

THE DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE
RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

Ratification of the Constitution
by the States

N O R T H C A R O L I N A

[Supplement]

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 - 121.5. Duplin County
 - 121.6. Edgecombe County
 - 121.7. Halifax County & Town
 - 121.8. Hertford County
 - 121.9. Hyde County
 - 121.10. Johnston County
 - 121.11. Lincoln County
 - 121.12. Martin County
 - 121.13. Mecklenburg County
 - 121.14. Onslow County
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 - 121.16. Richmond County
 - 121.17. Rowan County
 - 121.18. Sampson County
 - 121.19. Surry County
 - 121.20. Tyrrell County
- 175.1–175.140. Fayetteville Convention Election Certificates, August 1789
- Introductory Note
 - 175.1. Anson County—Samuel Spencer, Jesse Gilbert, Pleasant May, Thomas Wade, David Jamieson
 - 175.2. Beaufort County—John Gray Blount, William Brown, Richard Grist, Alderson Ellison, Silas W. Arnett

- 175.3. Bladen County—Thomas Brown
 175.4. Bladen County—Joseph Gaitier
 175.5. Bladen County—Duncan Stewart
 175.6. Bladen County—Thomas Owen
 175.7. Brunswick County—John Hall
 175.8. Brunswick County—Dennis Hankins
 175.9. Brunswick County—William Gause
 175.10. Brunswick County—William E. Lord
 175.11. Brunswick County—Benjamin Smith
 175.12. Burke County—William Erwin
 175.13. Burke County—Charles McDowall, Joseph McDowall
 175.14. Burke County—John Carson
 175.15. Camden County—Isaac Gregory, Peter Dauge, Enoch Sawyer, Henry Abbot,
 Charles Grandy
 175.16. Carteret County—John Easton, Malachi Bell, John Fulford, Wallis Styron, John Wallace
 175.17. Caswell County—John Womack, Robert Dickins, John Graves, Robert Payne,
 Robert Bowman
 175.18. Chatham County—Robert Edwards, William Vestal, John Thompson, John Ramsey,
 James Anderson
 175.19. Chowan County—Lemuel Creecy
 175.20. Chowan County—Charles Johnson
 175.21. Chowan County—Edmund Blount
 175.22. Chowan County—Stephen Cabarrus
 175.23. Chowan County—William Righton
 175.24. Craven County—Thomas Williams
 175.25. Craven County—Joseph Leech
 175.26. Cumberland County—John Ingram, John Hay, William Barry Grove, James Moore,
 Robert Adam
 175.27. Currituck County—William Ferebee, Thomas P. Williams, Samuel Ferebee,
 Andrew Duke, Spence Hall
 175.28. Davidson County—Charles Gerrard, Joel Rice, Robert Ewing, James C. Mountfloreance,
 William Doblins
 175.29. Dobbs County—Richard Caswell, Simon Bright, Benjamin Sheppard, Nathan Lassiter,
 Winston Caswell
 175.30. Duplin County—James Pearsall, James Gillespie, Robert Dickson, Lavan Watkins,
 James Kenan
 175.31. Edgecombe County—Jeremiah Hilliard
 175.32. Edgecombe County—Etheldred Gray
 175.33. Edgecombe County—William Fort
 175.34. Edgecombe County—Etheldred Phillips, Thomas Blount, Jeremiah Hilliard,
 Etheldred Gray, William Fort
 175.35. Franklin County—Henry Hill, Thomas Sherrod, Jordan Hill, William Lancaster,
 William Christmass
 175.36. Gates County—John Baker
 175.37. Gates County—David Rice
 175.38. Gates County—Joseph Reddick
 175.39. Granville County—Elijah Mitchell, Thomas Person, Thornton Yancey, Peter Bennett,
 Edmund Taylor
 175.40. Greene County—John Sevier
 175.41. Greene County—Alexander Outlaw, John Sevier, John Allison, George Doherty,
 James Wilson
 175.42. Guilford County—John Hamilton, William Goudy, Rev. David Caldwell, Daniel Gillespie,
 John Gillespie
 175.43. Halifax County—Lunsford Long, John B. Ashe, Peter Qualls, John Whitaker,
 Marmaduke Norflect
 175.44. Hawkins County—Elijah Chessen
 175.45. Hawkins County—Nathaniel Henderson
 175.46. Hawkins County—John Hunt

- 175.47. Hertford County—Thomas Wyns, Robert Montgomery, Hardy Murfree, Henry Hill, Henry Baker
- 175.48. Hyde County—John Eborne, James Watson, John Alderson, James Jasper, Michael Peters
- 175.49. Iredell County—Adlai Osborn
- 175.50. Iredell County—David Caldwell
- 175.51. Iredell County—John Nesbitt
- 175.52. Iredell County—Musentine Matthews
- 175.53. Iredell County—Adam Brevard
- 175.54. Johnston County—Samuel Smith, Hardy Bryan, William Bridges, William Hackney, Matthias Handy
- 175.55. Jones County—Frederick Harget
- 175.56. Jones County—Jacob Johnston
- 175.57. Jones County—Edward Whitty
- 175.58. Jones County—John Hill Bryan
- 175.59. Lincoln County—Joseph Dickson, John Moore, William Maclaine [McLean], Robert Alexander, John Caruth
- 175.60. Martin County—Thomas Hunter, Joseph Bryan
- 175.61. Martin County—Nathan Mayo
- 175.62. Mecklenburg County—Joseph Graham
- 175.63. Mecklenburg County—Caleb Phifer
- 175.64. Mecklenburg County—Joseph Douglas
- 175.65. Mecklenburg County—James Porter
- 175.66. Mecklenburg County—Zachias Wilson
- 175.67. Montgomery County—William Johnston, James Turner, James Tindall, James Crump, David Nesbitt
- 175.68. Moore County—William Martin
- 175.69. Moore County—Cornelius Doud
- 175.70. Moore County—Thomas Tyson
- 175.71. Moore County—Donald McIntosh
- 175.72. Moore County—Neill McLeod
- 175.73. Nash County—Howell Ellin, Wilson Vick, William Skipwith Marnes, John Bonds, Hardy Griffin
- 175.74. New Hanover County—John G. Scull
- 175.75. New Hanover County—John Ablen Campbell
- 175.76. New Hanover County—John Huske
- 175.77. New Hanover County—Timothy Bloodworth
- 175.78. Northampton County—Samuel Peete
- 175.79. Northampton County—Halcott B. Pride
- 175.80. Northampton County—Samuel Tarver
- 175.81. Northampton County—John Manley Bentford
- 175.82. Northampton County—Robert Peebles
- 175.83. Onslow County—Robert Whitehurst Snead, John Spicer, Daniel Yates, George Mitchell, Edward Ward
- 175.84. Orange County—James Christmass, Alexander Mebane, Thomas H. Perkins, William F. Strudwick, Joseph Hodge
- 175.85. Pasquotank County—Edward Everagin
- 175.86. Pasquotank County—Thomas Banks
- 175.87. Pasquotank County—Devotion Davis
- 175.88. Pasquotank County—John Swann
- 175.89. Perquimans County—Samuel Johnston, John Skinner, Joseph Harvey, Benjamin Perry, Ashbury Sutton
- 175.90. Pitt County—James Armstrong
- 175.91. Pitt County—Samuel Simpson
- 175.92. Pitt County—Benjamin Bell
- 175.93. Pitt County—Shadrick Allen
- 175.94. Pitt County—William Blount
- 175.95. Randolph County—William Bailey
- 175.96. Randolph County—Zebedee Wood

- 175.97. Randolph County—Reuben Wood
- 175.98. Randolph County—Nathan Stead [Steadman]
- 175.99. Richmond County—Edward Williams
- 175.100. Richmond County—Alexander Watson
- 175.101. Richmond County—Duncan McFarland
- 175.102. Richmond County—William Robinson
- 175.103. Richmond County—Darby Hanegan
- 175.104. Robeson County—John Willis, Elias Barnes, Neil Brown, John Cade, Sion Alford
- 175.105. Rockingham County—James Gallaway
- 175.106. Rockingham County—John Dabney
- 175.107. Rockingham County—William Bethell
- 175.108. Rockingham County—Abraham Phillips
- 175.109. Rockingham County—Isaac Clarke
- 175.110. Rowan County—Bazel Gaither
- 175.111. Rowan County—Maxwell Chambers
- 175.112. Rowan County—George Henry Berger [Barringer]
- 175.113. Rowan County—John Stokes
- 175.114. Rutherford County—William Johnson
- 175.115. Rutherford County—Richard Lewis
- 175.116. Rutherford County—William Porter, James Holland
- 175.117. Rutherford County—George Ledbetter
- 175.118. Sampson County—Richard Clinton, James Spiller, James Thompson, Hardy Holmes, William King
- 175.119. Sullivan County—William Nash
- 175.120. Sullivan County—John Scott
- 175.121. Sullivan County—John Rhea
- 175.122. Sullivan County—Joseph Martin
- 175.123. Sumner County—David Wilson, Samuel Mason, Edward Douglas, John Overton
- 175.124. Surry County—Joseph Winston, Gideon Edwards, Absalom Bostick, Edward Lovell, George Houser
- 175.125. Tennessee County—William Blount
- 175.126. Tennessee County—Thomas Johnston
- 175.127. Tennessee County—Benjamin Menees
- 175.128. Tennessee County—John Montgomery
- 175.129. Tyrrell County—Thomas Stewart, Hugh Williamson, Jeremiah Frazier, Simeon Spruil, Samuel Chesson
- 175.130. Wake County—Joel Lane, Thomas Hines, Henry Lane, Britain Sanders, William Hayes
- 175.131. Warren County—Benjamin Hawkins, Philemon Hawkins, Solomon Green, Wyatt Hawkins, Thomas Christmas
- 175.132. Washington County—Landon Carter, Robert Love, John Blair, William Houston, Andrew Greer
- 175.133. Wayne County—Richard McKinnie, Burwell Mooring, David Cogdell, Josiah Jernigan, James Handley
- 175.134. Fayetteville Convention Election Certificates, Wayne County—Burwell Mooring
- 175.135. Wilkes County—John Brown, William Lenoir, Joseph Herndon, Benjamin Jones, William Nall
- 175.136. Town of Edenton—John Mare
- 175.137. Town of Halifax—William R. Davie
- 175.138. Town of Hillsborough—Samuel Benton
- 175.139. Town of Salisbury—John Steele
- 175.140. Town of Wilmington—William H. Hill

234. James Glasgow: Certification of Printed Ratification of North Carolina, 10 February 1790

Appendix: Items reprinted in North Carolina contained in *Commentaries on the Constitution: Public and Private, 1787-1788*108

Introduction

The supplemental documents to the debate over the Constitution in North Carolina include 110 letters, 96 newspaper items, 20 petitions, 14 diary entries, and a variety of legislative and convention records. A transcription of the entire journal of the Hillsborough Convention is in the supplement because those parts of the journal that duplicate the Debates and Proceedings are not printed in the first volume of North Carolina. Facsimiles of all of the election certificates for the delegates to the two North Carolina conventions are in Part II of this supplement, as are facsimiles of all of the county petitions (with their attached signatures) that requested the North Carolina legislature to call a second convention to reconsider the Constitution.

The documents in the supplement are arranged chronologically. All of the documents are literal transcriptions (except when they are facsimiles). The document number for each individual item is placed in its heading. Footnotes indicate reprintings and the sources of manuscripts and other printed material.

Many pamphlets and newspaper items that either originated in North Carolina or were reprinted in North Carolina from other states had a regional or national circulation. Some of these items have been printed in *Commentaries on the Constitution: Public and Private* and are listed in an appendix in this supplement.

Symbols

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

Manuscripts

FC	File Copy
MS	Manuscript
RC	Recipient's Copy

Manuscript Depositories

DLC	Library of Congress
DNA	National Archives
Nc-Ar	North Carolina State Archives

Short Titles

Abbot, <i>Washington, Confederation Series</i>	W. W. Abbot, ed., <i>The Papers of George Washington: Confederation Series</i> (6 vols., Charlottesville, Va., 1992-1997).
Abbot, <i>Washington, Presidential Series</i>	W. W. Abbot, Dorothy Twohig et al., eds., <i>The Papers of George Washington: Presidential Series</i> (Charlottesville, Va., 1987-).
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, <i>Jefferson</i>	Julian P. Boyd et al., eds., <i>The Papers of Thomas Jefferson</i> (Princeton, N.J., 1950-).
DHFFC	Linda Grant De Pauw, Charlene Bangs Bickford, Kenneth R. Bowling et al., eds., <i>Documentary History of the First Federal Congress of the United States of America, March 4, 1789-March 3, 1791</i> (22 vols., Baltimore, 1972-2017).
DHFFE	Merrill Jensen, Robert A. Becker, and Gordon DenBoer, eds., <i>The Documentary History of the First Federal Elections, 1788-1790</i> (4 vols., Madison, Wis., 1976-1989).
Farrand	Max Farrand, ed., <i>The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787</i> (3rd ed., 3 vols., New Haven, 1927).
JCC	Worthington C. Ford et al., eds., <i>Journals of the</i>

	<i>Continental Congress, 1774-1789</i> . . . (34 vols., Washington, D.C., 1904-1937).
Keith, <i>Blount</i>	Alice Barnwell Keith et al., eds., <i>The John Gray Blount Papers</i> (4 vols., Raleigh, N.C., 1952-1982).
Kelly, <i>Iredell</i>	Donna Kelly and Lang Baradell, eds., <i>The Papers of James Iredell</i> , Vol. 3 (Raleigh, N.C., 2003).
McCree	Griffith J. McCree, <i>Life and Correspondence of James Iredell</i> (2 vols., New York, 1857).
Montesquieu, <i>Spirit of Laws</i>	Charles, Baron de Montesquieu, <i>The Spirit of Laws</i> (Translated from the French by Thomas Nugent, 5th ed., 2 vols., London, 1773). Originally published in Geneva in 1748.
NCSR	Walter Clark, ed., <i>The State Records of North Carolina</i> (16 vols., 1895-1907).
PCC	Papers of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789 (Record Group 360, National Archives).
Rutland, <i>Madison</i>	Robert A. Rutland et al., eds., <i>The Papers of James Madison</i> , Volumes VIII-XVII (Chicago and Charlottesville, Va., 1973-1991).
Rutland, <i>Mason</i>	Robert A. Rutland, ed., <i>The Papers of George Mason, 1725-1793</i> (3 vols., Chapel Hill, N.C., 1970).
Smith, <i>Letters</i>	Paul H. Smith, ed., <i>Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789</i> (26 vols., Washington, D.C., 1976-2000).
Syrett, <i>Hamilton</i>	Harold C. Syrett and Jacob E. Cooke, eds., <i>The Papers of Alexander Hamilton</i> (27 vols., New York, 1961-1987).
Thorpe	Francis N. Thorpe, ed., <i>The Federal and State Constitutions</i> . . . (7 vols., Washington, D.C., 1909).

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

CC	References to <i>Commentaries on the Constitution</i> are cited as “CC” followed by the number of the document. For example: “CC:25.”
CDR	References to the first volume, titled <i>Constitutional Documents and Records, 1776-1787</i> , are cited as “CDR” followed by the page number. For example: “CDR, 325.”
RCS	References to the series of volumes titled <i>Ratification of the Constitution by the States</i> are cited as “RCS” followed by the abbreviation of the state and the page number. For example: “RCS:N.Y., 225.”

Mfm

References to the 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.C. 2.”

Part I: Documents (Transcriptions)

1. Pennsylvania Packet, 7 July 1787 (excerpt)¹

Extract of a letter to the Honourable B. H. dated at Nashville, in Davidson County, May 1, 1787.

“... Here then it would be natural for us to conclude, that the navigation of the Mississippi is open to the citizens of the United States, since the letter and spirit of every treaty on this subject declare, that it shall be open. But there is one title remaining, and that title appears to be vested in the crown of Spain. She is supposed to have the longest sword. She has taken possession of the river, and in contempt of arguments and treaties she continues to hold it by force. Is not this a true state of the question? Does not Spain admit that she despises the treaty, and that she is now acting towards us as a hostile nation? In this view every man on the western waters considers this subject, and we readily admit that this single argument of Spain must be considered as good and conclusive, while it retains its present force; but we are fully assured, that it must lose of its weight in every succeeding year: and we see that the time is fast coming, when every argument will be on our side. The *Lex ultima Regum*,² the rule by which kings are governed, the long sword, or if you please the short rifle, will presently be a conclusive argument in our favour. We shall not fail to use it. Spain has set us a fair example. She has not been delicate on this head. She has seized the property of our fellow citizens, and converted it to her own use. Perhaps I shall be told that Spain is a powerful nation; that in case of a rupture, she can oppress the United States, and crush their commerce. I am not to learn, that the United States will not go to war with Spain, for the sake of the Mississippi. People who live on the sea coast have too much at stake; they are too much exposed to the insults of a Spanish fleet, and too little interested in our happiness ever to enter seriously into this dispute. You may remonstrate against the encroachments of Spain, but all your efforts will terminate in a harmless war on paper. Who do you think will be the chief sufferers by those cautious politics, by such a sacrifice of our privileges and property, to the mere indolence of nature, and the love of ease? Let us trace this dispute a few years in its natural progress. I formerly said, that we are strengthened by the addition of 2000 sensible inhabitants every year. When I stated the number at 2000, I was greatly below the mark. To such accessions you must add the natural increase of citizens in a country where the soil is fertile, the climate healthy, and where men are tempted to marry early in life. In the space of ten years we shall muster at least 60,000 men, capable of bearing arms. Is it probable, that at such a period we shall suffer our lands to lie without cultivation, or our produce to perish on our hands, from the want of a river by which that produce may be carried to market? Is it probable that we shall suffer a few Spanish soldiers to seize our boats? I think not. What then must happen? We can hardly forget this loss of property, especially as it was taken from us by force. The Spanish colonists may also have some boats, merchandize or silver; we shall count the interest, and shall not fail to repay ourselves by a friendly reciprocity of good offices. Spain may possibly remonstrate against such proofs of a good memory, and the United States in Congress may reply, that they cannot possibly restrain those disorderly woodmen. You may be told in reply, that you shall be answerable for their conduct. This would be a serious and critical

period, and you had best consider how you will conduct yourselves in such a case. To send an army across the mountain to punish your brethren for defending their property, would be the beginning of a very unnatural war. A war that could neither be profitable nor pleasant, and assuredly it would not be honourable. Quixotism itself would hardly attempt such a measure. However, the Spaniards would probably begin with you, because you are at hand, and you have much to lose, but we have nothing, except our houses, cattle and lands; to this short inventory may possibly be added, a considerable number of unpolished citizens, whom the Spanish negociators would count as worse than nothing. It is possible, however, that Spain may pursue other measures, for we are told that she has others in contemplation. Perhaps she may send troops up the river, and endeavour to establish posts on the Tennessee, or on some other water of the Ohio. This is a step that we look for. It would naturally bring on a serious discussion of territorial claims; or you may rather be pleased to call it, An experimental enquiry concerning the meaning of treaties and the rights of men. There may be a great deal more involved in this question, than people are apt to suspect. During the progress of the enquiry, we may possibly discover, that the claims of Spain to certain territories beyond the Mississippi are not well founded. Be it remembered, that Spain asserted her claim to that country two hundred years ago, in the presence of unarmed savages, and no body since that time has taken the trouble to examine her title deeds. I have formerly observed, that statesmen are not usually guided by the most obvious rules of justice; but when you have reviewed the several treaties that I have just mentioned, and when you have considered what will be the probable operation of those arguments that are commonly used to explain treaties, you will allow me to express my surprise, that Spain should put so much at stake for so trifling an object. That she would forfeit the reputation of good faith, and hazard other things that are more substantial, for the mere pleasure of distressing a few honest planters, who are only desirous to paddle their canoes up and down the river Mississippi.”

1. Reprints by 20 October (8): N.H. (1), Mass. (1), N.Y. (2), Pa. (2), Va. (1), Ga. (1). William Blount, a North Carolina delegate to Congress, declared that this letter was written by “H.W.” [Hugh Williamson] to “B.H.” [Benjamin Hawkins] (to Governor Richard Caswell, 19 July, Keith, *Blount*, I, 321-22). Williamson may have been motivated to write the letter because of his landholdings in Davidson County. For a similar letter from Nashville, dated 1 October 1786, which was probably also written by Williamson, see *Pennsylvania Packet* and Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 16 February 1787 (reprinted under a Richmond, 3 February dateline).

2. The final argument of kings, i.e., war.

2. William Blount to Governor Richard Caswell New York, 19 July 1787¹

Herewith I forward to your Address the Papers of today in one of which is contained a Letter dated at Nashville May 1st. addressed to the Honorable B. H. [Benjamin Hawkins] You will readily conjuncture it was fabricated by a Person better informed that any Inhabitant of Davidson County can be[.] it only remains for me to tell you that it has been written on my Motion in the first Instance by my Frennd H. W. [Hugh Williamson] It has been here much applauded as well written and it certainly is well timed. [He] is not suspected of being the Author. It has been translated into French & will be published in Paris & London.

I arrived here on the 3d. July from Philadelphia accompanied by Mr. Hawkins the Reasons that induced us to do [so] We have given you in official Letters by Post which I suppose will be to hand before this. We have at present nine States on the floor, & I have from day to day for several days past been about to return to Philadelphia but sundry things which require the Assent of that Number of States has been so pressing and still continued so to be that I believe we shall continue here untill Sunday (we are so now industrious that we set on Saturday)—I had yesterday a Letter from D [William R. Davie?] in which he says “since you left us we have progressed obliquely and retrogaded directly so that we stand on the “same Spot you left us” and were very unanimous H. W. [Hugh Williamson] are there Head and were in Sentiment with Virginia who seemed to take the lead Madison at their Head the Randolph and Mason are also great—The general outlines were to have a National Assembly composed of three Branches the first to be elected by the People at large and to consist of about 70 Members, the second Branch of a less Number to be chosen by the respective Legislatures for a long Duration and the third an Executive of a single man for a Still longer Time—I must confess not withstanding all I heard in favour of this System I am not in sentiment with my Colleagues for as I have before said I still think we shall ultimately and not many Years first be separated and distinct Governments perfectly independent of each other. The little States were much opposed to the Politicks of the larger[,] they insisted that each State ought to have an equal Vote as in the present Confederation—Congress yesterday recved a Letter from Mr. Brandt written in the Indian Language informing that all the Nations of Indians of the North West of the Ohio had formed a Confederacy offensive & Defensive, it was couched in hostile Language and contained a request in the Terms of a Demand that Our Surveyors should desist from survey[ing] the Lands west of the Ohio—daily Accounts from Kentucky prove the Indians are hostile on that quarter and by the Report of the Superintendent from the Cerecks [i.e., Creeks] there is much Reason to fear Hostilities will shortly commence between them and the Citizens of Georgia—There has been at Philadelphia a Mr. Drungold [*sic*] with a Cherokee & John Woods with a Chickasaw & Choctaw and have all returned[,] the two latter by Way of Fort Pitt, the former complained loudly against the Infractions of the Treaty at Hopewell in as much as that the Whites had settled within a few Miles of their Towns and within that part assigned them by the State of N. Ca. I could wish the Whites had for born there [their] Settlements on that part—the other two complained that Trade had not been Sent among them as they were taught to expect and that they were suffering for the Want of the promised Supplies. [In] Short we have three Reports from the Secretary at War on Indian Affairs, one in particular which is the Subject of this day recommends the stationing the Continental Troops on the Ohio in different parts as low as the Rapids and the calling out Militia on continental pay to protect the Kentuckey and other Inhabitants on the east side of the Ohio—

The foregoing [is] a copy or rather the rough original of a piece of writing this day forwarded by Water via New Bern to the friend of the Writer at Kinston

1. Printed: Keith, *Blount*, I, 321–22.

3. Petersburg Virginia Gazette, 19 July 1787¹

The PATRIOTIC LADIES of Halifax town, North Carolina, have entered into an association to refrain, as far as possible, from all unnecessary expences and superfluous decorations—and are determined in future, until their country shall be extricated from its present difficulties and distress, to pay strict attention to domestic œconomy and frugality, and to give all due preference to the manufactures of their own country.

1. This issue of the Petersburg *Virginia Gazette* is not extant. The transcription is taken from the Richmond *Virginia Gazette & Weekly Advertiser*, 26 July. Reprinted fourteen times by 6 September: N.H. (1), Mass. (3), R.I. (1), Conn. (1), N.Y. (1), Pa. (4), Md. (1), Va. (1), Ga (1).

4. Hugh Williamson to James Iredell Philadelphia, 22 July 1787¹

After much labor the Convention have nearly agreed on the principles and outlines of a system, which we hope may fairly be called an *amendment* of the Federal Government. This system we expect will, in three or four days, be referred to a small committee [the Committee of Style], to be properly dressed; and if we like it when clothed and equipped, we shall submit it to Congress; and advise them to recommend it to the hospitable reception of the States. I expect that some time in September we may put the last hand to this work. And as Congress can have nothing to do with it but put the question—pass or not pass,²—I am in hopes that the subject may be matured in such time as to be laid before our Assembly at its next session. This being my expectation, I hope that our friend, S. Johnston, if asked, may not refuse to succeed Mr. Jordin, for surely there will be much need of abilities in the Senate as well as in the Commons. I also think that if he shall be in the Assembly he will, in all probability, be our next Governor, which certainly is a particular object to the town of Edenton, as well as a general one to the State.³ Two delegates from New Hampshire arrived yesterday, so that we have every State except Rhode Island, &c., &c.

1. Printed: Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 293–94.

2. Unlike the Articles of Confederation, the Constitution did not require the approbation of the Confederation Congress.

3. Jacob Jordan continued to represent Chowan County in the state Senate, while Samuel Johnston was elected governor on 12 December 1787.

5. New York Daily Advertiser, 23 July 1787¹

We learn from North Carolina that the people of that state are pursuing spirited measures, to get members into the next legislature, that will concede to the decisions of the federal Convention.

1. Reprinted: *Newport Mercury*, 6 August.

6. Archibald Maclaine to James Iredell Wilmington, N.C., 29 August 1787 (excerpt)¹

I am much obliged to you for your election-intelligence, and am not surprised at any part of it, but that which relates to C. Johnson, who I thought was so popular that he would have been chosen at an hour's notice. But the truth is, that we have a set of

fools and knaves in every part of the State, who seem to act as by concert, and are uniformly against every man of abilities & virtue. The lawyers of character are particularly obnoxious to them, but if they can find a profligate character at the bar, they caress him as one of themselves.

I am clearly of opinion that it is for the interest of the State, that certain lawyers should (for some time at least) decline all public business. Possibly they might indeed be of some service at the next Assembly, when the convention-business will probably be considered; but I hope we shall have some men of understanding, who will endeavour to do what is necessary. Happily our Assembly, except where particular interests interfere, have generally appeared well disposed to coincide with the proposals of Congress. Possibly, indeed, apprehensions may arise from the expectations of heavy taxes when the federal government have sufficient power to compel the payment. In that case, we shall be opposed by a nest of hornets, with Tom Person at their head.

I had long been thinking of withdrawing myself from public business, and the conduct of last Assembly determined me. I am now no longer a legislator, and feel myself happy in having thrown off the load, which so long oppressed me. . . .

1. Printed: Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 313-15n. Most of the remainder of the letter deals with the results of the recent North Carolina legislative elections.

7. James Iredell to Hannah Iredell Halifax, N.C., 21 October 1787¹

My dear Hannah,

I wrote to you a few lines the other day by Mr. Dawson, who has ever since been detained by the rain. I continue quite well, and your Brother is as well as usual.² Mr. Hooper's not being here makes this Court much duller than usual. Gen. [Charles Cotesworth] Pinckney & his Lady arrived yesterday on their way to So. Carolina, & stay at Bonds. I think they are both very agreeable. I have nothing new to acquaint you of except that Gen. Pinckney thinks the Constitution will be pretty generally adopted to the Northward of us, & he speaks with a good deal of confidence of his own state. Gen. Washington had lately a very narrow escape from a most imminent danger. He had to pass a bridge upon the Elk or rather near it, but fortunately got out of his carriage—The horses fell in. Thank God, he was perfectly safe himself & arrived well at home. What a dreadful misfortune it would have been had he remained in the Carriage.³ I am very impatient to hear from you. Speak of me with the utmost possible affection to my dear Little Girl. I hope she won't object to receive kisses from me through you. Let them be most tender ones. God grant she may have preserved her health, & that I may find you & my other Friends perfectly well. Remember me affectionately to your Sister & Nelly & my Brother, & over the Creek. Adieu! I can write to nobody else. I am ever

my dear Hannah, Yours most affectionately

1. Printed: Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 324-25n. The address page was annotated: "By favor of Mr. Dawson."

2. Samuel Johnston.

3. The *Delaware Gazette*, 26 September 1787 report of an accident with Washington's horse was reprinted forty-six times by 24 November: Vt. (2), N.H. (5), Mass. (7), R.I. (3), Conn. (6), N.Y. (7), N.J. (2), Pa. (10), Va. (1), S.C. (1), Ga. (2). See CC:96-A. Washington's diary entry corroborates the newspaper account.

8. James White to William Blount
Philadelphia, 25 October 1787 (excerpt)¹

. . . On account of the business in which you have lately been engaged² I would enclose you the political papers respecting it only that I take it for granted you will be receiving them from other quarters. I must own I had conceived an apprehension that all your labours would probably end in smoke; for what hopes was there that so many jarring & biggotted sovereigns would descend from any of their fancied independencies for the common advantage? I hope however that the good *genius* of our young Empire will rise superior. The opposed faction here is weak, & there efforts appear to be unimportant. However the contest is supported with some vigour in the prints. . . .

1. RC, Blount Papers, Nc-Ar.

2. Blount had been a North Carolina delegate to the Constitutional Convention.

9. Maryland Journal, 6 November 1787¹

By late Advices from the State of Franklin, we learn, that their Assembly have been convened, by a special Call from the Governor and Council—The principal Business of their meeting was, to take into Consideration, the hostile Behaviour of his Catholic Majesty's Subjects, in the Floridas and Louisiana, towards the good Citizens of that State in particular, and the other western States in general—It is said they have it from undoubted Authority, that many of their Citizens have been deprived of their Lives, Liberties and Property, within the Jurisdiction of the United States, by Persons acting under the Authority of his Catholic Majesty's Government; and that although many Remonstrances have been made by them to his Catholic Majesty's Governors, and to Congress, to remove those Grievances, their just Demands have not been attended to.—It is added, that their Assembly, as the Fathers of the People, thinking it their indispensable Duty to put a Stop to all further Depredations, have passed a Law, which provides for a Body of 1500 Men, to be immediately enlisted as regular Troops, for Three Years, to be embodied in one Legion, and to be commanded by a General of Experience—That they are to be joined by a Body of 500 from the Cumberland Settlements—That they will be in Readiness to march this Month, and mean to *thrash*, (by the Divine Blessing) those perfidious Castalians, into a better Conduct towards the Subjects of the United States—and that they received a Supply of Arms and Ammunition from Charleston, before the Law passed.

1. Reprinted: Richmond *Virginia Gazette*, 15 November; and *Albany Gazette*, 6 December.

10. To Henry Lutterloch
Wilmington, N.C., 10 November 1787¹

My dear Col

It is impossible in the present state of things to establish any plann of operation. But we must be ready to avail ourselves of any advantage which may present—for this purpose I wish to support a correspondence with you—but you must be cautious how you write lest your letters should become a sacrifice to vicious curiosity—direct to Gen James Wilkinson Kentucky—in my letters to you I shall use the signature of Virginius

1. RC, Misc. Coll, DL. 322, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

**11. William Attmore: Journal of a Tour to North Carolina
Thursday, 29 November 1787 (excerpt)¹**

. . . Had a long discourse with Judge Spencer on the subject of Paper Money &c. I do not like his ideas, he contends that the Country cannot do without a Paper Medium, and that the value of this medium shall be regulated from time to time by a Scale of value or depreciation. I am afraid the Ladies were ill entertained while they staid with us.—We dropt the subject on going into the Tea Room, where more general topics took place—A while after Tea, I took my leave and retired to my Quarters—

1. Printed: "Journal of a Tour to North Carolina, by William Arttmore, 1787," *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, XVII, No. 2 (1922), 20-21.

12. State Gazette of North Carolina, 29 November 1787¹

Six states have agreed to the appointment of Conventions, for the purpose of considering the proposed plan of government for the United States, viz.—Massachusetts, Connecticut, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Virginia.

1. Originally printed in the *Pennsylvania Journal*, 10 November.

**13. Draft Bill Enforcing the Attendance of Freeholders at Elections
29 November 1787¹**

A Bill to enforce the attendance of such Freeholders and Freemen as are entitled to vote for Representatives for the Senate or House of Commons of the State of North Carolina, to give their suffrages at the Annual Elections hereafter to be held in this State, under a Penalty therein express'd.

Whereas it hath been found by experience since the late Revolution, that from the supineness and inattention of the Freeholders and Freemen Elections have frequently been carelessly and improperly determined "Representitives haveing been frequently elected by a minority of the Voters resident in the County." has in many instances become a cause of complaints, and Men of Integrity and Abilities have often in consequence thereof declined offering their Services to their Country.

And whereas those who have been honourd with Offices of Trust and Profit, have in numerous Instances been equally inatentive tho more particularly call'd on from their advanced station in Society—For remedy [whereof?]

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of North Carolina, and it is hereby enacted by Authority of the Same That from and after the Passing of this Act it shall not be lawfull for any Person or Persons of any Rank or condition whatsoever Who Owes Allegiance to the State, claims protection thereof (and consequently the right of giving His Suffrage as afforesaid) to absent himself without [Just?] cause or unavoidable Accident from the Election of His Particular County.

And for Prevention thereof, Be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid That the Sherriff Coroner or other returning Officer (as the Case may be) of each County respectively who shall preside at the Election of His County Shall take due Notice of such absent Electors as may occur to him or of which he shall be inform'd, and such Sherriff shall apply to Any Justice within his County who is hereby Authorized and required to issue his warrant on such Complaint to call the Party before him, and try

the matter in a Summary way in the same manner as is pointed out for the trial of Causes of five Pounds or under in an Act passed at New bern Decembr. 1777 (commonly calld the Court Law) who on conviction of such Delinquent shall give judgement against him by the following graduation Vizt. If in office or Trust for the Sum of Pounds—, ____

If a Freeholder in the Sum of ____

If a Freeman in the Sum of ____

with Costs in each Case where such Delinqt shall be cast or convicted of the Charge Which Sum so receiv'd shall be receiv'd by the said Sherriff Coroner or other Returning Officer (as the case may be) who shall account for the same to the Wardens of the Poor to the use of the Poor within the said County.

Provided Nevertheless that either Party shall be entitled to an appeal to the next County Court of Pleas and Quarter sessions or any other remedy heretofore and at present in use under the said Act of December 1777.

