION.

Cartmen.

A cart painted red, with the words "*Federal Cart*," in white letters—ornamented with green boughs, and drawn by an elegant bright bay horse, neatly caparisoned, and "*Union*" inscribed under each ear; driven by Mr. Edward Fowler, dressed in a white frock and overalls, with a blue sash and white bow.

On the cart was erected a standard, with a broad flag, one side representing Murray's wharf, Stewart and Jones' store, and three vessels discharging and taking in cargoes—carts passing and repassing—the harbor, a view of Long-Island—the rising sun—a vessel under sail, named the "*Federal Ship Hamilton*"; and a coat of arms. Motto, "*By this we live*," in yellow letters. On the reverse, Jones' wharf and store houses, with a view of the river,—Long-Island—horses and carts—the rising sun—the federal ship; over which on both sides were these lines,

*"Behold the federal ship of fame,
The Hamilton we call her name;
To every craft she gives employ,
Sure Cartmen have their share of joy."*

Followed by 300 cartmen, each wearing a laurel in his hat, and conducted by T. Amerman, A. Mattiny, J. Demeroy, and W. Furman.

Horse Doctors.

Walter Gibbons, Horse Doctor, dressed in an elegant half shirt with a painted horse on his breast; a balling iron in the horse's mouth, and the doctor putting a ball of physic down his throat, with implements of farierry ready for use. Over the horse, written Federal horse doctor, at bottom physic. On his back a horse skeleton, the doctor examining the head; over his head, *Federal Horse Doctor*, at bottom dissection.

Mathematical Instrument makers.

In an oval compartment, encircled with ten stars, a Hadley's Quadrant, Telescope, Azimuth Compass and Time Glass, with suitable decorations. Motto, "*Trade and Navigation*." Supported by Thomas Biggs.

Carvers and Engravers.

The Carvers and Engravers (united) were led by Messrs. Richard Davis and Peter Maverick; the banner supported by R. B. Davis.

On the banner, which was of silk bordered with an elegant fringe of American manufacture, were displayed the arms of the United States, viz. a chief, azure, on 13 pieces argent and gules. In the centre was placed an escutcheon parted proper, pale. Argent a Chevron, Or, between two Gravers in chief proper, a copper-plate on a sand bag in base proper, for Engravers. Argent a Mallet and Gouge proper, for Carvers. Motto, "*Arte & Labore.*"²⁴ This banner was suspended by the two upper ends to a gilt staff, which was crowned by a circle (two feet diameter) of thirteen stars, ten of which were gilt, three un gilt; in the centre the American eagle soaring. On a carved ribband, between the banner and the stars, this motto, "*Nous brillerons tous bientot.*"²⁵

Coach and Coach Harness makers.

A stage in front, drawn by ten black horses, three postillions, dressed in yellow, and jockey caps trimmed yellow. Four workmen on the stage at work, in the different branches. The flag extended on the stage, representing a coach maker's shop, with doors open, hands at work; a coach finished. At the door, a vessel lying at a wharf, taking aboard carriages for exportation. Over the shop, the union flag; over the ship, the nine federal members from this County. In the centre, the coach and coach harness makers arms, on a blue field, three golden coaches, supported by Liberty, on one side, holding in her left hand the cap of Liberty—on the other side, by Peace, holding in her right hand a cornucopia of plenty—Fame blowing her trumpet over their heads.—Motto—"The Federal Star shall guide our Car."—A genteel green monument, supported by ten pillars, with an union in centre, Crest on the top of the arms, an eagle, soaring from a globe.

Copper Smiths.

Headed by Messrs. Asher Myers and Charles White. A standard, emblematical of the branch.—Motto—"May the labor of the industrious be crowned with success."

Founders Colours.

Furnace, sand trough, two pillars, an urn, cannon, 2 moulds. Motto—"May the Founders through principles of Amity, agree in Unity."

Tin Plate Workers.

Headed by Messrs. [Samuel] Kempton, [William] Hardenbrook and other masters, followed by their journeymen and apprentices, with white cockades, emblematical of their business; their standard borne by two of the profession, exhibiting a square; on one side, *the Federal*

Tin Manufactory; on the other, *the Federal Tin Warehouse*; in the square are raised ten pillars, with lamps to each lighted; three more were gradually raising, the lamps half lighted, emblematical of the ten States that have adopted the Constitution, and the three that have not; on each of the ten pillars is a different article of tin manufactory; in front is a view of the river; the Federal man of war appears, and shews the poop lantern; at a great distance appears a light house and a ship in the offing. The ship of war shews the Federal flag of ten stripes. On the manufactory are inscribed, the words, *Federal Constitution*; and

“*When three more Pillars rise,
Our Union will the world surprise.*”

Pewterers.

Bearing an orange colored silk flag, on which was elegantly painted, the United States colors; underneath which, the Pewterers arms, supported by two miners, holding burning lamps in their hands; motto, “*Solid and pure,*” in gold letters; on the front part of the flag, the words, *Society of Pewterers*, with the representation of a pewterers workshop, in which the different branches were at work, and some of their work finished. Above this were the following lines, viz.

“*The Federal plan most solid and secure,
Americans their freedom will ensure;
All arts shall flourish in Columbia’s land,
And all her Sons join as one social band.*”

[See the following page for an illustration of the pewterers’ flag.]

Gold and Silver Smiths.