And to the End that No disquiet or dissatisfaction may happen among such Electors for want of due information of the Time and Place of holding said Elections, Be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid That the Sherriff shall hereafter advertize such Election at three or More of the Most public Places at least ____ days previous to such Election, And shall Moreover give the same Previous Notice to the Captains in each Company in his said County, who are each and every of them as well as the said Sherriff required to explain the Same to the People under the highest Penalty for each refusal that is by this Act laid on absentees in Office or trust recoverable as aforesaid.

1. Draft, Legislative Papers, LP/Commons/Nov. 1787, Nc-Ar. Docketed: "A Bill to enforce the Attendance of Such Freeholders and Freemen as are entitled to Vote for Represen[tal]tives for the Senate or House of Commons of the State of North Carolina to give their Suffrages at the Annual Elections hereafter to be held in this State under a Penalty therein expressed—" It was endorsed: "In H Commons 29th Novr. 1787/read the first time and rejected/By order *J. Hunt* CHC."

14. North Carolina General Assembly: Balloting for Place for Holding the Convention and General Assembly, 6 December 1787¹

[See Part II: Documents (Facsimiles).]

1. MS, Legislative Papers, LP/78 and 79/ Senate/Dec. 1787, Nc-Ar.

15. Governor Richard Caswell to the North Carolina General Assembly Tarborough, N.C., 10 December 1787¹

Gentlemen.

I have the Honor to lay before you Sundry Resolutions of the Common Wealth of Virginia concerning the Federal constitution as transmitted to me by the executive of the State,² with a Letter addressed, to the Honorable the Speaker of the House of Commons.—

1. RC, Legislative Papers, LP/76/Commons/Dec. 1787, Nc-Ar. Docketed: "Message from the Govr. to the Hon'ble the Genl. Assembly. 10. Dece[mbe]r 1787." "In the House of Commons 11 December 1787 read & Ordered to be sent to the Senate By Order *J Hunt* CHC."

2. Probably a reference to the Virginia legislature's 31 October 1787 resolutions calling a state convention to consider the Constitution.

16. Pennsylvania Packet, 20 December 1787¹

The General Assembly of North Carolina have recommended to their constituents the election of a Convention, to take into consideration the proposed plan of government for the United States.—Nine states have now agreed in this measure.

1. Reprinted eighteen times by 19 January: N.H. (1), Mass. (2), R.I. (1), Conn. (1), N.Y. (3), N.J. (1), Pa. (6), Md. (1), Va. (2). Three of the reprintings (Mass., Pa., and Va.) did not include the last sentence.

17. New York Daily Advertiser, 21 December 1787¹

We learn that the General Assembly of North-Carolina, have recommended the election of Delegates to a Convention.—This makes up eight States that have agreed to the appointment of Conventions to decide on the new Constitution.

1. Reprinted in full in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 2 January and the Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 11 January. The first sentence alone was reprinted in the *New York Journal*, 22 December, and the December issue of the *American Magazine* in New York City.

18. North Carolina General Assembly: Additional Appropriation for Hodge and Blanchard, 21 December 1787¹

The Committee on the memorial of Hodge and Blanchard, public printers, beg leave to report,

That they have examined the premises to them committed and are of opinion, that owing to the Multiplicity of the business of the last Session the public printers were ordered to perform many additional services besides those expressed in the Law ascertaining their duty and your committee conclude, that considering the difficulty of procuring paper Types &c. it is reasonable that the sum of one hundred and Fifty pounds be allowed them in compensation for the following & other extra services, viz. publishing the Accounts of the late Treasurer, which are added to the Journals, furnishing 150 Copies of Baron Steubens Military Instructions, 1500 Copies of the Federal Constitution, and 300 resolves for calling a Convention, your Committee therefore recommend the following Resolve to be adopted by both Houses viz

Resolved That the Treasurer be and he is hereby authorized and required to pay to Mr. A Hodge for Account of Messrs. Hodge & Blanchard the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds in full consideration for the extra services as set forth in their memorial and agreeably to the report of the Committee thereon,

All which is submitted

21st December 1787

North Carolina In Senate 21 Decr 1787. Read and Concurred with

By order

S: Haywood—

In H Coms 22d Decr 1787

Read and Concurred with

By order *J Hunt CHC*

Harget Chair[ma]n

Alex. Martin SS.

Jno. Sitgreaves SS.

1. MS, Legislative Papers, LP/79/Senate/Dec 1787, NC-Ar.

19. North Carolina House of Commons, 21 December 1787¹

Resolved that Wych Goodwin be allowed the sum of five pounds for going express to Newbern to carry to the printer the directions of the Assembly relative to his printing fifteen hundred Copies of the Foederal Constitution and three hundred Copies of the resolutions of the General Assembly thereon, that the Public Treasurer pay him the same and be allowed.

Jno: Sitgreaves S.C.

By order *J Hunt CHC*

North Carolina

read and concurred with

By order

S Haywood Cs

In Senate 21 Decr. 1787

Alex: Martin

1. MS, Legislative Papers, LP/76/Commons/Dec. 1787, Nc-Ar.

**20. William Attmore: Journal of a Tour to North Carolina
Friday, 21 December 1787 (excerpt)¹**

. . . returned to Mr. Greir's where I eat Supper—Two back country Assembly Men came in, one named Gardner from Surry County, we had a long conversation on the subject of paper Money; one of the Assembly Men seemed to think Merchants of little benefit to the Country and said that he wished there were none for 100 Years to come. It growing late we could not end our subject, but the Assembly Men said that next evening they were at our service for further debate. I staid and slept with Benjamin Brown.

1. Printed: "Journal of a Tour to North Carolina, by William Attmore, 1787," *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, XVII, No. 2 (1922), 40.

**21. Governor Edmund Randolph to Governor Richard Caswell
Richmond, Va., 27 December 1787¹**

Sir,

Pursuant to a resolution of the General Assembly of this Commonwealth, I do myself the honour of transmitting to your Excellency two Copies of their Act intituled "An act Concerning the convention to be held in June next," one of them is inclosed for Your own perusal, the other I wish to be submitted to the Legislature of your State—

I am Sir with the highest respect

1. FC, Governors' Letterbooks & Papers, Nc-Ar, p. 17. Governor Caswell responded on 22 January 1788 (below).

**22. William Hooper to James Iredell
Hillsborough, N.C., c. December 1787 (excerpt)¹**

My dear Sir

. . . I have waited with impatience for some time that something might occur in our political operations, decisive with respect to the temper of the Assembly and which

might be an earnest to you and every good man in the country that they intended to avail of the present great occasion to establish a national character & to do justice to the treaty of peace. My hopes are at an end! This day has put the matter beyond a controversy and there is not a phrenzy of misguided political zeal—Avarice cloaked in the cover of patriotism—or private passion & prejudice under pretence of revenging the wrongs of the Country—let these be carried to what excess they will that can give me the least surprize hereafter.

The enclosed resolves which, (supposing they would afford you some satisfaction,) I have had copied, are the result of the labours of a Committee where Mr. Johnston Maclaine & myself laboured for many days—Every resolve but the 5th past almost Nem con yesterday in the commons—but that, in spite of every thing that I could do and alas I laboured without much support—not a speaker with me but Cummings *whose conduct does him honour*, Mr Maclaine being ill with the gout, was rejected, scarce 20 of Eighty for it—It fared worse in the Senate. Mr Johnston spoke longer, with less hesitation—much fire: & with as much sound solid reasoning as I ever heard him or any other man—Wyllie Jones stepped forward in a very becoming manner—their labour was lost—Griffith Rutherford with a language perfectly congenial to his Soul called the Objects of the Recommendatory clause—*Imps of Hell* the vote was called & not 10 in favour of the clause of the report which applies to the Recommendatory article of the treaty—

We are here in the dumps—doubtful of doing any Good—

Altho the Quakers are at my Elbow urging me to finish yet I must inform you that in a letter, which appears in the publick collection, from Dr Williamson there is a passage to this purpose and nearly in these words—“On the last summer Mr Hen E McCulloch wrote to us, he seemed to be satisfied that his property would be restored to him we were perhaps pretty well satisfied before that it would not be restored to him”—This be assured has had its effects—

Any thing in this letter that you may think proper to communicate to Mr Barker please to inform him in at my desire—Remember me to Mr Spencer & do so unto him also—assuring him at the same time that I will embrace the first moment of leisure & Oppty to write

the quakers had promised to wait until Monday—they disappoint us—

I fear the Session will hold till 1 Jany Expect a long letter from me by the next Oppty

This family my Dear Iredell, hold you among their own first affections—Remembrances to you with Mrs Iredell & the rest of the good family

1. RC, Charles E. Johnson Collection, Nc-Ar. This undated letter has no addressee, but from the closing, it was obviously written to James Iredell. Someone other than Hooper wrote “1 May” at the top of the first page, which seems to be a mistake. Within the letter, Hooper refers to the North Carolina General Assembly’s passage of resolutions making the Treaty of Peace the law of the land in North Carolina. The legislature passed such resolutions on 22 December 1787. Thus we have dated this letter c. December 1787.

23. Gazette of the State of Georgia, 10 January 1788¹

The General Assembly of North Carolina have appointed the last Friday and Saturday in March next for the election of Delegates, to meet in Convention on the first

Monday in July, to deliberate and determine on the new Federal Constitution, and, if approved of by them, to ratify the same on behalf of that state.

1. Reprinted five times by 10 April: Mass. (1), Pa. (3), Ga. (1).

24. *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 10 January 1788¹

*Extract of a letter from Tarborough, (North-Carolina)
dated November 30, 1787.*

“I am at present attending our general assembly, who are in session at this place— I think there is not the least doubt but that the new constitution will be referred to a convention.”

1. This extract of a letter was the final paragraph in a letter from Richard Dobbs Spaight to Levi Hollingsworth, Tarborough, 30 November 1787. The excerpt was reprinted in the Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 15 January.

25. James Madison to George Washington New York, 14 January 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . North Carolina it seems, has been so complaisant to Virginia as to postpone her convention til July. We are without a Congress.

With perfect esteem & attachment I remain

1. RC (copy), Madison Papers, DLC. Printed: Rutland, *Madison*, X, 372-73n.

26. *New York Journal*, 17 January 1788¹

It is said, that North-Carolina convention are not to meet until July next.

1. Reprinted five times by 20 February: N.H. (1), Mass. (2), Conn. (1), Pa. (1).

27. Governor Samuel Johnston to Governor Edmund Randolph Edenton, N.C., 22 January 1788¹

Sir

Your Letter of the 27th of December with the Act of the Legislature of Virginia concerning the Convention to be held in June next, did not reach me till this day. The Legislature of this State having been prorogued on the 22d of December last I had not the pleasure of communicating to them the Friendly Attention of the State of Virginia to the Interests of her Sister States by laying before them that Act.

I have the Honor to be with the highest Respect

1. RC, Executive Communications, Box 12, Virginia State Library. The letterbook copy is in the Governors' Letterbooks & Papers, Ne-Ar. For Governor Randolph's letter of 27 December 1787, see above.

28. *Petersburg Virginia Gazette*, 31 January 1788¹

During the last session of the general assembly of North Carolina, they passed resolutions relative to the claim which the citizens of the United States have to the navigation of the river Mississippi, and instructed their delegates in congress to move for a full and explicit declaration, that the rights which the united states, and each of

them, have to the navigation of the Mississippi is absolute and unalienable; in order that the apprehensions and fears of our fellow citizens on that subject may be entirely removed. They also passed an act, declaring the articles of the definitive treaty between the United States and the king of Great Britain to be part of the law of the land, and directed the courts of law and equity to judge accordingly, in all causes and questions cognizable before them.²

1. The Petersburg *Virginia Gazette*, 31 January is not extant. The transcription is taken from the *State Gazette of South Carolina*, 27 March, which reprinted the account under the dateline of "PETERSBURG, Jan. 31."

2. The North Carolina General Assembly adopted the Treaty of Peace as the law of the land on 22 December 1787.

29. William Heath: Diary, 12 February 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . The General Court which was to have convened on the 20th. of this instant is adjourned by the Governors Proclamation to the 27th instant By a vessel from North Carolina, it is said that the Convention of that State Ratified the federal Constitution on the 18th. of January last with only two dissenting voices—

1. MS, Heath Diaries, Massachusetts Historical Society. Heath (1737-1814), a Roxbury, Mass., farmer, had been a major general during the war in both the Massachusetts militia and the Continental Army. He served in the Massachusetts Senate in 1784-85 and 1791-93.

30. William Heath: Diary, 22 February 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . It is said the State of North Carolina has ratified the federal Constitution but this is not received in an authenticated way.²—The Convention of South Carolina is to meet the third of March next—New York the Seventeenth of June next. . . .

1. MS, Heath Diaries, Massachusetts Historical Society.

2. For the false report of North Carolina's ratification, see RCS:N.C., 64-66.

31. Maryland Journal, 29 February 1788¹

The Legislature of the State of North-Carolina have called a Convention, for the Purpose of "discussing the momentous Subject of the Federal Constitution," to meet on the 17th of July next.

1. Reprinted in six newspapers by 27 March: R.I. (1), Conn. (1), Pa. (2), Va. (2); and in the March issues of the Philadelphia *Columbian Magazine* and the Philadelphia *American Museum*.

32.1-32.245. Hillsborough Convention Election Certificates, March 1788

[See Part II: Documents (Facsimiles). For a detailed list of the Certificates, see the Contents.]

33. Governor Samuel Johnston to James White Edenton, N.C., 5 March 1788 (excerpt)¹

I thank you for your Letter of the 11th of February which I had the pleasure of receiving this day. I had before the satisfaction of seeing a New York paper which

came by Sea containing the Result of the deliberations of the Convention of Massachusetts. . . .

1. FC, Governor's Letterbooks & Papers, Nc-Ar.

**34. Richard Dobbs Spaight to Levi Hollingsworth
New Bern, N.C., 25 April 1788 (excerpts)¹**

. . . If the federalist or letters of Publius are printed & for sale in Philadelphia please to send me two copies.

I will be obliged to you to up my subscriptions for the Museum & Columbian Magazine. I paid them before I left Philadelphia up to the first of January last. I have directed them to send the Museums and Magazines to you to forward to me . . . I am with Esteem

1. RC, Hollingsworth Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Spaight refers to his subscriptions to the *American Museum* and the *Columbian Magazine*—two monthly magazines published in Philadelphia.

**35. John Skinner to John Gray Blount
Perquimans County, N.C., 21 May 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . I have nothing in the News way worth informing you of—but am happy to hear that you are in the Convention

I am Dr Sir withe the greatest esteem

1. RC, Blount Papers, Nc-Ar. The address page is endorsed: "Hono. by Mrs. Blount." Printed: Keith, *Blount*, I, 393–94.

**36. Governor Thomas Pinckney to the Governor of North Carolina
Charleston, S.C., 24 May 1788¹**

Circular

I have the honor of informing your Excellency that the Convention of the people of South Carolina this day ratified the Constitution proposed for the Government of the United States by the foederal Convention.

[P.S.] Ayes 149—Nay 73

1. RC, Governors Papers, GP16, p. 50, Nc-Ar.

**37. James Iredell to Hannah Iredell
New Bern, N.C., 27 May 1788 (excerpt)¹**

My dear Hannah,

. . . Tell your Brother [Samuel Johnston], we have not heard with certainty of the ratification of South Carolina, but that the account is every day expected.—Adieu! my dear Hannah, and believe me ever,

Most affectionately yours

1. Printed: Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 399–400.

38. Thomas Iredell to James Iredell
Edenton, N.C., 27 May 1788 (excerpt)¹

Dear Brother

. . . The Players approached as near us as Windsor. I have the satisfaction to inform you they have wheeled about to take a view of Hillsborough and its environs, to fix upon some spot to enliven and cheer the vacant hours of the Conventional Heroes. . . .

1. Printed: McCree, *Iredell*, II, 225.

39. Hugh Williamson to Governor Samuel Johnston
New York, 30 May 1788 (excerpt)¹

On the day before Yesterday Mr Swan arrived here by Water from Norfolk. Yesterday he took his Seat in Congress which for the first Time since October last gave the State a Vote.² Mr. Swan was inoculated yesterday morning but expects that he will seldom be prevented from doing Duty.

To day Congress has received a very serious complaint from the Minister of France concerning the Conduct of the Majestracy in one of the States protecting a french Pirate. Another mournful Proof that unless we have a federal government we shall not long escape from the Depredations of some foreign Nation. . . .

1. RC, owned by S. Howard Goldman, Weston, Conn. in 1991. Letterbook copy is in Governors' Letterbooks & Papers, Nc-Ar.

2. Under the rules of Congress, two delegates needed to attend Congress to compose an official delegation that could cast the state's ballot on any particular issue.

40. Samuel A. Otis to Theodore Sedgwick
New York, 6 June 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . North Carolina looks well at present, and will certainly join the list unless Virginia should be so unfortunate as to stand out, In which case N Carolina may waver. . . .

1. RC, Sedgwick Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

41. New Haven Gazette, 12 June 1788¹

PROVIDENCE, May 29.

The 4th of July, the anniversary of American independence, is the day the last convention appointed (viz. North-Carolina) is to meet. What pleasure would it give the friends of union and peace, could a convention for Rhode-Island, be appointed to meet on that memorable day—and when met, by agreeing with all the other states, in adopting the constitution, a second time dignify the already immortalized month of JULY!

1. This paragraph is an excerpt from a longer item first printed in the Providence *United States Chronicle*, 29 May. The *New Haven Gazette* printing altered much of the capitalization and punctuation.

42. James Iredell to John Gray Blount
Edenton, N.C., 29 June 1788¹

I have great pleasure in acquainting you, that on Wednesday last the question as to the ratification of the Constitution was put in a Committee of the whole house (for they do business in that way) of the Virginia Convention, when the numbers were, 89 for the ratification 79 against it. They afterwards appointed a Committee, to consider of amendments.

I beg my best respects to Mrs. Blount & your Brother, and am Dear, Sir Yours very respectfully

1. RC, Blount Papers, Nc-Ar.

43. Andrew Craigie to Samuel Rogers
30 June 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . All the States but Rhode Island, North Carolina & New York have adopted the new Constitution & it is now expected that these three will come in. . . .

1. RC, Craigie Papers, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. The manuscript is incomplete.

44. James Cogswell: Diary
Scotland, Connecticut, 3 July 1788 (excerpts)¹

. . . Govr—H. & S: dined here . . . hopes Virginia & N Carolina will adopt the Constitution, but is not very sanguine in the Matter. . . .

1. MS, Diary of Rev. James Cogswell of Scotland, Conn., Connecticut Historical Society.

45. 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 hieght of the small pox. 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 [i.e., New York] 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.

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

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, No. 1197, New York Public Library. The letter was docketed: "Ansd. August 10th."

46. Joseph Martin to Secretary at War Henry Knox Henry County, Va., 10 July 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . The Convention of North Carolina sets on Monday next—I being one of that body shall attend. . . .

1. Copy, The Draper Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The letter deals with Indian affairs in western North Carolina and Georgia.

47. 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 city of Newport, and the town of Providence, in the district of Rhode-Island, will, we are told, petition the first Congress to divide the State between Connecticut and Massachusetts.

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.

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.

1. All five paragraphs were reprinted in the *Salem Mercury*, 15 July; *New Hampshire Spy*, 15 July; *New Hampshire Gazette*, 17 July; and Portland *Cumberland Gazette*, 24 July. The first paragraph was reprinted six times by 24 July: N.H. (2), Mass. (2), Conn. (1), N.Y. (1). The second paragraph was reprinted in whole or in part eight times by 24 July: N.H. (2), Mass. (3), Conn. (1), N.Y. (1), Pa. (1). The third paragraph was reprinted eight times by 30 July: N.H. (2), Mass. (3), Conn. (1), Pa. (2). The fourth paragraph was reprinted six times by 24 July: N.H. (2), Mass. (2), Conn. (1), N.Y. (1). The fifth paragraph was reprinted seven times by 24 July: N.H. (2), Mass. (4), N.Y. (1).

**48. Henry E. McCulloh to James Iredell
Newman-Street, London, 16 July 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . This is a great, noble, a generous country, and America (North Carolina most especially, *witness her naval stores, &c.*) may, must, and will, from day to day, rue her separation from it. Did North Carolina deserve any thing at my hands, connected as I am, here, *I might do her great service.* Apply to the State for the debt they owe me as their agent. For shame sake they will not refuse payment, &c.

1. Printed: McCree, *Iredell*, II, 231.

49. A–M. North Carolina Convention Journal, 21 July–4 August 1788

49–A. North Carolina Convention Journal, Monday, 21 July 1788¹

AT CONVENTION begun and held at Hillsborough, on the twenty-first day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, and of the Independence of the United States of America the thirteenth, in pursuance of a resolution of the last General Assembly, for the purposes of deliberating and determining on the proposed plan of Federal Government, and for fixing the unalterable seat of government of this state.

The returning officers for the several Counties certified, that the following persons were duly elected as members to this Convention, viz.²

[A list of Convention delegates is printed here. See Convention roster.]

Mr. Person proposed for President his excellency Samuel Johnston, esq; who was unanimously elected, and conducted to the chair accordingly.

On motion, John Hunt was appointed Secretary, and James Taylor Assistant Secretary.

At the same time William Murfree, Peter Gooding, Nicholas Murfree, and James Mulloy were appointed door keepers.

Mr. John Graves, one of the members for Caswell county, appeared and took his seat.

Resolved, That Messrs. Davie, Person, Iredell, J. M'Donald, Battle, Spaight, and the hon. Samuel Spencer, esq; be a committee to prepare and draw up rules of decorum, to be observed during the sitting of this convention.

Resolved, That three members from each district be appointed a committee of elections. The members appointed are, Messrs. Spencer, Irwin, Caldwell, Person, A. Mebane, Joseph Taylor, M'Dowall, J. Brown, J. Johnston, Davie, Peebles, E. Gray, Gregory, Iredell, Cabarrus, J. G. Blount, Keais, B. Williams, T. Brown, Maclaine, Forster, Clinton, J. Willis, Grove, J. Stewart, Martin, and Tipton.

Adjourned until to-morrow morning 11 o'clock.

1. *The Journal of the Convention of North-Carolina* (Hillsborough, 1788) (Evans 21337).

2. For the election certificates, see Part II: Documents (Facsimiles).

49–B. North Carolina Convention Journal, Tuesday, 22 July 1788¹

Met according to adjournment.

Mr. James Boswell, one of the members for Caswell county, Mr. William S. Marnes, one of the members for Nash county, Mr. John M'Callaster, one of the members for Richmond county, Mr. Joseph Leech, one of the members for Craven county, Mr. David Looney, and Mr. John Sharpe, two of the members for Sullivan county, Mr. Joseph Gaitier, one of the members for Bladen county, Mr. John A. Campbell, Mr. John Pugh Williams, and Mr. John Huske, three of the members for New Hanover county, Mr. William Marshall, one of the members for Hawkins county, Mr. Charles Robertson, one of the members for Richmond county, Mr. James Gillespie, and Mr. Charles Ward, two of the members for Duplin county, Mr. William Bridges, one of the members for Johnston county, Mr. William Randall, and Mr. Frederick Harget, two of the members for Jones county, Mr. Richard M'Kinne, one of the members for Wayne county, Mr. John Cains, and Mr. Jacob Leonard, two of the members for Brunswick county, Mr. Thomas Carson, one of the members for Rowan county, Mr. William Borden, junr. one of the members for Carteret county, Mr. Richard Singleton, and Mr. James Whiteside, two of the members for Rutherford county, Mr. Caleb Phifer, Mr. Zachias Wilson, and Mr. Joseph Douglass, three of the members for Mecklinburg county, Mr. Thomas Dougan, and Mr. Jesse Henley, two of the members for Randolph county, Mr. James Kennan, one of the members for Duplin county, Messrs. John Jones, Egbert Haywood, William Wootten, and John Branch, four of the members for Halifax county, and Mr. Henry Hill, one of the members for Franklin county, appeared and took their seats.

Mr. Battle from the committee to whom was referred the business of preparing rules for the government of the convention during the sitting thereof, reported sundry rules, which being read and amended, were agreed to, and are as follow:

I. When the president assumes the chair the members shall take their seats.

II. At the opening of the convention, each day, the minutes of the preceding day shall be read, and be in the power of the convention to be corrected, after which any business addressed to the chair may be proceeded on.

III. No member shall be allowed to speak but in his place, and after rising and addressing himself to the president shall not proceed until permitted by the president, or by a member through the president.

IV. No member speaking shall be interrupted but by a call to order by the president, or by a member through the president.

V. No person shall pass between the president and the person speaking.

VI. No person shall be called upon for any words of heat, but on the day on which they were spoken.

VII. No member to be referred to in debate by name.

VIII. The president shall be heard without interruption, and when he rises the member up shall sit down.

IX. The president himself, or by request, may call to order any member who shall transgress the rules; if a second time, the president may refer to him by name; the convention may then examine and censure the member's conduct, he being allowed to extenuate or justify.

X. When two or more members are up together the president shall determine who rose first.

XI. A motion made and seconded shall be repeated by the president; a motion shall be reduced to writing if the president requires it; a motion may be withdrawn by the member making it before any decision is had on it.

XII. The name of him who makes, and the name of him who seconds a motion shall be entered on the minutes.

XIII. No member shall depart the service of the house without leave.

XIV. Whenever the house shall be divided on a question two or more tellers shall be appointed by the president to number the members on each side.

XV. No members shall come into the house or remove from one place to another with his hat on except those of the quaker profession.

XVI. Every member of a committee shall attend at the call of his chairman.

XVII. The yeas and nays may be called and entered on the minutes when any two members require it.

XVIII. Every member actually attending the convention shall be in his place at the time to which the convention stands adjourned, or within half an hour thereof.

Mr. Lenoir moved, and was seconded by Mr. Person, that the return for Dobbs county should be read, which was accordingly read, whereupon Mr. Lenoir presented the petition of sundry of the inhabitants of Dobbs county, complaining of an illegal election in the said county, and praying relief, which being also read, on motion of Mr. Lenoir, seconded by Mr. Davie, Resolved, That the said petition be referred to the committee of elections.

Mr. Spaight presented the deposition of Benjamin Caswell, Sheriff of Dobbs county, and a copy of the poll of an election held in the said county for members to this convention, and the depositions of William Croom, Niel Hopkins, Robert White, John Hartsfield, Job Smith, and Frederick Baker, which being severally read, was referred to the committee of elections.

Mr. Cabarrus presented the depositions of Charles Markland, junr. and Luther Spalding, relative to the election of Dobbs county, which being read were referred to the committee of elections.

Adjourned until to morrow morning 10 o'clock.

49-C. North Carolina Convention Journal, Wednesday, 23 July 1788

Met according to adjournment.

Mr. Edmund Blount, and Mr. Simeon Spruill, two of the members for Tyrrel county, Mr. Andrew Bass, one of the members for Wayne county, Mr. Joseph Boon, Mr. Wm. Farmer, and Mr. John Bryan, three of the members for Johnston county, Mr. Edward Williams, one of the members for Richmond county, Mr. Francis Oliver, one of the members for Duplin county, Mr. Matthew Brooks, one of the members for Surry county, Mr. David Turner, one of the members for Bertie county, and Mr. Willie Jones, one of the members for Halifax county, appeared and took their seats.

Mr. Gregory from the committee of elections, to whom were referred the return from Dobbs county, and sundry other papers, and the petition of sundry of the inhabitants of Dobbs county, relative to the election of the said county, delivered in a report, which being read was agreed to in the following words, viz.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the sitting members returned from the county of Dobbs vacate their seats, as it does not appear that a majority

of the county approved of a new election under the recommendation of his excellency the governor, but the contrary is more probable.

That it appears to this committee, that there was a disturbance and riot at the first election (which election was held on the days appointed by the resolve of the General Assembly) before all the tickets could be taken out of the box, and the box was then taken away by violence, at which time it appears there were a sufficient number of tickets remaining in the box to have given a majority of the whole Poll to five others of the candidates beside those who had a majority of the votes at the time when the disturbance and riot happened: It is therefore the opinion of this committee, that the sheriff could have made no return of any five members elected, nor was there any evidence before the committee by which they could determine with certainty, which candidates had a majority of votes of the other electors.

The committee are therefore of opinion, that the first election is void as well as the latter.

Isaac Gregory, Chairman.

On a motion made by Mr. Gallaway, seconded by Mr. Macon, Resolved, That the bill of rights and constitution of this state, the articles of confederation, the resolve of Congress of the 21st of February 1787, recommending a convention of delegates to meet at Philadelphia the second Monday in May 1787, for the purpose of revising the said articles of confederation, together with the act of Assembly of this state, passed at Fayette Ville the 6th day of January 1787, intituled, "An act for appointing deputies from this state to a convention proposed to be held in the city of Philadelphia in May next, for the purpose of revising the Federal Constitution:" As also the resolve of Congress of the 28th September last accompanying the report of the Federal Convention, together with the said report, and the resolution of the last General Assembly be now read.

The bill of rights, and constitution of this state, the articles of confederation, the act of assembly of this state above referred to, and the resolution of Congress, of the 28th last September, were accordingly read. The Honorable the President then laid before the convention official accounts of the ratification of the proposed Federal Constitution by the states of Massachusetts and South Carolina, which were ordered to be filed with the secretary, subject to the perusal of the members.

On a motion made by Mr. Person, seconded by Mr. Jones, Resolved, That the convention will to-morrow determine on what principles, and in what manner they will then proceed to take up and debate on the proposed Federal Constitution.

Mr. Griffith Rutherford and Mr. George Henry Barringer, two of the members for Rowan county, appeared and took their seats.

Adjourned until to-morrow morning 9 o'clock.

49-D. North Carolina Convention Journal, Thursday, 24 July 1788

Met according to adjournment.

Mr. Timothy Bloodworth, one of the members for New Hanover county, Mr. Everet Pearce, one of the members for Johnston county, Mr. Whitmill Hill, one of the members for Martin county, Mr. Asahel Rawlings, Mr. James Wilson and Mr. James Roddy, three of the members for Green county, Mr. Samuel Cain, one of the members for Bladen county, Mr James Bloodworth, one of the members for New-

Hanover county, Mr. John Ingram, a member for the town of Fayette-Ville, Mr. Benj. Covington, one of the members for Richmond county, Mr. Joseph M'Dowall, junr. one of the members for Burke county, and Mr. Durham Hall, one of the members for Franklin county, appeared and took their seats.

On a motion made by Mr. Bloodworth, and seconded by Mr. Maclaine, Resolved, That the special return made by the Sheriff of New-Hanover county of the election for members of this convention be referred to the committee of elections.

On a motion made by Mr. Person, and seconded by Mr. Iredell, Resolved, That the return for a member for the town of Fayette-Ville be referred to the committee of elections.

On a motion made by Mr. Gallaway, and seconded by Mr. Michael Payne, Resolved, That this convention do now resolve itself into a committee of the whole convention, to take into consideration the proposed constitution for the future government of the United States: The convention accordingly resolved itself into a committee of the whole convention, and appointed Mr. Battle chairman, and after some time spent in debate on the subject referred to them, Mr. President resumed the chair, and Mr. Battle reported that the committee had made some progress on the business referred to them, but not having time to compleat it desired leave to sit again.

Ordered, That the committee have leave to sit again to-morrow at 10 o'clock.

On a motion made by Mr. Macon, and seconded by Mr. Porter, Resolved, That a committee be appointed to confer with the printer in this town on the subject of printing the journal of this convention: The members appointed are, Mr. Alexander Mebane, Mr. Macon, and Mr. Person.

Adjourned until to-morrow morning 10 o'clock.

49-E. North Carolina Convention Journal, Friday, 25 July 1788

Met according to adjournment.

Mr. Joel Lane, and Mr. James Hinton, two of the members for Wake county, Mr. Benjamin Smith, one of the members for Brunswick county, Mr. James Brannon, one of the members for Rowan county, appeared and took their seats.

Mr. Gregory from the committee of elections delivered in a report, which being read was agreed to as follows:

The committee proceeded to have read the return of the sheriff of Cumberland county for the town of Fayette-Ville in said county, wherein John Ingram was returned to represent said town in the convention.

It is the opinion of this committee that the said town possesses not the right of representation in this convention, and that therefore the said John Ingram hath no right to a seat in the same.

It appearing to this committee that the votes given for Thomas Devane, senr. Esq; and Thomas Devane, were intended and meant for the same person; Resolved therefore, that the said Thomas Devane, senr. Esq; is duly elected to represent the county of New-Hanover in this present convention, and that he take his seat accordingly.

Isaac Gregory, Chairman.

Mr. Mebane, one of the committee appointed to confer with the printer on the subject of printing the journal of this convention, Reported, That Mr. Ferguson offered to print three hundred copies of the journal, and such other business as may be

deemed absolutely necessary for the sum of sixty pounds, which offer the committee accepted of.

The order of the day for taking into further consideration the proposed constitution for the future government of the United States being called for, the convention agreeably thereto resolved itself into a committee of the whole convention, Mr. Battle in the chair, after some time spent in debate, Mr. President resumed the chair, and Mr. Battle reported, that the committee had made further progress in the business referred to them, but not having time to compleat it desired leave to sit again to-morrow.

Ordered, That the committee have leave to sit again to-morrow.

Adjourned until to-morrow morning 9 o'clock.

49-F. North Carolina Convention Journal, Saturday, 26 July 1788

Met according to adjournment.

Mr. Nathaniel Allen, one of the members for Chowan county, and Mr. Wm. Dickson, one of the members for Duplin county, appeared and took their seats.

The order of the day for taking into further consideration the proposed constitution for the future government of the United States being called for, the convention agreeably thereto resolved itself into a committee of the whole convention, Mr. Kenan in the chair, and after some time spent in debate, Mr. President resumed the chair, and Mr. Kenan reported, that the committee had made further progress in the business referred to them, but not having time to compleat it, desired leave to sit again on monday next.

Ordered, That the committee have leave to sit again on monday next.

Adjourned until monday morning 9 o'clock.

49-G. North Carolina Convention Journal, Monday, 28 July 1788

Met according to adjournment.

Mr. Burwell Mooring, one of the members for Wayne county, and Mr. Thos. Owen, one of the members for Bladen county, appeared and took their seats.

The order of the day for taking into further consideration the proposed constitution for the future government of the United States being read, the convention agreeably thereto resolved itself into a committee of the whole convention, Mr. Kenan in the chair, and after some time spent in debate, Mr. President resumed the chair, and Mr. Kenan reported, that the committee had made further progress in the business referred to them, but not having time to compleat it desired leave to sit again.

Ordered that the committee have leave to sit again to-morrow.

Adjourned until to-morrow morning 9 o'clock.

49-H. North Carolina Convention Journal, Tuesday, 29 July 1788

Met according to adjournment.

Mr. Matthew Lock one of the members for Rowan county, appeared and took his seat.