A gold Federal Eagle on the top of the standard. The Goldsmiths emblematical arms on white silk emblazoned, the crest representing justice sitting on a helmet, holding in one hand the balance, in the other the touch stone; the arms supported by two savages, the field quarterly, or, two eagles heads erass’d azure, two cups inverted between two gold buckles; the motto,

“*Justice is the Queen of Virtues.*”

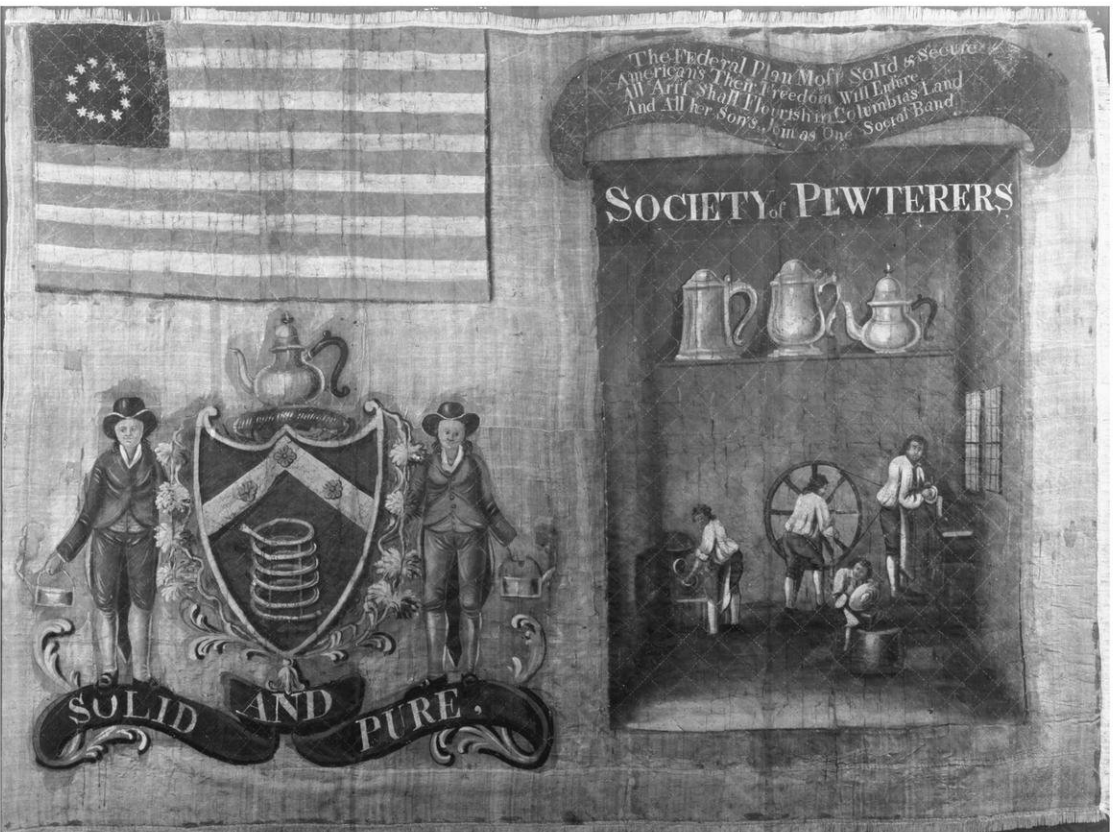
The supporters resting on a globe representing the United States, Standard supported by the four senior gold smiths, followed by twenty-five.

Potters.

A flag, on which were represented specimens of stone and earthenware. A stone ware kiln in full flame, with different parts of both branches.—A stage drawn by two horses—three hands at work, turning a number of vessels of different forms.—Motto on the flag.—“*The Potter hath power over the clay.*”²⁶

The Chocolate Makers Device.

The old Constitution,²⁷ represented by the naked body of a man, denoting Congress without power, with 13 heads, looking different



Flag of the Society of Pewterers carried in the Federal Procession. Silk and paint. Accession No. 1903.12. Collection of The New-York Historical Society.

ways, shewing the clashing interest of the States in Union, with these lines,

“When each head thus directing,
The body naught pursues;
But when in one uniting,
Then energy ensues.”

The ten men well dressed, representing the ten states, supporting the head of a man, representing the New Constitution united in a Federal Head.

Across the loins of the naked man, in a circle, a scroll from the right hand to the left, pointing with the forefinger to a rising sun and the federal head, with these lines in it.

“In all creation my like is not,
Adopt the New and let me be forgot.
Behold how beams yon bright and rising sun,
O, happy Æra! tyranny is fled;
Since federal government is now begun,
United in one presidential head.”

On the pedestal on which it stands are these words, *The Old Constitution*. Beneath a hand chocolate mill, with two men grinding chocolate.

On the opposite side of the flag, 13 stripes, representing that no alteration can dissolve the federal compact, entered into by the first Congress, when they declared independence.

Tobacconists.

Headed by Mr. Dennis M'Ready, displaying a white silk flag, on which was elegantly painted and gilt, (encompassed by thirteen tobacco plants) their arms, on a superb shield.—Motto.—“*Let Brotherly Love continue.* [”]—Their flag was preceded by 13 boys, dressed in white, with blue ribbons, each carrying a hand of tobacco with eleven leaves, bound close together. Then followed the masters and journeymen, to the number of forty-five.

Dyers.