Ordered, That Mr. James M'Donald have leave to absent himself from the service of this house until Saturday.

The order of the day for taking into further consideration the proposed constitution for the future government of the United States being read, the convention agreeably thereto resolved itself into a committee of the whole convention, Mr. Kenan in the chair, and after some time spent in debate Mr. President resumed the chair, and Mr. Kenan reported, that the committee had made further progress in the business referred to their consideration, but not having time to compleat it desired leave to sit again.

Ordered, That the committee have leave to sit again to-morrow.

Adjourned until to-morrow morning 9 o'clock.

49-I. North Carolina Convention Journal, Wednesday, 30 July 1788

Met according to adjournment.

Mr. George Wynns, one of the members for Hertford county appeared and took his seat.

The order of the day for taking into further consideration the proposed constitution for the future government of the United States being read, the convention agreeably thereto, resolved itself into a committee of the whole convention, Mr. Kenan in the chair, after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the chair, and Mr. Kenan reported that the committee had come to sundry resolutions on the subject referred to their consideration, but not having time to reduce them to form, desired leave to sit again.

Ordered that the committee have leave to sit again to-morrow.

Adjourned until to-morrow morning 9 o'clock.

49-J. North Carolina Convention Journal, Thursday, 31 July 1788

Met according to adjournment.

Ordered, That Mr. Joseph Martin have leave to absent himself from the service of this convention, and that the secretary make out and deliver him a certificate of the sum due him for his attendance as a member thereof.

On a motion made by Mr. Rutherford, and seconded by Mr. Steele, Resolved, That the convention will, to-morrow at four o'clock in the afternoon, proceed to fix on a proper place for the seat of government of this state.

Mr. John G. Blount on behalf of himself and others, moved for leave to enter a protest on the journal of this convention against the above resolution, Ordered, That he have leave accordingly.

The order of the day for taking into further consideration the proposed constitution for the future government of the United States being read, the convention resolved itself into a committee of the whole convention, Mr. Kenan in the chair, after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the chair, and Mr. Kenan reported from the committee of the whole convention, that the committee had considered the constitution proposed for the government of the United States, and had come to a resolution thereupon, which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the clerks table.

Ordered, That the said report lie on the table until to-morrow morning.

Adjourned until to-morrow morning 9 o'clock.

49-K North Carolina Convention Journal, Friday, 1 August 1788

Met according to adjournment.

Mr. David Perkins one of the members for Pitt county appeared and took his seat.

The Order of the Day for taking up the Report of the Committee of the whole Convention being called for and read, agreeable thereto, the report of the Committee of the whole Convention on the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States of America was read in the following words:

Resolved, That a Declaration of Rights, asserting and securing from incroachment the great Principles of civil and religious Liberty, and the unalienable Rights of the People, together with Amendments to the most ambiguous and exceptionable Parts of the said Constitution of Government, ought to be laid before Congress, and the Convention of the States that shall or may be called for the Purpose of Amending the said Constitution, for their consideration, previous to the Ratification of the Constitution aforesaid, on the part of the State of North Carolina.

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS.

1st. That there are certain natural rights of which men, when they form a social compact,¹ cannot deprive or divest their posterity, among which are the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring, possessing and protecting property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.

2d. That all power is naturally vested in, and consequently derived from the people; that magistrates therefore are their trustees and agents, and at all times amenable to them.

3d. That Government ought to be instituted for the common benefit, protection and security of the people; and that the doctrine of non-resistance against arbitrary power and oppression is absurd, slavish, and destructive to the good and happiness of mankind.²

4th. That no man or set of men are intitled to exclusive or separate public emoluments or privileges from the community, but in consideration of public services; which not being descendible, neither ought the offices of magistrate, legislator or judge, or any other public office to be hereditary.

5th. That the legislative, executive and judiciary powers of government should be separate and distinct, and that the members of the two first may be restrained from oppression by feeling and participating the public burthens; they should at fixed periods be reduced to a private station, return into the mass of the people, and the vacancies be supplied by certain and regular elections; in which all or any part of the former members to be eligible or ineligible, as the rules of the Constitution of Government, and the laws shall direct.

6th. That elections of Representatives in the legislature ought to be free and frequent, and all men having sufficient evidence of permanent common interest with, and attachment to the community, ought to have the right of suffrage; and no aid, charge, tax or fee can be set, rated, or levied upon the people without their own consent, or that of their representatives so elected; nor can they be bound by any law to which they have not in like manner assented for the public good.

7th. That all power of suspending laws, or the execution of laws by any authority, without the consent of the representatives of the people in the Legislature, is injurious to their rights, and ought not to be exercised.

8th. That in all capital and criminal prosecutions a man hath a right to demand the cause and nature of his accusation, to be confronted with the accusers and witnesses, to call for evidence, and be allowed counsel in his favor, and to a fair and speedy trial by an impartial jury of his vicinage, without whose unanimous consent he cannot be found guilty (except in the government of the land and naval forces) nor can he be compelled to give evidence against himself.

9th. That no freeman ought to be taken, imprisoned, or disseized of his freehold, liberties, privileges, or franchises, or outlawed, or exiled, or in any manner destroyed or deprived of his life, liberty or property, but by the law of the land.

10th. That every freeman restrained of his liberty is intitled to a remedy to enquire into the lawfulness thereof, and to remove the same, if unlawful; and that such remedy ought not to be denied nor delayed.

11th. That in controversies respecting property, and in suits between man and man, the ancient trial by jury is one of the greatest securities to the rights of the people, and ought to remain sacred and inviolable.

12th. That every freeman ought to find a certain remedy by recourse to the laws for all injuries and wrongs he may receive in his person, property, or character: he ought to obtain right and justice freely without sale, completely and without denial, promptly and without delay, and that all establishments, or regulations contravening these rights, are oppressive and unjust.

13th. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

14th. That every freeman has a right, to be secure from all unreasonable searches and seizures of his person, his papers and property: all warrants therefore to search suspected places, or to apprehend any suspected person without specially naming or describing the place or person, are dangerous and ought not to be granted.

15th. That the people have a right peaceably to assemble together to consult for the common good, or to instruct their representatives; and that every freeman has a right to petition or apply to the Legislature for redress of grievances.

16th. That the people have a right to freedom of speech, and of writing and publishing their sentiments; that the freedom of the press is one of the greatest bulwarks of Liberty, and ought not to be violated.

17th. That the people have a right to keep and bear arms; that a well regulated militia composed of the body of the people, trained to arms, is the proper, natural and safe defence of a free state. That standing armies in time of peace are dangerous to Liberty, and therefore ought to be avoided, as far as the circumstances and protection of the community will admit; and that in all cases, the military should be under strict subordination to, and governed by the civil power.

18th. That no soldier in time of peace ought to be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, and in time of war in such manner only as the Laws direct.

19th. That any person religiously scrupulous of bearing arms ought to be exempted upon payment of an equivalent to employ another to bear arms in his stead.

20th. That religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence, and therefore all men have an equal, natural and unalienable right to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience, and that no particular religious sect or society ought to be favoured or established by law in preference to others.

Amendments to the Constitution.

I. That each state in the union shall, respectively, retain every power, jurisdiction and right, which is not by this constitution delegated to the Congress of the United States, or to the departments of the Federal Government.

II. That there shall be one representative for every 30,000, according to the enumeration or census, mentioned in the constitution, until the whole number of representatives amounts to two hundred; after which, that number shall be continued or increased, as Congress shall direct, upon the principles fixed in the constitution, by apportioning the representatives of each state to some greater number of people from time to time, as population encreases.

III. When Congress shall lay direct taxes or excises, they shall immediately inform the executive power of each state, of the quota of such state, according to the census herein directed, which is proposed to be thereby raised: And if the legislature of any state shall pass a law, which shall be effectual for raising such quota at the time required by Congress, the taxes and excises laid by Congress shall not be collected in such state.

IV. That the members of the senate and house of representatives shall be ineligible to, and incapable of holding any civil office under the authority of the United States, during the time for which they shall, respectively, be elected.

V. That the journals of the proceedings of the senate and house of representatives shall be published at least once in every year, except such parts thereof relating to treaties, alliances, or military operations, as in their judgment require secrecy.

VI. That a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public monies shall be published at least once in every year.

VII. That no commercial treaty shall be ratified without the concurrence of two-thirds of the whole number of the members of the senate: And no treaty, ceding, contracting, restraining or suspending the territorial rights or claims of the United States, or any of them, or their, or any of their rights, or claims to fishing in the American seas, or navigate the American rivers shall be made, but in cases of the most urgent and extreme necessity; nor shall any such treaty be ratified without the concurrence of three-fourths of the whole number of the members of both houses respectively.

VIII. That no navigation law, or law regulating commerce shall be passed without the consent of two-thirds of the members present in both houses.

IX. That no standing army or regular troops shall be raised or kept up in time of peace, without the consent of two thirds of the members present in both houses.

X. That no soldier shall be inlisted for any longer term than four years, except in time of war, and then for no longer term than the continuance of the war.

XI. That each state, respectively, shall have the power to provide for organizing, arming and disciplining its own militia whensoever Congress shall omit or neglect to provide for the same. That the militia shall not be subject to martial law, except when in actual service in time of war, invasion or rebellion: And when not in the actual service of the United States, shall be subject only to such fines, penalties, and punishments as shall be directed or inflicted by the laws of its own state.

XII. That Congress shall not declare any state to be in rebellion without the consent of at least two-thirds of all the members present of both houses.

XIII. That the exclusive power of Legislation given to Congress over the federal town and its adjacent district, and other places purchased, or to be purchased by Congress of any of the states, shall extend only to such regulations as respect the police and good government thereof.

XIV. That no person shall be capable of being president of the United States for more than eight years in any term of sixteen years.

XV. That the judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such courts of admiralty as Congress may from time to time ordain and establish in any of the different states. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity, arising under treaties made, or which shall be made under the authority of the United States; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other foreign ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty, and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more states, and between parties claiming lands under the grants of different states; in all cases affecting ambassadors, other foreign ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be a party; the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction in all other cases before mentioned; the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction as to matters of law only, except in cases of equity, and of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction, in which the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make: But the judicial power of the United States shall extend to no case where the cause of action shall have originated before the ratification of this constitution, except in disputes between states about their territory; disputes between persons claiming lands under the grants of different states, and suits for debts due to the united states.

XVI. That in criminal prosecutions, no man shall be restrained in the exercise of the usual and accustomed right of challenging or excepting to the jury.

XVII. That Congress shall not alter, modify, or interfere in the times, places, or manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, or either of them, except when the legislature of any state shall neglect, refuse or be disabled by invasion or rebellion, to prescribe the same.

XVIII. That those clauses which declare that Congress shall not exercise certain powers, be not interpreted in any manner whatsoever to extend the powers of Congress; but that they be construed either as making exceptions to the specified powers where this shall be the case, or otherwise, as inserted merely for greater caution.

XIX. That the laws ascertaining the compensation of senators and representatives for their services be postponed in their operation until after the election of representatives immediately succeeding the passing thereof, that excepted, which shall first be passed on the subject.

XX. That some tribunal, other than the senate, be provided for trying impeachments of senators.

XXI. That the salary of a judge shall not be increased or diminished during his continuance in office, otherwise than by general regulations of salary, which may take place on a revision of the subject at stated periods of not less than seven years, to commence from the time such salaries shall be first ascertained by Congress.

XXII. That Congress erect no company of merchants with exclusive advantages of commerce.

XXIII. That no treaties which shall be directly opposed to the existing laws of the United States in Congress assembled shall be valid, until such laws shall be repealed, or made conformable to such treaty; nor shall any treaty be valid which is contradictory to the constitution of the United States.

XXIV. That the latter part of the fifth paragraph of the 9th section of the first article be altered to read thus,—Nor shall vessels bound to a particular state be obliged to enter or pay duties in any other; nor when bound from any one of the States be obliged to clear in another.

XXV. That Congress shall not directly or indirectly, either by themselves or through the judiciary, interfere with any one of the states in the redemption of paper money already emitted and now in circulation, or in liquidating and discharging the public securities of any one of the states, but each and every state shall have the exclusive right of making such laws and regulations for the above purposes as they shall think proper.

XXVI. That Congress shall not introduce foreign troops into the United States without the consent of two thirds of the members present of both houses.

Mr. Iredell, seconded by Mr. John Skinner, moved, that this report be amended, by striking out all the words of the said report except the two first, *to w^{it}*, (Resolved that) And that the following words be inserted in their room, viz.

This Convention having fully deliberated on the constitution proposed for the future Government of the United States of America, by the Federal Convention, lately held at Philadelphia, on the seventeenth day of September last, and having taken into their serious and solemn consideration the present critical situation of America, which induces them to be of opinion, that though certain amendments to the said constitution may be wished for, yet that those amendments should be proposed subsequent to the ratification on the part of this state, and not previous to it: They do therefore, on behalf of the state of North Carolina, and the good people thereof, and by virtue of the authority to them delegated, ratify the said constitution on the part of this state: And they do at the same time recommend, that as early as possible, the following amendments to the said constitution may be proposed for the consideration and adoption of the several states in the union, in one of the modes prescribed by the fifth article thereof.

AMENDMENTS.

I. EACH state in the union shall, respectively, retain every power, jurisdiction and right, which is not by this constitution delegated to the Congress of the United States, or to the departments of the General Government; nor shall the said Congress, or any department of the said government exercise any act of authority over any individual in any of the said states, but such as can be justified under some power, particularly given in this constitution; but the said constitution shall be considered at all times a solemn instrument, defining the extent of their authority, and the limits of which they cannot rightfully in any instance exceed.

II. There shall be one representative for every thirty thousand, according to the enumeration or census, mentioned in the constitution, until the whole number of representatives amounts to two hundred; after which that number shall be continued or increased as Congress shall direct, upon the principles fixed in the constitution, by apportioning the representatives of each state to some greater number of people from time to time, as population increases.

III. Each state, respectively, shall have the power to provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining its own militia, whensoever Congress shall omit or neglect to provide for the same. The militia shall not be subject to martial law, except when in actual service in time of war, invasion, or rebellion; and when they are not in the actual service of the United States, they shall be subject only to such fines, penalties, and punishments as shall be directed or inflicted by the laws of its own state.

IV. The Congress shall not alter, modify, or interfere in the times, places, or manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, or either of them, except when the legislature of any state shall neglect, refuse or be disabled by invasion, or rebellion, to prescribe the same.

V. The laws ascertaining the compensation of senators and representatives for their services, shall be postponed in their operation, until after the election of representatives immediately succeeding the passing thereof; that excepted, which shall first be passed on the subject.

VI. Instead of the following words in the 9th section of the first article, viz. "Nor shall vessels bound to, or from one state, be obliged to enter, clear or pay duties in another." (The meaning of which is, by many deemed not sufficiently explicit) It is proposed, that the following shall be substituted: "No vessel bound to one state shall be obliged to enter or pay duties to which such vessel may be liable at any port of entry in any other state than that to which such vessel is bound: Nor shall any vessel bound from one state be obliged to clear or pay duties to which such vessel may be liable at any port of clearance, in any other state than that from which such vessel is bound."

This motion made by Mr. Iredell being objected to, the question was put, "Will the Convention adopt that amendment or not?" and it was negatived: Whereupon the yeas and nays were required by Mr. Iredell, and seconded by Mr. Steele, which are as follow.

YEAS.—His Excellency Sam. Johnston, Esq; President, Messrs. James Iredell, Archibald Maclaine, Nathan Keais, John G. Blount, Thomas Alderson, John Johnston, Andrew Oliver, Goodwin Elliston, Charles M'Dowal, Richard D. Spaight, Wm. J. Dawson, James Porterfield, Wm. Barry Grove, George Elliott, Wallis Styron, Wm. Shepperd, *Carteret*, James Phillips, John Humphries, Mich. Payne, Charles Johnson, Stephen Cabarrus, Edmund Blount, *Chowan*, Henry Abbot, Isaac Gregory, Peter Dauge, Charles Grandy, Enoch Sawyer, George Lucas, John Willis, John Cade, Elias Barnes, Neil Brown, James Winchester, Wm. Stokes, Thomas Stewart, Josiah Collins, Thomas Hines, Nat. Jones, John Steele, Wm. R. Davie, Joseph Reddick, James Gregory, Thomas Hunter, *Gates*, Thomas Wyns, Abraham Jones, John Eborne, James Jasper, Caleb Foreman, Seth Hovey, John Sloan, John Moore, Wm. Maclaine, Nathan Mayo, Wm. Slade, Wm. M'Kinzie, Robert Irwin, John Lane, Thomas Reading, Edward Everagain, Enoch Relfe, Devotion Davis, Wm. Skinner, Joshua Skinner, Thomas Harvey, John Skinner, Samuel Hatrel, Joseph Leech, Wm. Bridges, Wm. Burden, Edmund Blount, *Tyrrel*, Simeon Spruil, David Tanner, Whitmill Hill, Benjamin Smith, John Sitgreaves, Nathaniel Allen, Thomas Owen, George Wyns, David Perkins, Joseph Ferebee, Wm. Ferebee, Wm. Baker, and Abner Neale.—84

NAYS.—Messrs. Willie Jones, Sam Spencer, Lewis Lanier, Thos. Wade, Dan. Gould, Jas. Bonner, Alexious M. Forster, Lewis Dupree, Thomas Brown, James Greenlee, Jos. M'Dowal, Robert Miller, Benj. Williams, Richard Nixon, Thomas

Armstrong, Alexr. M'Allister, Robert Dickins, George Roberts, John Womack, Ambrose Ramsey, James Anderson, Jos. Stewart, Wm. Vestal, Thomas Evans, Thos. Hardiman, Robert Weakley, Wm. Donelson, Wm. Dobins, Robert Diggs, Bythel Bell, Elisha Battle, Wm. Fort, Etheld. Gray, Wm. Lancaster, Thos. Sherrod, John Norwood, Sterling Dupree, Robert Williams, Richard Moye, Arthur Forbes, David Caldwell, Wm. Goudy, Daniel Gillespie, John Anderson, John Hamilton, Thomas Person, Joseph Taylor, Thornton Yancey, Howell Lewis, junr., Elijah Mitchell, George Moore, George Ledbetter, Wm. Porter, Zebedee Wood, Edmund Waddell, James Galloway, John Regan, Joseph Winston, James Gains, Charles M'Annely, Absalom Bostick, John Scott, John Dunkin, David Dodd, Curtis Ivey, Lewis Holmes, Richard Clinton, Hardy Holmes, Robert Allison, James Stewart, John Tipton, John Macon, Thomas Christmass, Henry Montfort, Wm. Taylor, James Hanley, Britain Saunders, Wm. Lenoir, Richard Allen, John Brown, Jos. Herndon, Jas. Fletcher, Lemuel Burkit, Wm. Little, Thos. King, Nathan Bryan, John H. Bryan, Edward Whitty, Robt. Alexander, James Johnston, John Cox, John Carrel, Corn. Doud, Thos. Tyson, Wm. Martin, Thomas Hunter, *Martin*, John Graham, Wm. Loftin, Wm. Kindal, Thos. Ussery, Thos. Butler, John Benford, Jas. Vaughan, Rob. Peebles, Jas. Vinson, Wm. S. Marnes, Howell Ellin, Redman Bunn, John Bonds, David Pridgen, Daniel Yates, Thos. Johnston, John Spicer, A. Tatom, Alexr. Mebane, Wm. Mebane. Wm. M'Cauley, Wm. Shepperd, *Orange*, Jonathan Linley, Wyatt Hawkins, James Payne, John Graves, John Blair, Joseph Tipton, Wm. Bethell, Abraham Phillips, John May, Charles Galloway, James Boswell, John M'Allister, David Looney, John Sharpe, Joseph Gaitier, John A. Campbell, John Pugh Williams, Wm. Marshall, Charles Robertson, James Gillespie, Charles Ward, Wm. Randal, Frederick Harget, Richard M'Kinnie, John Cains, Jacob Leonard, Thomas Carson, Richard Singleton, Jas. Whitside, Caleb Phifer, Zachias Wilson, Joseph Douglas, Thomas Dougan, James Kenan, John Jones, Egbert Haywood, Wm. Wootten, John Branch, Henry Hill, Andrew Bals, Joseph Boon, Wm. Farmer, John Bryan, Edward Williams, Francis Oliver, Mathew Brooks, Griffith Rutherford, George H. Harringer, Timothy Bloodworth, Everet Pearce, Asahel Rawlins, James Wilson, James Roddy, Sam. Cain, Benj. Covington, Joseph M'Dowal, junr., Durham Hall, James Bloodworth, Joel Lane, James Hinton, Thomas Devane, James Brandon, Wm. Dickson, Burwell Mooring, Mathew Lock, and Stokely Donelson.—183.

Ordered, That the further consideration of the report of the Committee of the whole Convention be postponed until to-morrow.

Ordered, That Mr. Iredell, Mr. Maclaine, and Mr. Jones be a committee to prepare and bring in an ordinance to establish the seat of government at the place hereafter to be fixed on by this convention.

On a motion made by Mr. Joseph M'Dowall, and seconded by Mr. Benj. Smith, Resolved, That the convention will ballot for the place at which the seat of government shall be fixed.

On the question to agree to this resolution the yeas and nays were required by Mr. Person, and seconded by Mr. John Macon, which are as follow.

Yeas—The hon. Samuel Spencer, esq; Messrs. Lewis Lanier, Thomas Wade, John G. Blount, Alexious M. Forster, Lewis Dupree, Thomas Brown, Goodwin Elliston, Charles M'Dowall, Robert Miller, Thomas Armstrong, Wm. B. Grove, James Porterfield, Alexander M'Allister, Geo. Elliott, George Lucas, Thomas Evans, Robert

Weakley, David Caldwell, Wm. Goudy, Daniel Gillespie, John Anderson, John Hamilton, Wm. Porter, Zebedee Wood, James Galloway, John Willis, John Cade, Elias Barnes, Neal Brown, John Regan, John Winston, James Gaines, Charles M'Annelly, Absalom Bostick, John Scott, John Dunkin, David Dodd, Curtis Ivey, Lewis Holmes, Richard Clinton, Hardy Holmes, Robert Allison, James Stewart, John Tipton, Henry Montfort, Wm. Lanier, Richard Allen, John Brown, Joseph Herndon, James Fletcher, John Steele, Absalom Tatom, Archibald Maclaine, Thomas Wynns, Stokely Donelson, Thomas King, John H. Bryan, Edward Whitty, Robert Alexander, James Johnston, John Sloane, John Moore, Wm. Maclain, John Cox, John Carrel, Cornelius Doud, Thomas Tyson, Wm. Martin, Joseph Graham, Robert Irwin, Wm. Loftin, James M'Donald, Thomas Butler, Daniel Yates, Thomas Johnston, John Spicer, Alexander Mebane, Jonathan Lindley, Wm. Mebane, Thomas Harvey, Wyot Hawkins, John Blair, John Tipton, Wm. Bethell, Abram Phillips, John May, Charles Galloway, Joseph Gatier, John A. Campbell, Wm. Marshall, Charles Robertson, James Gillespie, Charles Ward, Wm. Bridges, Frederick Hargett, John Cains, Jacob Leonard, Thomas Carson, Richard Singleton, James Whiteside, Caleb Phifer, Zachias Wilson, Joseph Douglass, Thomas Dougan, Jesse Henley, James Kenan, Wm. Wootten, Joseph Boon, Edward Williams, Griffith Rutherford, George H. Barringer, Timothy Bloodworth, Asahel Rawlings, James Roddy, Samuel Cain, Benjamin Covington, Joseph M'Dowal, Junr. James Bloodworth, Benj. Smith, Nathaniel Allen, James Brannon, Wm. Dixon, Thomas Owen, Matthew Lock, Wm. Dobins, John P. Williams, Thomas Devane, James Greenlee, Joseph M'Dowall, James Wilson, John M'Allister, David Looney, and John Sharpe.—134.

Nays—Messrs. Daniel Gould, Nathan Keais, Andrew Oliver, Benjamin Williams, Michael Payne, Charles Johnson, Stephen Cabarrus, Edmund Blount (Tyrrel), Henry Abbot, Isaac Gregory, Peter Dauge, Charles Grandy, Enoch Sawyer, Robert Dickens, George Roberts, John Womack, Ambrose Ramsey, James Anderson, Joseph Stewart, Wm. Vestall, Thos. Hardiman, Wm. Donaldson, Robert Digges, Bythel Bell, Elisha Battle, Wm. Fort, Etheldred Gray, Wm. Lancaster, Thomas Sherrod, John Norwood, Sterling Dupree, Richard Moye, Arthur Forbes, Joseph Taylor, Thornton Yancey, Howel Lewis, Elijah Mitchell, George Moore, Edmund Waddell, James Winchester, Wm. Stokes, Thomas Stewart, Josiah Collins, John Macon, Thomas Christmass, Wm. Taylor, James Handley, Thomas Hines, Nathaniel Johnes, Brittain Sanders, Wm. R. Davie, James Iredell, Wm. Baker, Joseph Reddick, Thomas Hunter (Gates), John Sitgreaves, Lemuel Burkitt, Wm. Little, Abram Jones, Caleb Foreman, Nathan Bryan, Nathan Mayo, Wm. Slade, Thomas Hunter (Martin), Wm. M'Kinzie, Thomas Ussory, John Benford, James Vaughan, Robert Peebles, James Vinson, Wm. S. Marnes, Howel Ellin, Redman Bunn, John Bonds, David Pridgen, Wm. M'Cauley, Wm. Shepperd (Orange), John Lane, Thomas Reading, Joshua Skinner, John Skinner, Samuel Harrell, James Payne, John Graves, James Boswell, Wm. Randall, Richard M'Kinzie, John Jones, Egbert Haywood, John Branch, Henry Hill, Edmund Blount (Tyrrel), Simeon Spruill, Wm. Farmer, John Bryan, Francis Oliver, Willie Jones, Everet Pearce, Durham Hall, Joel Lane, James Hinton, Burwell Mooring, George Wynns, James Bonnar, John Johnston, Wm. J. Dawson, Richard D. Spaight, Richard Nixon, James Phillips, John Humphries, Robert Williams, Thomas Person, James Gregory, Enoch Relfe, Devotion Davis, Wm. Kindall, and Wm. Skinner.—117

Adjourned until to morrow morning 6 o'clock.

1. This amendment, like many others, was taken from the amendments proposed by the Virginia Convention on 27 June 1788 (RCS:Va., 1551). The clause “when they form a social compact” had been inserted in the Virginia Declaration of Rights in June 1776 to exclude African-Americans (slaves and freedmen) from claiming natural rights because they had never entered into a social compact with white Virginians.

2. This prohibition of the doctrine of non-resistance had appeared in the declaration of rights for Maryland in 1776 and for New Hampshire in 1784. The prohibition was one of the amendments proposed by the Virginia Convention on 27 June 1788 (RCS:Va., 1551).

49-L. North Carolina Convention Journal, Saturday, 2 August 1788

Met according to adjournment.

On a motion made by Mr. Willie Jones, and seconded by Mr. Thos. Alderson, Resolved, That this convention will not fix the seat of government at any one particular point; but that it shall be left at the discretion of the assembly to ascertain the exact spot: Provided always, that it shall be within ten miles of the point or place determined on by this convention.

Resolved, That the several places hereafter named be in nomination for the seat of government of this state, to wit:

Smithfield. Nominated by Mr. James Payne.

Tarborough — by Mr. Robert Williams.

Fayette-Ville. — by Mr Wm. Barry Grove.

Mr. Isaac Hunter's in Wake county. — by Mr. James Iredell.

Newbern. — by the hon. Mr. Spencer.

Hillsborough. — by Mr. Alexander Mebane.

The Fork of Haw and Deep rivers. — by Mr. Thomas Person.

And that Mr. Elijah Mitchell, Mr. Benjamin Williams, Mr. Nathaniel Jones, and Mr. John Cains, be appointed commissioners to superintend and conduct the balloting.

Adjourned until 10 o'clock.

Met according to adjournment.

Mr. Benjamin Williams, one of the commissioners appointed to superintend and conduct the balloting for the place at which the seat of government shall be fixed, Reported, That no one place balloted for had a majority of votes.

Ordered, That the commissioners proceed to a second balloting.

The report of the committee of the whole Convention, according to order was taken up and read in the same words as on yesterday, when it was moved by Mr. Thomas Person, and seconded by Mr. John Macon, that the Convention do concur therewith, which was objected to by Mr. Archibald Maclaine. The question being put, Will the Convention concur with the report of the Committee of the whole Convention or not? it was carried in the affirmative: Whereupon Mr. Davie called for the yeas and nays, and was seconded by Mr. Cabarrus, which are as follow

NAYS.—His Excellency Sam. Johnston, Esq; President, Messrs. James Iredell, Archibald Maclaine, Nathan Keais, John G. Blount, Thomas Alderson, John Johnston, Andrew Oliver, Goodwin Elliston, Charles M'Dowal, Richard D. Spaight, Wm. J. Dawson, James Porterfield, Wm. Barry Grove, George Elliott, Wallis Styron, Wm. Shepperd, *Carteret*, James Phillips, John Humphries, Mich. Payne, Charles Johnson, Stephen Cabarrus, Edmund Blount, *Chowan*, Henry Abbot, Isaac Gregory, Peter Dauge, Charles Grandy, Enoch Sawyer, George Lucas, John Willis, John Cade, Elias

Barnes, Neil Brown, James Winchester, Wm. Stokes, Thomas Stewart, Josiah Collins, Thomas Hines, Nat Jones, John Steele, Wm. R. Davie, Joseph Reddick, James Gregory, Thomas Hunter, *Gates*, Thomas Wyns, Abraham Jones, John Eborne, James Jasper, Caleb Foreman, Seth Hovey, John Sloan, John Moore, Wm. Maclaine, Nathan Mayo, Wm. Slade, Wm. M'Kinzie, Robert Irwin, John Lane, Thomas Reading, Edward Everagain, Enoch Relfe, Devotion Davis, Wm. Skinner, Joshua Skinner, Thomas Harvey, John Skinner, Samuel Harrell, Joseph Leech, Wm. Bridges, Wm. Burden, Edmund Blount, *Tyrel*, Simeon Spruil, David Tanner, Whitmill Hill, Benjamin Smith, John Sitgreaves, Nathaniel Allen, Thomas Owen, George Wyns, David Perkins, Joseph Ferebee, Wm. Ferebee and Wm. Baker.—83.

YEAS.—Messrs. Willie Jones, Sam. Spencer, Lewis Lanier, Thos. Wade, Dan. Gould, Jas. Bonner, Alexious M. Forster, Lewis Dupree, Thomas Brown, James Greenlee, Jos. M'Dowal, Robert Miller, Benj. Williams, Richard Nixon, Thomas Armstrong, Alexr. M'Allister, Robert Dickins, George Roberts, John Womack, Ambrose Ramsey, James Anderson, Jos. Stewart, Wm. Vestal, Thomas Evans, Thos. Hardiman, Robert Weakley, Wm. Donaldson, Wm. Dobins, Robert Diggs, Bythel Bell, Elisha Battle, Wm. Fort, Etheld. Gray, Wm. Lancaster, Thos. Sherrod, John Norwood, Sterling Dupree, Robert Williams, Richard Moye, Arthur Forbes, David Caldwell, Wm. Goudy, Daniel Gillespie, John Anderson, John Hamilton, Thomas Person, Joseph Taylor, Thornton Yancey, Howel Lewis, junr., Elijah Mitchell, George Moore, George Ledbetter, Wm. Porter, Zebedee Wood, Edmund Waddell, James Gallaway, John Regan, Joseph Winston, James Gains, Charles M'Annelly, Absalom Bostick, John Scott, John Dunkin, David Dodd, Curtis Ivey, Lewis Holmes, Richard Clinton, Hardy Holmes, Robert Allison, James Stewart, John Tipton, John Macon, Thomas Christmass, Henry Montfort, Wm. Taylor, James Hanley, Brittain Sanders, Wm. Lenoir, Richard Allen, John Brown, Jos. Herndon, Jas. Fletcher, Lemuel Burkit, Wm. Little, Thos. King, Nathan Bryan, John H. Bryan, Edward Whitty, Robt. Alexander, James Johnston, John Cox, John Carrel, Corn. Doud, Thos. Tyson, Wm. Martin, Thomas Hunter, *Martin*, Jos. Graham, Wm. Loftin, Wm. Kindal, Thos. Ussery, Thos. Butler, John Benford, Jas. Vaughan, Rob. Peebles, Jas. Vinson, Wm. S. Marnes, Howel Ellin, Redman Bunn, John Bonds, David Pridgen, Daniel Yates, Thos. Johnston, John Spicer, A. Tatom, Alexr. Mebane, Wm. Mebane, Wm. M'Cauley, Wm. Shepperd, *Orange*, Jonathan Lindley, Wyatt Hawkins, James Payne, John Graves, John Blair, Joseph Tipton, Wm. Bethell, Abraham Phillips, John May, Charles Gallaway, James Boswell, John M'Allister, David Looney, John Sharpe, Joseph Gaitier, John A. Campbell, John Pugh Williams, Wm. Marshall, Charles Robertson, James Gillespie, Charles Ward, Wm. Randal, Frederick Harget, Richard M'Kinnie, John Cains, Jacob Leonard, Thomas Carson, Richard Singleton, Jas. Whitside, Caleb Phifer, Zachias Wilson, Joseph Douglas, Thomas Dougan, James Kenan, John Jones, Egbert Haywood, Wm. Wootten, John Branch, Henry Hill, Andrew Bass, Joseph Boon, Wm. Farmer, John Bryan, Edward Williams, Francis Oliver, Mathew Brooks, Griffith Rutherford, George H. Barringer, Timothy Bloodworth, Everet Pearce, Asahel Rawlins, James Wilson, James Roddy, Sam. Cain, Benj. Covington, Joseph M'Dowal, junr., Durham Hall, James Bloodworth, Joel Lane, James Hinton, Thomas Devane, James Brannon, Wm. Dickson, Burwell Mooring, Mathew Lock, and Stokely Donelson.—184.

On a motion made by Mr. Willie Jones, and seconded by Mr. James Gallaway, the following resolution was adopted, viz.

Whereas this convention has thought proper neither to ratify nor reject the constitution proposed for the government of the United States; and as congress will proceed to act under the said constitution, ten states having ratified the same, and probably lay an impost on goods imported into the said ratifying states:

Resolved, That it be recommended to the legislature of this state, that when ever congress shall pass a law for collecting an impost in the states aforesaid, this state enact a law for collecting a similar impost on goods imported into this state, and appropriate the money arising therefrom to the use of congress.

On the question to agree to this resolution the yeas and nays were required by Mr. John G. Blount, and seconded by Mr. Spaight, which are as follow.