Headed by John Morrison, Robert Dodds. Journeymen, apprentices, arms, three madder bags; motto—

“*Give Glory to God.*”

Brush Makers.

Headed by Messrs. [Cornelius] Cooper and Watson, carrying a white flag, decorated with ribbands, representing the brush makers arms; motto—

“May love and unity support our trade,
And keep out those who would our rights invade.”

Joined by journeymen and apprentices, each wearing their aprons, and carrying upright, a large brush, called a Turk's head, on staffs twelve feet long.

Tallow Chandlers.

A flag with thirteen stripes—Under these the figure of Gen. Washington, with these words placed over him; "THE ILLUSTRIOUS WASHINGTON, may he be the first President of the United States." At the opposite end was placed the figure of "col. *Hamilton*." Between the two, the coat of arms of the branch, over which were placed thirteen candles, with the name of the state each represents—those representing the ratifying states were all burning, and united in one common flame. At the top of the flag, New-York and North-Carolina were lighted, but not joining the rest.

Sadlers, Harness and Whip Makers.

Sadlers, to the number of 24.—Mr. J[ohn] Young, Mr. Henry Broadwell, (and Mr. J. Amory, the principal whip maker.)

Then followed their emblematical figure of their profession, an elegant horse, decked with a burr hunter saddle and rich scarlet furniture, with broad gold lace round the whole, and ornamented with embroidered tassels, making a very brilliant appearance: the bridle was grand, and displayed much taste in the ornaments.

The horse was led by a groom, dressed in character, carrying an elegant whip, and attended by two black boys, as hostlers.

The other masters and journeymen following in the rear.

NINTH DIVISION.

The Gentlemen of the Bar in their robes, two and two, preceded by the sheriff [Robert Boyd] and coroner [Ephraim Brasher].

In the centre of their body, the constitution of the United States, elegantly engrossed on vellum, and decorated with ribbon, emblematical of the union, was borne by John Lawrence, Esq. counsellor at law, supported by John Cozine, and Robert Troup, Esqrs. counsellors at law.

Ten students at law followed, singly, bearing in order the ratifications of the constitution by the several states as they came into the union. The rest two and two.

The Philological Society.²⁸

The secretary, bearing a scroll, containing the principles of a *Federal Language*.

Vice-president and librarian—the latter carrying Mr. Horne Tooke's treatise on language; as a mark of respect for the Book which contains a new discovery, and as a mark of respect for the author, whose zeal for the American cause, during the late war, subjected him to a prosecution.²⁹

Josiah Ogden Hoffman, Esq. the president of the society, with a sash of white and blue ribbons—The standard bearer, Mr. William Dunlap, with the arms of the society, viz.—Argent, three tongues, gules, in chief; emblematical of *language*; the improvement of which is the object of the institution. Chevron, or; indicating firmness and support—an *eye*, emblematical of *discernment* over a pyramid, or rude monument, sculptured with Gothic, Hebrew, and Greek letters. The Gothic on the *light* side, indicating the *obvious* origin of the American language from the Gothic—The Hebrew and Greek, upon the reverse or *shade*, of the monument, expressing the remoteness and *obscurity* of the connection between those languages and the modern. The *crest*, a cluster of cohering magnets, attracted by a key in the centre;—emblematic of *union* among the members of the society, in acquiring *language*, the *key* of knowledge; and clinging to their *native* tongue, in preference to a *foreign* one. The *shield*, ornamented with a branch of the oak, from which is collected the *gall*, used in making ink—and a sprig of *flax*, from which *paper* is made; supported on the dexter side, by CADMUS,³⁰ in a robe of Tyrian purple, bearing in his right hand, leaves of the rush or flag, *papyrus*, marked with Phœnician characters; representing the introduction of letters into Greece, and the origin of writing. On the sinister side, by Hermes, or Taaut, the inventor of letters, and god of eloquence, grasping his caduceus or wand.³¹ Motto—*Concedat Laurea Linguae*³²—expressive of the superiority of *civil* over *military* honors. The flag, embellished with the Genius of America, crowned with a wreath of 13 purple plumes, ten of them starred, representing the ten States which have ratified the Constitution.—Her right hand pointing to the Philological Society, and in her left, a standard, with a pendant, inscribed with the word, CONSTITUTION. The members of the society in order, clothed in black.

[Columbia] University.

A flag, emblematic of science. Motto, “*Science and liberty mutually support and adorn each other.*”

Supported by a standard bearer, preceding two large globes. The president³³ and professors in their academical habits, followed by the students, bearing different kinds of mathematical and astronomical instruments: after these moved the medical students, and the instructors of schools.

Merchants and Traders.

The merchants and traders were preceded by John Broome, Esq. President of the Chamber of Commerce, and William Maxwell, Esq. Vice-President of the Bank, in a chariot, together with William Laight, Esq. Secretary to the Chamber, on horseback, bearing a standard with

an oval field, surrounded by 13 stars. The field, a Mercury,³⁴ standing on the shore, holding in his hand the arms of the city, surrounded by the emblems of commerce; motto—"Non nobis nati solum"—Not born for ourselves alone. The spear terminating in an American Eagle gilt, bearing on his breast the arms of the United States, proper.

TENTH DIVISION.

Physicians, Strangers and Gentlemen.

Porters.