Yeas.—The hon. Samuel Spencer, esq; Messrs. Lewis Lanier, Thomas Wade, Daniel Gould, Alexious M. Forster, Lewis Dupree, Thomas Brown, Charles M'Dowall, James Greenleee, Joseph M'Dowall, Robert Miller, Benj. Williams, R. Nixon, T. Armstrong, Alexr. M'Allister, Geo. Elliot, R. Dickins, John Womack, A. Ramsey, Jos. Stewart, Wm. Vestal, Thomas Hardiman, Robert Weakley, Wm. Donaldson, R. Digges, Bythel Bell, Elisha Battle, Wm. Fort, Etheldred Gray, Wm. Lancaster, Thomas Sherrod, John Norwood, Sterling Dupree, David Caldwell, Wm. Goudy, Daniel Gillespie, John Anderson, John Hamilton, Thomas Person, Joseph Taylor, Thornton Yancey, Howel Lewis, Elijah Mitchell, Wm. Porter, Zebedee Wood, Edmund Waddell, James Gallaway, Neal Brown, Joseph Winston, James Gaines, John Scot, John Dunkin, David Dodd, Curtis Ivey, L. Holmes, R. Clinton, H. Holmes, R. Allison, John Tipton, John Macon, Thos. Christmass, Wm. G. Roberts, *Taylor*, Jas. Handley, Thos: Hines, Nathaniel Jones, Brittain Sanders, Wm. Lenoir, Richard Allen, John Brown, Joseph Herndon, James Fletcher, Wm. R. Davie, Samuel [i.e., Lemuel] Burkit, Nathan Bryan, Edward Whitty, James Johnston, John Carrell, Cornelius Doud, Thomas Tyson, Wm. Martin, Joseph Graham, Robert Irwin, Wm. Loftin, Thomas Ussery, John Benford, James Vaughan, James Vinson, Howel Ellin, Redman Bunn, John Bonds, David Pridgen, Daniel Yates, Thomas Johnston, Wm. Mebane, Wyatt Hawkins, John Graves, Joseph Tipton, Abram Phillips, John May, Charles Gallaway, James Boswell, David Looney, John Sharpe, John P. Williams, Wm. Marshall, Charles Robertson, C. Ward, Wm. Randall, Frederick Hargett, Rich. M'Kinnie, John Caines, Thomas Carson, Richard Singleton, James Whitside, Caleb Phifer, Zachias Wilson, Thomas Dougan, Jesse Hendley, James Kenan, John Jones, Egbert Haywood, Wm. Wootten, Henry Hill, A. Bass, Joseph Boon, Wm. Farmer, Edward Williams, F. Oliver, Willie Jones, George H. Barringer, Timothy Bloodworth, James Roddy, Durham Hall, Joel Lane, James Hinton, James Brannon, Wm. Dixon, Matthew Lock, John Bryan, Henry Montfort, George Ledbetter, and Wm. Little.

Nays.—Messrs. John G. Blount, Thomas Alderson, John Johnston, Andrew Oliver, Wm. J. Dawson, Richard D. Spaight, Wallace Styron, Wm. Shepperd (Carteret), James Phillips, Charles Johnson, H. Abbot, Isaac Gregory, Peter Dauge, Charles Grandy, Enoch Sawyer, Arthur Forbes, James Winchester, Josiah Collins, James Iredell, John Sitgreaves, Archibald Maclaine, James Gregory, Thomas Hunter (Gates), Thomas Wynns, Abraham Jones, Seth Hovey, John Moore, Wm. M'Kinzie, Thomas

Hunter (Martin), Thomas Reading, Edward Everegain, Devotion Davis, Wm. Skinner, Joshua Skinner, Samuel Harrel, Joseph Leech, Joseph Gaitier, David Turner, Whitmill Hill, Nathaniel Allen, Thomas Owen, E. Blount (Chowan), T. Harvey, and James Jasper.

On a motion made by Mr. Willie Jones, and seconded by Mr. James Galloway, Resolved unanimously, That it be recommended to the General Assembly to take effectual measures for the redemption of the paper currency, as speedily as may be, consistent with the situation and circumstances of the people of this state.

On a motion made by Mr. Willie Jones, and seconded by Mr. James Galloway:

Resolved unanimously, That the hon. the President be requested to transmit to congress, and to the executive of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia, a copy of the resolution of the committee of the whole convention on the subject of the constitution proposed for the government of the United States, concurred with by this convention, together with a copy of the resolutions on the subject of impost and paper money.

Adjourned until 4 o'clock, P.M.

Met according to adjournment.

Mr. Benj. Williams, one of the commissioners appointed to superintend and conduct the balloting for the place at which the seat of government of this state shall be fixed, Reported, That they had a second time proceeded thereon, and that Mr. Isaac Hunter's, in Wake county, was the place fixed upon for that purpose, by a majority of the votes of the members of this convention.

Mr. Iredell from the committee appointed to prepare and introduce an Ordinance for establishing the seat of government of this state, moved for leave, and presented an Ordinance for establishing a place for holding the future meetings of the General Assembly, and the place of residence of the chief officers of the state, which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the clerk's table, where it was again read, passed, and ordered to be ratified.

Ordered, That such of the members of this convention, as may think proper, have leave to enter their protest on the journal against the ordinance for establishing the seat of government.

Ordered, That the estimate of allowances to the members and officers of this convention be made out, to include Monday next.

Ordered, That Messrs. John Macon, Wyatt Hawkins, John May, Durham Hall, Thomas Hunter of Martin, George Roberts, John Bonds, Thomas Christmass, Jesse Henley, Joseph Taylor, Abraham Phillips, and the hon. Samuel Spencer, have leave to absent themselves from the service of this convention.

Adjourned until monday morning 6 o'clock.

49-M. North Carolina Convention Journal, Monday, 4 August 1788

Met according to adjournment.

Mr. William Barry Grove, according to order, presented the following protest, subscribed by the persons whose names are thereunto annexed, *to wit*.

Dissentient.—Because the establishment of a seat of government in a place unconnected with commerce, and where there is at present no town, will be attended with a heavy expence to the people, and the town when established never can rise above the degree of a village: The experience of Virginia and Maryland have given a striking proof of this in the towns of Williamsburg and Annapolis.

Because the establishment of the seat of government at Fayette-Ville would have a great and instantaneous effect upon the decayed commerce of this country, by holding out immediate advantage to those who are employed in the culture of tobacco and other valuable articles of export, the principal part of which is now exported from Virginia and South Carolina.

Because it should be the policy of this state to encourage a great commercial town, at the head of the best navigation in the state; a situation which seems intended by nature to command the produce of the interior settlements.

Because we conceive the place fixed on is not authorized by the resolution of the general assembly, under whose recommendation this convention met, as that resolution expressly says, "the convention shall fix on a particular place;" whereas by a resolution of the convention a latitude is given of twenty miles to a given spot, and the appointment or selection of the identical spot now reverts to the legislature contrary to the spirit and meaning of the constitution.

Mess. Wm. Barry Grove, A. Maclaine, Joseph M'Dowall, Jon. Lindley, Lewis Lanier, John A. Campbell, James Kenan, Wm. Martin, George Ledbetter, J. P. Williams, Thomas Carson, Robert Miller, Charles M'Dowall, John Regan, James Gains, Robert Alexander, Thomas Dougan, James Brandon, Caleb Phifer, Ambrose Ramsey, John Carrell, John Cox, Samuel Spencer, Benjamin Smith, Thos. Ussery, Wm. Lenoir, James Gallaway, Charles Gallaway, Thomas Brown, Joseph Herndon, John Brown, Richard Allen, J. Willis, Charles Robinson, D. Dodd, Alexious M. Forster, James Greenlee, James Whitside, Thomas Owen, Wm. Dickson, James Bloodworth, Richard Singleton, Wm. Maclaine, Hardy Holmes, Corn. Doud, Joseph Graham, Thomas Tyson, Thomas Wade, Wm. Loftin, James Anderson, Joseph Stewart, George Moore, Richard Clinton, A. Phillips, Thomas Devane, Robert Weakley, James Porterfield, Alexander M'Allister, Mathew Lock, Joseph Winston, Timothy Bloodworth, Samuel Cain, Wm. Bethell, John Hamilton, Zachias Wilson, Joseph M'Dowall, junr., Joseph Douglass, John Cade, Daniel Gillespie, Zebedee Wood, Elias Barnes, Absalom Bostick, Charles M'Annelly, James Roddy, George Lucas, James Gillespie, James Stewart, John M'Allister, Griffith Rutherford, George Elliott, James Fletcher, Lewis Holmes, George M. Berger, Robert Allison, John Tipton, John Spicer, James M'Donald, John Scott, J. Leonard, J. R. Gaitier, Thomas Armstrong, Niel Brown, Edmund Waddell, Thomas Butler, C. Ivey, Asahel Rawlings, Wm. Bowdon, James Wilson, James Johnston, Robert Irwin, John Sharpe, Edward Williams, John Cains, Wm. Marshall, John Blair, Jesse Henley, John Moore, Wm. Vestal, Mathew Brooks, Thos. Johnston, Daniel Yates, Goodwin Elliston, Wm. Mebane, Daniel Gould, Benj. Covington, Wm. Porter, Wm. Kindall, John Dunken, and John Sloane.—[119]

An Ordinance for establishing a place for holding the future meetings of the General Assembly, and the place of residence of the chief officers of the state, was ratified in open convention,

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this convention be presented to his Excellency Samuel Johnston, Esq; for his able, faithful diligent, and public spirited services as President thereof.

Ordered, That the journal's of this convention be transmitted to the legislature of this state by his Excellency the Governor, after he has signed the same as President.

The Convention adjourned *sine die*.

SAMUEL JOHNSTON, President.

By Order, J. HUNT, Sec'ry.

50. North Carolina Convention, Rules, 22 July 1788¹

1—When the President assumes the Chair, the Members shall take their seats.

2—At the opening of the Convention each day, the minutes of the preceding day shall be read, and be in the power of the Convention to be corrected; after which any business addressed to the Chair may be proceeded on

11—A motion made and seconded, shall be repeated by the President. A motion shall be reduced to writing, if the President, or any two Members, require it. A motion may be withdrawn by the member making it, before any decision is had on it.

4—No member speaking shall be interrupted but by a call to order by the President, or by a Member, through the President.

7—No Member to be referred to in debate by name.

9—The President himself, or by request, may call to order any Member who shall transgress the rules, if a second time, the President may refer to him by name. The Convention may then examine and censure the Members conduct, he being allowed to extenuate or justify.

Every Member actually attending the Convention shall be in his place at the time to which the Convention stands adjourned, or within half an hour thereof.

12—The name of him who makes, and the name of him who seconds a motion shall be entered on the Minutes.

9—No Member shall speak more than twice to a question without leave, except in a Committee of the whole house. ~~when any member may speak as often as he pleases.~~²

16—Every Member of a Committee shall attend at the Call of his Chairman

17—The Yeas and Nays may be called and entered on the Minutes when any two members require it.

1. Draft, Constitutional Convention, 55-289, Nc-Ar.

2. This rule does not appear in the list of rules in the Convention *Journal* or the Convention *Debates*.

51. North Carolina Convention: Committee on Elections Report on Dobbs County, 23 July 1788¹

The Committee on Elections composed of three Members from each district having met, proceeded to read the depositions and other vouchers relative to the Dobbs Election Mr Gregory in the chair, came to the following Resolutions,

1. That it is the opinion of this Committee, that the sitting members returned from the county of Dobbs vacate their seats, as it does not appear that a majority of the County approved of a new Election under the recommendation of his Excellency the Governor but the contrary is more probable.

2 That it appears to this Committee that there was a disturbance and riot at the first election, (which election was held on the days appointed by the resolve of the Genl. Assembly) before all the tickets could be taken out of the box, and the box was then taken away by violence, at which time it appears there was a sufficient number of tickets remaining in the box to have given a majority of the whole poll to five others of the candidates beside those who had a majority of the votes at the time the disturbance and riot happened, It is therefore the opinion of this Committee, that the Sherriff could have made no return of any five members elected, nor was there any evidence before the Committee by which they could determine with certainty which candidates had a majority of the votes of the electors

The Committee are therefore of opinion that the first election is void; as well as the latter,

All which is Submitted,
Isaac Gregory Chr.

1. MS, Papers of the Convention of 1788, p. 77, Nc-Ar.

52. Wilmington Centinel, 23 July 1788¹

Last Monday was the day appointed for the meeting of the honorable the convention of this state, at Hillsborough. His excellency governor Johnston, it is expected, will be chosen president of that honorable body.

1. Reprinted: Charleston *City Gazette*, 2 August; and Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 18 August. Three other reprintings of the first sentence alone appeared in the Connecticut *Norwich Packet*, 31 July; *Connecticut Gazette*, 1 August; and *Georgia State Gazette*, 18 August.

53. North Carolina Convention: Committee on Elections Report on Fayetteville and New Hanover, 25 July 1788¹

Committee on Elections to wit

Mr Gregory in the Chair

Mr Taylor, Mr McLaine, Mr Williams, Mr Cabarrus, Mr Spencer, Mr Person, Mr McDowell, Mr Blount, Mr. Mebane, Mr. Tipton, Mr Keais, Mr. Martin, Mr. Iredell, Mr. Forster, Mr Stewart, Mr Davie, Mr. Grove, Mr Brown.

The Committee proceeded to have read, the returns of the Sherriff of Cumberland County, for the Town of Fayetteville in said County, wherein John Ingram was returned to represent said Town in the Convention,

It is the opinion of this Committee that the said Town, possesses not the right of representation, in this Convention, & that therefore, the said John Ingram hath no right to a Seat in the same.

Mr Willis took his Seat.

New Hanover Election.

It appearing to this Committee that the votes given for Thomas Devane Senr Esqr. and Thomas Devane, are intended & meant for the same person

Resolved therefore that the said Thos. Devane Senr. Esqr. is duely elected to Represent the county of New Hanover in this present Convention, & that he take his Seat accordingly all which is submitted

Isaac Gregory Chr.

1. MS, Papers of the Convention of 1788, p. 77, Nc-Ar.

**54. New York Convention: Proceedings and Resolves of the
New York Ratifying Convention, 26 July 1788¹**

In Convention at Poughkeepsie, State of New York, July 26th. 1788—
(Circular)

Sir, We the Members of the Convention of this State, have deliberately and maturely considered the Constitution proposed for the United States. Several Articles in it appear so exceptionable to a Majority of us, that nothing but the fullest confidence of obtaining a Revision of them by a General Convention, and an invincible reluctance to seperating from our Sister States, could have prevailed upon a sufficient number to ratify it, without stipulating for previous Amendments—We all unite in Opinion that such a Revision will be necessary to recommend it to the Approbation and support of a numerous body of our Constituents. We observe that amendments have been proposed, and are anxiously desired by several of the States as well as by this; and we think it of great Importance, that effectual Measures be immediately taken for calling a Convention, to meet at a Period not far remote; for we are convinced that the apprehensions and discontents which those Articles occasion, cannot be removed or allayed, unless an Act to provide for it, be among the first that shall be passed by the new Congress—And it is essential that an Application for the purpose should be made to them, by two thirds of the States. We earnestly exhort and request the Legislature of your State, to take the earliest opportunity of making it. We are persuaded that a similar one will be made by our Legislature at their next Session; and we ardently wish and desire, that the other States may concur in adopting and promoting the Measures—It cannot be necessary to observe that no Government, however constructed, can operate well, unless it possesses the Confidence and good will of the great Body of the People; and as we desire nothing more than that the Amendments proposed by this or other States, be submitted to the consideration and Decision of a General Convention, We flatter ourselves that motives of mutual Affection and Conciliation, will conspire with the obvious dictates of sound Policy, to induce even such of the States as may be content with every Article in the Constitution, to gratify the reasonable desires of that numerous Class of American Citizens, who are anxious to obtain Amendments of some of them.

Our Amendments will manifest that none of them originated in local views as they are such as if acceded to, must equally affect every State in the Union—Our Attachment to our Sister States, and the confidence we repose in them, cannot be more forcibly demonstrated, than by acceding to a Government, which many of us think very imperfect, and devolving the power of determining whether that Government shall be rendered perpetual in its present form, or altered agreeable to our wishes, on a Minority of the States with whom we unite—

We request the favour of your Excellency to lay this Letter before the Legislature of your State, and we are persuaded that your regard for our National Harmony and good Government will induce you to promote a Measure which we are unanimous in thinking very conducive to those interesting Objects.

By the unanimous Order of the Convention.

We have the honour to be with the highest respect Your Excellencys Most Obt
 Servants
 By the unanimous Order of the Convention—

Geo Clinton Presidt

1. RC, Legislative Papers, LP/82/Commons/Dec. 1788, Nc-Ar.

55. C. W. F. Dumas to John Jay
The Hague, The Netherlands, 26 July 1788 (excerpt)¹

I have just learned with great pleasure that the State of New Hampshire accepted the new plan of union on the 23d of June, and that the Virginia Convention, of which Mr. [Edmund] Pendleton is President, will most probably likewise accede to it. This gives me reason to hope that North Carolina and New York cannot, and will not, longer hold out, to their own detriment and to the disturbance of the harmony of their respective sections of the country. And since I hear, too, that Providence has protested against the vote of the people of Rhode Island,² I hope that State, too, will come to reason, and that neither it or any other will render itself liable to the stigma which must arise from a refusal to enter into so wise and respectable a union. . . .

1. RC (Tr), Dumas Papers, DLC.

2. A reference to the statewide referendum in Rhode Island in which the Constitution was overwhelmingly rejected.

56. Robert Wilson to Samuel Wilson
Salisbury, N.C., 28 July 1788 (excerpt)¹

Worthy Sir—

. . . With respect to public Matters I suppose I cannot give you much Information. The State of South Carolina has adopted the Constitution and the Members of this State are now met, what they will do is yet uncertain[.] I had the Opportunity of conversing With a gentleman who was there sometime after the Convention met and he informed me the majority of the Members were against the Constitution. . . .

Sir—With respect I am your &c

1. RC, L.C. Glenn Papers, # 3052, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina. The address page was endorsed: "By Mr Hart." Robert Wilson was attending Salisbury Academy. He wrote this letter to his father Samuel Wilson, a Presbyterian minister in Log Spring, Pennsylvania.

57. John Simpson to John Gray Blount
Greensville, N.C., 29 July 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . I wish you all Success in your attempts to provide for the future Stability of this Debilitated State

I am in haste with Esteem D Sir yours &c

1. Blount Papers, Nc-Ar. Addressed: "John Gray Blount Esqr in Convention at Hillsborough/if Mr Blount shd have left Hillsbg. it is requested Mr Perkins will take care of this Letter & return it to John Simpson."

**58. James Cogswell: Diary
Scotland, Connecticut, 30 July 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . read the paper in the forenoon—Majr [Ryes?] told me that [Ornesby?] the post informed Him that N: York had adopted the Constitution by a Majority of 2 & that Mr Johnson told him the same. it is not in the paper, but the News is that there is the highest probability that N: Carolina will or have adopted it. . . .

1. MS, Diary of Reverend James Cogswell of Scotland, Conn., Connecticut Historical Society.

59. Newport Herald, 31 July 1788¹

A gentleman from Edenton, North-Carolina, informs us, that the Convention of that State was to meet on the 21st of July, not on the 4th, as has generally been supposed.

1. Reprinted twelve times by 19 August: N.H. (2), Mass. (7), N.Y. (2), N.J. (1). Five of the reprintings omitted the last five words. The *New Hampshire Recorder*, 12 August printed a different version: "North-Carolina Convention met on the 21st day of July last—In our next we expect to give our readers some intelligence from that quarter."

**60. Levi Hollingsworth to John Wright, Stanley & Co.
Philadelphia, pre 5 August 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . I hope by this day your State have adopted the new Government. After much debating & doubts in New York it was ratified by a Majority of five; with recomendatory amendments

I wish you all health & Hapiness & remain

1. FC, Levi Hollingsworth Letterbook, Dec. 1786–March 1791, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

**61. William Stephens Smith to Josiah Harmar
Jamaica, N.Y., 1 August 1788 (excerpt)¹**

The departure of my Brother for the purpose of joining the troops under your Command gives me an opportunity of congratulating you upon the adoption of the new Constitution, by a sufficient number of States to give it a dignified beginning, indeed there are none who withhold their approbation, except North Carolina & Rhode-Island & it is expected that we shall soon here of its being adopted by them as the last & least. . . .

1. RC, Harmar Papers, William L. Clements Library. Addressed: "To The Honble. Brig. Genl. Harmar at Muskingum." Endorsed: "answered March 30th—1789."

62. Ordinance for Location of State Capital, 4 August 1788¹

AN ORDINANCE,

For establishing a place for holding the future meetings of the general assembly, and the place of residence of the chief officers of the state.

Whereas, in pursuance of a recommendation of the general assembly, passed on the sixth day of December, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, this convention hath been elected by such of the inhabitants of this state as are entitled to vote for representatives of the house of commons, for the purpose (together with that of deliberating and determining on the new constitution of government for the United States of America, proposed by the late federal convention) of fixing on the place for holding the future meetings of the general assembly, and the place of residence of the chief officers of the state, which place, when fixed, is to be considered the unalterable seat of government for this state.

And whereas this convention, previous to their voting for any place for the above purposes, did pass a resolution in the words following, viz. "Resolved, that this convention will not fix the seat of government at any one particular point, but that it shall be left at the discretion of the assembly to ascertain the exact spot; provided always, that it shall be within ten miles of the point or place determined on by this convention." And whereas, upon a ballot being taken pursuant to a resolve of this convention, a majority of the said convention voted for the plantation whereon Isaac Hunter now resides, in the country of Wake, as the place at which, or within ten miles of which, a place for the above purposes should be fixed on by the general assembly, agreeable to the above resolution:

Be it therefore ordained by this convention, on behalf of the people of the state of North-Carolina, and it is hereby ordained by the authority of the same, that the said plantation whereon the said Isaac Hunter now resides, or such place as the general assembly shall fix upon with ten miles of the said plantation, pursuant to the true intent and meaning of the above recited resolution of this convention, shall be the place for holding the future meetings of the general assembly, and the place of residence of the chief officers of the state, and the unalterable seat of government of this state, except by the authority of the people in convention met for the said purpose—Provided always, that until convenient buildings can be erected on the said place for the said purposes, it shall be in the power of the general assembly, from time to time, to appoint any other place or places for the meeting of the general assembly, and for the residence of the chief officers of the state, any thing in this ordinance to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

A copy.

JOHN HUNT, Secretary to the Convention.

The above is the solemn act of the people, and was declared to be a part of the constitution of the land. The assembly, as the servants of the people, are again called upon in the name of the people, to carry it into complete effect.

1. Broadside, SS-289/Constitutional Convention, Nc-Ar.

63. Springfield, Mass., Hampshire Chronicle, 6 August 1788¹

We received no news from North Carolina by the last mail—we hope, however, to be able in a short time to add that Pillar to the Federal Fabrick of American Liberty.

1. A similar account appeared in the *Massachusetts Gazette*, 8 August.

64. Massachusetts Spy, 7 August 1788

Northcarolina State Convention met on the 21st day of July last; and in a few days we may expect to hear from that state.

65. Massachusetts Centinel, 9 August 1788¹*OF NORTH-CAROLINA*

We have not received any information since the Convention of that State first met—A short time, we trust, will furnish us with the ratification of the Constitution by that State.

1. Reprinted: *New Hampshire Gazette* and the Portland, Maine *Cumberland Gazette*, 14 August.

**66. William Nelson, Jr. to William Short
Maycock, Va., 12 August 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . Eleven states, all except N Carolina who has rejected, & Rhode-Island whose determination we do not yet know, have adopted the new Government. . . .

1. RC, Short Papers, DLC. The letter was addressed to “Mr Short at the American Ministers, Paris.” The address page was endorsed: “To the care of Mr. St. John at New-York./To be sent by the first french packet. The letter was docketed: “Recd: London 4 Oct. 1788 & forwarded by/Your hble. Servt./E Lawrence.” Maycock was Nelson’s plantation in Prince George County, Virginia.

67. New Hampshire Spy, 12 August 1788

“By last evening’s mail we received *no accounts* from North Carolina. However, we hope to receive good news from that quarter soon.”

**68. St. Jean de Crevecoeur to William Short
New York, 13 August 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . North Carolina has just rejected the Constitution with a majority of 100; the inhabitants of this state resemble very much Rhode Island, the only ones who having introduced paper money on the principle of depreciation, are also the only ones who have rejected this new Regime; It is believed that this new Body [i.e., Congress] will be assembled here although the ordinance has still not been passed by Congress. The debates on this subject have been very violent, but it is feared that the amending states will send their delegates back whose votes could reverse the verdict on the newborn Constitution. The first meeting of this body will be long and interesting. . . .

1. RC (Tr), Short Papers, DLC. The address page was endorsed: “Honor’d by captn. John Gordon Esqr.”

69. Edmund Randolph to James Madison
Richmond, Va., 13 August 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . No. Carolina has rejected by a large majority. The fact may be relied on; tho' nothing official has come to hand.

Yrs afftely

1. RC, Madison Papers, DLC. Printed: Rutland, *Madison*, XI, 231–32.

70. Pennsylvania Packet, 13 August 1788¹

Extract of a letter from Richmond, dated Aug. 6.

“By accounts from North-Carolina this evening, we learn that they have rejected the Constitution.

For the adoption, 76—Against it, 176”

1. Reprinted twenty times by 1 September: Vt. (1), N.H. (2), Mass. (8), Conn. (1), N.Y. (2), N.J. (1), Pa. (4), Md. (1).

71. Wilmington Centinel, 13 August 1788¹

On the question in the hon. the convention of this state, for fixing on a place for the seat of government, the votes being taken, there appeared a majority of *five* for Wake County.

The honourable the convention of this state, adjourned on the 2d inst. after having agreed upon a “Declaration of Rights,[”] also Amendments to the Constitution, which are to be laid before Congress, or the Convention of the States that shall or may be called for the purpose of amending the said Constitution, for their consideration, previous to the ratification of the Constitution aforesaid on the part of the State of North-Carolina. (*The declaration of rights, also the proposed amendments to the constitution, shall be inserted in our next.*)

1. Reprinted: *New York Journal*, 11 September; *Connecticut Journal*, 17 September; *Massachusetts Spy*, 25 September.

72. Samuel Hodgdon to Timothy Pickering
Philadelphia, 14 August 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . Oswald is liberated, his paper has for a long time teemed with unmerited abuse, and pieces calculated to inflame yet all remains quiet, and I believe will continue so Maugre his endeavours²—North Carolina has rejected the New Constitution—76 Members for it 176 against—paper Money, and being greatly in debt, accounts for the Measure—Congress have not yet determined where the New Government shall sit—but appearances authorise me to say it will be in *York*, Philadelphia, Wilmington, Baltimore, and Lancaster have been tried, and lost, yet some think Philadelphia will bring them up. . . .

1. RC, Pickering Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

2. Eleazer Oswald, the ardent Antifederalist printer of the Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, had been imprisoned one month for slandering Pennsylvania’s Chief Justice Thomas McKean.

73. New York Daily Advertiser, 14 August 1788¹

Extract of a letter from the Post-Master at Philadelphia, dated August 12, 1788.

“I am sorry to tell you that the Postmaster at Richmond² writes us a note that the CONVENTION OF NORTH-CAROLINA HAS REJECTED THE NEW CONSTITUTION BY A LARGE MAJORITY—

For the adoption	76
Against it	176
	—
Majority	100”

1. Reprinted thirteen times by 4 September: N.H. (1), Mass. (3), R.I. (1), Conn. (4), N.Y. (4).

2. Augustine Davis, the printer of the *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, was Richmond’s postmaster.

74. New York Journal, 14 August 1788¹

It was yesterday reported, and entered upon the Coffee house books, that the state of North-Carolina had rejected the new constitution by a majority of 100.

It is said, that this intelligence was communicated by yesterday’s southern post, it having been written on the post schedule, with the particulars of there being 275 members in convention.—No letters are yet received upon this subject.

1. Reprinted eight times by 25 August: Vt. (1), Conn. (3), N.Y. (3), N.J. (1). Shorter accounts of the rejection by North Carolina appeared in eleven other newspapers by 9 September: N.H. (1), Mass. (7), R.I. (1), N.Y. (1), N.J. (1).

**75. George Thatcher to Sarah Thatcher
New York, 17 August 1788 (excerpt)¹**

My dear Sally,

... I never discovered in you a disposition to meddle with politics, & if I had, I should not have cultivated it with any desire of making you a politician—Therefore I doubt whether you trouble yourself much about the New Constitution—whether it is adopted, or rejected—But as I have not time to write to our Honoured Father by this post—I must observe—That pretty certain news arrived from Hillsborough, in North Carolina, two days ago, of that State having rejected the Constitution, by a majority of 176, against 70—No official account has come to ha[n]d—but it is attended with so many circumstances of probability, as to leave no room for doubt—

Adieu, my dear Sally, it is almost twelve, and as the old phraise is, *I hope these few Lines will find you well as they leave me—*

Your most affectionate husband

1. RC, Thatcher Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

**76. William Irvine to Samuel Holden Parsons
New York, 18 August 1788 (excerpt)¹**

... <All the States> except Rhode Island and North Carolina have adopted the new Government, accounts have just arrived here that the latter have rejected by 100 of a majority in their Convention—Congress have been employed some time on an

Ordinance for organizing the Government—which was all pretty easily gone through til the place of meeting of the new Congress became a question, since which there has been a stagnation, many places have been proposed & rejected, some agreed to then reconsidered, in short there has been on this subject hitherto little spirit of accommodation shewn—at present this business is suspended, in part occasioned by a kind of abdication of the Rhode Island Delegates, who did not think themselves at liberty to vote on the final question for organizing the Government, as their State had rejected, tho they did on the place of meeting—some say they are to return with instructions, but I hope on that, a greater degree of harmony will prevail—should this be the case it is not improbable I think that Lancaster in Penna. will be the place, but if *violent* voting is still adhered to N York will be the place—I flatter myself that our next news from your Country [i.e., the Northwest Territory] will be more agreeable than what we have lately received, and that you will soon have more reason to be satisfied with the proceedings in this quarter—I beg the favor of you to present my respects to Genl. Varnum & Putnam, Major Sargent—I hope Genl. Tupper has got safe to Muskingum with his family & friends—

1. Copy, Caryl Roberts Collection of Irvine Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The first three words are largely missing because of a tear in the manuscript.

77. Charleston City Gazette, 19 August 1788

A gentleman arrived in this city from North Carolina, informs, that previous to his departure he received a letter from Dr. Maclaine (a member of the convention) mentioning that the new constitution was rejected by a majority of 104—Nays 187. Yeas, 83.

78. Virginia Centinel, 20 August 1788

The most recent accounts from North-Carolina (but we cannot vouch for their authenticity) mention, that that state has rejected the New Constitution.

79. Ebenezer Hazard to Jeremy Belknap New York, 21 August 1788 (excerpts)¹

. . . The Report of the Rejection of the new Constitution by North Carolina is not confirmed & a Gent[lema]n who left *Wilmington* the 1st. Inst. says it cannot be true:— he saw Letters from Members of the Convention at Hillsborough, dated but three Days before, which informed that they had gone through the Business of the contested Elections, & just entered on the Constitution, which was to [be] debated *by Paragraphs*. . . .

Mrs. H. joins in Love to Mrs. B. & yourself with Dr sir Your real friend

1. RC, Belknap Papers, Hazard Letters, 1779–1804. Printed: “Correspondence Between Jeremy Belknap and Ebenezer Hazard: Part II, Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, 5th ser. III (1877), 58–59.

80. William Heath: Diary
Roxbury, Mass., 21 August 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . It is said the Convention of North Carolina have rejected the federal Constitution by a majority of one hundred in favor of the Constitution 76 against it 176. . . .

1. MS, Heath Diaries, Massachusetts Historical Society.

81. New York Journal, 21 August 1788¹

Extract of a letter from Wilmington, North-Carolina, July 31, to the printer hereof.

“Our state convention met at Hillsborough on the 21st inst. So punctual were the members in attending, that they made a house the first day, and chose his Excellency Samuel Johnson, president.”

1. Reprinted: Boston *Independent Chronicle*, 28 August; and the Northampton, Mass., *Hampshire Gazette*, 3 September.

82. Providence, R.I., United States Chronicle, 21 August 1788¹

By authentic Accounts from New-York we learn, That the Convention of the State of North-Carolina, after a short Discussion, have REJECTED the Federal Constitution, by a Majority of 24.

1. Reprinted: *Boston Gazette*, 25 August, Massachusetts *Salem Gazette*, 26 August, and the Portland, Maine, *Cumberland Gazette*, 28 August.

83. Charleston City Gazette, 22 August 1788

The convention of North-Carolina did not reject the constitution totally, but conditionally agreed to ratify it, whenever a bill of rights and several amendments should be accepted. They will be published in our next.

84. Samuel Phillips Savage: Diary
Weston, Mass., 23 August 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . had an Acct that No. Carolina had rejected the Constitution 176 to 70. . . .

1. MS, Savage Diaries, Massachusetts Historical Society.

85. George Nicolson to John Gray Blount
Richmond, N.C., 24 August 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . The general disafection to the new Government with you may in some measure operate to your advantage in this business—I wou’d wish you to exert yourself to make us as large a payment in those papers as you can—I shall be glad to hear from you upon this business in as particular a manner as possible by return of the Bearer & am with great respect

1. RC, Blount Papers, Nc-Ar. Printed: Keith, *Blount*, I, 420–21. The letter was carried by “Mr. Monro.”

**86. William Ellery to Michael Hillegas
Newport, R.I., 25 August 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . Our accounts from N: York, since the date of your letter, respecting No. Carolina are that the Convention of that State have rejected the constitution by a great majority.

It is strange that a State for whose interest it clearly is to adopt the constitution, should reject it.—The eyes of No. Carolina, and of this State will be opened by and by.—All will come right.—

1. FC, Ellery Letterbook, 1786–1794, Newport Historical Society.

87. Georgia State Gazette, 25 August 1788

We hear from North-Carolina, that the Convention of that state have adjourned *sine die*, without adopting the Federal Constitution.

88. Massachusetts Salem Mercury, 26 August 1788

Since our last, we have had the ungrateful intelligence, that the Convention of Northcarolina have rejected the Federal Constitution. The following paragraphs contain the substance of what we have met with in the different papers on the subject:

“*Petersburg (Virg.) Aug. 7.* By a gentleman from Hillsboro’, Northcarolina, we learn, that on Thursday last the Convention of that State finished the discussion of the New Constitution; when the question was put, on previous amendments, which was carried by a majority of NEARLY ONE THIRD. Amendments were accordingly agreed on, which are to be submitted to the consideration of the citizens of the United States.”

“*Philadelphia, Aug. 12.* A letter from Richmond, dated Aug. 6, says,—By accounts from N. Carolina this evening, we learn, that they have rejected the Constitution. For the adoption, 76—against it, 176. Majority, ONE HUNDRED.”