A blue flag, with 13 stripes, on one of which was inscribed, "*September 17, 1787,*" thirteen stars on the field, on a standard supported by two porters with the words "*ten to three, we carry it.*" Under the stripes, "*Stands, we stand—falls, we fall.*"

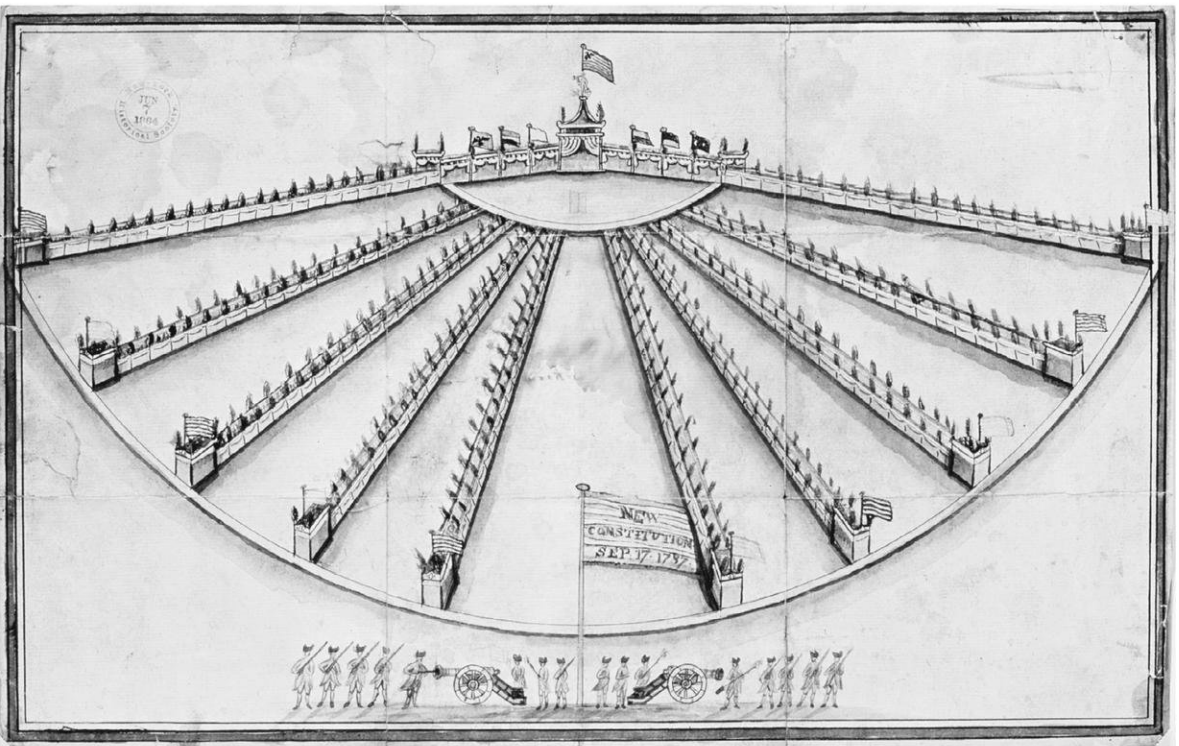
Artillery and Field Piece.

The line of procession, containing nearly 5000 people, extended upwards of a mile and a half. The march was slow and majestic, and the general appearance of the scene as far surpassed every one's expectation, as mere description must fall short of it. While numberless crowds were pressing on every side, the doors and windows of houses were thronged by the fair daughters of Columbia, whose animated smiles and satisfaction contributed not a little to complete the general joy.³⁵

As this splendid, novel and interesting exhibition moved along, an unexpected silence reigned throughout the city, which gave a solemnity to the whole transaction suited to the singular importance of its cause. No noise was heard but the deep rumbling of carriage wheels, with the necessary salutes and signals. A glad serenity enlivened every countenance, while the joyous expectation of national prosperity triumphed in every bosom.

The whole body having arrived at Bayard's house, was disposed in a line and reviewed; after which the various insignia of the procession being left upon the fields, the citizens were conducted to their several dining tables. Here they were honored by the company of Congress, of many foreigners of distinction, and the patriotic and respectable clergy of this city.³⁶

The two principal sides of the building provided for this entertainment, consisted of three large pavillions, connected by a colonnade of about one hundred and fifty feet front, and forming two sides of an obtuse angle; the middle pavillion majestically rising above the whole terminated with a dome, on the top of which was a figure of Fame with her trumpet, proclaiming a *New Æra*, and holding in her left hand the standard of the United States, and a roll of parchment, on which was



Federal Banquet Pavillion by David Grim. Watercolor on paper. Accession No. 1864.17. Collection of The New-York Historical Society.

inscribed in large characters, the three remarkable epochas of the late war; *Independence, Alliance with France, Peace*. At her side was the American Eagle, with wings extended, resting on a crown of laurel placed on the top of the pedestal.

Over six of the principal pillars of this colonnade were placed small escutcheons, inscribed with the cyphers of the several powers in alliance with the United States, viz. *France, Spain, Sweden, Prussia, Holland, Morocco*;³⁷ and over these were displayed the colors of these respective nations, which added greatly to the brilliancy of the entablature, already beautifully decorated with festoons and branches of laurel. The extremities of this angle were joined by a table forming part of a circle, and from this ten more colonnades were extended, each 440 feet in length as the rays of a circle, the whole having one common centre, viz. the centre of the middle pavillion, where sat *the President of Congress*. At the extremity of each colonnade, was a pavillion nearly similar to the three before mentioned, having their outside terminated in a pediment crowned with escutcheons, on which was inscribed the names of the ten States which had then ratified the Constitution. The whole of the colonnades were adorned with curtains elegantly folded, and with wreaths and festoons of laurel every where interspersed.

In the Area contained within the angle first described, was placed the music, but so disposed as not to intercept the prospect from the seat of the president, thro' the whole length of the ten colonnades above-mentioned. This noble and beautiful edifice, erected in less than five days, covered a surface of ground of 880 feet by 600, and was calculated to accommodate six thousand persons.

The taste and genius of Major L'Enfant (so often displayed on other public occasions)³⁸ and to whom the city is indebted for the design and execution, appeared in the present instance, to have derived additional brilliancy from the dignity of the object, on which it was employed.

Dinner being ended, the following toasts were drank:—

1. The United States.
2. The States which have ratified the New Constitution.
3. The Convention of the State of New-York; may they soon add an eleventh pillar to the Federal Edifice.
4. General WASHINGTON.
5. His Most Christian Majesty.³⁹
6. His Catholic Majesty.⁴⁰
7. The States General of the United Netherlands.
8. The friendly powers in Europe.
9. The patriotic framers of the present national Constitution.

10. The memory of those heroes who have fallen in defence of American Liberty.

11. Success to agriculture, manufactures and the sciences.

12. May trade and navigation flourish.

13. The DAY; may the Union of the States be perpetual.

After each of which, ten cannon were fired; and

In order to diffuse the joy to all classes of citizens, an ample proportion of the entertainment was detached to the prisoners in goal.⁴¹

The repast ended, the procession returned in the same manner, to its place of setting out; and the citizens were dismissed by half past 5 o'clock.

In the transactions of this day, a variety of circumstances might be noted, upon which the reflections of the patriot, the politician, or the philosopher might dwell with pleasure.—A procession inexpressibly magnificent—formed not to gratify the pride or ambition of an individual—but to manifest to the world, the attachment of a people to a government, calculated to secure and perpetuate their civil and religious liberties.—The mutual confidence and joy of the various orders of the community—all narrow and bigotted distinctions lost, and absorbed in that noblest of all passions, “the love of country.”—The glorious hope—the emulous and patriotic zeal—the dignified and unsullied harmony of the day:—And it may be added the uninstructed ingenuity of the American mechanic, unfolding itself in the invention of his emblems and motto.

But what most excited surprize, in persons unacquainted with the character of American yeomanry, was, to see a numberless multitude, in view of a tempting collation, not only adhering to every rule of decorum, unawed by a single bayonet or espontoon.—But tho' under the influence of public passions, verging to enthusiasm, peaceably, at an early hour, retiring without a single instance of rudeness or intemperance.

To conclude this account of a transaction, which will long be remembered, and which reflects infinite honor upon the mild genius of our governments, and the inhabitants of this City. Instead of the trophies of war, and of captives in chains, which graced the triumphs of antiquity, we here beheld the plough, the ship and all the implements of useful arts. The wreath of martial glory was exchanged for the garland of peace; and instead of the painful sensations, which in a humane and liberal mind, would be excited by the triumphal entry of a conqueror, reeking from the blood and slaughter of thousands of his fellow men, the hearts of all the spectators anticipated with rapture the return of concord, of public and private justice, of individual happiness and national glory;

the constant attendants of a wise, free and efficient system of government.

By order of the Committee of Arrangements,
RICHARD PLATT, Chairman.

1. William Alexander Duer claimed that Captain Moore “was selected for the part [of Christopher Columbus] from the striking resemblance he bore to the portraits of the Great Navigator” (*Address*, 24).

2. Latin: O successful, fortunate, or happy farmer.

3. Friedrich Carl Hans Bruno, Baron von Poellnitz, a native of Gotha, Germany, first came to America in 1782 and settled in New York two years later. In 1788 he purchased a farm in the vicinity of Murray Hill on Manhattan Island, where he engaged in agricultural experiments. William A. Duer described Nicholas Cruger and John Watts, mentioned above, as “eminent experimental farmers” (*Address*, 24). Both men were also merchants.

4. Anthony Walton White, a native of New Jersey and a colonel in the Continental Army during the Revolution, moved in 1788 to New York City, where he lived until 1793. The Society of the Cincinnati had also played a major role in New York City’s Fourth of July celebration. (See RCS:N.Y., 1287.) In Duer’s *Reminiscences* (p. 52), the “two boys in a white uniform” were described as “two African mutes, in white oriental dresses and turbans.”

5. Rhode Island had not called a convention to consider the Constitution. At the time of the procession the conventions of New York and North Carolina were still in session.

6. Mayor James Duane was attending the New York Convention in Poughkeepsie as a delegate.

7. The Articles of Confederation.

8. Silenus was foster father, teacher, and companion to Bacchus, the god of wine.

9. St. Crispin, the patron saint of shoemakers or cordwainers. St. Tammany refers to the seventeenth-century Delaware Indian chief known for his friendliness toward white men and thus humorously referred to as the patron saint of America.

10. Probably a reference to New York and North Carolina, whose conventions were meeting at the time of the procession but who had not yet ratified the Constitution. Rhode Island had not called a convention.