“*Providence, Aug. 21.* By authentick accounts from Newyork, we learn, that the Convention of N. Carolina, after a short discussion, have rejected the Federal Constitution by a majority of TWENTY-FOUR.”

“*Boston, Aug. 20.* By papers and letters received in the mails last evening, we learn, that the Convention of N. Carolina has rejected the Federal Constitution by a majority of ONE HUNDRED.”

The above accounts, tho’ they agree as to the rejection of the Constitution, leave us at a loss by how large a majority.

89. Newburyport, Mass., Essex Journal, 27 August 1788

“By various and authentic accounts, we learn that the Convention of North Carolina have REJECTED the Federal Constitution—some accounts say, by a majority of 100; others, about 20.”

90. William Heath: Diary
Roxbury, Mass., 28 August 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . By some Letter from the Southward there is some room to doubt whether the Convention of North Carolina have rejected the federal Constitution as has been mentioned heretofore. . . .

1. MS, Heath Diaries, Massachusetts Historical Society.

91. Massachusetts Gazette, 29 August 1788

The Mails arrived last evening from the Southward and Eastward; but we have not received any further accounts from Northcarolina relative to the proceedings of their Convention—We have *hopes* the recent news from that State is not true. In Newyork, indeed, it is *not believed*.

92. Hugh Williamson to Governor Samuel Johnston
New York, 1 September 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . By looking over the public Journal you will observe that many things continue to engrose the Attention of Congress which are of considerable National Importance— Questions which respect old claims against the Public and the calling Delinquents to Account & lowering the National Debt. Whether North Carolina shall be confederated or not, she is equally interested with other States in those Measures. . . .

1. FC, Governors' Letterbooks & Papers, Nc-Ar.

93. George Mason to John Mason
Gunston Hall, Va., 2 September 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . The North Carolina Convention has rejected the new Constitution, unless previous Amendments are made, by a very great majority; I have not yet seen their Amendments, but am inform'd they are much the same with those recommended by Virginia. . . .

1. RC, George Mason Papers, DLC. Printed: Rutland, *Mason*, III, 1128–30.

94. William Heath: Diary
Roxbury, Mass., 3 September 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . by late intelligence from North Carolina, we learn, that the former account, that the Convention had rejected the federal Constitution by a large majority is *true*. The members of the parts of the State bordering on the sea were in favor of the Constitution, but those from the inland parts to a man against it.

1. MS, Heath Diaries, Massachusetts Historical Society.

95. Massachusetts Spy, 4 September 1788

We have not yet as received any authentick intelligence from Northcarolina respecting the fate of the Federal Constitution—all is report, and that report having been long in circulation without any confirmation begins to be doubted.

96. New York Daily Advertiser, 5 September 1788

Saturday, August 2.

The report of the committee of the whole Convention, according to order was taken up and read in the same words as on yesterday, when it was moved by Mr. T. Person, and seconded by Mr. Macon, that the Convention do concur therewith, which was objected to by Mr. A. Maclaine. The question being put, will the Convention concur with the report of the Committee of the whole Convention or not? It was carried in the affirmative. Whereupon Mr. Davie called for the yeas and nays, and was seconded by Mr. Cabarrus, which are as follow:—

YEAS—Messrs. Willie Jones, Sam. Spencer, Lewis Lanier, Thos. Wade, Dan. Gould, Jas. Bonner, A. M. Forster, Lewis Dupree, Thos. Brown, James Greenlee, Jos. McDowall, Robert Miller, Benj. Williams, Richard Nixon, Thomas Armstrong, Alex. McAllister, Robert Dickins, George Roberts, John Womack, Ambrose Ramsey, James Anderson, Jos. Stewart, William Vestal, Thomas Evans, Thomas Hardiman, Robert Weakley, Wm. Donelson, Wm. Dobins, R. Digs, Bithel Bell, Elisha Battle, Wm. Fort, Etheld. Gray, Wm. Lancaster, Thos. Sherrod, John Norwood, Sterling Dupree, Robert Williams, Richard Moye, Arthur Forbes, David Caldwell, Wm. Goudy, Daniel Gillispie, John Anderson, John Hamilton, Thomas Person, Joseph Taylor, Thornton Yancey, Howell Lewis, junr. Elijah Mitchell, George Moore, George Ledbetter, Wm. Porter, Zebedee Wood, Edmund Waddell, James Galloway, John Regan, Joseph Winston, James Gains, Charles McAnnelly, Absalom Bostick, John Scott, John Dunkin, David Dodd, Curtis Ivey, Lewis Holmes, Richard Clinton, Hardy Holmes, Robert Allton, James Stewart, John Tipton, John Macon, Thomas Christmas, Henry Montfort, Wm. Taylor, James Hanley, Britain Saunders, Wm. Lenoir, Richard Allen, John Brown, Jos. Herndon, Jas. Fletcher, A. Tatom, L. Burkit, W. Little, Thos. King, N. Bryan, J. H. Bryan, E. Whitty, R. Alexander, James Johnston, J. Cox, John Carrel, Corn. Doud, Thos. Tyson, Wm. Martin, Thomas Hunter, M. Jos. Graham, W. Luftin, Wm. Kisdal, Thos. Ussery, Thos. Butler, John Benford, Jas. Vaughan, Rob. Peebles, Jas. Vinson, Wm. S. Marns, H. Allen, Red. Bunn, John Bonds, David Pridgen, Daniel Yates, Thos. Johnston, John Spicer, Alexr. Mebane, Wm. Mebane, Wm. M'Cauley, Wm. Shepherd, Orange, Jonathan Linsey, Wyatt Hawkins, James Payne, John Graves, John Blair, Jos. Tipton, Wm. Bethell, Abraham Phillips, John May, Charles Galloway, Jas. Boswell, John McAshter, David Looney, John Sharpe, Jos. Gaitier, John A. Campbell, John Pugh Williams, Wm. Marshall, Charles Abertson, James Gillespie, Charles Ward, Wm. Randal, Frederick Hargot, Richard McKinnie, John Cain, Jacob Leonard, Thomas Carson, Richard Singleton, James Whiteside, Caleb Phifer, Zachias Wilson, Jos. Douglass, Thomas Dongan, James Kenan, John Jones, Egbert Haywood, Wm. Wotten, John Branch, Henry Hill, Andrew Bass, Joseph Boon, Wm. Farmer, John Bryan, Edward Williams, Francis

Oliver, Matthew Brooks, Griffith Rutherford, George H. Barringer, Timothy Bloodworth, Everet Pierce, Asahel Hawkings, James Wilson, James Roddy, Sam. Cain, Benj. Covington, Jos. McDowal, junr, Durham Halt, James Bloodworth, Joel Lane, James Hinton, Thos. Devane, James Brandon, Wm. Dickson, Burwell Mooring, Mathew Lock, and Stokely Donelson.

NAYS.—His excellency Sam. Johnston, Esq. President, Messrs. James Iredell, Arch. Maclaine, Nathan Keats, John G. Blount, Thos. Anderson, John Johnston, And. Oliver, Goodwin Elliston, Charles McDowall, Rich. D. Spaight, William J. Dawson, Jas. Porterfield, William Barry Grove, Geo. Elliot, Wallis Styron, Wm. Sheperd, Carteret, Jas. Phillips, John Humphries, Mich. Payne, Charles Johnston, Stephen Cabarru, Edmund Blount, Chowan Henry Abbot, Isaac Gregory, Peter Dauge, Charles Grandy, Enoch Sawyer, Geo. Lucas, John Willis, John Cade, Elias Barnes, Niel Brown, James Winchester, Wm. Stokes, Thomas Stewart, Josiah Cullins, Thos. Honor, Nat. Jones, John Steele, Wm. R. Davie, Jos. Reddeck, James Gregory, Thos. Hunter, Gates, Thos. Wynes, Abraham Jones, John Eborne, Jas. Jasper, Caleb Foreman, Seth Hovey, John Sloan, John Moore, Wm. Maclaine, Nathan Mayo, Wm. Slade, Wm. McKinzie, Robert Irwin, John Lane, Thos. Reading, Edward Everegain, Enoch Reife, Devotion Davis, Wm. Skinner, Joshua Skinner, Thos. Harvey, John Skinner, Sam. Harrel, Jos. Leech, Wm. Bridges, Wm. Burden, Edmond Blount, Tyrrel, Simeon Spruil, David Tanner, Whitm. Hill, Benj. Smith, John Sitgreaves, Nathl. Allen, Thos. Owen, Geo. Wyns, David Pirkins, Jos. Ferebee, William Ferebee, and Wm. Baker.

Extract from the Journal,
J. HUNT, Sec'y.

* See the votes on the concurrence, *Saturday, August 2.*

**97. James Madison to James Madison, Sr.
New York, 6 September 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . The Antifederalists are every where exerting themselves for an early Convention. The circular letter from this State, and the rejection of N. Carolina, gives them great spirits. Virginia, I suppose from the temper of the present Legislature will co-operate in the plan. . . .

1. RC, Madison Papers, DLC. Printed: Rutland, *Madison*, XI, 247-48.

98. State Gazette of North Carolina, 8 September 1788

STATE OF NORTH-CAROLINA, SS.

By a Convention of Delegates of the people of North-Carolina, elected pursuant to a recommendation of the General Assembly of the said state, and assembled at the town of Hillsborough on the twenty-first day of July, in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight.

An ORDINANCE for establishing a place for holding the future meetings of the General Assembly, and the place of residence of the chief officers of the state.

Whereas in pursuance of a recommendation of the General Assembly, passed on the sixth day of December one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, this Convention hath been elected by such of the inhabitants of this state as are entitled to vote for representatives of the House of Commons for the purpose (together with that of deliberating and determining on the new constitution of government for the United States of America proposed by the late federal Convention) of fixing on the place for holding the future meetings of the General Assembly and the place of residence of the chief officers of the state, which place when fixed is to be considered the unalterable seat of government for this state: And whereas this Convention, previous to their voting for any place for the above purposes, did pass a resolution in the words following, viz. “*Resolved*, That this Convention will not fix the seat of government at any one particular point, but that it shall be left at the discretion of the Assembly to ascertain the exact spot; provided always that it shall be within ten miles of the point or place determined on by this Convention.” And whereas upon a ballot being taken pursuant to a resolve of this Convention, a majority of the said Convention voted for the plantation whereon Isaac Hunter now resides in the county of Wake, as the place at which or within ten miles of which, a place for the above purposes should be fixed on by the General Assembly, agreeable to the above resolution.

Be it therefore ordained by this Convention on behalf of the people of the state of North-Carolina, and it is hereby ordained by the authority of the same, That the said plantation whereon the said Isaac Hunter now resides, or such place as the General Assembly shall fix upon within ten miles of the said plantation, pursuant to the true intent and meaning of the above recited resolution of this Convention, shall be the place for holding the future meetings of the General Assembly and the place of residence of the chief officers of the state, and the unalterable seat of government of this state, except by the authority of the people in Convention met for the said purpose: Provided always, That until convenient buildings can be erected on the said place for the said purposes, it shall be in the power of the General Assembly from time to time to appoint any other place or places for the meeting of the General Assembly, and for the residence of the chief officers of the state, any thing in this ordinance to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

Ratified in Convention the 4th day of August, anno Domini 1788.

SAMUEL JOHNSTON, *President*.

By order, J. HUNT, *Secretary*.

99. Daniel Cony to George Thatcher
Hallowell, Maine, 10 September 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . you mention that the Convention of North Carolina have rejected the Constitution by a large majority. if true, I say they are *bold-Fellows* to oppose (at this stage of the business) nearly the whole *Union*. . . .

1. RC, Thatcher Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. Docketed: “recd. 4 October.”

100. William Heath: Diary**Roxbury, Mass., 10 September 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . by further accounts from North Carolina it appears that their Convention did not in *Word* reject the federal Constitution; but agreed on a Bill of rights, amendments &c as necessary to be inserted before they can receive it.—This was carried by a Majority of 102–184 against 82. . . .

1. MS, Heath Diaries, Massachusetts Historical Society.

101. Pennsylvania Carlisle Gazette, 10 September 1788

“The Declaration of Rights and Amendments proposed by North Carolina previous to their adherence to the New Constitution, will appear in our next.”

102. Massachusetts Gazette, 12 September 1788

^{} The Declaration of Rights, proposed by the North Carolina Convention for the New Confederacy, we are obliged, on account of its length, to omit this week.

103. Confederation Congress, Despatch Book, 13 September 1788¹

Aug 24th, Govr N: Carolina—Presdt. of the Convention—with—

1. Resolution of Convention respecting paper Money.
2. Resolution — &c. appropriating state Impost
3. Act of the State—respecting the Treaty of peace—

1. MS, RG 360, Papers of the Continental Congress, Item 185, Despatch Book, DNA.

104. William Widgery to George Thatcher**New Gloucester, Maine, 14 September 1788 (excerpt)¹**

Honoured Sir

I received yours of August 24th. Observed the Contents I am very sorry to hear of the Conduct of North Carolina rejecting the constitution, not but that I think it ought to be Amended, but as it is already Adopted by eleven states I think there can be no danger but that the amendments would take place as Sune as the New Congress is organized. I am sorry to hear that the Minority of Carolina are not possessed with that Noble Republican Principal of Adhearing to the voice of a majority in Political Matters. for two Reasons the Minority are rong in showing any resentments first because if the Majority are the most Sensible part of the State as well as the most numerous in vain will the minority Strive to force, but if they are the more ignorant part it is much better to draw than drive, for you can better Draw ten ignorant men than drive one. I am therefore in hopes they will rather Strive to Draw than Drive, as I think that will be the most likely way to unite the whole. Some men think it degrading to them to Stupe to a man who Does not Know so much as they do, but let me tel you it is Victory that crowns the day, this much for Constitution. . . . your Friend and very Humble Servant

1. RC, Thatcher Papers, Chamberlain Collection, Boston Public Library. Printed: *Historical Magazine*, VI (December 1869), 352–53.

105. John Brown Cutting to Thomas Jefferson
London, 16 September 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . As my passage to South Carolina must be regulated by the intelligence I obtain concerning the probability of a speedy, or more retarded commencement of the operations of the general government, as well of the assembling of the legislature, of the particular state to which I am about to resort, I think you may depend upon the fidelity of my correspondence for some weeks yet to come. Especially if the *new Congress* do not meet until March; and more especially if the circular letter from the Convention of New York should prevail upon two thirds of the states, and among these Carolina, to suspend the functions of *that body* until another general convention can be con- voked to consider and decide upon amendments.² Or even if the following alteration of the general constitution shou'd by any mean[s] take place as insisted upon by New York, namely "That the judicial power of the United States, in cases in which a state may be a party, does not extend to authorize *any suit by any person against a state*"; I fear my proposed negotiation with the state of South Carolina wou'd be baffled, or rather so evidently promise to be abortive as not to be worth attempting.

The August Packet tho' momentarily expected is not yet arriv'd here from New York. By the next post I hope to announce to you the accession of North Carolina which I look to receive by the packet, since it seems she was to sail three days later than the date of any of the papers I inclose. Among these papers you will observe a transcript of the conventional letter from New York, and certain other articles, which I have with some industry collected and committed to writing for your entertainment. The sources whence I derived most of those extracts were not to be purchased nor even purloyn'd. To Mr. Parker who will be in Paris when this arrives, I have also inclosed an additional newspaper or two, which he will communicate. Those transcripts and these newspapers taken collectively contain the most recent information of american affairs that can be furnish'd from England. Even if you have 'em already, or fresher intelligence, the bulk of my dispatch will at least evince the energy of my zeal to amuse you. . . .

1. RC, Jefferson Papers, DLC.

2. On 26 July 1788 the New York Convention ratified the Constitution and agreed to send a circular letter to all of the states encouraging them to instruct the first federal Congress to call a convention of the states to propose amendments to the Constitution.

106. George Thatcher to Sarah Thatcher
New York, 16 September 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . I suppose you, and your federal friends, are up in arms against North-Carolina for rejecting the Constitution—But, here your information is premature. They have not actually rejected the Constitution, neither are they any ways disposed to separate themselves from the Union—But on the Contrary, their Convention passed two Resolves much to their honour—

They resolved that it be recommended to their General assembly to take the speediest measures, the situation of their Government, would admit, to redeem their paper money—and secondly—whereas that Convention had seen fit neither to adopt, nor actually reject the Constitution proposed to their consideration, and as ten States

had adopted it, these adopting States would forthwith proceed to organize the Government, and it was highly probable the Congress would immediately lay an impost upon certain Goods imported into those states, therefore they Resolved that it be recommended to their General Assembly, that, as soon as Congress should Lay an impost on Goods, that State should lay a similar Impost on the same Goods imported into North-Carolina & the same be appropriated to the use of Congress—Thus you see this State is federally disposed, tho they have not adopted the Constitution—They have simply recommended certain amendments to the consideration of a future Congress or Convention, which, on the principle of them, being ingrafted into the Constitution, they will then adopt the Government—I would continue this a little longer—but my paper is up—

Yours most affectionately

1. RC, Thatcher Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. In the previous part of the letter, Thatcher discussed the passage of the ordinance calling the first federal elections and the meeting of the first Congress.

107. Jeremiah Hill to George Thatcher

Biddeford, Maine, 17 September 1788, 10:00 a.m. (excerpt)¹

. . . If N Carolina is determined to marry the New Con'n I think there is no great Danger, for in those Cares² must *reason a priori*, for when the mind is once fixed in Loves imbrace, celebacy quits her post³ & gives full scope to the infatuated fair, & right or wrong, fortune or no fortune, the indissoluble noose is tyed & the Household Furniture is or must be worked in with fear & trembling *a posteriori*. Time that is ever at my heels driving (like hunger) to get rid of Care calls on me at this instant to leave of at present but promises leisure—mox—vale, here! . . .

believe me to be with Sentiments of Esteem. Your Friend

1. RC, Thatcher Papers, Boston Public Library. Thatcher continued writing on 18 and 19 September.

108. Massachusetts Centinel, 17 September 1788¹

An address has been presented to Governour JOHNSON, of North-Carolina, signed by a number of the citizens, thanking him for the zeal he has displayed to connect that State to the union—eulogizing the Constitution—applauding the virtuous *Eighty-Two* minority—and declaring their determination “*to rise and fall with the union of America.*” Much commotion is feared in that State.

1. Reprinted seven times by 15 October: N.H. (1), Mass. (1), N.J. (2), Pa. (1), Md. (1), Va. (1). The address mentioned in this piece probably refers to the letter from citizens of Tarborough to Governor Samuel Johnston dated 20 August 1788 (RCS:N.C., 516-17).

109. Massachusetts Gazette, 19 September 1788¹

The respectable town of Tarborough in the state of Northcarolina, have supplicated His Excellency Samuel Johnson, Esq. Governor of said state, to “employ all constitutional means and influence in his power, to convince the adopting states, or their executives, that Northcarolina ought not to be included in general crimination,

but that a considerable part of her most respectable citizens are still attached to a federal system, from persuasion, that from it alone they can expect exemption from domestic insurrection,—defence from foreign invasion—and continuance of the blessings of peace and general prosperity.”

1. Reprinted: *Boston Gazette*, 22 September; and Exeter, N.H., *Freeman's Oracle*, 27 September. For the letter from citizens of Tarborough to Governor Samuel Johnston dated 20 August 1788, see RCS:N.C., 516-17.

**110. Governor Samuel Johnston to Hugh Williamson
Edenton, N.C., 22 September 1788 (excerpt)¹**

Your Letters of the 1st and 6th of this Month are both before me. I had before they came to hand issued Warrants which were lodged with Capt. Collins in your favor for 6 Months Salary of which you will no doubt be advised before this reaches you Mr. Hawkins was willing to decline in your favor but I have heard nothing from Mr. Stokes if he is desirous of Coming forward there is still room for him if not I think it is probable that Mr. Hawkins will if necessary, it is certainly proper that North Carolina should be represented in the federal Councils as long as Circumstances will admit. . . .

1. FC, Governors' Letterbooks & Papers, Nc-Ar.

**111. Governor Samuel Huntington to Governor Samuel Johnston
Norwich, Conn., 23 September 1788¹**

I have been honoured with your several letters of the 12th. & 24th. Ulto., the former covering an Extract from the Journals of the late Convention of your State & the latter accompanied with two Resolves passed in your Convention.

These papers will be communicated to the General Assembly of this State at their approaching Session.

The Convention in this State, at the time they ratified the new federal Constitution, would have preferred some Alterations & Amendments rather than the present form, if I may judge from the sentiments that were thrown out in discussing the subject; but deemed it too dangerous to hazard Delays under a tottering Constitution, until every difficulty should be removed so as to obtain a Constitution which would meet the entire approbation of all the States in the Union, which it is not probable would ever be the Case

Perhaps from the nature of the case, it must be left to the wisdom & virtue of the States to make Amendments in future, in the mode provided by the Constitution, as experience shall dictate: No Constitution of Government can make a people happy without Virtue and Wisdom

A Bill of Rights in former times hath been judged necessary, but in this enlightened age, when it seems a self evident truth, acknowledged almost as indisputably as any Axiom, that all right & authority in Government is derived from the People, & may be resumed whenever the safety or happiness of the People renders it necessary; is it necessary, or expedient, for them to form a Bill of Rights which seems at least to call in question a truth of such importance & which ought ever to be held indisputable?

With great Consideration & Esteem

1. RC, Misc. Collection, HM 22570, Huntington Library.

112. Thomas Jefferson to Thomas Lee Shippen
Paris, 29 September 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . no news yet from North-Carolina: but in such a case no news is good news, as an unfavorable decision of the 12th. state would have flown like an electrical shock through America & Europe. a letter from Govr. Rutledge of Aug. 10. says nothing of N. Carolina: this silence is a proof that all was well. that Convention was to meet July 23. and not July 4. as we had been told. . . .

1. RC, Jefferson Papers, BV. 1788, Massachusetts Historical Society. Printed: Boyd, *Jefferson*, XIII, p. 642-43.

113. Thomas Jefferson to C. W. F. Dumas
Paris, 30 September 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . I have no intelligence from America later than the 12th. of Aug. it was not then known what North Carolina had done: but it was not doubted. . . .

1. FC, Jefferson Papers, DLC. Printed: Boyd, *Jefferson*, XIII, 646-47.

114. Thomas Jefferson to John Brown Cutting
Paris, 2 October 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . P.S. No news of N. Carolina yet.

1. RC, Adams Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. Printed: Boyd, *Jefferson*, XIII, 649-50.

115. John Brown Cutting to Thomas Jefferson
London, 5 October 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . The accounts of North Carolina sent in my last letter—come confirmed. . . .
 being with unlimited regard Your respectful and Mo. Obed. Sert.

1. RC, Jefferson Papers, DLC. Printed: Boyd, *Jefferson*, XIII, 658.

116. Georgia Executive Council Minutes, 7 October 1788 (excerpts)¹

. . . Two Letters dated the 12th & 24th of August from Samuel Johnston esqr. President of the Convention of the State of No Carolina, with sundry enclosures were read &

Ordered To be laid before the Legislature at their next meeting. . . .

1. MS, Minutes of Council, Georgia State Archives.

117. John Brown Cutting to John Rutledge, Jr.
London, 9 October 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . I have but one moment in which to mention to You that the Convention of North Carolina have rejected the foederal system by a majority of 184 to 82. That is they have resolved that until amendments are made they shall not adopt—altho they do not mean ultimately to refuse—being confident that Congress will recommend a

new General Convention finally to perfect the great fœderal work. To manifest however their affection for the Union and zeal for national credit and honor—they recommend to the legislature of North Carolina to grant to the New Congress the same impost upon goods imported into their State as may be levied in the adopting States upon goods imported into them.

In haste that spurns correctness & fear intellegibility, I am with the truest esteem, your obliged and mo. obedt. sert.

1. RC, Rutledge Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

118. Virginia Governor Edmund Randolph to Speaker of the Virginia House of Delegates, 20 October 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . The following subjects and papers have come to our hands, merely to be transmitted to the General Assembly: viz. 1. A circular letter from the president of the late Convention in New-York recommending in their name another fœderal Convention— 2. two letters from the president of the late Convention in North-Carolina, one inclosing a resolution of that body, concerning the fœderal Constitution, the other inclosing two resolutions respecting the redemption of paper money and the laying of an impost. . . .

1. FC, Executive Letter Book, Virginia State Library.

119. Secretary of Congress Charles Thomson to Governor Samuel Johnston New York, 22 October 1788¹

The above is a copy of the letter which I had the honor to write to Your Excellency in pursuance of the enclosed Act of Congress, but I have not yet had the pleasure of receiving Your laws. If they are in print or can be collected, I shall be much obliged if Your Excellency will order them to be forwarded—but if out of print, as the Government which is soon to commence under the new Constitution is vested with the power of regulating commerce with foreign Nations & of laying & collecting duties and imposts, & it will be of importance to them to be informed of the actual state of the commerce & the laws of each State imposing duties or regulating trade, I shall take it as a favor of Your Excellency will cause copies of such laws of Your State as relate to this subject to be made & forwarded to this Office as soon as possible

1. FC, Papers of the Continental Congress, Item 18, Secretary's Letterbook B, p. 170, DNA.

120. Don Diego de Gardoqui to Conde de Floridablanca New York, 24 October 1788¹

Shortly after His Majesty's Mail Ship Pinzon had departed, I received a short piece of information from Don Jaime, of whom I have spoken to Your Excellency several times, in which he told me that he had completed his mission perfectly, as he would shortly tell me in person.

Thus it was accomplished some time later, when he arrived, and he confirmed for me that he had endangered himself to reveal, and to persuade such kinds among the

Inhabitants of the Country, to which he addressed himself, that according to later information, which I have just received, he could not consider his residence here suitable, nor secure, and that for the same [reason] he wanted to remove himself to New Orleans where he could be very useful to our intention.

Seeming to me an important acquisition for us, as much for the knowledge, and connections that he has with the residents of the New Settlements, as for the inside of the affairs of this Government, of which I have known him to be a Member these three years, I settled his claim pleasantly, confirming for him that which I had promised him before his trip, that he would be expected and aided by Our [government?] and that I would tell His Majesty, as I am doing, so that he might deign to command what His Royal pleasure might be.

At the same time an answer by letter from Governor Sevier, who, I had met in his journey, presented itself to me in which he asserted the greatest sincerity towards us, and since three days before Don Jaime set sail, a Son of the aforementioned Governor presented himself to me, with two Letters, some Copies, and translations [which] I pass to Your Excellency in this [letter].

It did not seem to me prudent to answer him in writing, nor the granting to him of the assistance that he sought, because I learned by chance, that the State of Northern Carolina was pursuing this Person as a criminal; but I treated this Young Emissary with amity, and kindness, referring him to that which Don Jaime would answer him in my name, and advising him they should have recourse to the Government of New Orleans where they would find the protection that they desired, and to the aforementioned Don Jaime, in order to [combine?] that which might be agreeable to them. For this purpose I gave him a Passport, as to the rest, and I had him leave from here, because it seemed prudent to me.

From all of the above I hope that the Government of New Orleans will be able to reap much fruit because the number of Persons that follow the above mentioned Governor, Don Jaime assured me, was very large.

I reiterate my obedience to Your Excellency's disposition, and I remain praying that God watch over Your Excellency's life for many years.

[Note from cover page of document] That he had received information from Don Jaime of whom he had spoken several times that he had completed his mission perfectly, as he shortly would be told personally.

Having verified this, he relates that which that one told him; and he sends a copy of two letters, and their translations, which Governor Sevier had written him. (Copy of a letter in English from Governor Sevier relating to the State of Franklin and possible Spanish relations is included.)

1. RC (Translation), Apartado No. 1, Letter No. 295, Estado Legajo 3894, Archivo Historico Nacional, DLC.

121.1–121.20. Petitions Calling for a Second North Carolina Convention November 1788¹

[See Part II: Documents (Facsimiles). For a detailed list of the Petitions, see the Contents.]

1. Twenty petitions have been located that call for the state legislature to call a second North Carolina convention to consider the Constitution. Half are unique; the others duplicate another petition. Ten

unique petitions appear in the printed volume (RCS:N.C. 585-93). All of the petitions but one are located in Duke University Library. The Halifax petition is in the North Carolina State Archives.

122. Providence Gazette, 1 November 1788¹

Sunday last the Sloop Lively, Capt. Nathaniel Hunt, arrived here in 9 Days from Charleston, S. Carolina. He informs, that it was currently reported in Charleston, when he sailed, that another Convention was to be immediately called in North-Carolina, for the Purpose of reconsidering the New Constitution.

1. Reprinted fifteen times by 17 December: N.H. (1), Mass. (5), R.I. (1), Conn. (3), N.Y. (2), N.J. (1), Md. (1), Va. (1).

123. Thomas Jefferson to C. W. F. Dumas Paris, 3 November 1788 (excerpts)¹

. . . You have doubtless heard that N. Carolina has thought it best to propose amendments to the new constitution before acceding to it. she has no disposition to separate from the Union, even if no amendments be made, as she has not come to a negative decision, but left the matter open. so many states have desired alterations that I suppose those will be made in which almost all have agreed. a bill of rights will comprehend most of them. in the mean time the new government will go on. . . . I have the honor to be with great esteem & attachment

1. FC, Jefferson Papers, DLC. Printed: Boyd, *Jefferson*, XIV, 48-49.

124. Wilmington Centinel, 5 November 1788¹

The Hon. the Legislature of this State, met at Fayette Ville on Monday last. It is said that the propriety of calling a new Convention will be among their earliest deliberations.

1. The *Wilmington Centinel*, 5 November, is not extant. The transcription is taken from the *New Hampshire Recorder*, 23 December reprinting, which appears under the dateline "Wilmington, (N. Carolina) Nov. 5."

125. Massachusetts Spy, 6 November 1788¹

A message was received from his Excellency the Governour [i.e., John Hancock], acquainting the Hon. House that he intended to have addressed them this day, but was prevented by indisposition of body—that he had directed the Secretary to lay before the Legislature the publick papers, received in the recess, and that he would address the Court as soon as his health would admit.

(The papers communicated consisted of several Acts and Resolves of Congress—The Forms of Ratification of the Federal Constitution by the Conventions of Virginia and Newyork, and their proposed amendments—the proceedings of that of Northcarolina, &c. which being read were committed. Among them is the following half federal Resolution—)

NORTHCAROLINA.
In Convention, August 2, 1788.

Whereas this Convention has thought proper neither to reject or ratify the Constitution proposed for the government of the United States; and as Congress will proceed to act under said Constitution, Ten States having ratified the same, and will probably lay an Impost on goods imported into said ratifying States:

Resolved, That it be recommended to the Legislature of this State, that whenever Congress shall pass a law for collecting an Impost in the States aforesaid, this State enact a law for collecting a similar Impost on goods imported into this State, and appropriating the money arising therefrom to the use of Congress.

SAMUEL JOHNSON, President.

1. Also printed in the Worcester, Mass., *American Herald* on 6 November. Reprinted: *Providence Gazette*, 8 November; Middletown, Conn., *Middlesex Gazette*, 8 November; Connecticut *Litchfield Monitor*, 10 November; and the Providence *United States Chronicle*, 26 November.

126. Massachusetts Centinel, 8 November 1788¹

The Legislature of North-Carolina, we hear, have taken into consideration the subject of appointing another Convention to consider the Federal Constitution.

1. Reprinted: Worcester, Mass., *American Herald*, 13 November; Connecticut *Norwich Packet*, 14 November; and Portland, Maine, *Cumberland Gazette*, 20 November.

127. Patrick Henry to Richard Henry Lee Richmond, Va., 15 November 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . Your Age & mine seems to exempt us from the Task of stepping forth again into the busy Scenes which now present themselves—I am glad to know that you have Health & Spirits enough to accede [to every Exertion?]-I shall not claim it further than it will extend to distant Operations—I mean not to take any Part in Deliberations held out of this State—unless in Carolina from which I am not very distant & to whose Politics I wish to be attentive—If Congress do not give us substantial Amendmts I will turn my Eyes to that Country a Connection with which may become necessary for me as an Individual. I am indeed happy where I now live in the Unanimity which prevails on this Subject; for in near 20 adjoining Countys I think at least 19 of them are anti-federal, & this great Extent of Country in Virga. lays adjoining to No. Carolina & with her forms a great Mass of Opposition not easy to surmount. This Opposition it is the Wish of my Soul to see wise, firm, temperate. . . .

affectionately Yours

1. RC, Henry Papers, DLC.

128. North Carolina General Assembly, 20 November 1788

A Bill to alter the Manner of Holding Ellections for Members of the General assembly in Rowan County—

Wher[e]as the Greatest part of the third Batalion on the East Side of the Yadkin River in the County of Rowan is at So Great a Distance from the Town of Sallisbury that it is Extremely Inconvenient & Burthemsome For poor persons to attend the Elections of Members for the Said County wher[e]by Many persons are prevented from Giving

their Suffrages for Persons to represent them in the General assembly: for remedy whereof,

Be it Enacted by the General assembly of the State of North-Carolina and it is hereby Enacted by the authority of the Same, that from and after the passing of this act the anual Ellections for the Said County Shall be Held and taken in the following manner; that is to Say, the Ellection Shall begin at the house of Charless Wilsons, (Where sd. Batalion holds general muster) the day preceding the Third Friday in august in Every year and Shall Continue untill Sunset of the Same day in Manner by Law directed When the Sheriff and Inspectors Shall Seal up the ballot boxes and on the day following Shall proced With the Boxes and the Several lists of voters by them taken to the Town of Sallisbury and on Saterdag being the second [one line missing] any law to the Contrary notwithstanding.—

And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, that Such of the Electors of the said County as may think proper may Give their votes on the first day of Election at the hous of Charless Wilson aforesaid; and all such Electors of the said County as Shall not vote on the said first day of the Election, Shall be at liberty to give their votes in the town of Sallisbury on the Second and last day of the Election; and when the Election Shall be finished in manner by act directed the tickets Shall be Numbered and the members Chosen Shall be declared in the usual manner.—

And be it Enacted by the authority aforesaid, that in case the Seat of any member or members of Said County Should be vacant, a writ or writs Shall Issue for the Election of a new member or members to fill the vacant Seat or Seats in Manner herein before directed that is to Say, to hold Such Election at the Diferent places before mentioned with an Intervening day between them; and in Case of a writ for Election of a member for the Town of Sallisbury the Same Shall be held and Concluded in one day, and in both Cases the poll Shall be opened at ten o'Clock, any law to the Contrary notwithstanding.—

**129. Governor Samuel Johnston to James Iredell
Fayetteville, N.C., 20 November 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . There is no probability of a Convention till about the time of the meeting of the next Assembly in the Fall, there is no Bill compleated except the division of Rowan County they have complimented you with naming the new County *Iredell*. Commissioners are appointed to attend the General Convention whenever appointed by Congress.² The Western people are very pressing for an Indian War which is strongly opposed by the Eastern Members, who have introduced a Bill to cede all the Country west of the Mountains to Congress. T. Person had Judge Spencer's Court Bill taken up, which after one or two readings was laid aside, the Bill for compelling Debtors to pay agreeable to their Contract, is lost. upon the whole I fear the Code of Laws for this State will receive very little additional honor from the Acts of this Session. Judge Spencer is spoke of as a Commissioner to attend the General Convention

People here have their health remarkably well. I am in much better health than when I left home, but have not been able to recover my flesh & Strength tho I am very well accommodated and we have an excellent Table. I am uncertain when I shall be able to leave this place, indeed were I not very anxious to be at home and my presence

very necessary there, I should be altogether indifferent about the matter as in other respects I am perfectly at my ease here. . . .

P.S. The Bill for carrying into execution the Ordinance for seat of Government is laid over to the next Assembly

1. Printed: Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 454–56n.
2. A reference to a second general constitutional convention that New York and Virginia wanted Congress to call.

130. *Wilmington Centinel*, 26 November 1788 (excerpts)¹

On Tuesday the 18th instant, it was agreed unanimously in the Senate, and by a large majority in the Commons, that it be recommended to the people of this state, to choose five members from each county, and one from each Borough-Town, to meet on the third Monday in November next, at a place hereafter to be agreed upon, for the purpose of taking under further consideration the constitution proposed for the government of the United States. . . .

The General Assembly have resolved, that five persons be chosen by ballot, to represent this state in a federal convention, should one be recommended by Congress, to take under consideration the amendments proposed by the several states, to take place in the constitution proposed for the government of the United States. . . .

1. Reprinted: *Virginia Herald*, 18 December; *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 24 December; and Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 14 January 1789. The second paragraph alone was reprinted ten more times by 13 February: N.H. (1), Mass. (4), R.I. (1), Conn. (2), N.Y. (1), Md. (1).

131. Extract of a Letter from North Carolina, 28 November 1788¹

Extract of a letter from North Carolina, to a respectable gentleman in this city, dated November 28, 1788.

“I this afternoon received certain intelligence from Fayetteville, that on the 15th inst. the question for another state convention to meet on the 29th December next being put was carried in the senate, but lost in the commons; that the senate had since, on motion of major general Caswell, agreed that another convention, consisting of five members from a county should be called, without the time of their meeting being mentioned, which was also agreed to by the commons.—That on Monday last the senate again proposed, that the convention should meet on the 29th of December; to this the commons would by no means agree, but proposed in their turn, that the *election* for members of the convention should be held on the same day in August as the annual election for members of the general assembly, and that the convention should *meet* on the third Monday in November next, which is two weeks later than the annual meeting of the general assembly, to *which* the senate thought best to agree, for the temper of the commons did not seem to promise that the federalists could obtain an earlier period; this, disgraceful and distressing as it is, we are glad to catch at, as it may be the means of this state adopting the excellent and justly admired new constitution, a year or two sooner than its self-interested opposers expect.”

1. Printed in the Charleston *City Gazette*, 16 February 1789. Reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 17 March; and *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 18 March. The original letter was written by Henry W. Harrington to John F. Grimké, on 28 November 1788. There are many changes in capitalization and punctuation between the newspaper extract and the manuscript letter.

**132. David Humphreys to Thomas Jefferson
Mount Vernon, 29 November 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . You will have been informed, long since, that all the States, Rhode Island & North Carolina excepted, have acceded to the proposed form of government. In the former paper-money & dishonesty are the sole causes of their perseverance in opposition—the same reasons are also assigned for the conduct of North Carolina; how justly, or unjustly, I know not. It is believed, however, that the latter will come into the pale of the new Union at the eleventh hour. . . .

1. RC, Jefferson Papers, DLC. Printed: Boyd, *Jefferson*, XIV, 300–304. Humphreys, a resident of Connecticut, had been visiting George Washington at Mount Vernon for about a year.

133. New York Journal, 4 December 1788¹

Extract of a letter from Wilmington, North-Carolina, Nov. 13, 1788.

“The latter end of the summer and fall has been the most fatal season ever known in this place; upwards of one hundred persons have died.—We have no other news, except, that it is expected our assembly will call a new convention.”

1. Reprinted twenty-three times by 26 December: Vt. (1), N.H. (2), Mass. (3), R.I. (1), Conn. (6), N.Y. (2), N.J. (1), Pa. (4), Md. (2), Va. (1).

134. State Gazette of North Carolina, 4 December 1788¹

NEW CONVENTION CALLED IN NORTH CAROLINA.
STATE of NORTH CAROLINA.
In General Assembly, Nov. 17, 1788.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this House, a new Convention be recommended, for the purpose of reconsidering the new Constitution held out by the federal Convention as a government of the United States.

Resolved, That it be recommended to such of the inhabitants of this State as are entitled to vote for members of the House of Commons, at the annual election to be held in each county on the third Friday & Saturday in August next, to vote for five persons in each county, and one person in each borough town, having a right of representation agreeably to the Constitution of this State, to sit as a State Convention, for the purpose of deliberating and determining on the proposed federal Constitution for the future government of the United States, and on such amendments, if any, as shall or may be made to the said Constitution by the Convention of the States, previous to the meeting of the Convention of this State: which election shall be conducted agreeably to the mode, and conformably to the rules & regulations, prescribed by law for conducting the election of members of the General Assembly; and any citizen within this State being a freeholder, shall be eligible to a seat in said convention, Sheriffs and returning officers excepted.

Resolved, That the persons so elected to serve in a state convention, do assemble and meet together on the 3d Monday in November next, at such place as shall be appointed for the meeting of the next General Assembly; then and there to deliberate

and determine on the said constitution, and on the amendments, if any; and if approved by them, to confirm and ratify the same on behalf of this State, and make report thereof to Congress, and to the General Assembly.

Resolved, that the members of the convention be allowed twenty shillings per day for their attendance, &c.

ALEX. MARTIN, S. S.

JOHN SITGREAVES, S.C.

1. The resolutions were also printed in the *Wilmington Centinel*, 10 December, and in twenty-nine other newspapers by 22 January 1789: N.H. (1), Mass. (6), R.I. (2), Conn. (5), N.Y. (3), N.J. (2), Pa. (8), Va. (1), S.C. (1), and in the December issues of the *American Museum* and the *Columbian Magazine*, two Philadelphia monthly publications.

135. *Wilmington Centinel*, 10 December 1788

The following gentlemen are appointed to represent this state in a continental convention, for the purpose of amending the constitution, should two-thirds of the states petition Congress therefor, viz. General Lock, General Parsons, Timothy Bloodworth, Esq. Joseph McDowel, sen. Esq. and Col. Lenore.

We are informed, that the honorable legislature were to have adjourned on Saturday last.

The next assembly and convention are to meet at Fayette-Ville, in November next.

136. George Mason to John Mason Gunston Hall, Va., 18 December 1788 (excerpt)¹

. . . I sent you the Proceedings of the Virginia Convention, & informed You of the then State of American Politicks.—North Carolina has rejected the new Government, unless previous Amendments, almost the same with the subsequent Amendments proposed by Virginia, can be obtained. Rhode Island has yet done nothing desirous on the Subject. . . .

1. RC, George Mason Papers, DLC. Rutland, *Mason*, III, 1135-40. Gunston Hall was George Mason's plantation in Fairfax County, Va.

137. *Maryland Journal*, 19 December 1788¹

We have authentic Advice from North-Carolina, that on the 18th of last Month, it was *unanimously* agreed in the Senate, and by a *large Majority* of the Commons House of Assembly of that State, to choose Five Members from each County, and one from each Borough-Town, to meet on the Third Monday in November next, at such Place as shall be appointed for the Meeting of the next General Assembly, then and there to deliberate and determine on the said Constitution, and on the Amendments, *if any*, and if approved by them, to confirm and ratify the same on behalf of the State of North-Carolina, and make Report thereof to Congress and to the General Assembly of the said State.

The Legislature of North-Carolina have also resolved, that Five Persons be chosen, by Ballot, to represent that State in a Federal Convention, should one be recommended by Congress, to take under Consideration the Amendments proposed by the

several States, to take place in the Constitution proposed for the Government of the United States.

1. Reprinted: Annapolis *Maryland Gazette*, 25 December; *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 27 December; New York *Daily Gazette*, 29 December; *Pennsylvania Packet*, 8 January 1789.

**138. Samuel Hodgdon to Timothy Pickering
Philadelphia, 22 December 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . North Carolina has called another Convention to consider of the propriety of that States adopting the New Constitution, and it is thought they will now receive it in toto—Rhodeisland politicks are as rascally as ever. . . .

1. RC, Pickering Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

**139. Thomas Jefferson to William Carmichael
Paris, 25 December 1788 (excerpt)¹**

. . . You have long ago known that 11. states have ratified our new constitution, and that N. Carolina, contrary to all expectation, has declined either accepting or refusing, but has proposed amendments copied verbatim from those of Virginia. . . .

1. FC, Jefferson Papers, DLC. Printed: Boyd, *Jefferson*, XIV, 385-88.

140. Petersburg Virginia Gazette, 25 December 1788¹

The legislature of North-Carolina, have adjourned, and are to meet, the next session, at Fayetteville. We learn that when the question for calling another convention to take under further consideration the constitution proposed for the future government of the United States, came before the House of Commons of that state, it was rejected by a majority of 8—but the senate having come to a resolution on that subject, and sent it [to] the House of Commons for their consideration, they proposed agreeing to the measure, provided the senate would adopt amendments to their resolution, as to the number of members from each county, and the time of the meeting of the convention: These were accordingly agreed upon by both houses. Five members are to be sent from each county, and one from each borough town, to meet in convention the third Monday in November next.

1. The Petersburg *Virginia Gazette*, 25 December 1788 is not extant. The transcription is taken from the Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 9 January, the earliest reprinting, under the dateline of "Petersburg, December 25." Other reprintings occurred in the Boston *Herald of Freedom*, 23 January; and the Worcester, Mass., *American Herald*, 29 January.

141. North Carolina: Civil List for 1789¹

Civil list for the year 1789, as Stated by the Sub Committee on Public Revenue No. 2, consisting of Mr. Hunt, Mr. Johnston, Mr Blount, Mr. Gallaway and Mr. Jos. McDowell Senr.

Governor's Salary	£750
Private Secretary	100
Secretary of State	100

Treasurer	500
Judges of the Superior Courts	2500
Attorney General	640
Comptroller	500
Public Printer	500
Delegates to Congress, and to Convention of the U. States	3000
Clerk to the Treasurer	150
Clerks to the Comptroller, as allowd by the Govr. & Council for Settling with the Continental Commissioner	1,000
Council, Clerk & Door keeper	130
Members of Assembly & of State Convention, Clerks & Door keepers	15,500
Agent, for Settling the Accounts of this State with the U. States	1,000
	£26,370

1. MS, Legislative Papers, LP/89/Commons/Dec. 1789, Nc-Ar.

**142. Henry Knox to James Swan
New York, 3 January 1789 (excerpt)¹**

. . . The New Constitution of this Country will soon take place & much good is presaged to result from its operations—Its' opponents are diminishing daily—The Majority of the legislatures of New York and Virginia wish for a new general convention, but the other States what have accepted it seem to desire that experience should be the director of any future alterations.

North Carolina after rejecting the Constitution has called another convention to assemble next November—Rhode Island is still holding out but it must ultimately conform to the great majority of the Country. . . .

I am Dear Sir with great Sincerity your friend & humble Servant

1. RC, Knox Papers (GL), The Gilder Lehrman Collection, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, at the New-York Historical Society.

143. Boston Independent Chronicle, 8 January 1789¹

The Legislature of the State of North-Carolina have passed a resolution, recommending to the people of that State to choose Members to meet in Convention, on the third Monday of November, 1789, for the purpose of reconsidering the new Constitution for the United States, and if approved by them, to confirm and ratify the same on behalf of that State, and make report thereof to Congress, &c.

1. Reprinted: *Boston Gazette*, 12 January; *New Hampshire Gazette*, 14 January; Portland, Maine, *Cumberland Gazette*, 15 January.

144. Newburyport, Mass., Essex Journal, 14 January 1789

On the 17th of November last, the General Assembly of North-Carolina ‘*Resolved*, That a NEW CONVENTION be recommended for the purpose of reconsidering the new Constitution held out by the Federal Convention as a government for the United States.’ The members are to be chosen in August, and to meet on the third Monday of November next.

145. New Haven Gazette, 22 January 1789

The General Assembly of North-Carolina; on the 17th of November last, Resolved, that a new Convention be recommended, for the purpose of reconsidering the New Constitution, to meet on the third Monday in *November next*. A correspondent remarks, that this State will probably be in readiness to appoint a Convention by the last mentioned period; and adds, “*better late than never.*” (*Newport Herald*.)

146. Maryland Journal, 27 January 1789¹

Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman in Williamsburg, to his Correspondent in this Town, dated January 6, 1789.

“We have lost one of our most worthy Characters in the Death of General NELSON; he is a Loss to this State, as well as to the whole Circle of his Acquaintance. From his Firmness and Abilities, I had a great Desire that he should have gone to the new Congress.—Our federal Friend —, in Gloucester, will be one. It is to be hoped that the Southern States, in general, will be cautious in sending young Gentlemen who may form (as perhaps too many have already done) their dearest Connexions, and establish their nearest Interests with our Rivals. We are in hopes that Congress will sit as long in Williamsburg as it has in New-York, until some middle Latitude is permanently fixed upon. I suppose you call Baltimore the Centre Peg; but here we say Fredericksburg. To the North they never seem to have had an Eye to New-Virginia, Kentucky, the Carolinas and Georgia; but it must be hinted to them, or we shall shortly, very shortly perhaps, have another Congress at Richmond. It will never do for you *Northern Lads* to be all *Freemasons*, and keep us out of the Secret. I am sorry that North-Carolina will not be represented, as that is a great, growing and rich State. Kentucky, which promises to be ranked amongst the best and richest Settlements in the Union, ought not to have a Preference of Carolina, as to Fertility of Soil and other Advantages. I am well acquainted with both, by Land and Water—and if I may venture to hazard an Opinion—I doubt not but when Virginia and Carolina shake Hands with a hearty good Will, Norfolk will rise up. *Phoenix-like*, and be the Amsterdam of America, wheresoever our Sages may determine to fix the *Hague*.”

1. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Packet*, 3 February; New York *Daily Gazette*, 5 February; New York *Morning Post*, 6 February; *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 11 February; and *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 19 February.

147. State Gazette of North Carolina, 5 February 1789

A correspondent expresses his satisfaction on finding the general voice of the people in favour of WASHINGTON and ADAMS, as President and Vice-President of the United States under the new government. The patriotic principles of both are well known. Their important services to their country are too recent to be forgotten. The services of the former have not been confined to the field: He has also graced the councils and deliberations of his country. He bore a distinguished part in forming the new constitution, and early suggested the necessity of giving energy to government. His celebrated *circular letter* has many features of the new constitution.¹ But who is a stranger to his worth! The latter also stands high in the approbation of his grateful countrymen. He bore an early and distinguished part in the late revolution. At home and abroad, the great abilities of this able statesman have been long devoted to the service of his country. No man is better acquainted with the science of government, in all its various forms, than JOHN ADAMS. This will be readily admitted by every one who has read his “Defence of the American Constitutions;” from which book it is highly probable that many useful hints were taken by the convention in forming the federal constitution.² It is not to be doubted, but that the friends of the constitution in all the states will be *unanimous* in the choice of these truly respectable patriots, that they may have an opportunity once more of exerting their abilities in promoting the welfare of their country, and in completely establishing that independence, for which they long struggled. Such men will soon rescue our distressed country from her present degraded situation, and exalt her to importance in the scale of nations. They will possess confidence and esteem at home, and command respect abroad. Long may their integrity and abilities entitle them to the suffrages of a grateful people. And long may they be employed in forwarding the domestic happiness, the agriculture, the commerce, and the manufactures of our country. Let all *the people* say AMEN.

1. A reference to Washington’s last circular letter to the states in June 1783, which was printed widely throughout the country in 1783 and later in 1787 (CC:4).

2. See Adams’s *Defence* (CC:16).

148. Henry E. McCulloch to James Iredell London, 18 February 1789 (excerpt)¹

. . . I am much concerned to find that your State has not acceded to the Federation. . . .

P.S.

. . . that you will send me an Attested Copy of the late Act of your last Assembly but one, declaring that the Treaty of Peace, shod. be considered as your Superior law:—also whether in Case N Carolina accedes to the fœderal Convention, the bond in questn. might not be recoverable in Carolina by Cornell’s represent[ative]s—and pray write your answer by the first oppority. . . .

1. RC, Iredell Papers, Duke University. Printed: Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 480–82.

**149. Governor Samuel Johnston to Hugh Williamson
Edenton, N.C., 19 February 1789 (excerpt)¹**

. . . Before this reaches you, you will probably no longer have a seat in Congress, I shall notwithstanding hope that you will still consider yourself a Confidential servant of the state, and that you will occasionally communicate to me every matter of a Public Nature in which you may consider this State to be interested, which may come to your knowledge. . . .

1. FC, Governors' Letterbooks & Papers, Nc-Ar.

**150. Mechanics Song
State Gazette of North Carolina, 19 February 1789**

POET'S CORNER.
MECHANICKS SONG.
By *Absalom Aimwell*, Esquire.

Ye merry *Mechanicks* come join in my song,
And let the brisk chorus come bounding along;
Tho' some may be poor and some rich there may be,
And yet all are contented and happy and free.

Ye *Taylors* of ancient and noble renown,
Who clothe all the people in country and town;
Remember that Adam your father and head,
Tho' Lord of the world was a Taylor by trade.

Ye *Masons!* who work in stone, mortar and brick,
And lay the foundations, deep, solid and thick;
Tho' hard be your labour, yet lasting your fame,
Both *Egypt* and *China* your wonders proclaim.

Ye *Smiths!* who forge tools for all trades here below,
You have nothing to fear while you smite and you blow;
All things you may conquer, so happy your lot,
If you're careful to *strike while the iron is hot*.

Ye *Shoe-Makers!* nobly from ages long past,
Have defended your rights with *awl* to the *last*;
And *Coblers* all merry, not only stop holes,
But work night and day for the good of our *foals*.

Ye *Cabinet-Makers!* brave workers in wood.
As you work for the ladies, your work must be good;
And *Joiners* and *Carpenters*, far off and near,
Stick close to your trades and you've nothing to fear.

Ye *Hatters!* who oft with hands not very fair,
Fix hats on a block, for a blockhead to wear;
Tho' *charity* covers a sin now and then,
You cover the heads and the sins of all men.

Ye *Coach Makers!* must not by *tax* be controul'd,
 But ship off your Coaches and fetch us home gold—
 The roll of your Coach made *Copernicus* reel,
 And fancy the world to turn round like a wheel.

Ye *Carders* and *Spinners* and *Weavers* attend,
 And take the advice of *poor Richard* your friend;
 Stick close to your looms and your wheels and your card,
 And you never need fear of the times being hard.

Ye *Printers!* who give us our learning and news,
 And impartially print for *Turks, Christians* and *Jews*;
 Let your favourite toast ever sound thro' the streets,
The freedom of press, and a volume in sheets.

Ye *Coopers!* who rattle with *driver* and *adz*,
 And lecture each day upon hoops and on heads;
 The famous old ballad of *love in a tub*,
 You may sing to the tune of your ruba dub dub.

Ye *Shipbuilders! Riggers* and *Makers of Sails!*
 Already the new Constitution prevails!
 And soon you shall see o'er the proud swelling tide,
 The ships of Columbia triumphantly ride.

Each *Tradesman* turn out with his tool in his hand
 To cherish the *arts* and keep *peace* thro' the land,
 Each '*prentice* and *journeyman* join in my song,
 And let the brisk CHORUS come bounding along.

151. Georgetown, Md., Times and Patowmack Packet, 19 February 1789¹

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Fayetteville, (N.C.) to his friend in Frederick-town, dated January 1, 1789.

"The commonwealth of Franklin is no more.—Typton with his party, in the absence of governor Sevier, surprised the metropolis and carried off all the public offices records, &c.—By a number of commissions, found amongst those papers, it appears, that most of the officers under Sevier's administration resigned their trust, previous to this fatal catastrophe taking place; whether this will restore peace and good order, on the western side of the mountains, is yet doubtful. Sevier with a corps of 500 rifle men, has taken up his winter quarters in the heart of the Cherokee nation after burning, killing and destroying all that came in his way.—Unmindful and unacquainted with the great revolutions that took place at home; his excellency, like Charles the XIIth king of Sweden, is fond of foreign conquest, while victory crowns his arms in distant parts, he loses his own country, and very probable his life at last in the defence of it. Our assembly is now sitting, and a bill has been brought in the house for calling a new convention; its fate is yet unknown."

1. Reprinted eight times by 14 March: Conn. (1), N.Y. (5), Pa. (1), Va. (1).

152. Georgia State Gazette, 21 February 1789

The Legislature of North-Carolina have appointed a day in August next for electing members for another state convention—they are to meet on the 3d Monday in November next.

153. State Gazette of North Carolina, 26 February 1789

POET'S CORNER.

An INSCRIPTION for GENERAL WASHINGTON'S Tomb Stone.

The shade of great Newton shall mourn,
 And yield him Philosophy's throne,
 The palm from her brow shall be torn,
 And given to Washington alone.

His brows ever shall be adorn'd,
 With laurels that never decay,
 His laws, mighty nations unborn,
 And ages remote shall obey.

Him liberty crown'd with her wreath,
 Philosophy shew'd him her plan;
 Whilst the Muses inscrib'd underneath,
 The hero, the sage and the man.

Let candour then write on his tomb,
 Here America's favourite lies;
 Whose soul for the want of due room,
 Has left us, to range in the skies.

**154. Hugh Williamson to Governor Samuel Johnston
 New York, 2 March 1789¹**

On the 4th inst. the Members of Congress under the new form of Government are to take their Seats & hitherto we have not made a Congress. Members from several States who ought to have attended under the original Form have been at Home attending to their Elections under the new Form hence we have not had more than six States together. Since the middle of October last I have not heard from my Colleague Dr. [James] White. Had it been convenient for him to have attended I presume we should have obtained Permission for our State to deliver in the Remainder of her Claims. As Matters are circumstanced we must try to introduce them under an Act of June 24th last. When Col. [Abishai C.] Thomas brings on the Papers we shall know what remains to be done and in Case the Board of Commissioners should hesitate about receiving any just & reasonable Claims such as are made by other States and allowed to them we shall not fail to apply for Redress to the new Congress.

I think it probable that my Privilege of franking Letters after to day may be disputed at the Post Office. In such Case, considering how uninteresting my Letters generally are, I am persuaded you will admit that I ought to write less frequent, however

I shall not fail to inform you of such Measures taken or seriously attempted to be taken in the new Congress as may seem in any manner to interest our State.

With Sentiments of the most perfect Respect

1. Printed: Paul H. Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789* (26 vols., Washington, D.C., 1976-2000), XXV, 508.

155. Providence United States Chronicle, 5 March 1789¹

Yesterday, says a Correspondent, will form an important Era in the Annals of this Country—Yesterday severed the States of Rhode-Island and North-Carolina from the American Union, and from each other,—they now stand in a perfect State of *Independence* similar to that of Vermont—in a State of Independence comparable to that of Great-Britain and France.—From Yesterday all Sea Captains belonging to this State will sail under the *sole Protection* of the State of Rhode-Island—having no Claim to the Flag of the United States:—For the Eleven confederated States are, in Fact, *the United States*.

1. Reprinted nine times by 16 April: Mass. (2), R.I. (1), N.Y. (2), Pa. (1), Va. (2), N.C. (1).

156. Francis Hopkinson to Thomas Jefferson Philadelphia, 2 April 1789 (excerpt)¹

. . . Rhode Island has lately again moved the Question whether they should join the federal Union—& has again rejected it with the usual Majority in their House of Assembly—North Carolina says nothing about it. . . .

1. RC, Jefferson Papers, DLC. Boyd, *Jefferson*, XV, 16-17.

157. Gazette of the United States (New York), 15 April 1789¹

From the UNITED STATES GAZETTE.
EPITOME of the present state of the UNION.
NORTH-CAROLINA,

Is 758 miles in length, and 110 in breadth, and by a census in 1787, contained 270,000 inhabitants. A depreciated paper medium, and a deficiency of political knowledge, are considered as the causes of the anti-national spirit of this state. Her extensive frontier, and being obliged to export the greater part of her productions through Virginia, it is expected will ere long evince the necessity of her acceding to the confederation. This indeed appears already to be the predominant idea of her citizens, by some recent transactions.

1. Reprinted: Philadelphia *Freeman's Journal*, 6 May; Lansingburgh, N.Y., *Federal Herald*, 25 May; *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 28 May, and in *Fleets Pocket Almanack for the Year 1790* (Boston), and the *Virginia Almanack for the Year 1790* (Evans 1639-1800). For a similar description of North Carolina, see the *Newport Mercury*, 16 December 1789 (below).

158. James White to Esteban Miró
New Orleans, 18 April 1789¹

To his Excellency Don Estevan Miró Governor of the Province of Louisiana
 SIR: As you have been pleased to direct, I present your Excellency in writing, the substance of what Mr. Gardoqui has engaged me in.

That gentlemen in the character of Minister of Spain authorised me to insinuate to the western americans in general, that Spain would upon favorable terms grant her protection to them, to form a connection with the King's government separate from any other. Insinuations have been made accordingly, & the people have manifested a strong bias towards what has been proposed.

With respect of Franklin in particular; the spanish minister gave me letters to their leading men, & directed me to assure them, from his authority, that if it was their wish to come under the protection of spain, & into its allegiance, they should be protected in their civil police, & internal government most agreeable to themselves on the following terms:

1. "that they shall make it a prerequisite [not] only of possessing any office, but to holding any lands among them that an oath of allegiance to the King be previously taken to defend his government, as faithful allies, upon all occasions, & against all his enemies whatsoever.

2. to abjure the authority of & dependence on, any other power."

To these conditions they have cheerfully consented; & the minister has referred them to your favorable patronage, & assistance, in this first step to a more extensive connection.

Your Excellency is so acquainted with the circumstances of the united States that it will be improper to remark on the occasion. The advantages that both parties have to expect from & the favorable juncture of american affairs, for such a plan, will best occur to yourself.

But as I have been made instrumental in spiring up many of the principal people to act in a manner that will preclude us from living in peace under the government of North Carolina; & as this has been done reposing confidence in the encouragement & assurances of a minister sanctioned with the royal authority; I hope it will be deemed reasonable to entreat that something may be done to give them a refuge under the King's protection: & if the instructions hitherto received from his Majesty do not exactly authorise you to grant what Mr. Gardoqui imagined might be conceded, I hope your wisdom & benevolence will propose something as near it as you may think consistent.

With respect to Cumberland from whence you have had the late accounts; we comprehended that country in the same view; & the circumstances of which you have lately been informed were probably in consequence of letters I brought to Colo. Robison, from Mr. Gardoqui.

I have the honor to be Your Excellencys obedt. & humb. Servt.

1. Printed: Lawrence Kinnaird, ed., "Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765-1794: Post War Decades, 1782-1791." American Historical Association *Annual Report for the Year 1945*, Vol. III, Pt. II (Washington, D.C., 1946), 267-68.

159. James Madison to Edmund Pendleton
New York, 19 April 1789¹

My last was committed to Majr. Rogers of your County who embarked some days ago from this place for Virginia. I have been since favored with yours of the 7th. instant, and am much & truly gratified with the proof it contains of your good health.

We have not yet either the President or vice President on the ground. The former is expected in a few days. The latter we are told will certainly come in tomorrow evening. Preparations are making by the Inhabitants for the reception of both; for that of the former in a very splendid style.

The House of Reps. is still occupied with the impost. It is a subject which is not very simple in itself; and is rendered not a little difficult by the diversity of State regulations—by the total want of regulations in several States—by the case of R. Island and N. Carolina (not yet parties to the Constitution); and by the law of Virginia disqualifying State officers, Judiciary as well as others, from executing federal functions. The latter circumstance seems to threaten additional delay, since it may require some special provision of a Judiciary nature for cases of seizure & until the Judiciary department can be systematically arranged; and may even then oblige the fedl. Legislature to extend its provisions farther than might otherwise be necessary.—In settling the rate of duties the ideas of different quarters Nrn. & Southn. Eastern & Western, do not entirely accord; but the difficulties are adjusted as easily as could be well expected. If the duties should be raised too high, the error will proceed as much from the popular ardor to throw the burden of revenue on trade, as from the premature policy of stimulating manufactures.

Several vessels are just arrived from England. They report that the King was getting much better, and the nation flattered with a hope of his being soon able to resume the reins of Govt. Should his recovery amount to a lucid interval only, and successive relapses mark his future situation, the case will be become more singular and perplexing than ever.

With the most sincere & affect. esteem

1. RC, Madison Papers, DLC.

160. Ebenezer Hazard to Jeremy Belknap
New York, 2 May 1789 (excerpt)¹

. . . I don't know what is to become of R. Isld. & North Cara:—I shall go on in the old way with them til I receive new orders.² . . .

1. RC, Belknap Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston. Printed: *Belknap Correspondence*, Part II, 120-22.

2. A reference to Hazard serving as postmaster of the United States under the Confederation. President Washington did not nominate Hazard for the position under the Constitution.

161. Governor George Clinton to the Governor of North Carolina
New York, 5 May 1789¹

Pursuant to a concurrent Resolution of the Senate and Assembly I have the Honor to transmit, inclosed, to your Excellency the Application of our Legislature in Behalf

of their Constituents to the Congress on the Subject of Amendments to the Constitution of the United States And I have to request that you will be pleased to communicate the same to your Legislature²

I have the Honor to be with the highest Respect and Esteem Your Excellency's Most Obedient Servant

1. RC, North Carolina State Papers (1788–1789), Duke University.
2. New York's concurrent resolution requested that Congress call a general convention of the states to amend the Constitution.

162. State Gazette of North Carolina, 7 May 1789

The *alterations* recommended by the several states, are, in general, so contradictory, vague and absurd, that if Congress should wish to take them up, they will not know where to begin, or where to end. Like Swift's books, they will give battle to each other, and in the end will destroy themselves.¹ So that even those who wish for *amendments*, will soon see how very difficult it is to amend a constitution, which very *many* think is as perfect as the common lot of humanity will admit.

1. The "Battle of the Books," a short satire written by Jonathan Swift, depicts an actual conflict between the books in the King's library. The piece was included in the prefatory material to Swift's *A Tale of a Tub* (London, 1704).

163. North Carolina Council Journal, 10 May 1789¹

Council Assembled. Present as before. . . .

The Governor and Council considering that it may be of great moment to the Interests of this State, that the sentiments of the People in respect to the new Form of Government for the United States should not be misrepresented, and by that means the harmony between the Different States be in any danger of interruption, think proper that the following Address should be presented to Genl. Washington; the said Address to be signed by the Governor and by the President in behalf of the Council.

To His Excellency George Washington Esquire
President of the United States.

Sir,

Amidst the Congratulations which surround you from all quarters, We the Governor and Council of the State of North Carolina, beg leave to Offer ours with equal sincerity and fervency with any which can be presented to you. Tho' this State be not yet a Member of the Union under the New form of Government, We look forward with the pleasing hope of its shortly becoming such, and in the mean time consider ourselves bound in a Common Interest & Affection with the other States, waiting only for the happy event of such alterations being proposed, as will remove the Apprehension of many of the Good Citizens of this State, for those Liberties for which they have fought & suffered in common with others. This happy event We doubt not will be accelerated by your Excellency's appointment to the first Office in the Union, since we are well assured the same greatness of Mind, which in all scenes has so eminently characterised your Excellency, will induce you to advise every Measure calculated to compose Party Divisions, and to abate any animosity that may be excited by a mere difference in Opinion. Your Excellency will consider (however others may forget) how

extremely difficult it is to Unite all the People of a great Country in one common sentiment, upon almost any political subject, much less upon a new form of Government, materially different from one they have been accustomed to, and will therefore rather be disposed to rejoice that so much has been effected, than regret that more could not all at once be accomplished, We sincerely believe ~~that~~ America is the only Country in the World where such a deliberate Change of Government could take place under any Circumstances whatever

We hope your Excellency will pardon the liberty we take in writing so particularly on this subject; but this State, however it may differ in any political Opinions with the other States, cordially joins with them in sentiments of the utmost gratitude and veneration for those distinguished Talents, and that illustrious Virtue, which we feel a pride in saying We believe under God has been the principal means of preserving the Liberty and procuring the Independence of Your Country. We cannot help considering you sir in some measure as the Father of it, and hope to experience the good effects of that confidence you so justly have acquired, in an abatement of the party Spirit which so much endangers the Union on which the safety and happiness of America can alone be founded may that Union, at a short distance of time, be as perfect and more safe than ever! and in the mean while may the State of North Carolina be considered, as it truly deserves to be, attached with equal warmth with any State in the Union, to the true Interest Prosperity and Glory of America, differing only in some particulars in Opinion as to the means of promoting them!

1. MS, Ne-Ar.

164. James Manning to Nicholas Brown
New York, 21 May 1789 (excerpt)¹

Last Evening I spent an Hour with a number of the House of Representatives & Senate of the United States. They immediately entered upon Rhode Island; and all say that we must be considered as Foreigners, the moment the Revenue Law takes place—They wish to relieve the State from any inconveniency till they shall have a reasonable time to come into the new Government; but self Preservation, they say, impels them to treat us thus—North Carolina must share the same fate, till they adopt the Constitution, It was a question, seriously agitated, whether to address the State on calling a Convention. It was doubted whether they could, consistently with Character, do this, as Congress had done it before, without Effect. . . .

1. RC, John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R.I.

165. James Sullivan to John Adams
Boston, 10 June 1789¹

The Communicating our Sentiments to men in power, when done with the respect due to their characters, and without a troublesome intrusion, is at all Times a mark of Veneration and esteem. upon these ideas I Venture to address a letter to the Vice President of the united states, and which he will read, when his leisure will admit a moment of heedless employment.

I am very deeply impressed with the disagreeable situation of N Carolina, Rhode Island, and Vermont. though I am very sensible that your Situation and ability have

placed you far beyond the reach of my suggesting any thing new to you upon the subject, yet I wish to be indulged one word. great expectation of happiness and prosperity are raised upon the general Government. these are still heightened by the idea of the Characters who have the Administration of it. but the system, perfect as it is, or may be, or the Governors, however wise, or prudent, cannot afford to man, that perfect ease and enjoyment, which his fond hopes are reaching after, and which the wisdom of heaven hath decreed he cannot possess.