11. Latin: Blossoming or flourishing America.

12. Vulcan, god of fire and metalworking.

13. Cyrus Griffin of Virginia was the President of Congress.

14. The notion of a temple of fame was in the consciousness of eighteenth-century Americans since it had been a favorite topic (along with the concept of fame) of authors since the Renaissance. In 1715 Alexander Pope, taking advantage of the popularity of these concepts, published in London an allegorical poem entitled *The Temple of Fame: A Vision*. Pope peopled his temple with such accomplished, erudite, and heroic ancients as Homer, Virgil, and Cicero, all much admired figures in eighteenth-century America.

15. The favorite bird of Minerva, the goddess of wisdom, was the owl.

16. The Articles of Confederation.

17. Three days after the procession Hugh Williamson, a North Carolina delegate to the Confederation Congress, noted that the delegates from Congress viewed the procession and that they dined with the marchers. The North Carolina delegates, however, “staid at Home. We conceived it was a Respect we owed the State not to celebrate an Event in our public Characters which the State we represent has not hitherto sanctioned by her approbation” (to James Iredell, 26 July, III, above).

18. A reference to the Spanish frigate-packet *Pinzon*. (See Don Diego de Gardoqui to Conde de Floridablanca, 24 July, above. For Greenleaf's account in the *New York Journal*, 24 July, see RCS:N.Y., 1616.)

19. For the song, see William Pitt Smith, "Ode on the Adoption of the Constitution," *New York Journal*, 24 July (above), and for the ode, see Samuel Low, "Ode for the Procession," *New York*, 23 July (above). William Alexander Duer stated that Archibald M'Lean of the *Independent Journal* and John Russell of the *New York Museum* distributed copies of a song and an ode (*Address*, 26n). In his *Reminiscences*, Duer attributed the song to his father William Duer and the ode to Royal Flint (p. 61).

20. A reference to the pseudonym used by the authors of *The Federalist*.

21. With his father Samuel Loudon, John Loudon printed the *New York Packet*.

22. Latin: The art (i.e., printing) preservative of all arts.

23. "*Ubi libertas ibi patria*," the Latin for the motto, was often used instead of the English.

24. Latin: Art and Labor.

25. French: We will all sparkle before long.

26. For the difficulty that the potters had controlling their clay, see "The Controversy over Thomas Greenleaf's Description of the Procession," 24–31 July (above).

27. The Articles of Confederation.

28. Noah Webster, the principal author of this description of the procession, was a member of this society and marched in this division.

29. John Horne Tooke (1736–1812), an English politician and philologist, supported (for a time) English radical John Wilkes, in the latter's fight against royal authority. Tooke founded the "Society of Supporters of the Bill of Rights" and the "Constitutional Society." During the American Revolution, he was fined and imprisoned for printing a resolution to raise a subscription for the American colonists. His reputation as a philologist was established when in 1786 he published the first part of *Epea Pteroenta, or, The Diversions of Purley*, which theorized that Saxon was the source of English.

30. In classical mythology, Cadmus was a Phoenician prince who introduced writing to the Greeks.

31. Taaut was the Phoenician god of letters, the inventor of the alphabet. His Greek equivalent was Hermes (Roman Mercury). The caduceus is a staff with two snakes wrapped around it carried by Hermes.

32. Latin: concede to language the laurel crown.

33. William Samuel Johnson, a Connecticut signer of the Constitution, who was president of Columbia College from May 1787 to July 1800.

34. The ancient Roman god, who among other things, was the god of commerce.

35. For a suggestion that Noah Webster not forget "the disposition of the ladies" on the occasion of the procession, see L. C. to Webster, 31 July (below).

36. The French minister plenipotentiary noted that the city's clergy at the repast included Anglicans, Presbyterians, Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, and Jews (Comte de Moustier to Comte de Montmorin, 2 August, immediately above).

37. The United States concluded alliances or treaties with France (1778), Sweden (1783), Prussia (1785), Holland (1782), and Morocco (1786). Negotiations with Spain had broken down. (See CC:46.) For an explanation of why the Spanish flag was flying, see Don Diego de Gardoqui to Conde de Floridablanca, 25 July, at note 7 (III, above).

38. For L'Enfant's projects in America after the Revolution and before the New York City procession, see Kenneth R. Bowling, *Peter Charles L'Enfant: Vision, Honor and Male Friendship in the Early American Republic* (Washington, D.C., 2002), 5–14.

39. The King of France, Louis XVI.

40. The King of Spain, Charles III.

41. See "Prisoners Celebrate the Constitution," *Daily Advertiser*, 25 July (above).

New York Packet, 8 August 1788¹

Messrs. LOUDON, By inserting the following Production, in your next paper, you will greatly oblige a number of your customers.

Description of the Procession in this city on the 23d ult.

Ten States had now receiv'd the federal plan,
Fram'd to secure the dearest rights of man.
The stream of joy pervades the extended land,
And meets in York a numerous patriot band.

Straightway they bid the magic pencil trace
The various emblems of the artist race.
And now the happy day draws near,
Hark! the morning gun I hear.

The thick'ning throng now pour from ev'ry street,
Until the whole in one great council meet.
Their chiefs all dress'd in white, a chosen band
With gilded trumpets, spread the high command,
Quick to their ranks, the several orders move,
Their colours streaming in the air above.

The hour is come, the signal's giv'n,
And two dragoons lead on the first division;
With trumpets in their hands, they eagerly proclaim
The voice of Federal Union & blest Columbia's fame.

A brazen cannon next appears,
Now banish, every heart, its fears;
This shall protect from hostile arms
The tillers of our fertile farms—

For see the Foresters draw near,

Desert axes in their hands

To clear our dearest lands,

And golden harvests on them rear.

Blest Columbus, honor'd sage,

Thy name still lives thro' every age;

'Tis he, behold him! he that gave

To Spain a world beyond the western wave:

Grateful we own thy bold advent'rous soul,

That dangers next to death could not controul.

The plough advances now to view
 And Sowers following seed bestrew;
 The harrow buries it and leaves
 Till joyful Farmers reap the yellow sheaves.

Columbia hail! thou favorite child of fame,
 Behold thy Eagle cloth'd in gold and flame!
 Beneath her wide extended pinions see
 The Thirteen Stripes thy far-fam'd ensign play;
 While Cincinnatus' sons, that patriot band,
 That drew their swords to save an injur'd land,
 Now march in triumph, eager to declare
 Their joy, when States the Federal standard rear.

The Gard'ners next the moving ranks sustain,
 Sweet music's band succeeds and tunes a rapt'rous strain.
 Now flowing numbers dwell upon the ear,
 The ravish'd soul thinks Heaven itself is near;
 The sounds harmonious warbling sweet delight,
 Enhance the Federal splendors to the sight.

The Tailor's flag now meets the wondering eye,
 Adorn'd, with emblems bright, display'd on high;
 But soon is pass'd this ancient, numerous train,
 And next succeed the Measurers of grain—
 Millers that grind the produce of the plougher,
 And judges chosen to inspect the flour;
 Each with their colours pointing to the sky,
 Now slow advance and now are passing by.
 Quickly the Bakers come as they retire;
 But, Brewers' emblems following, all admire;
 With heap'd up casks of generous home-made ale,
 Their front they grace and bear the painted sail:
 Young Bacchus sits aloft and quaffs the bowl,
 The native liquor cheers his patriot soul.
 Next those well taught strong spirits to distill,
 In rear proceeding, this division fill.

A clattering noise now strikes the ears,
 And lo! the Cooper train appears;
 The busy workmen hoop the useful cask,
 With hopes inspir'd e'en toil's a pleasing task;
 Read on their flag their future views describ'd
 In humble verse—But see the Butcher tribe!
 Choice meat already drest, the stall supplies,
 And many a figure on the canvass flies.

Tanners and Carriers, now their banners spread,
 And Leather-dressers close this great parade.
 Cordwainers fill the next approaching stage,
 With colours flying all in work engage;
 The hammer strikes, they play the piercing awl,
 Now busy arms extend, and now alternate fall.

The fourth division draws before the view,
 And Carpenters lead on in order due;
 Their implements they in the air display,
 By faithful pencil mark'd in colours gay.
 A lengthy train the stage succeeds, when lo!
 Forth stalks a Savage Chief; his trusty bow
 Is o'er his shoulder hung, his costly dress,
 And walks majestic his high rank confess:
 Another in a humbler garb appears,
 And leads a steed bestrode by sable bears;
 The novel sight strait catches every eye,
 As on they pass, until they are fully by.
 Then Hatters moving on their flag unfurl;
 Next those that dress the hair and dressing curl;
 A numerous band extend the length'ning files,
 While many a figure on their colours smiles.

The White-Smiths with their emblems now succeed;
 Then Cutlers skill'd to form the glittering blade.

The Mason's flag now onward moves apace,
 Their well fill'd column crowds a lengthy space;
 But these retire, then Artists bricks that lay,
 Spread their gay colours to the solar ray:
 Painters and Glaziers heighten still the scene,
 And charm the eye with elegance serene;
 Next Cabinet Makers and of Windsor chairs
 Move slowly onward in well-order'd pairs.

But now th' Upholsterers stage claims all the sight,
 And fills each breast with wonder and delight:
 Who but admires the Genius of our land,
 The lofty standard grasp with firm right hand!
 Fair freedom's cap, and scales of justice too,
 As each Columbian in the grand review
 Beholds, suspended there on either side,
 His bosom heaves with honest, patriot pride.
 And now they're past, and quickly press their train,
 Makers of fringe, and those who paper stain;

Then Civil Engineers proceeding slow,
 The limits of the fifth division show.
 Ship-wrights, Blacksmiths and Ship-joiners,
 Boat-builders, Block and Pump-designers,
 Sail-makers and Riggers, each proceed
 The place retaining by their chiefs decreed.

With streamers curling in the sky,
 See the Federal Ship go by!
 She rides majestic on the mimic tide,
 It seems to swell and dash against her side,
 While gentle breezes fill her winged sails,
 And waft her on before the prosperous gales.
 Behind her come the pilot-boats and barge,
 And Pilots following, take the grateful charge.
 The band Marine in quick succession goes,
 Printers, Book-binders, Stationers the order close.
 E'en *Typography's* scientific art,
 That knowledge spreads, and purifies the heart.
 Hail, art divine, unrival'd shalt thou stand,
 On Freedom's page, and bless our happy land.
 Thy sounding Herald shall proclaim afar,
 The reign of peace and justice—not of war—
 In splendid robes, e'en from the lofty height,
 Graces the Fed'ral Press and greets the sight
 Of Freedom's sons, who will the Press maintain,
 Supporting thus, fair freedom's happy reign.