I believe we shall be as happy as any nation in the world, but not as happy as we expect to be: Government as Doctor Price says, being but the choice of evils.²

When our officers have a naked competency, and our National Debt creates Either an imaginary, or a real burthen, our people may become in some measure uneasy. the raising a revenue by Impost, is clearly the best mode in the world; but while it was thought a Virtue to prevent the British revenue raised on the Colonies, our Merchants contracted habits which Interest, or Necessity may suffer some of them to indulge, and it would be no wonder that a partial uneasiness, or possibly a limited disaffection to a young Government, should take place for a while. if any thing of this kind should happen, and the states above mentioned should remain unconnected with the confederated republic, they will become asylums for fugitives from Justice, and increase their number by lessening the risque of offending; and greatly serve to promote the subversion of the Revenue and other Laws.

I could point out many mischiefs arising from this source, and you might call them imaginary ones. but if they might really exist, it would be more useful to prescribe a remedy, but this I cannot pretend to. and yet as I dread a civil contest, and am very averse to that kind of war, which calls for halts and axes, I beg leave to mention the Necessity of an Early attempt by Congress, to unite all the States; and that before any interdiction of commerce with those which are delinquent Congress should address the Legislatures of those States with solicitude on the subject, point out to them their unfortunate situation, and the necessity which the Republic is under of taking decided measures to bring them under the General Government, and protection. let me add, the idea of a Letter for this purpose being signed by the President at the request of Congress. should this fail, perhaps the giving Individuals who shall take the oath of Allegiance; the privilege of Citizens, may weaken the force and distract the Councils of the opposition, and bring on a conviction of the Necessity of a union.

however small these observations may appear to you, yet you will suffer the goodness of my intentions to apologize for them; for I assure you that I dread a delay in this important business—because I believe, that as soon after the Revenue Laws, and the restrictions on trade shall begin to operate a present benefit will arise which may strengthen the opposition.

The People of the Eastern part of this state [i.e., Maine] where I once was conversant are uneasy at having no part of delivery, or of Entry, Eastward of Portland. the shore is two hundred miles long, and they will suffer great inconvenience by being obliged to Enter at Portland, my Friends that way have urged me to write you on the Subject expressing their confidence in your goodness.

I am Sir with the highest sentiments of respect

1. RC, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. See Adams's response immediately below.

2. Richard Price, *Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution and the Means of Making It a Benefit to the World* (London, 1784), 17.

166. John Adams to James Sullivan
New York, 18 June 1789¹

I have received your favour of the 10th. and am obliged to you for a free Communication of your Sentiments upon some important points.

The situation of Rhode-Island, North Carolina and Vermont, must be disagreeable to themselves as well as to their neighbours. Congress is not inattentive to either. What measures they may think proper to take is as yet to be determined—It is reported here that the minority in Massachusetts are encouraging the majority in Rhode Island—A speech from the President, a Resolution of the House or senate or both; have been thought of and proposed, but there are different sentiments concerning the Wisdom and the effects of Either—but there is no difference of opinion concerning the Conduct of Rhode Island—They are betraying the Rights and Interests of New England every day; and their fault is less Criminal than that of Massachusetts—Men who countenance and encourage them—

You must be enough acquainted with american Politicks to perceive that the members of the middle & the south, will not be unanimously zealous at this moment to give N. England two additional senators—

If the new Government has dominion enough over the minds and Hearts of Men to maintain its ground in the states that have accepted it, Rhode-Island will come in, if not, the other states will go out, and the Government will expire.

Our Eastern friends seem to have reason to desire a Port of delivery Eastward of Portland, but that Bill is not yet digested—The members from that Part will endeavour to obtain what is reasonable; and I shall be glad to throw in my mite of assistance to them, in anything in my sphere—

1. FC, Letterbook, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. For Sullivan's letter of 10 June to Adams, see immediately above.

167. Advertisement for the North Carolina Convention Debates and Proceedings
State Gazette of North Carolina, 18 June 1789¹

FOR SALE,
 By the Printers hereof, *Price 20d.*
 A few Copies of the
 PROCEEDINGS
 AND
 DEBATES
 OF THE LATE
 CONVENTION
 OF
 NORTH-CAROLINA.

1. The *State Gazette of North Carolina* reprinted this advertisement repeatedly. Reprintings have been located in the extant issues of 2 and 23 July; 1 October; 26 November; 17 December; 13 February 1790; 4 and 11 June.

168. North Carolina Convention, Sale of Debates, July 1789¹

Debates of the Convention

Reced: July 1789 12 Doz and 5 volumes

Sold (credit 2 copies 20/.) 2 copies sold by Mr. Cay in Mecklenburg and paid me the money 20/. £2.0.0

Sent by Mr. Macoy 6 copies to Doctor Mc.Laine—

Sent by 4 copies to be left in Mecklenburg

Sent by Cap. Wm. Alexander 6 copies to Do. County

Sold 1 to Mr. Sharpe, and 1 to Col Caldwell—20/—

Sold 1 copy to Col Stokes—10/—

Do. 1 copy Allen Alexander 10/—

Do. 1 Do. to Squire Allison 10/—

} Cash 30/—

Sent 5 Copies by Squire Allison (of Mecklenburg) for Sales

Recd. cash 50/—

Sold 1 copy to Thoms. Beard, 4th Creek on Credit 10/—

Sent 8 copies to Surry, See Lewis Receipt

Sent 6 Do. to Iredell, See Works Receipt

Sent 3 copies by Parson McKorkle—

Sold 1 Copy to Cap Faust on credit

Reced. pay—Sent Mr. John Braly, 3 copies for Sale—30/—Cash

Sold 1 copy to Alexr. Martin Esqr.—Cash 10/—

Wm. Rasborough 1 copy Credit 10/—

Saml. Young cash 10/.

Sold 4 copies to Jo. Henry Esqr. Cash reced. 40/.

Cash	Credit	Recets.	
2	2	D. Maclaine	6
2	1	C: Polk	4
3	1	Do.	6
5	1 50/.	Lewis	8
3		Work	6
1		McCorkle	3 33
1			
4	21 at 10/.		£10.10.0

1. MS, John Steel, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

**169. Moses Guest: Poem on the States
New Brunswick, New Jersey, 4 July 1789 (excerpt)¹**

NORTH-CAROLINA.

This state in clouds of darkness lies,
Tho' in the five months^(a) her sun will rise.

(a) Alluding to the Convention which is to be called in November.

1. Printed: *Brunswick Gazette*, 7 July 1789. Printed: Moses Guest, *Poems on Several Occasions* . . . (2nd ed., Cincinnati, Ohio, 1824), 13-14.

**170. Advertisement for the North Carolina Convention Debates and Proceedings
New York Daily Advertiser, 9 July 1789¹**

THIS DAY is PUBLISHED,

And to be sold by ROBERT HODGE, No. 237, the corner of King and Queen-streets.

The Proceedings and Debates of the Convention of North-Carolina

Convened at HILLSBOROUGH, on Monday, the 21st day of July, 1788, for the purpose of deliberating and determining on the Constitution, recommended by the General Convention, at Philadelphia, the 17th day of September, 1787.—To which is prefixed the said Constitution.

July 9.

1. The *Daily Advertiser* reprinted this advertisement in its issues of 10 and 11 July.

171. Wilmington Centinel, 9 July 1789¹

We hear from Fayetteville, that during the celebration of the anniversary of our independence, on Saturday last, Mr. Jacobs unfortunately had his arm blown off by the discharge of one of the field pieces, while ramming home the cartridge.

1. The *Wilmington Centinel*, 9 July, is not extant. The transcription is taken from the *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, 12 August, reprinting, which appeared under the dateline "Wilmington, (N.C.) July 9." This report was also reprinted in the *Georgia Gazette*, 6 August.

172. Georgia Augusta Chronicle, 25 July 1789 (excerpt)

On the 4th inst. being the Anniversary of American Independence, the Members of the Cincinnati assembled at Hamilton's Long Room . . . After dinner the following toasts were drank: . . .

13. May North-Carolina and Rhode-Island, by a speedy adoption of the Federal Constitution, complete the number of the Thirteen United States.

173. Massachusetts Centinel, 29 July 1789¹

The Governour and Council of North-Carolina, have sent a very respectable address to the President of the U.S. and have received a gracious answer thereto. In the address they say, "they look forward with the pleasing hope of their State's shortly becoming a member of the Union."²

1. Reprinted: *New Hampshire Spy*, 1 August; Portland, Maine, *Cumberland Gazette*, 7 August.
2. For the address to President Washington and his response, see RCS:N.C., 642-44, 653-54.

174. Newport Mercury, 29 July 1789

The New York Papers contain an Address from the Governor and Council of North-Carolina to the President of the United States, indicative of that State's speedily acceding to the new Government, with the President's Reply thereto.¹

1. For the address to President Washington, see RCS:N.C., 642-44.

175.1–175.140. Fayetteville Convention Election Certificates, August 1789

[See Part II: Documents (Facsimiles). For a detailed list of the Certificates, see the Contents.]

176. Providence Gazette, 1 August 1789 (excerpt)¹

The State of North-Carolina, remarks a Correspondent, will most assuredly adopt the new general Government, at the Meeting of their Convention.—This State [i.e., Rhode Island] then, unless we should previously accede thereto, must remain to the other States and the World at large a Spectacle of Reproach and Derision—a By-Word among the Nations! . . .

1. Reprinted: *New York Packet*, and *New Hampshire Spy*, 11 August; *Philadelphia Federal Gazette*, and *New York Daily Advertiser*, 13 August; *Pennsylvania Packet*, and *Baltimore Maryland Gazette*, 18 August. For the entire piece, see RCS:R.I., 565–66n.

177. Georgia Augusta Chronicle, 15 August 1789

The misfortune of North-Carolina not acceding to the new constitution, and the delegation from the southern states not being full, occasioned the impost on salt to pass; the middle states, who were for it, having only a majority of three.

178. Providence Gazette, 15 August 1789¹

A Petition is said to have been presented to Congress from the Governor and Council of North-Carolina, which mentions the Probability of that State becoming soon a Member of the Union, and praying that the foreign Duties may not be exacted from the Citizens thereof till after the Meeting of their Convention in November next. We further learn, that Congress, wishing for the present to adopt lenient Measures, have agreed that the said Duties shall not be collected from Ships and Vessels belonging to North-Carolina and this State, till after November next.

1. Reprinted: *Connecticut Norwich Packet*, 21 August; *Connecticut Courant*, 24 August; *Boston Herald of Freedom*, 25 August; *Virginia Centinel*, 9 September.

179. Newport Mercury, 19 August 1789¹

Extract from a Law of the United States, passed the 31st of July 1789, entitled “An Act to regulate the Collection of the Duties, &c.”

“And whereas the States of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, and North Carolina, have not as yet ratified the present constitution of the United States, by reason whereof this act doth not extend to the collecting of duties within either of the said two States, and it is thereby become necessary, that the following provision with respect to goods, wares or merchandize imported from either of the said two States should for the present take place;

Be it further enacted, That all goods, wares and merchandize not of their own growth or manufacture, which shall be imported from either of the said two States of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, or North-Carolina, into any other port or

place, within the limits of the United States, as settled by the late treaty of peace, shall be subject to the like duties, seizures and forfeitures, as goods, wares or merchandize, imported from any State or country without the said limits.”

1. Reprinted Providence *United States Chronicle*, 20 August. For the act, see *The Documentary History of the First Federal Congress* (22 vols., Baltimore, 1972-2017).

180. Massachusetts Spy, 27 August 1789¹

It is said that Northcarolina will soon adopt the federal Constitution, and the probability is that Rhodeisland will also.

1. Reprinted: *New York Packet*, 3 September; Poughkeepsie, N.Y., *Country Journal*, 15 September.

181. Samuel Johnston to Daniel Smith Edenton, N.C., 31 August 1789¹

Your letter of the 24th. July last, came to me the 27th. of this Month, inclosing a Letter from Colo. Robertson to you, dated the 7th. of July.

I have long very sensibly felt for the misfortunes and sufferings, of the Inhabitants on the Western Waters of this State, and sincerely lamented, that it was so little in the power of this Government, to extend its exertions, so, as to give effectual support & security, to that part of the Country, the difficulties arise from a combination of Circumstances, particularly your distant situation from the most populous parts of the Country, the nature of the Assaults made upon you, and the great extent of your Frontier, which would require a considerable Army to form a line of Posts in such manner, as to afford you any considerable degree of Security. I hope a Treaty will take place this Fall, if it should not, & this State thinks proper to adopt the Constitution, I will lay a full State of your case before the President of the United States, who I doubt not, will pursue such measures, as will make the Indians see it their Interest to desist from hostilities. This I fear can only be done, by carrying the War into their own Country, with a sufficient force to bring them to reason, this is a dreadful Alternative, which nothing could Justifie but the necessity at all Hazards, of securing protection to the Inhabitants

The Idea, which some hold forth of putting themselves under the protection of Spain, or in other words, becoming a Spanish Colony, is so monstrous and absurd, that it will not bear a moments reflection, how could Americans among whom, the Rights of Mankind are so well understood, submit to be under the Dominion of Laws, dictated by any one man upon Earth, varied occasionally according to the whim & caprice, of an Ambitious Monarch, or to gratify the avaricious or arbitrary views, of a Wicked Minister? Will men who have so bravely defended themselves, against the Incroachments, of one of the most formidable powers in Europe, sink under the Assaults of a few undisciplined Barbarians? It can never be the case, I think more honorably of the Inhabitants of the Western Waters, than to suffer the smallest degree of pain on that account.

I hope your prospects will soon brighten, recommend Patience and perseverance to the people under your Command, I hope their Sufferings will not have a much longer duration.

I shall expect to have the pleasure of Meeting you at the Assembly, when we can have an oppertunity of mutually communicating our Sentiments on this Subject, more

at large, you may rely that nothing within the compass of my power, which can in any manner tend to the Happiness and Security of the people with you, shall be left undone, and I shall consider it my greatest happiness, to effect any measure, which may tend to restore to that so distressed people, that peace & Security which they so greatly stand in need

Be pleased to present my best respects to Colo. Robertson & Believe me &c &c. P. S. Since writing the above, I am informed by Letters from NewYork, that Genl. Lincoln Cyrus Griffin Esqr. late president of Congress; and Colo. Humphreys, are appointed to treat with the Southern Indians, and that there is a considerable Sum of Money Voted by Congress, to defray all expences that may attend the Negotiations: this I flatter myself will have a happy effect upon your affairs, as I doubt not but that the Interests of this State, will be attended to in any Treaty which may be made, as far as Circumstances will admit, though the Commissioners cannot undertake to stipulate any thing which will bind us, in our present Situation.

1. FC, Governors' Letterbooks & Papers, Nc-Ar.

**182. Hugh Williamson to General James Robertson
New York, 31 August 1789¹**

Commissioners are just appointed by the President of the United States to treat with the Southern Indians, they are to sail in a few days for Georgia with a Guard of Continental Soldiers. Genl: Lincoln, Cyrus Griffin & Colo. Humphries formerly one of General Washington's Aids are Appointed. It is conceived that Genl Lincoln having commanded in the Southern States being somewhat lamed by a wound he received in an Action with Burgoine & having a general Character of a Soldier & Statesman will impress the Southern Indians with an Idea that trifling is at an end and that they must seriously treat and faithfully abide by what they promise. It is probable that the Troops will be left as a Barrier on the frontier to see that neither Parties break the Treaty. This I think is the Beginning of general Peace & Security against the Indians. North Carolina not being in the Union the Commissioners will be much hampered in any Negotiations with the Cherokees I have however handed them a long Memorial representing the Interest of our State and praying that in all their Negotiations they would have an Eye on the Safety of our Citizens, and not encourage the Indians to expect the Removal of any Settlers off the Lands they hold.² Though we are not in the Union our State is respected and as Gentlemen in public Office do me the favour in general to suppose that I am pretty well acquainted with the Interest of my Constituents I hope the Representations I have made will [be] of Use to our Western Friends and I may safely venture to say that no man living is more constantly anxious to serve the Inhabitants of Davidson & the adjoining Counties than myself.

Colo. [Daniel] Morgan continues to try to persuade People to remove themselves across the Mississippi and become Spanish Subjects on Lands for which the[y] can have no Title and in a Place where in 24 Hours they may be compelled to become Roman Catholics or leave the Country. Such a Settlement, if it should be made, may do you some good, it can do you no Harm. If you have seen any News Papers you may have observed that Congress have established a Post on the Ohio, not with much Hope as you must be assured of collecting many Duties on Goods brought up the Mississippi but to start fair & let Spain see that the new Government is resolved to

maintain its Claim to the Navigation of that River. This you see augurs well. Since the resolve I had the good Fortune to obtain in Congress on the last Summer, in Favour of the Mississippi Claim, no Doubts have ever been hinted on that Subject. As I hold a public Office under the State I could not offer myself to represent our County or Town in the Assembly I shall nevertheless have Ocassion to attend some Part of the Time while the Assembly is sitting & hope for the pleasure of seeing you there. . . .

1. Printed: "The Correspondence of Gen. James Robertson," *American Historical Magazine*, I (1896), 89-91.

2. For Williamson's memorial, see immediately below.

183. Hugh Williamson to U.S. Indian Commissioners New York, September 1789¹

The Honourable the Commissioners
for negotiating Peace with the Indians
Gentlemen

It is with great Diffidence that I venture an Opinion on the interesting Subject that is submitted to your Care, but as North Carolina must be more immediately affected by the Treaty you are preparing to make than any other State, Georgia excepted, and as that State has no Representative in the national Senate by whom her Claims or Interest might be stated, I shall take the Liberty of mentioning some Facts that are extremely interesting to the Happiness and Peace of her Citizens.

According to the Treaty of Hopewell, as you may observe, the Lands between French Broad and Holstein Rivers are disclaimed by the Commissioners or given up as Indian Property; the Settlers to be removed if Congress should think fit; and all other Settlers to the Southward and Westward of the Boundary there described are absolutely to be removed within six months. Now this particular Article of the Treaty, as I conceive, cannot easily be enforced; perhaps it ought not to have been made. If it could be so altered, by Consent of the Indians, as to accommodate the Necessities of the present Settlers, who appear to have good Titles or who have obtained Peaceable Possession, a great Proportion of the Citizens of that State would rejoice in the Measure and much trouble would be evaded. Governor Johnston, on the Subject of that Treaty, several Months ago wrote me as follows

"The People inhabiting the Lands in the Forks of French Broad and Holstein Rivers claim under Grants from the State, regularly issued from the Secretarys Office, and executed by the Governor; These People are therefore as much under the Protection of the State, as any other of her Citizens, for which Reason &ca the Treaty of Hopewill will probably ever be reprobated &ca."

You will not be surprised that People should have settled in the Fork above mentioned, when you are told that in Consequence of Treaties had with the Indians the Northern Boundary of the hunting Grounds of the Cherokees is thus described in an Act of the Legislature of that State,

"Beginning on the Tennessee River where the southern Boundary of the State of North Carolina intersects the same, nearest the Chickamauga Towns, thence up the middle of the Tennessee and Holstein

Rivers to the middle of French Broad, thence up the middle of the said French Broad River, which Lines are not to include any Island, to the Mouth of big Pigeon River, thence up the same to the Head thereof, thence along the dividing Ridge between the Waters of Pigeon River & Tuckasege River to the said southern Boundary, thence West with the said Boundary to the Beginning”

You will be pleased also to observe that there is another very numerous Class of Settlers absolutely devoted to the Indians by the Treaty. Their Claim indeed is not so good as the Claim of those who live in the Fork, but it is plausible. They interest our Humanity and instead of removing them, which would be rather cruel and very difficult, perhaps the Indians may be prevailed on to admit by Treaty that those People also shall be considered as living without their hunting grounds. The People of whom I speak live on the South Side of French Broad. Governor Johnston speaking of the Act of Congress of the first of September Ult. respecting Troops to be sent for the Protection of the Cherokees expresses himself thus,

“Much will depend on the Discretion of the Officer who has the Command of the Troops destined for that Service; should he pursue the Resolve of Congress literally he will ruin a very respectable Settlement of upwards of 1500 Families settled on the South Side of French Broad River. Those People settled there, I am informed, with the Consent of the Indians and have had no Share in the Outrages that have lately been committed by Sevier and others, but have always lived in Amity with the Indians. They are avowedly within the Indian Boundary and have made an application, which is to be laid before the next general Assembly, for Directions in what Manner they are to proceed to obtain a regular Title to their Lands.[”]

What Steps the Assembly have taken in favour of those People I am not fully informed, but understand that some Thing has been done. In the mean while it is obvious that such a Body of People, thus circumstanced, claim no small Degree of Attention.

I have the Honour to be with the utmost Consideration—Gentlemen

1. RC, Charles Francis Jenkins Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

**184. Henry Lee to James Madison
Berkeley, Va., 8 September 1789 (excerpt)¹**

. . . What will No. Carolina say, the very moment she is about to unite, a matter of the highest consequence is unseasonably determined, for if you rise agreeable to your vote, the decision must be not only unseasonable but hasty & puerile—Already has the hopes of some of the best friends to govt. abated, pray be careful how you add to the causes of disgust. Farewel.

Yours truly & affy

1. RC, Madison Papers, DLC. Printed: Rutland, *Madison*, XII, 388-90.

185. New York Gazette of the United States, 9 September 1789¹

Recent accounts state, that NORTH-CAROLINA and RHODE-ISLAND will very probably soon come into the federal Family: In the meantime the Legislature of the Union, are paying all due attention to their representations and petitions upon those parts of the revenue Laws which bear hard upon them, by reason of their present alien situation.

1. Reprinted: Philadelphia *Federal Gazette*, 10 September; Lansingburgh, N.Y., *Federal Herald* and *Pennsylvania Packet*, 14 September; Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 15 September; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 16 September; Portland, Maine, *Cumberland Gazette*, 18 September; *New Hampshire Gazetteer*, 19 September.

186. Petersburg Virginia Gazette, 10 September 1789¹

From North-Carolina we learn, that their next state convention will certainly adopt the Federal Constitution.

1. The Petersburg *Virginia Gazette*, 10 September, is not extant. The transcription is taken from the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 19 September, reprinting, which appears under the dateline "Petersburg, Sept. 10."

**187. John Stokes to Charles Simms
Rowan, N.C., 8 October 1789¹**

After so long a silence you will perhaps be surprised by the receipt of a letter from me—but Sir, if I have not frequently written to you, the neglect has by no means proceeded from a want of the highest regard—the friendship established between us while in the army together has never been forgotten by me—it is often thought of by me, and still feels warm at my heart. But the more particular object of this address is to return you my most cordial thanks for the respect you paid me by your civilities to my neighbour Mr. H. Hughes last winter—he informs me that the moment he mentioned me to you, you became his friend on my account & was both friendly and useful to him—this conduct Sir has still more attached me to you and commands my highest esteem.

I hope Mrs. Simms & your flourishing little family may long be blessed with you & you with them—as for me I have a charming little wife and a most lovely son, and as for property I am above the frowns of the world and am encreasing in wealth tolerable fast—I have good lands & some negroes with money by me to buy 6 or 8 negroes this fall—I am also fortunate enough to be one of the popular characters of the day, not only in the county where I live but in the State at large in so much that I believe I can obtain any vacant office in any department of our Government, whether the same is the gift of the people or the legislature—that of a Judge of the Superior courts of law & Equity has been repeatedly offered to me, and I shall be importuned (if our next State convention receives the new constitution) to accept of a seat in Congress which may possibly agree to but have not as yet made up my mind—I was repeatedly elected to the old Congress but never would serve—it would have interfered too much with my practice which I was not then able to live without, but which is not now so great an object with me—

I am my dear Charles, with as pure Sentiments of regard as ever warmed a human heart.

1. RC, Simms Papers, DLC. The address page is endorsed: "favored by Mr. Hughes." Stokes represented Rowan County in the Fayetteville Convention where he voted to ratify the Constitution.

188. John Hamilton: To His Constituents
State Gazette of North Carolina, 15 October 1789

To the FREEHOLDERS and FREEMEN
of the Town of EDENTON.

GENTLEMEN,

As I shall shortly leave Edenton, for the General Assembly, I shall be happy to receive from the town at large, or from individuals, such instructions and information for the regulation of my conduct, which may be conceived to be beneficial to the town—to the individual—or to the public.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, Your most obedient Humble servant, JOHN HAMILTON.

October 12, 1789.

189. Will Cumming to Elbridge Gerry
Edenton, N.C., 17 October 1789¹

From a Recollection of our former friendship while in Congress, I use the freedom of soliciting your Interest with the President of the United States in behalf of my Nephew Mr John Hamilton.

This little town has chosen him as its Representative in Assembly and as there is a moral Certainty of our adopting the Constitution at the Convention in November next, I hope my application at this present period will not be either premature or impertinent.

Applications have already been made as I am taught to understand for the offices of Judge & Marshall for the district of No. Carolina and as I esteem him competent to the *office of Atty. for the District*, I am hopeful of your Countenance and support to him in the appointment by the President. Mr Hamilton is a Native of Pensylvania & received the Rudiments of his Law Education in England.²

With the highest Respect

1. RC, Collection of Elsie O. & Philip D. Sang, Southern Illinois University. On the same day, Cumming wrote a similar letter endorsing John Hamilton (to William Samuel Johnson, Washington Papers, DLC).

2. In his letter to Johnson, Cumming indicated that Hamilton received his legal education from Edinburgh and Westminster.

190. From John Hamilton
Edenton, N.C., 17 October 1789¹

I have the honor of receiving your letter of the 29th Ulto. and beg leave to return you my grateful acknowledgements for your wishes on my behalf. Mr. Iredell of this Place I understand has made application thro Doctr Hugh Williamson for the Office of Judge and a Major Clement Hall for that of Marshall. I beg you will excuse my importunity but as others have made such early application I am advised by my Friends to request of you (if consistent with your feelings and situation) to make as early a Recommendation to the President in my favor as possible for the attorneys

Place, more particularly as there is a moral certainty of this States adopting the Constitution, on the third Monday of next Month. I shall do myself the Pleasure of Writing you whenever that happy event takes place.

1. RC, Washington Papers, DLC.

191. Abishai C. Thomas to John Gray Blount
New York, 19 October 1789 (excerpt)¹

. . . If our state adopts the Constitution, and I trust she will probably my colleague may become a member of Congress, in that case a new arrangement may be necessary in our Agency, on this head I flatter myself with the friendship & patronage of yourself & Brothers. . . .

1. RC, Blount Papers, Nc-Ar. Printed: Keith, *Blount*, I, 511–12. The address page was endorsed: “Sloop Little Joseph/Capt. Billings.” Thomas refers to Hugh Williamson, his “colleague” as North Carolina’s commissioner to settle the state’s account with Congress.

192. James Iredell to Hannah Iredell
Halifax, 22 October 1789¹

My dear Hannah,

I still continue quite well, but have scarcely a moment to tell you so, as I am preparing for Baker’s suit to day.—Give my tenderest love to my dear Children, & remember me affectionately to Nelly & my Brother, & the Family over the Creek. Prospects from the back Country as to the Constitution excellent.

Adieu! God grant I may find you all well. I am ever my dear Hannah, Most affectionately yours

1. Typescript, Charles E. Johnson Collection, Nc-Ar.

193. Archibald Maclaine to W. Hay
24 October 1789 (excerpt)¹

. . . What shall we do for the back country produce? And what will you do for our good things at the Assembly and convention?—I take it, that many people with you have not & applied themselves at least not fully.

1. RC, Morris Family Papers, North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina.

194. John Dawson to Tench Coxe
Richmond, Va., 26 October 1789 (excerpts)¹

My dear Sir,

. . . North Carolina will certainly be one of us in the course of this fall—a conviction of the ill policy of *one* or *two* *Small* states holding out has destroyed all opposition, and excited a wish with those who disapprove the government to join the Union. . . . be assured that I am Yr. Affec[tionat]e friend

1. RC, Coxe Papers, Incoming Correspondence, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

195. North Carolina General Assembly: Resolution on Tarborough Representation November 1789¹

Whereas the last Gen. Assembly did on the 19 November 1788 Resolve that it be recommended by this Assembly to the Convention which is to meet on the third monday in november to reconsider the new Constitution, that they also consider the propriety of allowing the town of Fayettevill a member to represent the said town on the same terms with the other District Towns in this state And whereas this present Genl. Assembly have equal powers with the last And whereas the Town of Tarborough is equally entitled with the Town of Fayettevill to a representation

Resolved that it be recommended by this Assembly to the said Convention that they also consider the propriety of allowing the Town of Tarborough a member to represent the said Town on the same terms with the other District Towns in this state

1. Draft, Papers of the Convention of 1789, Nc-Ar. No record exists showing that the Convention considered this resolution on Tarborough representation.

196. Arthur Iredell to James Iredell Guildford, England, 3 November 1789 (excerpt)¹

I wrote to You, my dear James, by the last New York Packet, and I believe promised to write by this; but to avoid Repetitions, and to be as malicious as possible, I will do more now, I will engage to write to You a few Lines, at least, by every Packet; *provided* You will, on Your Part engage to follow my Example—If you shall do so, in *any* Degree, I shall think myself a great Gainer by the Compact; probably in the same Proportion that you have convinced me N Carolina would gain by acceding to the Federal Union. The Priviledge of comparing great Things with small, & Vice versa, is You know of great Antiquity; and therefore you will not wonder at the Effect of Your Eloquence upon me, tho you little dreamt, when you were making your fine Speeches, of the Comparison they have thus provoked—I have read them over & over, and decies repetita placebit.² I would say more if I did not fear to offend the Modesty of a trans-Atlantic Lawyer—Did you practice in Westminster Hall, I should have much less reserve. Bashfullness is with us a tender Plant that will not *thrive*; and they do not cultivate It therefore in Our Courts of Justice. But I must venture to compliment You upon one Talent, Which I wish, in your Charity, You could communicate to me—It is what I think may be called the Art of Compression. There is no Waste of Language in Your Speeches—You say more in five Words than is commonly expressed in fifty.—I don't know whether you meant to feed the Appetite Your Pamphlet has given me for American Politicks, but I must tell you that I expect you to do so, by continuing to transmit every thing of the kind in which *You* are at all interested, & as many others as you shall think proper to add: Remembering always to give the Bearer of them a *broad* hint that we have such things as Stage Coaches in England, which have the Art of conveying a Parcel as well as the Post. . . .

1. Typescript, Charles E. Johnson Collection, Nc-Ar. Printed: Kelly, *Iredell*, III, 534–36n.

2. Though ten times repeated, it is still pleasing (Horace).

**197. Benjamin Franklin to Alexander Small
Philadelphia, 5 November 1789 (excerpts)¹**

. . . Our new constitution is now established with *eleven* States, and the accession of a twelfth is soon expected. We have had one session of Congress under it, which was conducted with remarkable prudence, and a good deal of unanimity. . . .

I am ever, my dear friend, yours most affectionately,

1. Printed: William Temple Franklin, ed., *The Private Correspondence of Benjamin Franklin, LL.D* . . . (London, 1817), 122-23.

**198. Mathew Carey to James Carey
Philadelphia, 9 November 1789 (excerpt)¹**

Rev James Carey, Dear Cousin,

. . . Nothing but the advancement of the illustrious Washington to the head of the administration of our govt. could have so thoroughly reconciled all ranks of people to it. The govt. now fully possesses the Confidence of the people. North Carolina will in all probability become a member of the new union, in the Course of the present month. . . .

1. FC, Mathew Carey Letterbook, Lea and Febiger Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

**199. George Nicolson to John Gray Blount
Richmond, Va., 9 November 1789 (excerpt)¹**

. . . Colo Carrington suggested the idea of an application to a Court of Justice, which I conceive will be the best way of Mr. Maxwells coming at that justice which he seems entitled to. I will consult an Attorney & inform you in my next. I also presume that your State will come into the Union & in that case the Federal Court will be the best place to try a Suit of that nature. . . .

1. RC, Blount Papers, Nc-Ar.

200. State Gazette of North Carolina, 26 November 1789¹

The Convention of this state met at Fayetteville on Monday the 16th instant, and appointed his Excellency Samuel Johnston their President; and on Saturday the 21st instant they adopted the Constitution of the United States, by a majority of 118; Yeas 193, Nays 75.

1. The *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 26 November, is not extant. The transcription is taken from the *Georgia Gazette*, 24 December, reprinting, which appears under the dateline "New Bern, November 26."

**201. Petition of Miro District to President George Washington and Congress
30 November 1789¹**

His Excellency the President, and the Honorable the Congress of the United States.

We the underwritten in behalf of ourselves and others, Inhabitants of the State and District afforesaid Situated on Cumberland River, beg leave to lay before Your

Honorable and much esteemed body a true State of the numerous, Singular hardships, dangers and disadvantages, attending a Settlement which (tho of little Significance in its present State) will, we trust in a short period become a valuable Member of the United Community.

This Country previous to the late glorious Revolution, was purchased, together with that known by the Name of Kentucky by Richard Henderson and his Associates from whose encouragement many of Your petitioners removed and Settled with their families at a place then well known by the name of the French lick, now the Town of Nashville, at the risque of their lives and properties in the heart of a Country Surrounded by Savages, with a flattering prospect of being the means of increasing population and cultivation, of this truly Rich and valuable country. These pleasing prospects were however for a Short period obscured by the War carried on with our late Mother Country (an Epoch that we look back to with the greater pleasure as it has been the happy Cause of our present state of Independance) at the conclusion of which the State Seized and appropriated that part of the Said Country, where the whole of Your Petitioners live, to the purposes of rewarding our brave defenders, many of whom have Since removed to and Settled here under a Confidence in that Community's affording them a protection against their Savage Neighbours whose lives, Liberties and properties they had at the risque of their own So Gallantly defended: In this situation we continued at this place Subject to all the hardships and inconveniences naturally attending the Settling a wild uncultivated Country with the additional disadvantage of constant depredations from our Savage Neighbours, who have afforded us little, or no respite, for about ten Years, from all the terrifying calamities of a Savage War until the Year 1786, when at the constant pressing Solicitations of the Inhabitants the General Assembly of the State Summoned so much humanity as to afford their distressed Supplicants a small Batallion Consisting of two hundred men properly officered, for two Years at the expiration whereof they were disbanded and Your Petitioners left as before without any other dependance than their own strength and determined resolution to Support their little growing Settlement—those few troops, however advantageous to the Settlement were far from being able to remove all the disadvantages the Settlers laboured under on account of the ennemy or preventing many valuable Citizens from being killed at their habitations on the frontiers and Since the expiration of their time the list has been dailey encreasing So that the number killed Since the first day of January 1788 (from an exact Register that had been kept) Amount to 54 Persons who have been barbarously murdered while at their domestic employment without the most distant prospect of any further a distance from the legislative body of the State than overtures to the Indians for a Treaty of Peace and Amity who we have the most alarming reasons to believe from the accounts Received in this place of the Indignities offered by McGilvray to the Commissioners delegated by your Honorable Body to treat with the Creek Nation will never avail us any thing untill an army is Sent into the heart of their Country Sufficient to extirpate their whole Savage race.