Cartman the lead of this division take,
 With those that instruments for Mathematics make.
 Carvers and Engravers join'd approach,
 And makers of the easy rolling coach,
 Their colours elegant in turn display,
 And shed a lustre on th' auspicious day.
 Coach-painters form the next succeeding class,
 Then follow those that work in copper and in brass,
 Tin-plate workers, Pewterers, Gold and Silver-smiths,
 Potters, Chocolate makers and Tobacconists,
 Each bear a part in this great Federal line,
 Adorn'd with colours rang'd in just design.
 Dyers and Brush makers next in order follow
 With such as candles make of well tri'd tallow,
 Sadlers, Harness and Whip makers too,
 Press forward and afford a pleasing view.

The Pleaders of the Bar in gowns of black,
 The precedence of this division take;
 The Philologic standard slowly moves,
 Each eye intent its elegance approves,
 Nor long surveys; for see just drawing near
 A youthful train to Heaven-born science dear,
 Two mimic worlds the Studious order grace,
 And President in front maintains his honor'd place.
 Merchants and traders adding to the train
 Invite rich commerce here to fix the reign.
 Clergy in solemn order vary still,
 The scene promiscuous, and their places fill,
 Physicians follow, strangers gladly join,
 Militia officers march next and close the line.
 A brazen cannon guards the moving rear,
 And, none advancing more, they last appear.

Now turn and view th' extended whole;
 What new amazement fills the astonish'd soul!
 Promiscuous colours dazzle ev'ry eye,
 The streamers of the federal ship superior fly.
 Loud-beating drums in many a moving car,
 Send back the rattling, rolling sounds from far:
 The shrill-voic'd fife too, pierces ev'ry ear,
 The near are shrill, the far we just but hear;
 But many a fair Columbian sweet as May,
 Exceeds the beauties of the federal day,
 And steals the thoughts and gazing eyes away. }

1. Reprinted: *Newport Herald*, 21 August.

Massachusetts Centinel, 9 August 1788¹

In the Grand Procession at New-York there were Fifty One flags displayed, each adorned with emblematical devices—on Nine of them were portraits and figures of his Excellency General Washington.—A number of the orders took the style of Federal—there were the *Federal Cordwainers*, *Federal Butchers*, *Federal Confectioners*, *Federal Drum-makers*, *Federal Riggers*, &c. &c.

1. Reprinted five times by 23 August: N.H. (3), Mass. (2). For the *Massachusetts Centinel's* reprinting of lengthy extracts of a description of the procession, see the headnote to *Daily Advertiser*, 2 August (above).

Maryland Journal, 19 August 1788

*Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman at New-York,
to his Friend here, dated the 2d Instant.*

“The GRAND PROCESSION here, beyond all Comparison exceeded any thing of the Kind I ever before beheld.—The Time taken in preparing, and the Expence incurred in decorating, no doubt rendered this the most natural, tasty, august, and sublime Scene ever before exhibited in America.”



**New York Counties
Vote on the Constitution,
26 July 1788**

■	Antifederalists voting Yea
◆	Antifederalists voting Nay
▼	Antifederalists not voting
●	Federalists voting Yea
▲	Federalist not voting

(Votes of Delegates to Ratify: 30 to 27)

0 10 20 miles

N

(Votes of Delegates to Ratify: 30 to 27)

0 10 20 miles



RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION BY THE STATES

This third of five volumes on New York ratification is divided into two approximately equal parts. The first part (a continuation from New York Volume 2) contains the public and private debate over the Constitution during the meeting of the New York Convention from 17 June through 26 July 1788. Virtually all of the serialized essays (both Federalist and Antifederalist) that had previously filled New York's newspapers, and that had been widely reprinted throughout America, had been completed by this time. With the completion of the election campaign for delegates to the state Convention by late April, newspapers and private correspondents speculated on what the Antifederalist-dominated Convention might do and tried to influence the delegates elected to the Convention.

Even before the New York Convention opened in Poughkeepsie, Federalist and Antifederalist leaders had planned their strategy. With more than a two-to-one majority, Antifederalists were confident and willing to debate at length, but they were unwilling to adopt the Constitution without prior amendments. Federalists sought to delay a final vote on the Constitution, hoping for support from other states.

Federalists in the New York Convention awaited news from the New Hampshire and Virginia conventions. The express systems arranged by Alexander Hamilton and others to race the news of ratification by New Hampshire and Virginia to Poughkeepsie worked well. Although New Hampshire's ratification provided the requisite nine states to implement the Constitution, New York Antifederalists continued to oppose ratification without prior amendments until word arrived that Virginia had also ratified. This turn of events prompted a new Antifederalist strategy. Massachusetts Antifederalists Nathan Dane and Samuel Osgood (both based in New York City, the former a delegate to Congress and the latter a member of the Confederation Board of Treasury) each wrote pragmatic and persuasive letters to two of the New York Convention's Antifederalist leaders—Melancton Smith and Samuel Jones—explaining why New York should ratify with recommendatory rather than prior amendments.

New York Federalists used the Fourth of July celebrations to demonstrate support for the Constitution, as illustrated by the celebrations in ten towns and cities covered in this volume. The Albany celebration, however, led to a bloody riot between Federalists and Antifederalists. Federalists in New York City also showed their overwhelming support for the Constitution by planning and staging a massive procession of the city's tradesmen and professions. After several delays, the federal procession

(continued on back endflap)

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