We do with the utmost Candour acknowledge that as Members of the State of North carolina we have not at present the least pretence for making this address and prayer to Your Honorable Body. But in full confidence the Convention that is now sitting will adopt the Federal Constitution; we are encouraged to hope that Your Honorable Body will take our Situation into your most Serious consideration and afford us Such protection and Support as You in Your Wisdom may deem Sufficient to

prevent the future depredations of our merciless and Savage Enemies—and Your Petitioners, will, as in duty bound, ever pray &c.

Signed James Robertson Lieut: Col. Commt. of Davidson County
Isaac Bledsoe Lieu. Colo: Commd. of Summer County

The commanding officer of the District (General Daniel Smith) is now absent at the General Assembly of this State, which is the reason his name is not [affixed] to the foregoing petition.

Signed J: Robertson L.C.C.
I. Bledsoe L.C.C.

1. RC, Washington Papers, DLC. The Miro District in western North Carolina included settlements extending about eighty-five miles along the Cumberland River. The area is now in Tennessee.

**202. Robert Murray to John Corlis
Washington, N.C., 2 December 1789¹**

. . . Among ill news a little good receives a double relish, of course the proceedings of the convention of this State gives us no small pleasure—on the 21st of last Month the Constitution was adopted by a very large majority 193 against 77. . . .

1. RC, Corliss-Respass Family Papers, Filson Club, Louisville, Ky.

203. New York Daily Advertiser, 4 December 1789¹

By the arrival of a Packet, in five days from Wilmington, North-Carolina, we have received the agreeable intelligence that the Convention of that State ADOPTED the NEW CONSTITUTION on the 20th ult.

For the adoption,	193
Against it,	75

Majority	118
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1. Reprinted thirty-one times by 30 December: Mass. (6), R.I. (3), Conn. (8), N.Y. (5), N.J. (2), Pa. (6), Va. (1). Similar accounts appeared in several other newspapers (see below).

**204. Hardin Burnley to James Madison
Richmond, Va., 5 December 1789 (excerpt)¹**

. . . It is confidently said in this city that the Convention of North Carolina has adopted the Constitution by a very decided majority.

1. RC, Madison Papers, DLC. Burnley misdated the letter as “Novr.” Printed: Rutland, *Madison*, XII, 460–61n.

**205. James Madison to George Washington
Orange, Va., 5 December 1789 (excerpt)¹**

[In commenting on the possible rejection of Congress’ twelve proposed amendments to the Constitution by the Virginia legislature and thus] . . . furnishing a handle to the disaffected, and of arming N.C. with a pretext, if she be disposed, to prolong her exile from the Union. With every sentiment of respect & attachment

1. RC, Washington Papers, DLC. Printed: Rutland, *Madison*, XII, 458–60n.

206. Georgetown, Md., Times, and Patowmack Packet, 9 December 1789¹

By a gentleman who passed through here from North-Carolina, we are credibly informed, that on account of that State adopting the New Constitution, the Governor has called the Assembly to meet on the first day of January next, at Fayetteville, to regulate matters so as to have the state represented in the next Session of Congress.

1. The Georgetown *Packet* for 9 December 1789 is not extant. The transcription was taken from the Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 24 December, the earliest reprinting under the dateline "Georgetown, December 9." Other reprintings were in the *New York Packet*, 29 December; *New York Journal*, 31 December; *New York Weekly Museum*, 2 January 1790; *Providence Gazette*, 9 January; and *Vermont Gazette*, 11 January.

207. New York Gazette of the United States, 9 December 1789¹

There was no mail from the southward of the Patowmac received at the post office on Saturday last, which may in some measure account for the failure of official dispatches to government respecting the ratification of the Constitution by the State of North-Carolina.

1. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Packet* and Philadelphia *Federal Gazette*, 14 December; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 16 December.

208. Virginia Herald, 10 December 1789

TWELVE UNITED STATES.

We learn from North-Carolina, that the Convention of that state, which met at that place on the 16th ult. has agreed to and ratified the New Constitution of the United States. The final question was put on the 26th, and the votes were,—ayes 193, noes 76—majority 117.

**209. William R. Davie to Herman LeRoy
Fayetteville, N.C., 12 December 1789 (excerpt)¹**

I congratulate you on the accession of this State to the Union, both on account of the interest the United States have in our being a member of the confederacy; and the prospect you may now have of seeing the wrongs of an injured family redress'd.

The Legislature sit[ting] at the same time of the Convention, has detained me here ever since the 1st. of November, we have now however nearly closed the public business; and this day passed a bill into a law, ceding to the United States all our Western Territory—By this you may form some idea of the state of federalism in this Country. . . .

1. RC, Rare Book Department, The Free Library of Philadelphia. The letter was addressed to LeRoy in New York and endorsed: "Hon'd by Doctr. Williamson."

210. Massachusetts Centinel, 12 December 1789¹

OF NORTH-CAROLINA.

The history of this State, now the more interesting, as it has become a Member of the Union, is less known than that of any of the other States. It was settled 1710, is 750

miles in length, and 110 in breadth—inhabitants 270,000, of which 60,000 are negroes. The North-Carolinians are mostly Planters—their exports tar, pitch, turpentine, rozin, Indian corn, peltry, lumber, tobacco, ginseng, snake root, &c. &c.—Agreeably to the Constitution, North-Carolina will send five Representatives to Congress.

1. Reprinted: *Newport Mercury*, 16 December; Middletown, Conn., *Middlesex Gazette*, 19 December; Stockbridge, Mass., *The Western Star*, 22 December; Philadelphia *Independent Gazetteer*, 26 December; Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 29 December. For a similar description of North Carolina, see the New York *Gazette of the United States*, 15 April 1789 (above).

211. Providence Gazette, 12 December 1789¹

The Convention of North-Carolina having, by a large Majority, adopted the Constitution of the United States, let us ardently hope, says a Correspondent, that each individual Member of our Legislature, at their Session in January, will come prepared to consider the momentous Subject divested of every unworthy local Prejudice, or Party Attachment. “To err is human.” Let us suppose it possible that we *may* have erred—let but *Reason* resume her Empire, and the great Work must be accomplished. Agriculture will then flourish—Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, revive—the prostrated Honour of this State be restored, and we shall become an united People, under a Government which has for its Basis Wisdom and Virtue, and for its Object the Happiness of all.

1. Reprinted: *Boston Gazette*, 21 December; *New Jersey Journal*, 6 January 1790.
2. Alexander Pope, *An Essay on Criticism*, Part II (1711).

212. John Walker to President George Washington Edenton, N.C., 13 December 1789 (excerpt)¹

. . . We have rejoiced at being reunited to the other States under the New federal Constitution. . . .

1. RC, Washington Papers, Series 7, DLC. Walker, the naval officer for the Port of Brunswick, N.C., was seeking to be appointed to that position by President Washington.

213. Samuel Phillips Savage: Diary, Weston, Mass., 14 December 1789 (excerpt)¹

. . . had the [occasion] of hearing this Evening that No. Carolina had adopted the New Constitution the 27 of Novr. after sitting 27 Days. Yeas 193 Nays 75. Majority 118.

1. MS, Massachusetts Historical Society.

214. Tench Coxe to Alexander Hamilton Philadelphia, 16 December 1789 (excerpt)¹

. . . I congratulate you most sincerely on this happy Event of the Adoption of the constitution by North Carolina, which almost completes this wonderful revolution. . . .

1. FC, Tench Coxe Papers, Personal Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

215. Jonathan Sayward: Diary, York, Maine, 16 December 1789¹

I hear that North Carolina hath acceded to the Confederation or New Constitution with the 11 that had before so there is now 12 Confederated.

1. MS, American Antiquarian Society.

216. Pennsylvania Carlisle Gazette, 16 December 1789

It is currently reported here that the state of North Carolina has adopted the Federal Constitution.

217. Newport Herald, 17 December 1789

The Adoption of the new Constitution by the State of North-Carolina, is confirmed by the arrival of the Petersburg Packet, Captain Bacon, on Friday last, at Boston, in five days from North-Carolina.

218. Providence United States Chronicle, 17 December 1789 (excerpt)¹

The Accession of North-Carolina to the new confederated Government of the Nation, says a Correspondent, is an Event of great Importance to the Confederacy at large, but more especially so in its Consequences to this State. Rhode-Island is now left to act for herself, alone, on the great political Theatre of America, and a Multitude of Causes concur in rendering her Situation peculiarly attractive of the public Regard. . . .

1. Reprinted: *Newport Mercury*, 23 December. For the full piece, see RCS:R.I., 646-47.

219. New York Daily Gazette, 19 December 1789¹

We are informed, that several letters were received in this city on Thursday, confirming the news of the adoption of the New Constitution by the State of North Carolina, on the 20th ult.

This information comes from so respectable a quarter, that we can have no doubt of its veracity.

1. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Packet*, 25 December; and *Massachusetts Centinel*, 30 December.

220. New York Gazette of the United States, 19 December 1789

Extract of a letter from North-Carolina, Dec. 2, 1789.

The only news I have to write you is that the Convention of this State, contrary to general expectation has ratified the Constitution—and that our Grand Master, the late Governor CASWELL is dead.

1. Reprinted: *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 26 December; *Boston Gazette*, 28 December; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 30 December; Providence *United States Chronicle*, 31 December.

221. Extracts from The Virginia Almanack for the Year 1790 (excerpt)¹*NORTH-CAROLINA*

Is bounded by Virginia on the North, the Atlantic on the East, by South Carolina on the South, 2nd by the Mississippi on the West; is 758 miles in length, and 110 in breadth; contained, agreeable to a census in 1787, 270,000 inhabitants; situated between 35 and 37 degrees North Latitude, and 76 and 50 West-Longitude. This state has again called a Convention for the purpose of adopting the New Constitution, nor is there now any doubt that when the mild yet efficient operations of the New Government, together with the wisdom and patriotism of the members of the Federal Legislature, are duly considered, it will remove every doubt of those with whose opinions it may not entirely coincide; and confirm the expectations of its numerous friends. And her extensive frontier being obliged to export the greater part of her productions through Virginia, there is no doubt, has fully evinced the necessity of her acceding to the confederation, as a depreciated paper medium is considered as the principal cause of the anti-national spirit of this state. The principal towns are, Newbern, Halifax, Edenton, Washington, Fayetteville, Wilmington and Hillsborough.

1. Printed in Norfolk, Va., by Prentis & Baxter. (Evans 22228.)

222. Massachusetts Centinel, 9 January 1790

Congress were to meet on *Monday* next. And although the members arrive daily—yet it is not expected that the two Houses will be formed for several days—as, since the adoption by *North-Carolina*, it is requisite that there be THIRTEEN members of the Senate, and THIRTY-THREE members of the House to form a quorum of each.

The Legislature of *North-Carolina* is to meet this day—and it is expected that that State will be fully represented in the ensuing session.

1. Reprinted: *New Hampshire Spy* and *New Hampshire Gazette*, 13 January.

**223. President George Washington to Charles Thomson
New York, 10 January 1790 (excerpt)¹**

. . . I heartily rejoice with you in the accession of North Carolina to the Government of the Union.

1. FC, Letterbook, Washington Papers, DLC.

**224. Charles Carroll of Carrollton to James Hendrick
Annapolis, Md., 11 January 1790 (excerpt)¹**

. . . North Carolina has Acceded to the New plan of government—Rohde Island must soon follow the example; this government Begins to gain Confidence & Respect: the Opposition to it has in greate measure subsided. . . .

1. FC, Carroll Letterbook, 1771-1833, New York Public Library.

225. George Washington: Diary
New York, 11 January 1790 (excerpt)¹

. . . Also communicated to both Houses, transcripts of the adoption & ratification of the New Constitution by the State of No. Carolina with Copies of the Letter from His Excellency Saml. Johnson President of the Convention, enclosing the same.— These were sent by my private Secretary Mr. Lear.—

1. MS, Diary of George Washington, Detroit Public Library.

226. Georgetown, Times, and Patowmack Packet (Maryland), 13 January 1790

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Halifax, N.C.
to his friend in this town, dated Dec. 16, 1789.

“The adoption of the New Government has drawn the *Anties* in a disagreeable situation. An act passed by the General Assembly calls upon all the public officers to settle their accounts before the first day of May. A million of paper money is due to the state; but whether those who have been intrusted with it, will be able to account for it is a question. Our paper medium is to be redeemed by a Land-Office being opened for the sale of a large tract of land, on Cumberland, in the western country.”

227. John Rutledge, Jr. to William Short
London, 22 January 1790 (excerpt)¹

. . . I have accounts of N. Carolina having accepted the american Constitution— she may be sd to have done it almost unanimously—the majority was 118. . . .

1. RC, Short Papers, DLC.

228. Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton to Collectors of the Customs
New York, 27 January 1790¹

Circular

The adoption of the Constitution of the United States by the state of North Carolina, having raised a question concerning the operation of the 39th. Section of the Collection bill and the 3d. Section of the Act for suspending part of that Act and for other purposes; it is incumbent upon me to give my opinion upon the subject; which is, that they were virtually repealed by that *adoption*.

Among other reasons for this opinion, is *that article* of the Constitution which declares that all duties, imposts and excises shall be *uniform* throughout the United States.

1. MS, owned by Mrs. Anna Marie Davidson (Chicago, Ill.) in 1988. A recipient's copy addressed to Charles Lee is in the Ellis-Allan Papers, Container 631, Port of Alexandria, Va., DLC.

229. John Brown Cutting to William Short
London, 29 January 1790 (excerpt)¹

. . . The Convention of North Carolina has ratified the federal constitution by a great majority—180 to 60. I wish I cou'd say as much for *that* little contumacious member Rhode Island whose Legislature—have again rejected a motion for referring the constitution of the United States to a convention of that state—by a majority of two to one. What coercion can You devise for her—consistent with pure republican principles? Pray tell me. . . .

1. RC, Short Papers, DLC.

230. Arthur Iredell to James Iredell
Guilford, England, 2 February 1790 (excerpt)¹

. . . <but let me tell you that I lent the Debates in Your Convention to Lord Macartney, and that he returned them to me Yesterday, the whole of which I passed with him at his Seat in this Neighbourhood, with many encomiastic Remarks upon the Part *you* bore in them. He promised me likewise that he would write to you, & for that Purpose took your Address.> I may be more partial, but I think I give no Proof of it when I say, that the oftener I have looked into that Volume the more forcibly I have still been struck with the Ability with which you conducted Your Side of every Question. Do not fail, I intreat you, of sending me any other Work of the same, or any kind, in which you are at all interested. . . .

1. Typescript, Charles E. Johnson Collection, Nc-Ar. The text in angle brackets was quoted in a letter from Hannah Iredell to her husband James on 6 May 1790 (Charles E. Johnston Collection, Nc-Ar).

231. William Short to William Carmichael
Paris, 3 February 1790 (excerpt)¹

. . . No. Carolina has adopted the new constitution by an almost unanimous vote—I hope Rh. Island will not long hold out—Accept the assurances of esteem & attachment with which I have the honor to be

1. FC, Short Papers, DLC.

232. William Short to John Rutledge
Paris, 3 February 1790 (excerpt)¹

. . . You gave me great pleasure by the intelligence about No Carolina—I had seen it printed in a gazette here ten or twelve days ago, but as it was accompanied by many other articles that I knew to be false I supposed it premature.—It is impossible to calculate the force of reason & example on the minds of the most perverted. I do not despair therefore of learning ere long the adhesion Rh. Island. . . .

1. RC, Rutledge Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

**233. Governor Alexander Martin to Secretary of State James Glasgow
Danbury, N.C., 9 February 1790¹**

By Colo. William Blount I transmitted to you twelve Copies of the Resolutions of the late Convention, Adopting the federal Constitution with Amendments thereto, requesting you, as I then had no private Secretary at Fayette to cause the proper Testimonials to be made out with the great-Seal affixed to each, with your Name Countersigned, and the same to be forwarded to Hillsborough by the earliest Opportunity.—I have not heard any Thing of them since, & am uneasy lest they may have miscarried or fallen into negligent Hands.—Mr. Maloy waits you for them if in the Office—or to get some Information respecting them, as they ought to have been sent forward to the different States before this. As the great Seal was with you, those Seals you left with me being used, and your Name absolutely necessary for authenticating so solemn an Act of State, caused me to be so particular in sending them to you for the above purpose

I shall want near a hundred Seals for Sheriffs, and other Commissions, also for Testimonials, which please to have struck off, and send by Maloy.

I have received no public Dispatches of any Importance yet:—that I have nothing worthy to communicate to you, but that I am

P.S.

Please to inform me whether an Engrossed Copy of the Resolutions of the Convention signed by Govr. Johnston have not been sent to the president, or to Congress—I have been informed so but forget from what Authority—if this is not done please to make out a fair engrossed Copy for the above purpose—indeed a Copy will be necessary lest a Miscarriage or other Acc[ident] may have happened to the first.

1. RC, Secretary of State Papers, SS-26/Correspondence/1790-1793, Nc-Ar.

**234. James Glasgow: Certification of Printed Ratification of North Carolina
10 February 1790¹**

[See Part II: Documents (Facsimiles).]

1. Six of these broadsides with Glasgow's handwritten certification have been located for Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, North Carolina, and an unidentified one in the Library of Congress. (Evans 22039).

**235. John Brown Cutting to William Short
London, 16 February 1790 (excerpt)¹**

. . . I take this opportunity to fulfill my promise in a former Letter to give You the proposed Amendments of the Convention of North Carolina to the National Constitution.²

1st. "That Congress shall not alter, modify or interfere in the times places and manner of holding elections for senators or representatives or either of them except when the Legislature of any state shall neglect, refuse or be disabled by invasion or rebellion to prescribe the same, or in case when the provision made by the state is so imperfect as that no consequent election is had.

2. That Congress shall not directly nor indirectly, either by themselves or through the judiciary interfere with any one of the States, in the redemption of paper money

already emitted, and now in circulation, in liquidating and discharging the public securities of any one of [the] states; that each and every state shall have the exclusive right [of] making such laws and regulations for the above purposes as th[ey] shall think proper.

3. That the members of the senate and the house of representativ[es] shall be ineligible to and incapable of holding any civil office under the authority of the United States, during th[e] time for which they shall respectively be elected

4. That the journals of the proceedings of the senate and house of representatives, shall be published at least once in every year, except such parts thereof relating to treati[es] alliances or military operations, as in their judgment requir[e] secrecy.

5. That a regular statement of the receipts and expenditures of all public monies shall be published at least once a year.

6. That no navigation law, or law regulating commerce, shall be passed without the consent of two thirds of the members pr[e]sent in both houses.

7. That no soldier shall be enlisted for any longer term than four years, except in time of war, and then for no longer term than the continuance of the war.

8. That some tribunal other than the Senate be provided for trying impeachments of Senators.

Upon the general question of ratification

Ayes 193—Noes 76.

Most sincerely and affectionately

1. RC, Short Papers, DLC. In the first paragraph, Cutting indicated that the letter was being carried by "Dr. Sheaff."

2. Cutting perhaps sent Jefferson the eight amendments proposed by the North Carolina Convention on 23 November 1790 that were printed in Appendix II of Volume 7 of the Philadelphia *American Museum*, 1790.

236. President George Washington to the Governor of North Carolina New York, 26 February 1790¹

I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency an Act passed in the second Session of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States—entitled “an Act for giving effect to the several Acts therein mentioned, in respect to the State of North Carolina, and other purposes.”

1. RC, facsimile in The Paul Richard Estate Auction, 2 February 1994 in the *Superior Auction Galleries Catalog*, cover and p. 149. A duplicate is in the Washington Photostats, DLC.

237. Connecticut Governor Samuel Huntington to President George Washington Norwich, Conn., 27 February 1790¹

I am honoured with your letter of the 20th Instant covering an Act Entitled an Act for giving effect to several Acts therein mentioned in respect to the State of North Carolina, & other purposes.

1. Printed: The Paul Richards Estate Auction, 2 February 1994 in the *Superior Auction Galleries Catalog*, p. 150.

**238. Maryland Governor John Eager Howard to Governor Alexander Martin
Annapolis, Md., 15 March 1790¹**

I had the honour to receive your Excellency Letter of the 20th Ulto. with the amendments proposed by the convention of North Carolina to become part of the Constitution of the United States which shall be laid before the Legislature of this State at their first meeting

1. FC, Governors' Letterbooks & Papers, Nc-Ar.

239. Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council: Minutes, 19 March 1790¹

A Letter from His Excellency Alexander Martin Esquire Governor of the State of North Carolina dated the twentieth of last month inclosing a Copy of a resolution of the General Convention of that State dated the twenty third of November 1789 "with several amendments by them proposed to become part of the Constitution for the future Government of the United States."—was received and read—and the same transmitted to the General Assembly in a Letter from the President to the Speaker.—

1. FC, Secretary's Minute Book, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg.

**240. Governor George Clinton to New York Senate
New York, 22 March 1790¹**

I have the honor to lay before you with this Message a Letter from his Excellency the Governor of the State of North Carolina dated the 20th. of last Month with the papers therein referred to. . . .

1. RC, Clinton Papers, New York Public Library.

**241. Arthur Iredell to James Iredell
Guildford, England, 6 April 1790 (excerpt)¹**

. . . Oh!—I congratulate you most heartily upon your Victory in a late Convention, and the consequent Accession of your Province to the Federal Union. May it produce the good you augured from It at the first!—

1. Typescript, Charles E. Johnson Collection, Nc-Ar.

**242. James Glasgow: Payments to for Copies of Constitution and Other Documents
7 April 1790¹**

. . . By an Authenticated Duplicate of the Federal Constitution with the Ratification thereof with a Testimonial to Congress	}	£1	5	4
By an Authenticated Copy of the Cession Act, & the Act for Adopting the Amendments to the Federal Constitution with a Testimonial to each &c	}	2	10	8

By 12 Testimonials, Certificates, & Seals to 12 Copies of the Amendments Proposed by the Ass[embly] of North Carolina to the Federal Constitution for the 12 States for Governor Martin @ 6/4 1. MS, Treasurers' Reports and Papers, Nc-Ar.	}	3	16	—
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243. Governor Alexander Martin and Council President Wyatt Hawkins to President George Washington, Rockingham, N.C., 25 June 1790¹

The Governor and Council of the State of North Carolina embrace the earliest opportunity afforded them since the accession of this State to the Constitution, and the completion of the Union by all the States, of congratulating you on this most auspicious event: By which all causes of future dissensions among the States will be obviated: the impost, that great branch of revenue and support of Public credit, collected with more facility, and our finances more perfectly arranged.

We congratulate ourselves with equal sincerity, in beholding you Sir in the high department which your Virtues merited, and to which your Country unanimously and gratefully appointed you.

The importance of your situation receives additional dignity by the veneration your Country possesses for your character, and from a confidence, that every power vested in you by the Constitution will be exerted for the happiness and prosperity of our Country by giving efficacy to such a system as will ensure the general welfare and conciliate the public mind—a confidence felt by all—by none more powerfully than the Citizens of this State.

We have just received the happy information of your recovery from a disorder which threatened your life; a life we may truly say, as necessary as dear to us:—With grateful Hearts we return thanks to the great disposer of events for this beneficent mark of his attention in preserving You—May it long be shewn in continuing You among us.—And when the awful day comes which is to separate You from us, may You receive the reward of those virtues which He only can give.

1. RC, Washington Papers, DLC. For the Council's approval of this message to President Washington, see North Carolina Council of State, 26 June 1790 (below). Washington responded on 26 August (below).

244. New York Packet, 26 June 1790

Monday, Jan. 11.

A message was received from the President, with the ratification of the constitution of the United States, by the State of North-Carolina.

245. North Carolina Council of State, 26 June 1790 (excerpt)¹

June 26th Saturday the Honorable the Council met according to adjournment
Present the Honorable

Wyatt Hawkins President John Hamilton Jesse Franklin James Taylor Charles Bruce	}	Esquires
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. . . Received from his Excellency the Governor the following Message

The Governor submits to the Honorable the Council the propriety, at this time which is the first opportunity that has offered since this State became a Member of the Federal Government and all the States in the Union acceding thereto of presenting their Joint address as the full Body of the Executive to the President of the United States congra[tu]latory of this happy Event, and also congratulatory of the recovery of his Health from a late dangerous illness which if it meets with your approbation, You will please to appoint a Committee to prepare an address accordingly.

Resolved that we approve of the above proposition of His Excellency the Governor, and that the Honorable James Taylor and Charles Bruce esquires be a committee to prepare and draw up the same.

The Honorable James Taylor and Charles Bruce esquires who were appointed a Committee to prepare an address to his Excellency the President of the United States, reported that they had prepared the same, which was read and approved by the Honorable the Council and is as follows—

[Here appears the address to President Washington.]²

Alex. Martin

done in Council unanimously By order	}
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Wyatt Hawkins Presidt. of the Council—

The Council adjourned
Sine Die.
Wyatt Hawkins Prt.

John Hamilton
Jesse Franklin
Charles Bruce
Jas Taylor

1. MS, Council Journal, Nc-Ar.
 2. For the message to Washington dated 25 June 1790, see above.

246. Hartford, Conn., American Mercury, 28 June 1790

FRIDAY, June 11.

A message was received from the President of the United States with a copy of the ratification of the amendments to the constitution by the Senate of North-Carolina.

**247. President George Washington to the Governor and Council of North Carolina
New York, 26 August 1790¹**

Gentlemen,

I entreat you to be persuaded that nothing could have been more agreeable to me than the proofs contained in your affectionate address of the friendly sentiments entertained by you for my person as well as for the government which I have been appointed by my Countrymen to administer—And I reciprocate with heartfelt satisfaction your congratulations on the completion of the union of all the States; an event, in my judgment, pregnant with more salutary consequences than can easily be expressed or conceived.

It will ever be my first wish and most strenuous endeavour to justify, so far as may be in my power, the confidence which my fellow-citizens have thought proper to repose in me, by exerting every power vested in the President of the United States by the Constitution, for the happiness and prosperity of our country; and by giving efficacy to such a system as will enspire the general welfare and conciliate the public mind.

I desire, Gentlemen, to make acceptable to you my acknowledgements for the kind concern you take in the restoration of my health and preservation of my life, and in the retribution I may receive after the conclusion of this mortal existence. May you and the State in whose government you have the principal agency, be also the peculiar care of divine providence.

1. FC, Letterbook, Washington Papers, DLC. Washington is responding to the address of Governor Alexander Martin and the North Carolina Council dated 25 June (above).

**248. Governor Beverly Randolph to Speaker of Virginia House of Delegates
18 October 1790 (excerpts)¹**

I do myself the Honour to transmit to you for the Information of the General Assembly such Papers as have been received since the last Session of that Honourable Body, and which appear to be worthy their attention. . . .

No. 3. A Letter from the Governor of North Carolina, inclosing a resolution of the Convention of that state, with a copy of several Amendments, proposed by them to become a Part of the Constitution of the United States. . . .

1. RC, Executive Communications, Virginia State Library.

**249. William Dickson to Robert Dickson
Goshen, N.C., 28 December 1790 (excerpt)¹**

Dear Cousin Robert.

. . . I am much Indebted to you for the pains you have taken in considering and giving me your opinion of the general plan of our federal Government. I will readily agree with you that a better cou'd not be formed for the united States in General, I think it is formed so as to lay the foundation of one of the greatest Empires now in the world, and from the high opinion I have of the Merit of those Illustr[i]ous characters who now hold the Reigns of Government I have no doubt of any Revolution taking place in my day. since I wrote to you on the Subject I had become better reconciled to it. I was convinced of the propriety as well as necessity of yielding up some of the

priviledges we enjoy as free men for the Sake of a more permanent and efficient Government, but I beleive the State of North Carolina woud not have adopted the Government of the United States from this principle only. it was a matter of necessity rather than choice when the Convention of North Carolina received it about twelve months ago, we being the last State except one (Rhode Island) which came into the measure. Virginia, tho with much Reluctance and the other States round us having previously adopted the federal plan, the State [of] North Carolina coud not remain Independent of the Union and Support the Dignity of a State itself. had Virginia only stood out with us I think North Carolina woud not have been in the Union yet. It appears to me that the Southern States will not receive eequal benefit in the Government with the Northern States, the Interests, manners and customs of the Inhabitants of the Southern States are very different from those of the Northern and middle States, they being more Similar in their Interests, manners, customs and Trade, will be more United, and by being more numerous and more powerfull will form the Laws of the general Government more to their own advantage and convenience, the Southern States will have their Vote but will not be able to carry any point against so powerfull a party in cases where either General or Local interests are the object. . . .

I remain with due Esteem and Respect Dear Cousin. Your Sincere friend, and Affectionate Kinsman

1. RC, Dickson MSS, Nc-Ar.

250. S.C. Governor Charles Pinckney: Message to the S.C. House of Representatives, 12 January 1791 (excerpts)¹

. . . The following message was received from his excellency the governor by the secretary of state, which was read, and together with the papers accompanying it, referred to the following gentlemen, Mr. Kinloch, col. Anderson, col. Mayson, Mr. Clieland Kinloch and Mr. John James Haig.

Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

GENTLEMEN, . . .

Copies of a letter from the governor of North-Carolina received in February last on the subject of amendments to the general government. . . .

1. Printed: Charleston *City Gazette*, 19 January 1791.

APPENDIX

Items Reprinted in North Carolina Contained in
Commentaries on the Constitution:
Public and Private
1787-1788

NORTH CAROLINA NEWSPAPERS, 1787-1788

Edenton Intelligencer (formerly the *Edenton North Carolina Gazette*)

North Carolina Gazette, New Bern

State Gazette of North Carolina, New Bern (relocated to Edenton in mid-1788)

Wilmington Centinel

CC:No.	ITEM/NORTH CAROLINA REPRINTS
CC:20-C	<i>Pennsylvania Herald</i> , 25 July 1787 <i>North Carolina Gazette</i> , 15 August
CC:34	<i>Pennsylvania Herald</i> , 9 June 1787 <i>North Carolina Gazette</i> , 11 July
CC:35-B	<i>Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer</i> , 22 June 1787 <i>North Carolina Gazette</i> , 11 July
CC:204	<i>Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer</i> , 27 October 1787 <i>State Gazette of North Carolina</i> , 7 February 1788
CC:227-A	Elbridge Gerry to the Massachusetts General Court <i>Massachusetts Centinel</i> , 3 November 1787 <i>North Carolina Gazette</i> , 19 December
CC:290-A	<i>Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer</i> , 24 November 1787 <i>North Carolina Gazette</i> , 19 December
Volume 3 Appendix I	<i>Pennsylvania Packet</i> , 21 December 1787 <i>State Gazette of North Carolina</i> , 7 February 1788
CC:548	Marcus I <i>Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal</i> , 20 February 1787 N.C. newspaper reprint(s) not extant Pamphlet, Hodge and Wills (New Bern)

- CC:553 The New Litany
Virginia Herald, 21 February 1788
Wilmington Centinel, 9 July
- CC:566-A Governor John Hancock: Speech to the General Court
Boston *Independent Chronicle*, 28 February 1788
Edenton Intelligencer, 9 April 1788 (excerpt)
- CC:571 Marcus II
Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal, 27 February 1788
N.C. newspaper reprint(s) not extant
Pamphlet, Hodge and Wills (New Bern)
- CC:596 Marcus III
Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal, 5 March 1788
N.C. newspaper reprint(s) not extant
Pamphlet, Hodge and Wills (New Bern)
- CC:616 Marcus IV
Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal, 12 March 1788
N.C. newspaper reprint(s) not extant
Pamphlet, Hodge and Wills (New Bern)
- CC:630 Marcus V
Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal, 19 March 1788
N.C. newspaper reprint(s) not extant
Pamphlet, Hodge and Wills (New Bern)
- CC:633 Publicola
State Gazette of North Carolina, 20 March 1788
N.C. newspaper reprint(s) not extant
Pamphlet, Hodge and Wills (New Bern)
- CC:648 Publicola
State Gazette of North Carolina, 27 March 1788
N.C. newspaper reprint(s) not extant
Pamphlet, Hodge and Wills (New Bern)
- CC:649 James Iredell: Address to the Freemen of Edenton, N.C.,
c. 28-29 March 1788
N.C. newspaper reprint(s) not extant
- Volume 4 Springfield, Mass., *Hampshire Chronicle*, 13 February 1788
Appendix I *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 27 March
- Volume 4 New York *Independent Journal*, 16 February 1788
Appendix I *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 27 March (excerpt)

- Volume 4 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 20 February 1788
Appendix I *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 27 March (1st paragraph)
- CC:683 A Citizen of New-York: An Address to the People of the State of
New York, 15 April 1788
State Gazette of North Carolina (in not extant issues by
10 June)
- Volume 5 New York *Daily Advertiser*, 1 May 1788
Appendix I *Edenton Intelligencer*, 4 June
- Volume 5 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 7 May 1788
Appendix I *Edenton Intelligencer*, 4 June (1st paragraph)
State Gazette of North Carolina, 12 June (not extant)
- CC:753 South Carolina Convention Amendments, 23 May 1788
Charleston *Columbian Herald*, 26 May 1788
Wilmington Centinel, 25 June
- CC:818-C New York Circular Letter, 26 July 1788
Poughkeepsie *Country Journal*, 5 August 1788
Wilmington Centinel, 20 August
- CC:821 North Carolina Convention Amendments, 2 August 1788
Wilmington Centinel, 20 August
- CC:845 The Confederation Congress Calls the First Federal Elections
Broadside, New York, 13 September 1788
Wilmington Centinel, 15 October
- Volume 6 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 11 June 1788
Appendix I *Wilmington Centinel*, 9 July (2nd paragraph)
- Volume 6 Ship News-Extra
Appendix I *Massachusetts Centinel*, 2 July 1788
Wilmington Centinel, 13 August
- Volume 6 The American Convention
Appendix I *Massachusetts Centinel*, 2 July 1788
State Gazette of North Carolina (Edenton), 22 September
- Volume 6 New York *Daily Advertiser*, 4 July 1788
Appendix I Edenton *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 8 September
Wilmington Centinel, 17 September
- Volume 6 *Massachusetts Gazette*, 8 July 1788
Appendix I *Wilmington Centinel*, 17 September

- Volume 6 *Massachusetts Centinel*, 23 July 1788
Appendix I *Wilmington Centinel*, 27 August (2nd paragraph)
- Volume 6 *New Hampshire Recorder*, 5 August 1788
Appendix I *State Gazette of North Carolina* (Edenton), 15 September
 Wilmington Centinel, 24 September
- Volume 6 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 13 August 1788
Appendix I Edenton *State Gazette of North Carolina*, 8 September
 (2nd paragraph)
- Volume 6 *Massachusetts Centinel*, 20 August 1788
Appendix I *State Gazette of North Carolina* (Edenton), 22 September
 (3rd paragraph)
- Volume 6 *Pennsylvania Packet*, 3 September 1788
Appendix I *State Gazette of North Carolina* (Edenton), 29 September